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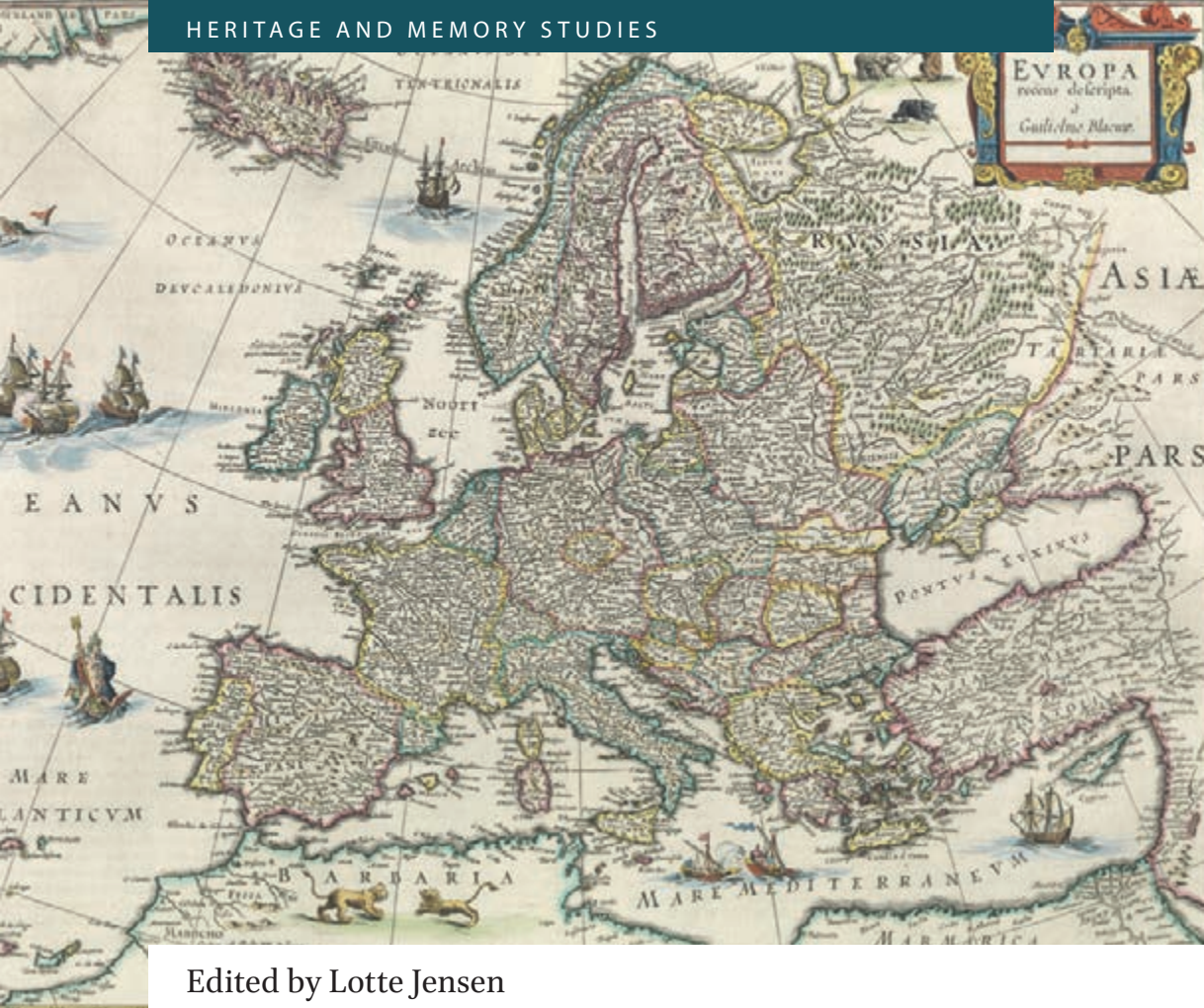
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Edited by Lotte Jensen

The Roots of Nationalism

National Identity Formation
in Early Modern Europe, 1600-1815

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The Roots of Nationalism

*National Identity Formation in Early Modern Europe,
1600-1815*

*Edited by
Lotte Jensen*

Amsterdam University Press



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9 Defining the Nation, Defending the Nation

the Spanish Apologetic Discourse during the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1621)

Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez

Spain is maybe one of the most troubled European nations when it comes to the definition of its national identity. Although most scholars nowadays do not deny that the proto-national roots of Spain are to be found in the early modern period, it has been problematic to accept this perennial concept of Spain within contemporary Spanish historiographical discourse.¹ After the end of the Franco regime, with its famous motto 'España, una, grande y libre', historians focused their research on the roots of all peripheric nations within Spain, from the nineteenth century and before, but not of 'Spain' as a whole.² The eminent English historian Sir John Elliott warned in 2001 about the threatening fragmentation of the history of Spain, should everybody in the country continue to concentrate only on particular 'regional' / 'national' histories.³ Although in the literary field the great critic José Antonio Maravall had already argued decades earlier that a proto-national notion of Spain was distinctly present in Golden Age Spanish theatre, the field of history remained dominated by the modernist vision of nationalism for a long time.⁴ Recent books like *Ser españoles. Imaginarios Nacionalistas en el siglo XX*, although focusing on the twentieth century, reveal that the tide has changed and that talking about 'Spanish nationalism' does not imply being a right-wing, chauvinist zealot.⁵ In my own research about Spanish perceptions of the Dutch Revolt and the ensuing Eighty Years' War in the early modern period, I concluded that the hetero-images of the Dutch enemy were clearly intertwined with the construction of a clear and well-defined Spanish national identity. The Spaniards in the Spanish sources, both historical and literary, were frequently addressed and bundled together as 'we' (nosotros), and Spain was 'nuestra España' or 'nuestra nación' (our Spain, our nation). Moreover, those 'españoles' embodied ancient virtues, such as insurmountable bellicosity, loyalty to their kings and devout religiosity, amongst other qualities. These positive qualities distinguished them from other peoples and from their enemies.⁶ In recent years, Hispanists and also literary historians in general have expressed a growing interest in tracing

the emergence of a Spanish 'nation' through constructions of community in literary works.⁷ In the following I will focus on the above-mentioned Hispano-Dutch historical context to illustrate how the definition or construction of the Spanish nation took shape during the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-21). The dialectical relationship between friends and foes is a basic principle of international confrontation and produces images about the 'other' and the 'self' that play a fundamental role in the forging of national identities.⁸ The truce was experienced as a great fiasco for the Spaniards and as a painful blemish on the Spanish reputation. Therefore many writers reflected on the situation of Spain and on the correct course to follow in the future. The nation had to be defended, healed, preserved, etc., as was frequently argued at the time.

Particularly significant for that Spanish discourse was the prevalence of strong criticism of Spain all over Europe. Defining the nation went, in the case of the Spanish monarchy, hand in hand with defending the nation. To illustrate the dynamics of this process, I will touch upon four relevant sources. Two were composed at the beginning of the truce: the humanist political tract *España defendida* (*Spain defended*) by the greatest Spanish satirist Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas (1580-1645) and the epic poem *La Jerusalén Conquistada*, by Félix Lope de Vega y Carpio (1562-1635), the Spanish Shakespeare, both composed around 1609.⁹ The other two sources are political tracts produced when the ceasefire was coming to a close, and were written by so-called *arbitristas* or reformist authors who reflected on all possible solutions for the problems of Spain: *Restauración Política de España* by Sancho de Moncada (1619) and *Conservación de Monarquías* by Pedro Fernández de Navarrete (1621).¹⁰ How do these texts reflect on the essence of Spain and the Spaniards during this peaceful, but ideologically challenging period? What image of the nation do these writers project, and how do they link their discourse to the critical international perception of Spain? In order to answer these questions I will dwell not on the projection of a positive auto-image that had been linked to the Spaniards and their territory since time immemorial according to the tradition of the *laus Hispaniae*, or on the idea of being an elected nation, an aspect that is regularly stressed in the sources of the time.¹¹ I will instead focus on another element that is equally essential for the self-definition of the Spanish nation, but that has not received much attention within this context of national definition: the vivid notion of being hated by other nations. This line of argumentation blends with one of the most pervasive and persistent Western narratives regarding the enemy: 'The Black Legend of Spanish Cruelty'. This legend depicted the Spaniards as thirsty for gold, lecherous, lazy, treacherous and

cruel. Moreover, their barbaric character reflected their impure blood, an unholy mixture of Moor and Jew.¹² The debate on the existence – or non-existence – of a Spanish Black Legend is nowadays the topic of much national and international academic research and of wide public interest in Spain.¹³ Did such a negative and orchestrated image of the Spaniards really ever exist? Is this narrative not an ongoing sequel to the right-wing Franquist search for and exaltation of a glorious Spanish Golden Age, with echoes of a conspiracy theory? The discourses on Spanish national identity and the Black Legend coincide here. This idea of being hated and despised by the world also contributed to the development of a Spanish identity and activated a strongly apologetic strand of thought in authors of the time. Although the idea that the Spaniards did not react to foreign criticism has been long advocated, we know now that this was not the case, as many an example can demonstrate.¹⁴ Let's think for instance of Pedro de Cornejo's 1581 war chronicle on the Netherlands. Moved by all those foreign, vilifying and incorrect accounts about the Spaniards, he felt compelled to write his own – and, as he saw it, truthful – account of the events. Cornejo even wrote that same year an *Anti-Apology*, responding to William of Orange's famous pamphlet *Apologie* (1580) that, since Julián Juderías, has been considered one of the pillars of the Spanish Black Legend.¹⁵

The Early Years of the Truce

One of the most famous Spanish apologies of early modern time was written by Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas, a brilliant and critical observer of his era and canonical figure of the Spanish Golden Age. His *laus Hispaniae* titled *España defendida* was probably written between 1609 and 1611-12, but was never completed. In his text, as 'hijo de España' (son of Spain), he decides to praise the glories of Spain. He is tired of witnessing its suffering, and in his dedication to King Philip III, he explains his urge to rebut all those foreign lies and falsehoods. His patriotic fury is roused by the criticism of humanists of the time like Joseph Justus Scaliger, Gerard Mercator and Marc-Antoine Muret, who had attacked Hispano-Roman authors like Quintilian, Lucan and Seneca as well as the Spanish language. *En passant* he also refers to Erasmus, whom he considers 'carried away by his foreign passion',¹⁶ suggesting with these words that his perception of Spain is tainted by a wide – and negative – European vision. Think of Erasmus' famous words: 'Non placet Hispania'. Quevedo complains that the Spanish patience with foreign criticism is seen as pride, and that 'our enemies attack furiously

our principles', concluding that 'in the end, all nations look down on Spain'.¹⁷ With this criticism as incentive, he embarks on his apologetic enterprise.

What is important is that Quevedo in his *laus* dwells not only on the positive virtues of the Spaniards, like their ancient warlike vigour, one of the most characteristic national traits, but that he addresses and criticises the vices of his contemporary countrymen. The old exemplary Spanish *sobriedad* (temperance) has disappeared, and the Spaniards have become decadent and effeminate. If Spain is to recover, the nation has to mend its ways and return to the good habits and virtues of its ancestors. In the context of the shameful signing of the truce from the Spanish perspective, it is relevant to point out that Quevedo's message is clearly warlike: Spain has temporarily put down its weapons, but it will return to war with renewed energy and power.¹⁸ He believes, therefore, that the Spanish warlike vigour will come to life again. Foreign criticism and disdain seem to activate the urge to revise the national essence of Spain and the attempt to strengthen it.

The great playwright Félix Lope de Vega, a friend of Quevedo's and a well-known defender of the cause of the Spanish monarchy, published in 1609 his epic poem *La Jerusalén Conquistada*, following Torquato Tasso's famous model *La Gerusalemme Liberata* (1581). The work was republished seven times during his life.¹⁹ The plot deals with the Third Crusade in the twelfth century. Lope is so free as to apocryphally introduce Spaniards fighting against the infidels. In this way he creates a 'nationalistic revision' of Tasso's text.²⁰ Interestingly, the censor who had the function to approve the contents of works before publication praises Lope for his choice of subject: with his *epos* he has demonstrated that the Spaniards had also fought in the Holy Land. Their heroic deeds had been erased from books and other sources, probably because of envy rather than through sheer oblivion.²¹ Nowadays we would say that Lope was actually 'reinventing' the Spanish past. In his prologue to the count of Saldaña, Lope explicitly states that he has written his work 'with the intention to serve my *patria*, which is always so offended by foreign historians'.²² Lope was therefore another author who was very well aware of the criticism of Spain and its reputation abroad and reacted to it. Already in his plays about the war of the Low Countries, composed at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, he presented on stage Flemish characters who voice their deep hatred towards the Spaniards:

Are we *flamencos* or slaves? ... The Spaniards are returning, with all their plundering, wolves after our blood, melting-pots of our silver. Once again we suffer their arrogance ... Does Philip finally resolve to make us submit

to the yoke again? Is the executioner returning? Is his sword returning?
 Brother, if you are my brother, no more obedience to the king.²³

In *La Jerusalén* Lope also shows his knowledge of foreign criticism, not only by mentioning it in the prologue, but by integrating into the poem elements that related to the bad reputation of the Spaniards and contesting them. As Antonio Sánchez Jiménez has shown, Lope allows the enemies of the Spaniards to voice their criticism: Spaniards are terribly arrogant. But this negative trait – inaccurate in Spanish eyes – is refashioned by Lope's presenting them not as arrogant but as extremely brave and courageous.²⁴ A negative perception is disputed and subsequently shown to be a virtue.

However, in the context of the truce, Lope's position differs somewhat from that of Quevedo. Unlike the latter, Lope favours Philip III's irenic policy of *Pax Hispanica*, which was established with the ceasefire, and his rhetorical strategy to burnish Spain's national image is different as well. Epic poems are not the most obvious channel through which to attack national decadence or degeneration. Lope continues to take a laudatory path in his work and links celebrated deeds of the Third Crusade to the glorious times that the Spaniards are enjoying in the seventeenth century.²⁵ The famous bellicosity of the Spaniards is not questioned by Lope. Their essence remains untarnished. The fact that two different positions could be found around the same time (Quevedo's belicist 'call to arms' and Lope's more irenic option) reveals the ambivalence in the Spanish discourse around the truce negotiations. The same holds for the Dutch context.²⁶ After the resumption of the war in 1621, Lope would continue voicing his indignation over the way foreign chroniclers and historians wrote about international current affairs involving the Spaniards. In his celebratory play *The restitution of Brasil* (1625) he would even transfer the Black Legend of Spanish cruelty onto the Dutch, presenting them as cruel and greedy oppressors of the Indian population in America.²⁷ In one of his poems of 1624 he expresses his indignation over the inaccurate information about Spain, all motivated by 'lack of objectivity, jealousy and greed'.²⁸

In the political climate of the truce it is not surprising that the poet and 'auditor de ejército' Christobal Suárez de Figueroa, known for his bad temper and sharp tongue and pen, published an epic poem in 1612 (again in Tasso's fashion) originally titled *La España Defendida*. The preoccupation and urge to defend Spain was clearly in the air. In their preliminary 'aprobación', the censors of the manuscript, Lope de Vega among them (though they were not good friends), praised Figueroa's work, especially the fact that the topic was in 'honra de nuestra nación', for the honour (defence, we could

say) of our nation.²⁹ Figueroa's epic poem describes the victory of Bernardo del Carpio over the French invader Roland, nephew of Charlemagne at Roncesvaux in 808. Bernardo del Carpio's victory is considered as one of the foundational myths of Spain, and the hero enjoyed great popularity in the early modern times. Nowadays his existence is disputed and remains a source of heated debate. The role of myths in shaping a proto-national identity and exalting a Spanish nation in this period has been studied in recent years.³⁰ Bernardo del Carpio embodies in this poem the virtues of the ideal Spaniard who victoriously overpowers the external aggressor. Figueroa employs strategical rethoric comparable to that of Lope: the Spaniards of the time can seek their reflection in this glorious example of a national past that binds them together.

The Last Years of the Truce

But what happened when the truce was coming to a close? Which ideas do we find in the Spanish discourse that define Spanish national identity? Was the feeling of being internationally despised somehow tempered, and was the Spanish national self-image freed from those negative traits that implied decadence? The two selected reformist authors for this period, Sancho de Moncada and Pedro Fernández de Navarrete, strongly reflect the contemporary political preoccupations in Spain. Moreover, they position themselves in a historiographical tradition that finds its roots in the canonical *Historia de España* (1601) by the Jesuit Juan de Mariana.³¹ Mariana's Spanish translation of his original Latin version is considered a historiographical milestone since it made history accessible to wider swaths of the population, contributing in this way to the forging of a Spanish collective identity.³² In his introduction to his history, Mariana refers to being motivated in the composition of his work by foreigners' general hatred of Spain. At the same time, he does not mince his words when he implies that Spain is hated due to the severity and arrogance of some of its administrators.³³ His nuanced remarks sparked the criticism of his contemporaries, who accused him of lack of patriotism and of an uncritical tone towards other nations.³⁴

Sancho de Moncada's *Restauración Política de España* was published in 1619 and Pedro Fernández de Navarrete's *Conservación de Monarquías* in 1621. At the beginning of 1619, Philip III had issued his *Consulta* in which he asked for suggestions to improve Spain's economic situation. Many writers responded to his request. Sancho de Moncada was a priest and philosopher from Toledo who would have considerable influence on future Spanish

economists. His ideas would be described nowadays as protectionist and mercantilist. He wrote about the depopulation of Spain as well as about prices and deficient agricultural techniques.³⁵ According to him, the importation of foreign goods should be forbidden. Relevant for us is his first discourse on the 'firm and stable richness of Spain' where he states that although many people assume that Spain's greatness is eternal, Spain is at great risk.³⁶ The causes of this situation are manifold. He refers to the great changes that Spain has experienced over the last five or six years and stresses 'the general hatred of all nations against the Spanish one, whereas it lacks all means for its defence, like people, money, weapons and horses ..., and the people are so pampered and effeminate'.³⁷ Moncada mentions here two aspects that seem definitive for the Spanish nation: they are hated and their customs have so degenerated that masculinity – and bellicosity one would say – are gone. Juan de Mariana had also referred to the decadence of Spanish customs as had Quevedo.

Another arbitrista or reformist author follows this same line of thought: Pedro Fernández de Navarrete, secretary and chaplain to the king. In his *Conservación de monarquías* Navarrete pays a great deal of attention to the decadence of Spanish customs as criticised by Quevedo. In his 400-page tract he analyses the problems of Spain and suggests various options to solve them. His pen is moved by his wish to protect his *patria*.³⁸ He does not mince words in his introduction to the king: he is worried about 'nuestra España', about 'our own Spain, which took us so many centuries to be restored from the Moors, and it is impossible to preserve it if we do not employ the same means we employed to regain it, which are completely opposed to the ones we use nowadays'.³⁹ Following the traditional description of Spain and its riches and fertility corresponding to the genre of the *laus Hispaniae*, he praises the 'extremely courageous soldiers, very experienced captains, eloquent speakers and illustrious poets of Spain'. The Spanish nation is so inclined to wage war that they favour it above rest and peace, as Latin authors had already mentioned.⁴⁰ Although he does not explicitly refer to the hatred felt by foreign nations towards Spain, his defence of the glories of the Spaniards and their old nation reflects the apologetic discourse of his contemporaries.

According to Navarrete, the main problem and disease of these territories is the current lack of temperance (*templanza*) and moderation, which was characteristic of the Spaniards in the past. Spain has become sick with excesses and disorders, especially in clothing, which feminises the Spaniards and weakens their military courage.⁴¹ He refers to all those exaggerated ruffled collars (ruffs) that everybody wears, which are in fact

not Spanish at all. Have they ever seen a portrait of their grandparents with such an impertinent thing?⁴² Moreover, the material for these collars comes from abroad, which is also part of the problem, since the country is flooded with all sorts of worthless and futile objects and products that weaken the nation. The enemies of Spain know perfectly well how to debilitate Spain through the commerce of luxurious and pleasurable, but completely superfluous, goods.⁴³ We could state that, according to Navarrete, foreign nations have deployed a subtle, undermining war technique undetected by Spain, which had fallen into lethargy.

With respect to Dutch-Spanish relations, it is interesting to note that on several occasions Navarrete refers to the Dutch as an example to follow. When referring to the exaggeration and decadence embodied by figures like King Antioco, who went to war as if he were going to a banquet, with cooks, pastry-makers, actors and a vast supply of kitchen utensils, he praises Dutch restraint. He speaks from his own experience. Whilst checking on Dutch vessels during ship embargos, he sees that the only food to be found is a meagre amount of black cake (probably Dutch *koek*), beer and lard, but there is a large supply of bullets, gunpowder and other munitions. Further on in his text he refers again to the Dutch as an example: 'Nobody can blame me if I recommend to the Spaniards the same as, according to Tacitus, a Dutchman recommended to his people'.⁴⁴ So we see here a Spaniard agreeing with the Batavian myth by identifying the Batavians with the inhabitants of the Dutch Republic. The Dutchman said: 'Come back to the modest and austere clothes of your parents and grandparents, come back to the old temperance of your provinces, forget all effeminating objects, with which your enemies fight you with more power than with weapons'.⁴⁵ Navarrete further applies this message to his own national context: 'Do not forget that the Spanish nation was always more praised than any other because of its capacity to endure the perils of war, hunger, nudity, cold and hot weather. And their temperance has been praised by the writers of antiquity'.⁴⁶ His admiration for certain characteristics of the Dutch does not imply that he envisages a future peace: 'The internal peace that Spain enjoys is due to the continuous wars in the Netherlands, since they are only defensive and entail tranquility within Spain'.⁴⁷

The bottom line for all these authors writing during the truce is that despite their criticism of contemporary Spanish habits, they believe in the strength of the original and unique virtues of the Spaniards. Although hated by foreign nations, and subtly undermined in their own territories through their surreptitious and degenerating commercial activities, they will be capable of regenerating themselves. We see how in the early modern time the

critical and apologetic narratives of Spain and its national identity go hand in hand. These two narratives, sometimes opposed, sometimes intertwined, will develop over time into a constant line of thought in Spanish discourse: the reflection on the essence of Spain and its decadence and problems. The eighteenth-century *novatores*, the harbingers of the Spanish Enlightenment, will extensively dwell on these topics, but the deepest preoccupation with the so-called 'el problema de España' and Spain's position in the world will come to a peak at the end of the nineteenth century with the loss of the last overseas colonies of the Spanish Empire. Julián Juderías, as a child of his time, will write his canonical work on the Black Legend in this historical period of deep national crisis.⁴⁸

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion: an intrinsic part of the definition of the Spanish nation in the early modern period was clearly influenced by the need to defend its reputation since it was supposedly hated by many nations. In Spanish eyes, the tarnished image of Spain had to be repaired. Contesting the Black Legend was important not only for the external image of Spain, to show foreign enemies that they were wrong, but also for the nation's self-image and for the construction of a common national entity. According to some critics, the Black Legend still plays a role in contemporary Spanish national images. They speak of an interiorisation process of the Black Legend by which the Spaniards up to the present day continue to feel uncertain about their international reputation.⁴⁹ This preoccupation with external perceptions is currently seen in official initiatives such as 'Marca España' or the think tank 'Instituto Elcano', which study the perception of Spain abroad:

Marca España is a State policy whose effects are to be seen in the long term. It is aimed at strengthening our country's image, both among Spanish citizens and beyond Spanish borders ... for the planning, promotion and coordinated management of the activities by public and private agencies aimed at building a stronger image for Spain.⁵⁰

One of their main objectives is to study and analyse the perceptions of Spain around the world and how they have evolved over the years. I am not aware of any similar initiatives in other countries. In the Spanish case, it is remarkable that this idea of not being liked because of certain episodes of the country's national history is still part of the current Spanish national

culture. The German example comes also to mind in our contemporary context as a nation marked by the events of World War II. I also wonder whether the notion of being hated by other nations has influenced other national discourses during the early modern period in the same way. For the Spanish at least, defining the nation and defending the nation were two closely interrelated narratives, in the early modern period as well as nowadays.

Notes

1. The renowned Spanish historian Ricardo García Cárcel has studied how the term 'nación española' has been used beginning in the sixteenth century. Ricardo García Cárcel, *La leyenda negra. Historia y opinión* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1992), 124.
2. Xosé M. Nuñez Seixas, *Patriotas y demócratas. El discurso nacionalista español después de Franco* (Madrid: Catarata, 2010).
3. John Elliott, 'La época de la inocencia ha terminado', *El País* (8 November 2001), 41.
4. José Antonio Maravall, *Teatro y sociedad en la sociedad barroca* (Madrid: Seminarios y Ediciones, 1972), 36; José Antonio Maravall, *La cultura del Barroco. Análisis de una estructura histórica* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1975), 115.
5. Javier Moreno Luzón and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas (eds.), *Ser españoles. Imaginarios nacionalistas en el siglo XX* (Barcelona: RBA, 2013).
6. Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, *The Dutch Revolt through Spanish Eyes* (Bern/Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008), see for instance 85-8.
7. Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation. Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Verónica Ryjik, *Lope de Vega en la invención de España. El drama histórico y la formación de la conciencia nacional* (London: Tamesis, 2011).
8. Joep Leerssen, 'Over nationale identiteit', *Theoretische geschiedenis*, 4(1988), 417-30.
9. The dedication is dated 1609, the composition of the text probably took place between 1609 and 1611-12. Francisco de Quevedo, *España defendida de los tiempos de ahora de las calumnias de los noveleros y sediciosos*, ed. Victoriano Roncero López (Pamplona: Eunsa, 2013), 62. The translation of the title is: 'Spain defended from current times and of the lies of sedicious and inventionist people'. Félix Lope de Vega y Carpio, *Jerusalén Conquistada, epopeya trágica* (Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1609).
10. Sancho de Moncada, *Restauración Política de España*, ed. Jean Vilar (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 1974); Pedro Fernández de Navarrete, *Conservación de monarquías y discursos políticos* [Barcelona 1621/ Madrid 1626], ed. Michael D. Gordon (Madrid, 1982); Evaristo Correa Calderón,

- Registro de arbitras, economistas y reformadores españoles. Catálogo de impresos y manuscritos* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1981).
11. See the study of Mateo Ballester Rodríguez, *La identidad española en la Edad Moderna (1556-1665). Discursos, símbolos y mitos* (Madrid: Tecnos 2010), 227, 296.
 12. Koen W. Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War', in J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossmann (eds.), *Britain and the Netherlands, vol. V. Some political mythologies* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1975), 36-57; William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England. The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham: Duke UP, 1971).
 13. Attention is also being paid to the implications of the legend in contemporary Spain, as in Jesús Villanueva, *Leyenda negra. Una polémica nacionalista en la España del siglo XX* (Madrid: Catarata, 2011), or Ricardo García Cárcel, 'Reflexiones sobre la leyenda negra', in J.J. Ruiz Ibáñez (ed.), *Las vecindades de las Monarquías Ibéricas* (Madrid: FCE, 2013), 43-80. For an overview of the latest developments in this field, see Antonio Sánchez Jiménez, 'La Leyenda Negra: para un estado de la cuestión', in Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, Antonio Sánchez Jiménez and Harm den Boer (eds.), *España ante sus críticos: las claves de la Leyenda Negra* (Frankfurt/Madrid: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2015), 23-44.
 14. For instance, the Spanish Monarchy was always fully aware of the anti-Spanish propaganda in the Netherlands and reacted to it. See Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012) and Rodríguez Pérez, Sánchez Jiménez and Den Boer (eds.), *España ante sus críticos*. As the seventeenth century progresses, more historians will include this apologetic discourse in their national histories, such as Fray Jerónimo de San José (*Genio de la Historia*, 1651), Antonio de Solís (*Historia de la Conquista de México*, 1684), Nicolás Antonio (*Censura de historias fabulosas*, 1652?). I want to thank Cesc Esteve for the references to these authors (see also his contribution in this volume).
 15. Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, "'Un laberinto más engañoso que el de Creta": Leyenda negra y memoria en la *Antiapología* de Pedro Cornejo (1581) contra Guillermo de Orange', in Rodríguez Pérez, Sánchez Jiménez and Den Boer (eds.), *España ante sus críticos*; Julián Juderías, *La leyenda negra* (Madrid: Atlas, 2007), 139-162, 220.
 16. Quevedo, *España defendida*, 162.
 17. *Ibid.*, 179: 'Soberbios en nuestra paciencia los enemigos nuestros, insultan (acometen violentamente para hacer daño) nuestros principios ... al final todas las naciones miran debajo a España'.
 18. *Ibid.*, 172: 'España nunca goza de paz, solo descansa, como aora, del peso de las armas para tomar a ellas con mas fuerza i nuevo aliento'.
 19. Antonio Sánchez Jiménez, 'La apreciación de la obra de Lope de Vega entre *La fama póstuma* (1636) y el *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1726-1737)', *Anuario Lope de Vega. Texto, literatura, cultura*, XVII (2011), 123-49, at 126.

20. Elizabeth B. Davis, 'El destino de Ismenia. Jerusalén Conquistada de Lope de Vega', *Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas, Actas XI* (1992), 66-73, at 66.
21. Lope de Vega, *Jerusalén Conquistada*, aprobación Padre Paravicino: 'por la noticia que descubre de nuestros españoles conquistadores del sepulcro de Christo nuestro Señor, cuyas hazañas mas envidiadas que olvidadas de escritores tenían borradas de libros y memorias'.
22. *Ibid.*, prólogo al Conde de Saldaña: 'Yo le he escrito con ánimo de servir a mi patria tan ofendida siempre de los historiadores extranjeros'.
23. Rodríguez Pérez, *The Dutch Revolt through Spanish Eyes*, 110.
24. Antonio Sánchez Jiménez, 'Quevedo y Lope (poesía y teatro) en 1609: patriotismo y construcción nacional en *La España Defendida y la Jersusalem Conquistada*', *La Perinola* 17 (2013), 27-56, at 45, 53.
25. *Ibid.*, 40.
26. Alberto Mariano Rodríguez Martínez, 'Entre la conveniencia y la reputación: una aproximación a las opiniones generadas por la firma de la tregua de los Doce Años', *Chronica Nova*, 39 (2013), 291-320; Jasper van der Steen, 'A contested past: Memory Wars during the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1621)', in Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollmann, Johannes Müller and Jasper van der Steen (eds.), *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 45-62.
27. Rodríguez Pérez, *The Dutch Revolt through Spanish Eyes*, 226-9.
28. 'Tan atropellada la justicia/por los historiadores extranjeros, por pasión, por envidia y por codicia'. Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, 'De mentiras, ficciones, oprobios y falsedades: reacción hispánica a la leyenda negra en el siglo XVI y XVII', in David Sánchez Cano and Michael Scholz-Hänsel (eds.), *Spanische Kunst von El Greco bis Dalí. Ambiguitäten statt Stereotypen (Arte español desde El Greco hasta Dalí. Ambigüedades en vez de estereotipos)* (Berlin: Frank und Timme, 2015), 23-46, at 38.
29. Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, *España defendida. Poema Heroico* [1612], ed. Enrique Suárez Figaredo, 2006, 21, 25. Censor Alonso Remón: 'El cual está tan ingeniosa, y eruditamente escrito, tan levantado el verso, la materia tan suave, y la ocasión del sujeto, tan en honra de nuestra Nación' and Lope de Vega: 'Es lección agradable, en estilo grandemente favorecido de la naturaleza, y del arte. Muestra erudición copiosa, en asunto tan feliz como es la honra de nuestra Nación.' [consulted 18 March 2015; http://users.ipfw.edu/jehle/CERVANTE/othertxts/Suarez_Figaredo_EspanaDefendida.pdf].
30. Elizabeth B. Davies, *Myth and Identity in the Epic of Imperial Spain* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2000).
31. Mariana published his *Historia de rebus Hispaniae* in 1592, followed by a translation in Spanish in 1601.
32. Ballester Rodríguez, *La identidad española en la Edad Moderna*, 190.
33. Juan de Mariana, 'Historia general de España', in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (Madrid: BAE, 1854), vol. 31, 1-7.

34. Rodríguez Ballaster, *La identidad española en la Edad Moderna*, 220-1. See, for example, *Antirespuesta a lo que escribió Ian de Mariana contra las Aduertencias q salieron a su Historia* (Toledo, 1608), s.i. [Biblioteca Nacional Madrid, VE/34-22].
35. Rogelio Fernández Delgado, 'La ruptura del pensamiento económico castellano en el siglo XVII: Juan de Mariana y Sancho de Moncada' (PhD thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y Empresariales, Madrid 2003).
36. 'A muchos parece eterna la Monarquía de España por su grandeza. Pero mucho se habla de su peligro en todas partes, y estos días se ha advertido a V. Majestad en varios libros y memoriales'.
37. Moncada, *Restauración*, discurso primero, capítulo II: 'España corre riesgo' (Spain is at risk); 'Ver el general odio de todas las naciones con la Española, y en ella faltando cada hora las causas de su defensa, gente, dineros, armas, caballos (que ya son todos de carretería) y la gente toda tan regalada y efeminada. Y por estos principios se saben ruinas de otros Reinos y la pérdida de España'. [consulted 20 March 2015]: www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/restauracion-politica-de-espana--o/html/fee991a2-82b1-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_3.htm.
38. Fernández de Navarrete, *Conservación*, 356: 'Movida del zelo del bien de mi patria'.
39. *Ibid.*, 32: 'Nuestra propia España, que tantos siglos ha durado el restaurarla de los Moros y es imposible conservarla si no es por los mismos medios con que se ganó, que son del todo opuestos a los que hoy usamos'.
40. *Ibid.*, 190.
41. *Ibid.*, 274, 305, 310.
42. *Ibid.*, 306.
43. *Ibid.*, 312, 362. Navarrete is surprised that the Spaniards are so mesmerised by all these superfluous objects, since they would not be wanted by the most barbaric nations in Ethiopia.
44. *Ibid.*, 312.
45. *Ibid.*, 313: 'Nadie me culpe si recetaré a los Españoles lo que en semejante ocasión receté en Tácito un Olandés a sus naturales, diciéndoles: "Volved, volved al modesto y templado trage de vuestros padres y abuelos; volved a la antigua templanza de vuestras provincias; dexad los afeminados deleytes, con que vuestros enemigos os hacen más fuerte guerras que con las armas ..."'
46. *Ibid.*, 313: 'Advertid que la nación española fue siempre alabada de que mas que otra alguna sabia sufrir los trabajos de la guerra, el hambre, la desnudez, los fríos y los calores; siendo encarecida su templanza de todos los autores antiguos'.
47. *Ibid.*, 165: 'Que la paz interna de que goza España, se origina de las continuas guerras de Flandes, que siendo solo defensivas acarrear la quietud de estos reynos'.

48. Luis Español Bouche, *Leyendas negras. Vida y obra de Julián Juderías* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 2007); José Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa. La idea de España en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Taurus, 2001).
49. Carmen Iglesias, *No siempre lo peor es cierto. Estudios sobre la historia de España* (Madrid: Galaxia/Gutenberg, 2008), 23.
50. www.marcaespana.es/ and www.realinstitutoelcano.org/