

NATIONALISM, XENOPHOBIA AND CATALANISM IN THE
WRITINGS OF AN ENLIGHTENED CATHOLIC HISTORIAN:
JUAN FRANCISCO MASDEU, S. J. (1744-1817)

Nationalism.

One of the most characteristic features of the greatest part of Masdeu's writings is his concern to maintain and defend the good reputation of Spain and Spaniards. Although born in Palermo of Catalan parents, and although forced to spend forty-six years of his adult life in various Italian towns, he nonetheless remained profoundly attached to his native land, and very proud of his origins. Essentially, these were also the feelings of the other Spanish or Hispano-American Jesuits living in Italy after the 1767 banishment. As a rule, exiles tend to idealize and long for the land which they have lost direct contact. However, the disparaging attitude of some Italian writers stimulated, as a reaction, the patriotism of the Spanish exiles, who often became skilful apologists of their homeland.

This culturally refined Iberian colony were particularly resentful of the slight appreciation of Spanish literature by Italian scholars. It was usual, because of neo-classical preconceptions, to underrate the Spanish theatre of the Golden Age, and to disdain the formal complexity of baroque poetry. The stylistic 'aberrations' of the XVIIth century, some Italians thought, were born and developed in the Iberian peninsula, whence they had spread to other European countries, thus contaminating as well the pure and valuable Italian poetry of the Renaissance.¹ To these accusations, Spaniards retorted that baroque eccentricities did not originate in Spain, but were the outcome of the imitation of Italian poets by Spanish ones. A sensible modern critic,

1 A. Farinelli, *Italia e Spagna* (Torino, 1929), II, p. 299. In this article I have used the following abbreviations: AL=Archivo de la Compañía de Jesús en Loyola; BN=Biblioteca Nacional; RAH=Real Academia de la Historia; AHSI=*Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*; Hist.=Masdeu, *Historia crítica de España y de la cultura española en todo género*. This *Historia crítica* consists of 20 published volumes (Madrid, 1783-1805), and 3 extant manuscript volumes.

astonished by the vehemence of these long quarrels in which the two sides accused each other of corruption, asked who was guiltier in such cases: he who imitates and consents to his own corruption, or the one who creates and influences others? Apparently, engrossed in the animosity of their controversies, literary historians of the time did not pose to themselves these simple questions. The problem of pernicious influences was also discussed in relation to the transformation (in the XVIIIth century it was seen as a deterioration) of Latin literature after the Augustan age. Here, again, Italians and Spaniards accused each other of being the initiators of corruption.²

It has been said that the Spanish Jesuits thought the censures of Italian authors more insulting than they actually were and their counterattacks were, on account of this misrepresentation, out of proportion.³ Nevertheless, their over-sensitiveness may be explained by the continuous attacks that XVIIIth century *philosophes* made on Spanish culture and institutions. Voltaire's repeated strictures on Spanish colonization and on the Inquisition are characteristic of a general attitude of the Enlightenment whereby Spain was considered to typify religious feeling and intolerance at its worst.⁴ In 1782, had appeared the first volume of the *Encyclopédie méthodique*, an enormous work, published by Panckoucke, which ambitiously aimed at making obsolete Diderot's *Encyclopédie*. The article 'Espagne', written by Masson de Morvilliers, was full of invectives against Spanish history and society and it asked the afterwards notorious questions: 'Que doit-on à l'Espagne? Et depuis deux siècles, depuis quatre, depuis six, qu'a-t-elle fait pour l'Europe?' Questions which infuriated the Spanish government and many other Spaniards, and also a few foreigners, like the Piedmontese *abbé* Denina, one of the rare Italian hispanists of the time, who impugned Masson's assertions.⁵ As regards Hispanic America, the responses of Spanish-speaking Jesuits to the 'black legend' of an enormously wicked Spain or to the European conception of America as an inferior continent breeding a poor fauna and a relatively imperfect human species were exaggerated and too self-com

2 G. Getto, 'La polemica sul barocco', in *Letteratura italiana. Le correnti* (Milano, 1956), I Orientamenti culturali), pp. 417-504.

3 M. Batllori, *La cultura hispano-italiana de los jesuitas expulsos* (Madrid, 1966), p. 415.

4 J. Juderías, *La leyenda negra* (Madrid, 1960), pp. 175-300, p. 185 especially; M. Di Pinto, *Cultura spagnola nel settecento* (Napoli, 1964), pp. 182-183.

5 L. Sorrento, *Francia e Spagna nel settecento. Battaglie e sorgenti di idee* (Milano, 1928), pp. 89-118; R. Herr, *The eighteenth century revolution in Spain* (Princeton, 1958), pp. 219-230.

placent. But it must be borne in mind that the exaggerations and self-satisfaction of these apologetic historians of the Spanish empire were a direct and inevitable consequence of the too often nonsensical narrations of the writers whom they were answering.⁶

Furthermore, XVIIIth century Italians rarely showed any interest in Spanish life and culture. The attraction some contemporary Germans felt for Cervantes or Calderón was completely unknown to Italians. For them, Spain was a poor and uncultured country. 'L'ingiuria quindi e il biasimo erano in bocca nostra assai più della lode'.⁷ What increased the anger of Spanish Jesuits was that to this Italian ignorance of Spanish letters corresponded a live interest of Spaniards for Italian things. Spanish and Portuguese poetics repeated the tenets of Muratori, Vico, Quadrio, Gravina, Crescimbeni. Translations from Italian abounded in every field of human knowledge. The Italian opera was a success; Goldoni and Metastasio had their imitators and translators; the Italian *Arcadi* had their Spanish counterparts.⁸

We must also refrain from judging the patriotic quarrels of these Jesuits as nonsensical and useless wastes of intellectual energy that could have been more profitably employed.⁹

Discussions about the value of Hispanic civilization continued down to the present century because of the persistence and vitality of the biased and mythical conception of Spain of XVIIIth century *philosophes*. In addition, debates about the priority of one civilization over all the others were common to all XVIIIth century Europe. Famous is Rivarol's answer to the question of the Berlin Academy: 'Qu'est-ce qui a rendu la langue française universelle? Pourquoi mérite-t-elle cette prérogative? Est-il à présumer qu'elle la conserve?'¹⁰ Famous is also the long controversy between Frederick II and count Hertzberg about the supposed excellence and superiority of either German or French.¹¹ Italian authors wrote abundantly about the outstanding qualities of their language and culture.

Luigi Sorrento considered the literary quarrels of Spanish Jesuits with Italian historians as of minor importance when compared to the

6 A. Gerbi, *The dispute of the New World: the history of a polemic, 1750-1900* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973), pp. 187-233.

7 Farinelli, II, p. 304.

8 Ibid., pp. 304-327.

9 G. Calabró, 'Tradizione culturale gesuitica e riformismo illuministico: Juan de Ossuna e le Notizie Letterarie', in *Saggi e ricerche sul settecento* (Napoli, 1968), pp. 513-574.

10 A. de Rivarol, *Discours sur l'universalité de la langue française* (Berlin, 1784).

11 Sorrento, pp. 133-147.

Franco-Spanish dispute brought about by the appearance of Masson's article. This is reflected in the much shorter treatment of the first theme in his book. I accept Sorrento's opinion about the *relative* importance of the two battles. Yet, since the Italian dispute greatly stimulated Masdeu to write a History of great value I must conclude that the Italo-Spanish literary combat as well was a 'sorgente di idee' worth taking into consideration. Masdeu started his polemics against Italian writers (directed in particular to undermine the work of the two ex-Jesuits Girolamo Tiraboschi and Saverio Bettinelli, guilty, in his opinion, of having greatly underestimated the qualities of Spanish literature) by publishing an anthology of translations of XVIIIth century poems. This collection was attached to the final part of the third volume of Xavier Lampillas's extensive defence of Spanish letters.¹² A few years later, he increased this collection of poems and published it separately.¹³ In his comments to the poems, he vaunts the qualities of Castilian as a poetical language and repeats the stock counter-accusations of corruption against Italian poets. In the Lampillas edition, the anthology is preceded by an introduction by Lampillas himself in which the translator is praised beyond any decent measure. Vittorio Cian, suspecting that Masdeu himself suggested the laudatory tone of the introduction, labels him as complacent and conceited.¹⁴ Though the premise may not be correct, the conclusion undoubtedly is.

Masdeu also published a few articles dealing with these literary topics in the *Memorie Enciclopediche*, a weekly periodical of Bologna for which he wrote in 1781. His major work, the *Historia crítica de España*, was conceived as a comprehensive defence of Spanish history. Every theme—whether it be culture, military or political events, economics or religion—is treated with the intention of highlighting the excellence of the Spaniards. The apologetic purpose of the whole work is clearly explained in the first introductory volume: The 'Discurso histórico-filosófico'. About this 'Discurso', on 13 April 1783, Manuel Luengo (another exiled Jesuit, slightly older than Masdeu, who kept for forty-nine years an extensive diary of events rela-

12 X. Lampillas, *Saggio storico-apologetico della letteratura spagnuola* (Genova, 1778-1781). I used the Spanish translation (Madrid, 1789). In this edition, Masdeu's poems are in vol. V, pp. 196-292.

13 Masdeu, *Poesie di ventidue autori spagnoli del cinquecento tradotte in lingua italiana* (Rome, 1786).

14 V. Cian, 'L'immigrazione dei gesuiti spagnuoli letterati in Italia', *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* (Torino, 1896), XLV, serie 2^a, pp. 50-54.

ting to the Society of Jesus) wrote that Masdeu, in order to write it, had used a little book he had written in past years and that it had been his intention to publish in Bologna, although, later on, 'con más acertado consejo, se suspendió la impresión'. This book, according to Luengo, was 'una sátira acre, vehemente e impetuosa contra Italia, contra muchas de sus cosas y contra su literatura'. On 3 January 1795, he likewise speaks of Masdeu's unprinted 'invectiva o sátira terrible contra la literatura italiana, para hacer ver que en ella hay vicios tan grandes o mayores que en la española'. I have not found this manuscript; however, it is obvious, as Fr. Batllori has remarked, that if Masdeu made use of this satire while writing the first volume of his History he drew from it only the positive and constructive parts, that is to say the defence of Spain, and not the attack on Italy.¹⁵ Meant for Italians, so that they would learn and stop criticizing, the 'Discurso' appeared in Italian in 1781,¹⁶ but it did not attract the attention of the public.¹⁷

Luengo recounts that our Jesuit started writing the 'Discurso' already offended against various Italian writers and that, naturally, he became angrier seeing that almost no Italian cared about his work.

... y añadiéndose a esta disposición de ánimo su genial sacudimiento, y acrimonia, se puede concluir de todo, que en su *Historia*, así como hará resaltar las cosas de España, así también deprimirá algunas de Italia más de lo justo.¹⁸

It seems that what motivated Masdeu's inflamed patriotism were the commonly critical attitude towards Spain and her civilization of European XVIIIth century intellectuals, the unflattering remarks of

15 M. Luengo, 'Diario' (AL, ms. estante 10, pluteos 4 and 5); XVIII, pp. 111-113 and XXIX, pp. 3-18. Batllori, *La cultura*, pp. 413-417.

16 *Storia critica di Spagna e della cultura spagnola in ogni genere* (Fuligno, 1781). In 1787, a second volume in Italian was published in Florence. Surely, Masdeu wrote in Italian the first four volumes, since they appeared in Castilian as translated by 'N... N...'. This anonymous translator was Bernardo de Arana, another Jesuit exile. Cf. J.E. de Uriarte, *Catálogo razonado de obras anónimas y seudónimas de autores de la Compañía de Jesús pertenecientes a la antigua Asistencia española*, I, núm. 972; J.E. de Uriarte and Mariano Lecina, *Biblioteca de escritores de la Compañía de Jesús pertenecientes a la antigua Asistencia de España*, I, núm. 240. E. Toda y Guell, *Bibliografía espanyola d'Itàlia* (Escornalbou, 1927-1931), III, p. 51, núm. 3140, says that four volumes were printed in Italian. As far as I can see, the first four volumes were written in Italian, but only the first two were printed in this language.

17 *Hist.*, I, p. 10.

18 Luengo (AL) XXIX, pp. 3-18 (January 1795).

Tiraboschi, Bettinelli and others about Spanish literature, the little notice that Italians took of his writings, and his excitable and rancorous temperament. Luengo insists at various points on the passionate nature of Juan Francisco, and even a most superficial reading of his books brings home this vehemence of character.

Historians agree in considering the patriotism of XVIIIth century Italian scholars as limiting itself merely to the cultural sphere, without transcending to demands of a political nature. The idea of an Italian pre-eminence above all other nations, which will take on definite political overtones in the work of Vincenzo Gioberti, was confined, during the Enlightenment period, to a primacy in the intellectual, literary and artistic fields. It was usual for authors like Tiraboschi, Crescimbeni, Quadrio and Gimma to extoll Italian past cultural achievements. Tiraboschi never tires of glorifying Italy as 'madre e nutrice delle scienze e delle bell'arti'. Gimma affirms that what induced him to write his history of Italian literature was the desire to bring new glory to his country. Even Napoli-Signorelli, who thunders against the cosmopolitanism of the writers of his age, does not give a political bias to the love for his country. In the words of N. Jonard, these intellectuals are proud 'd'être les héritiers d'un patrimoine culturel qu'il contribuent à enrichir par leurs travaux, ce qu'ils souhaitent, c'est une République des Lettres d'Italie'.¹⁹

This 'cultural patriotism' of Italian erudites of the time is also typical of Masdeu's work.

As Italian historians felt the need to defend and extoll their country in the face of French criticism of it—which went back to the Orsi-Bouhours quarrel at the end of the XVIIth century concerning the value of Italian poetry—, so Masdeu was stimulated by foreign strictures of his homeland to magnify Spanish achievements throughout history. Very often, his emphasis is on the cultural debt the world owes to Spain. Resentful of *any* criticism of his country, he is highly sensitive to accusations of ignorance, barbarity and bad taste. But unlike that of Italian authors, Masdeu's patriotism does have political overtones. In fact, the Gothic epoch is extolled by him above all other periods of Spanish history, although the Goths were not as cultured as other peoples who settled in the peninsula, for ins-

19 N. Jonard, 'L'idée de patrie en Italie et en France au XVIIIe siècle'. *Revue de Littérature Comparée* (Paris, 1964), XXXVIII, p. 94; G. Natali 'L'idea del primato italiano prima di Vincenzo Gioberti', *Nuova Antologia*, (Roma, 1917), CXC, pp. 126-134; K. D. Schreiber, *Untersuchungen zur italienischen Literatur - und Kulturgeschichtsschreibung in der zweiten Hälfte des Settecento* (Bad Homburg, 1968), pp. 36-39.

tance the Romans. But he is very aware that at the time of the Gothic monarchy Spain was unified and politically independent, and that the Gothic Kings had enough power over the Spanish Church to resist the encroachments of the Roman curia.

The patriotic histories that flourished in XVIIIth century Italy were likely to lose a general perspective of the role played by different countries in the development of culture. It was natural, for a historiography wishing to stress the achievements of an individual country, to fall into the trap of a nonsensical and narrow-minded patriotism, as when Bettinelli attributes the invention of printing in Germany to a pure accident. Of course, much depended on the equanimity of individual authors. Juan Andrés, another Jesuit exile, is praised by his publisher for his 'perfetta imparzialità'.²⁰ Masdeu is utterly incapable of avoiding the danger. His judgments can be over-enthusiastic. For instance, in the 'Discurso', he tries to demonstrate that Spaniards have a natural tendency to do well in the humanities and theology, and that they have been the best historians.²¹ He is also often led to really nonsensical statements, as when he maintains that Spanish scientists knew the gravitation theory much before Newton: 'El sistema de la atracción con que tanto se han honrado los físicos modernos, era conocido en España de muchos siglos atrás'.²²

Needless to say, Juan Francisco exhibits the self-confidence typical of XVIIIth century intellectuals and never doubts his objectivity and impartiality. Sometimes, he truly makes praiseworthy efforts to show the reader the two sides of the medal. His work is predominantly but not entirely a panegyric of his homeland. There were good and bad Spanish Kings. In the 'Discurso', a decline of Spain during the XVIIth century is frankly admitted.²³ A few titles of his chapters are of the kind: 'Decadencia de los estudios después de la muerte de Adriano' or 'Comercio destruido en España por los romanos'.²⁴ Nevertheless, the author shows a marked tendency to make external factors responsible for Spanish failure. Spanish commerce declines and the Romans are made responsible for this ruin. Paganism and its horrors are brought to the naive and God-loving

20 Schreiber, p.39

21 *Hist.*, I, pp. 186-191.

22 'Monarquía española' (written in Rome during the first months of 1815) (RAH, ms. 9-28-7 5660), p. 58.

23 *Hist.*, I, pp. 181-182.

24 *Hist.*, VIII, pp. 184 and 146.

primitive Spaniards by the Phoenicians, Carthaginians and Greeks, who thus contaminate an innocent and blessed population.

In his analysis of the attempts by Spanish scholars of the second half of the XVIIIth century to defend Spanish culture and history against the accusations of foreigners, L. Sorrento emphasizes the failure of these scholars to appreciate their country's past. If this means that the men of the Enlightenment in general—whether they were Spanish or not—were prevented, because of their preconceptions, from sympathetically evaluating the past, the statement is correct. But Sorrento means that Spaniards of the time were particularly unsuited to value correctly their history, on account of their eclecticism, their imitation of French models and consequent insecurity as regards their own traditions. This is plainly denied by Masdeu's *Historia crítica*, in which, within the limits of the ideology of the *Aufklärung*, the Spanish past is explained, defended and fully appreciated in a scholarly manner.²⁵

Because of the intensity of the patriotism it expresses (and of the exaggerations this leads to) the *Historia crítica* represents an enormous development, well documented and scientifically written, of the literary tradition of the praises of Spain, *Laudes Hispaniae*, which began in the works of ancient authors like Posidonius and Strabo, was continued in the Middle Ages by St. Isidore and the *Primera crónica general* of Alphonso X, and later influenced historians like Marinus Siculus and Mariana. Masdeu re-echoes and emphasizes the exaltation of the richness of the Spanish soil and subsoil by classical authors.²⁶

Xenophobia

Masdeu's passionate patriotism of his early writings was transformed later on into xenophobia against the French people. What brought about this transformation? Since it was a common aspect of the whole European Enlightenment to be biased against Spanish civilization, Masdeu had never been fond of foreigners. Since he lived in

25 Sorrento, pp. 291-293 and passim. Cf. P. Hazard, *La pensée européenne au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1963), p. 439.

26 J.A. Maravall, *El concepto de España en la Edad Media* (Madrid, 1964), pp. 17-28; P. Sainz Rodríguez, *Evolución de las ideas sobre la decadencia española* (Madrid, 1962), pp. 47-50; Z. García Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España* (Madrid, 1929), I, 1st part, pp. 20-21.

the Papal States, he had been particularly outraged by the supposed insults of Italian historians. Yet, his criticism of Italian intellectuals never implied a rejection of the race. He was much more concerned to defend his country than to attack Italians. Even if he wrote the bitter satire Luengo speaks of, we would have to consider it as a book departing from his usual attitude towards the people among whom he lived, which was of bitterness at their ignorance, intellectual vanity, and prejudices about Spain, but it never involved an implacable hate for the people as such. His perennial keenness on writing Italian verses confirms this impression. With the French as a race he did not seem to be concerned for a long time. In the 'Discurso' he defined the Italian character as *ameno* while the French was *metódico*. Because these are and were nothing more than *clichés*, it looks as if he were detached from his subject. In this same book, there are very bitter words for Montesquieu and his followers, but the fact that Montesquieu was born in France appears as irrelevant to his criticism. Strangely enough, the Franco-Spanish dispute that followed the publication of Masson's article in the *Encyclopédie méthodique*, and which had enormous repercussions, does not seem to have affected Masdeu in any relevant way. Probably, he thought that Masson's article was just another of the usual attacks of European *philosophes*, a product of the age more than the thoughts of a Frenchman.

The first strong accusation against the French as a race that I have found in his work is contained in the seventh volume of his History, which was published in 1789. It is a quotation from Vopiscus, relating to the Gauls' refusal of the authority of the emperor Probus. Masdeu's translation of Vopiscus reads: 'hombres inquietos y altaneros, que quieren siempre, o ser preferidos, o que se le dé la preferencia a quien les agrada a ellos.' The whole section dealing with this event is entitled '*Probo*. Emperador excelente rechazado por los franceses.'²⁷ The fact that it is only a quotation, without any comment by Masdeu, is not very significant, since the words of others are often used by him to prove his own theories, while appearing impartial at the same time. In the 'Discurso', for instance, he tries to demonstrate the excellence of the Spanish character mainly by quoting non-Spanish authors. The argument from authority is as good as the argument from facts. Indeed, what is meaningful in this case is the introduction of the slanderous citation in the narrative. It would be interesting to know when exactly he wrote this section. In 1789

27 *Hist.*, VII, pp. 220-221.

or before that? If in 1789, before or after the Fall of the Bastille, the Declaration of the Rights of Men, or the abolition of serfdom? However, this is impossible to verify.

The following volumes of his History —VIII and IX— do not contain any slanders against the French probably because their subject-matter did not allow any: the eighth volume is a description of the religion, culture and government of Roman Spain; the ninth is simply a collection of inscriptions and medals. By contrast, the subject-matter of the tenth tome —‘Historia civil de la España goda’— afforded enough pretexts for anti-French attacks, because of the wars fought then between the inhabitants of the two lands. In this volume, written in 1791, he blames French historians for telling the truth only when it is to their own advantage, an accusation which he will then repeat *ad nauseam* throughout his whole production. Of the victories of the Visigoths and Ostrogoths against the Franks in the year 508 A.D., he remarks:

De esta guerra, porque no fue gloriosa para los franceses, no hablaron palabra alguna San Gregorio Turonense, ni los demás historiadores francos, después de haber contado todas sus victorias y conquistas. Este sistema irregular, y tan contrario a la naturaleza de la historia se nota muy comúnmente en los autores de Francia.²⁸

The ‘Ilustración VIII’ of this same volume, is a ‘Declamación de San Julián, arzobispo de Toledo, traducida en castellano, contra los que se rebelaron en la Galia gótica, bajo el reinado de Wamba’. In this declamation, the archbishop successively describes the inhabitants of what was then Gothic Gaul as *infieles, infames, deshonestos, crueles, pérfidos, obscenos, judaicos, blasfemos, despreciativos, homicidas, alevosos, malditos, locos, perjuros, frenéticos*.²⁹ From this time onwards, these violent invectives, will become a constant feature of Masdeu’s work.

Probably, the Napoleonic invasion of Italy in 1796 —with all the personal troubles it must have implied, from 1798 when Rome was invaded— acted as a catalyst for Masdeu’s xenophobia (at least for the *outward* expression of this feeling) since various of his anti-Gallican denunciations were written around those years, as it is clear from the dates on the manuscripts, though not so obvious from the

²⁸ *Hist.*, X, p. 90.

²⁹ *Hist.*, X, pp. 300-308.

dates of publication of some of these works. 'Los franceses desembozados. Discurso dirigido al género humano por un amante de los hombres' was written in 1796, although it was published, with a different title, only in 1811 and 1812. The 'Memorial que se supone presentaron todas las mujeres del mundo por mano de Madama Sedumè al Directorio de París' was written in 1797 and published in 1800. The 'Dos cartas a un amigo acerca del famoso juramento democrático' was written in 1798 but published in 1814. It appears that Masdeu's xenophobia was determined by a general dislike of the French Revolution and its principles. This aversion probably started as early as 1789; surely, by 1791, it was already deep-seated. It was strengthened or, at least given free rein, by the Napoleonic invasion of Italy in 1796. All these dates, I think, have a certain interest because they show that his hatred of what was going on in France was not determined by particular events of astonishing, unheard of cruelty such as the September massacres of 1792, the execution of the King in January 1793, or the Terror of 1793-1794. It is the philosophy of the revolutionaries that he hates, because it contradicts his own political and religious conceptions. In fact, in his pamphlets he shows little concern for the savagery or cruelty of the revolutionaries, but he constantly attacks their ideas.

His anti-revolutionary feelings may also have been fortified by the Roman emotional atmosphere of those years. The Eternal City, because of the anti-Christian tendencies of contemporary France, and because of the French emigration that took refuge there, became a very active centre of anti-French propaganda. The resentful *émigrés*—3000 in 1793 and 4000 in 1794—were mainly ecclesiastics and contributed immensely with speeches, books, pamphlets, articles, translations to create and spread the image of heartless revolutionaries eating human flesh and drinking blood. If Masdeu was influenced by such literature, he turned it against France as a whole and not simply against the republicans. In fact, this was the common fate of the *émigrés*' propaganda in Italy. The Italian conservatives, resentful of a century or more of undisputed French military and cultural hegemony, turned the *émigrés* picture of French republicans into that of the French *tout court*. De Maistre believed that, after the terrible experience of the revolution, France—newly regenerated thanks to this divine punishment—would impose once again her linguistic and intellectual supremacy. Italians hoped she would never rise up from the disasters of the revolution.³⁰

A curious consequence of Masdeu's anti-French feelings is that

they become so much of a predominant and over-powering passion that he practically forgets the old bitter quarrels with Italian historians. In an unpublished pamphlet written in 1810, he narrates how a French officer purposely damaged a precious codex kept in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence. Besides this misdeed, the Frenchman had publicly insulted Italian librarians and intellectuals. Now, Masdeu cannot stomach such offences against 'un pueblo humanísimo', 'una nación cultísima'.³¹

Masdeu's hostile attitude to the French Revolution was shared by many of his compatriots. Even the very enlightened Jovellanos bitterly condemned the radicalism that had resulted in the Terror. Floridablanca tried to set up a cultural iron curtain between Spain and France in order to prevent the spreading of the revolutionary disease. Among the Jesuit exiles in Italy, dislike of what was happening behind the Alps must have been general, since Luengo mentions that practically all of them—differing from their Italian religious brothers—refused to take the antimonarchical oath required by the French governments set up in Italy after the Napoleonic invasion.³² Some of them, like Masdeu, took an active part in the anti-revolutionary propaganda. Hervás y Panduro, who had been very open to modern science and culture before the Revolution, will write his famous book on the causes of the French Revolution, which will be widely used by Spanish reactionaries at the beginning of the XIXth century.³³ Francisco Gustá wrote a book on the medieval crusades based on a comparison between the infidels of that time and contemporary infidels: the French.³⁴ The French Revolution pushed many moderates to conservative positions, and anti-French emotions became characteristic of conservatism.

Masdeu's exaltation of Spain and its Catholic faith coupled with his anti-Gallican invectives (I use this work 'anti-Gallican' as synonymous with anti-French, without any connection with the concept of a Gallican Church) are typical aspects of Spanish reactionary ideology at the end of the XVIIIth century and beginning of the XIXth. For

30 P. Hazard, *La Révolution Française et les lettres italiennes, 1789-1815* (Paris, 1910), pp. 14-22.

31 'Códice antiguo de la abadía casinense de Florencia', *Opúsculos en prosa y en verso* (BN, ms. 2898), p. 410.

32 Luengo (AL), XLVII (Nov. 1813), 1098-1105.

33 L. Hervás y Panduro, *Causas de la Revolución Francesa* (Madrid, 1807), 2 vols.

34 F. Gustá, *Saggio sulle antiche crociate* (Foligno 1794; published anonymously in Ferrara, 1794).

the conservatives of the time, France becomes the very embodiment of evil, the country where an impious philosophy is ruling, a philosophy which is conspiring to conquer the whole world for the benefit of Satan. Politically reactionary intellectuals —Rafael Vélez, Fernando de Ceballos, Francisco Alvarado, Antonio de Capmany among many others— are all at one in this interpretation of events. Masdeu, like them, vituperates against the revolutionaries in his writings. Like them, he does not want to distinguish between the French people and the French government. On the contrary, the French government is the impious government chosen by an impious people, and not a matter of historical accident. There is something basically wrong and mischievous about the French. In a letter meant for publication, he wrote:

Suscitose anoche en nuestra tertulia la acostumbrada cuestión acerca de las calidades características de los franceses: y como uno asegurase con porfía, que han sido siempre lo que ahora son, y apoyase yo este su dictamen con una obra de San Julián...³⁵

He means the opprobrious declamation of Saint Julian which has already been mentioned.

Another characteristic of the ideology of Spanish conservatives of the time was their insistence in considering the struggle against the French as a fight against the perverted enemies of both mankind and the divinity. War against France was made holy. Similarly, Masdeu considers the combat against France a religious duty. Therefore, he appeals to the civil sovereigns and the pope for the declaration of a crusade. For him, it is necessary for the Church to react vigorously against the armies and the evil projects of the French. The peaceful and neutral princes must declare war on France, he writes in 1796, because it is peace which maintains her powerful and gives her time and hope for the ripening of her 'sacrilego designio'. But since this war is a holy crusade, the pope must proclaim it such, and must not be prevented from pronouncing this pious declaration by any diplomatic or egoistic considerations. The successor of Peter must speak,

... y el mundo cristiano será tuyo (of the pope): y los perseguidores de Dios, y del hombre caerán tendidos en el pol-

35 'Carta a un amigo boloñés', *Opúsculos en prosa y en verso* (BN), pp. 145-151.

vo... intima a los príncipes y a los vasallos, que o se unan contigo, y con Dios, o se separen de Dios y de tí.³⁶

The question whether this xenophobia of Spanish and European traditionalists can simply be labelled as based on a myth and nothing more, as liberal historians do, is debatable since the Terror, for instance, was *not* 'mythical' for those contemporaries who had to suffer—directly or indirectly—from it. Fr. Riquet has drawn attention to this point as regards Augustin Barruel, the most widely read anti-Jacobin ideologist.³⁷ No more mythical was Joseph Bonaparte's legislation which ruined Spanish monks by suppressing their convents, nor the French invasion of Italy in 1796, which for Spanish Jesuits meant either putting up with French administrations or retreating more south, where they would, nevertheless, be reached, later on, by the successful French armies. However, reactionaries were accepting fiction as truth when they thought that events in France after 1789 demonstrated the existence of a carefully planned conspiracy of the 'wicked' part of humanity—Jansenists, Jacobins, freemasons and *philosophes*—against the members of the City of God. Unlike Barruel, Hervás y Panduro, or Francisco Gustá, Masdeu does not speak of a mischievous plot, or of secret reunions by the Satanic leaders of impious sects to scheme the details of the moral ruin of mankind. As far as I know, he never shows any animosity against freemasons.

However, although he never develops it, he accepts the theory of an XVIIIth century conspiracy against the Good. The centre of this conspiracy is France, where the political system is impious, licentious, schismatic, heretical, despotic, tyrannical. A country with a government that considers contrary to the rights of the individual the indissolubility of marriage, the celibacy of the priesthood and the chastity of the religious profession 'empeños por su naturaleza tan sagrados, tan evangélicos tan divinos...'³⁸ I have already mentioned the 'sacrílegos designios' that he attributes to the revolutionaries. And of the political systems set up by the revolutionaries he says that they are evil and corrupted, not because they are democratic but because they are impious, and to make them impious has been the clear intention of those who have established them.

36 Masdeu, *Discurso sobre las pretensiones de la Francia* (Valencia, 1811), pp. 28-29.

37 M. Riquet, 'Un jésuite franc-maçon, historien du jacobinisme, le père Augustin Barruel', *AHSI* (1974), XLIII, pp. 157-175.

38 Masdeu, *Cartas a un republicano* (Madrid, 1814), pp. 113-114.

Y lo más notable en el asunto es, que la nueva democracia no se ha viciado con la sucesión de los tiempos y de los hechos, como sucede acontecer en todos los establecimientos humanos: se ha viciado desde su principio y origen: se ha viciado por máxima y por sistema: se ha viciado por constitución y por ley.³⁹

The main thesis of a book by Javier Herrero on the origins of reactionary ideas in Spain claims that the writers who reacted against the French Revolution and the political ideas of the Enlightenment, although they have been regarded as the models of genuine, traditional Spanish thought by Menéndez y Pelayo and his followers, imported in fact their theories from abroad, largely from France, and to a minor extent from Italy. Their ideas about the evil designs of freemasons, Jansenists, Jacobins and *philosophes*, were copied from works such as those of Augustin Barruel, Claude-Françoise Nonnotte, Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier and Antonio Valsecchi.⁴⁰

As already seen, Masdeu has in common with Spanish traditionalists of his own day a hatred of France and a belief in a conspiracy of evil forces against mankind. However, his ideas on these issues do not depend on those of other writers. By historical narrations and deductions he tries to demonstrate that the relations between France and Spain have never favoured the latter, and that there is something intrinsically—and therefore perennially—unreliable, evil, and fickle in the French character. Nothing good has ever come or will ever come to Spain from her neighbour. The new impious philosophy which has taken root in France is not a chance happening, but what is to be expected from people who are basically frivolous, a people whom the Roman writers censured as capricious and vain centuries before the French Revolution. Of course, conservative Europeans, resentful of the long French hegemony on the Continent, were inclined to stigmatize the French race as such as impious and perverted. Besides, during the XVIIIth century, because of the widely accepted theories of climate, the question of the existence or non-existence of perennial temperamental characteristics in a race was discussed at length. Nevertheless, Masdeu shows conspicuous originality in his desire to prove the eternally wicked and unreliable character of the French by his historical analyses of the influences of France on Spanish life and civilization.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 93.

⁴⁰ J. Herrero, *Los orígenes del pensamiento reaccionario español* (Madrid, 1973).

It can be said, however, that Masdeu was writing in Italy, and that, consequently, his work must be considered a foreign product. If this was the case, his originality would not be, of course, that of a truly Spanish traditionalist. One of the 'authorities' of Spanish reactionary thought was Hervás y Panduro, another exiled Jesuit. Since he was writing in Italy, Fr. Batllori—in order to prop up the thesis that Spanish conservatism drew its arguments from foreign sources—claims that 'aun la (obra) de Hervás provenía de Italia'.⁴¹ By contrast, in the prologue to his study of Francisco Gustá who, like Masdeu and Hervás, was an exiled Spanish Jesuit writing about political questions, Fr. Batllori alleges that Gustá was 'auténticamente español' and 'enteramente catalán'.⁴² This double judgement suits Masdeu as well as it suits Gustá.

The War of Independence created an enormous myth about the military valour and courage of Spaniards. Masdeu—who had stressed in his History the long and undaunted resistance of the primitive peninsular tribes against the Roman invaders and the military exploits of the Christians against the Muslims during the Middle Ages—accepted enthusiastically the new myth of Spanish courage against the Napoleonic troops. It was the Spaniards, he writes, not the English, who started the heroic resistance against French troops in the peninsula. The first wonderful victories, 'più vere che verisimili', had been won by the Spaniards alone. It was the Spaniards, not the English, who divised 'tutto il felice piano militare, da cui è stato condotto alla fine Napoleone alla sua ultima rovina'.⁴³ His patriotic statements become hyperbolic to the point of affirming that the English intervention in the war lengthened a conflict that Spaniards alone would have solved much better.⁴⁴ However, this enthusiasm for the war-like qualities of his country is not coupled with a romantic rejection of XVIIIth century values in order to appeal to force or passion as things good in themselves. On the contrary, his fundamentally XVIIIth century belief in culture—culture as a universal value, culture as the most solid basis of patriotism—in expressed in the same manuscript, written only two years before his death, in which he ex-

41 M. Batllori, 'Entre la supresión y la restauración de la Compañía de Jesús', AHSI (1974) XLIII, p. 390.

42 M. Batllori, *Francisco Gustá* (Barcelona, 1942), prologue.

43 *Storia della gloriosa difesa fatta dagli Spagnuoli contro le armate di Napoleone, opera tradotta dallo spagnolo in italiano da G.F. Masdeu* (1814), p. 9n., cf. pp. 13n. and 16n.; these footnotes were surely written by Masdeu.

44 Masdeu, 'Monarquía española' (RAH), pp. 7-8.

tols the victorious Spanish resistance against French troops in the most exaggerated terms. In this document, he will even summarize the general results of his research subject: the debt of universal culture in all fields to Spaniards.⁴⁵ There is nothing in him of the romantic attitudes that began to have an appeal at the time. Capmany, for example, asserted the need to maintain the uniqueness of the Spanish way of life. He emphasized the necessity to maintain old customs and venerable traditions. He thanked God for the ignorance of the immense majority of his countrymen, for it had saved them from the French contagion of *raison* and *philosophie*.⁴⁶

By contrast, Masdeu's confidence in reason, culture, education and universal values remains unshaken. In the first volume of his *History*, he had attributed the peculiarities of peoples to their natural environment, thus believing that national differences could be clearly and scientifically analysed. This faith in crystalline reason never abandoned him and his belief in national peculiarities was never transformed into the dim romantic notion of *Volksgeist*.

The conception of the Cid Campeador.

Doubts about dates, events, and even the very existence of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, called the Cid, had been entertained by many, long before Masdeu's time. Mariana had written '... muchas más cosas traslado que creo...' ⁴⁷ And, in Cervantes' masterpiece, one of the characters tells don Quixote that the Cid undoubtedly existed, but that it was hard to believe that he performed all the exploits usually attributed to him.⁴⁸ Such doubts were sensible since, in the writings about the Cid from about 1150 to the beginning of the XVIIth century, there predominated the late poetic inventions about the hero, what Menéndez Pidal has judged '... los elementos... menos autorizados'.⁴⁹ Against this background of widespread scepticism, in 1792, Manuel Risco —the Augustinian friar who was in charge of

45 Ibid., pp. 52-70.

46 J. Alvarez Junco, 'Capmany y su informe sobre la necesidad de una constitución (1809)' *Cuadernos Hispano-Americanos*, number 210 (Madrid, June 1967), pp. 520-551.

47 J. de Mariana, *Historia general de España* (Toledo, 1601), X, ch. 4.

48 R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid* (Madrid, 1947), I, pp. 11n.

49 Ibid., I, 8 Cf. M. Risco, *La Castilla y el más famoso castellano* (Madrid, 1792), pp. I-VII and I, p.8. CF.

the continuation of the *España sagrada* started by Enrique Flórez—published his work *La Castilla y el más famoso castellano*. In this learned writing, Risco attempted to dispel every doubt about the existence and exploits of the Cid. The tone of this Augustinian is very sure, so sure that he thinks his work is of the greatest importance, that it sets aside almost everything that has been written earlier, and that it establishes the events and chronology of the life of the *Campeador* on the most secure foundations. He had some good reasons to think in this way. In the library of the Real Convento de San Isidoro, in León, he had discovered an ancient codex containing the *Gesta Roderici Campidocti*, and this was a finding of great significance. Its handwriting was that of the XIIth, or beginning of the XIIIth century. Its author had known the Cid personally, had accompanied him to Saragossa and Valencia, and had written his history after the death of the hero, while Valencia was under the rule of the Moors. Besides, this clerical writer had written rather extensively (in the book by Risco the manuscript is reproduced in twenty-four closely printed pages), and he had placed much more attention on the *Campeador* than on his King, Alfonso VI.⁵⁰ In this respect, his narration completely differs from those of the Christian court historians of the period, who were laconic in the utmost degree and concentrated their attention only on the King and the greatest national events. Pelayo, the bishop of Oviedo appointed to write the official history of this period, had neither mentioned the Cid nor other important historical figures. He had limited his accounts to facts strictly related to royal personages, and, occasionally, he had enlarged his perspective only to speak of some other members of the royal family.⁵¹ All these factors contributed to enhance the value of the *Historia Roderici*.

Risco's *Castilla*—being the work of a very well-known scholar claiming to make many important, new and accurate statements—must soon have attracted Masdeu's attention. And when, in 1805, the twentieth volume of his History was published, more than two hundred pages were taken up with an *ilustración* dealing with the 'Reprobación crítica de la historia leonesa del Cid, publicada por el Padre Risco.' This long answer to the book of the Augustinian is a most thorough and complete rejection both of the *Historia Roderici* and of the assertions the editor has based on it. Masdeu analyzes the

50 Risco, appendices, pp. XVI-XL.

51 Menéndez Pidal, *La España*, I, pp. 5-6.

Leonese codex bit by bit, an attempt to invalidate it completely by pointing out repeatedly a multitude of what he considers to be anachronisms, geographical mistakes, logical improbabilities and similarities with other narrations—in either prose or verse—which do not deserve to be relied upon. The final results of his criticisms are very negative and destructive.

Resulta por consecuencia legítima, que no tenemos del famoso Cid ni una noticia, que sea segura o fundada, o merezca lugar en las memorias de nuestra nación. Algunas cosas dije de él en mi historia de la España árabe, porque en los puntos generalmente bien recibidos por nuestros más respetables historiadores, no me atreví entonces a separarme de todos, a pesar de mis muchas dudas: pero habiendo ahora examinado la materia tan prolijamente, juzgo deberme retractar aun de lo poco que dije, y confesar con la debida ingenuidad, que de Rodrigo Díaz el Campeador (pues hubo otros castellanos con el mismo nombre y apellido) nada absolutamente sabemos con probabilidad, ni aun su mismo ser o existencia.⁵²

Paradoxically, this concluding paragraph is very moderate, because it stresses only a very sceptical attitude towards the person and achievements of the Cid. In another passage, scepticism turns into an express denial. 'Yo saco en limpio de todo esto, que el heroe castellano no murió, porque no vivió. Tápese los oídos el Padre Risco.' Since, throughout his long *ilustración*, Masdeu emphasizes all the arguments in favour of scepticism, while he plays down as much as he can those facts who could have afforded a positive answer to the question of the Cid's existence, I have the impression that—in spite of his more balanced conclusion—he perhaps attempts a complete denial of the existence of the hero.

Why was his attitude so extreme? This is what I will try to analyze. My concern will be mainly with Masdeu's general motivations in casting such strong doubts in such absolute terms about the existence and deeds of the Cid. Of course, I will also have to scrutinize Masdeu's opinion of the hero about whom he is so sceptical. On the whole, the thoughts of our Jesuit on this subject are so surprising

⁵² *Hist.*, XX, p. 370. In *Hist.*, I, p. 109, Masdeu had not doubted the existence of the hero and he had praised his military exploits.

that they do demand close investigation. The Cid was the hero whom Dozy —in an attempt to summarize the opinions of different times and places— had described in the following terms.

Parmi tous les héros que l'Espagne a produits au moyen âge, il n'en est qu'un seul qui ait acquis une réputation vraiment européenne: c'est Rodrigue Díaz de Vivar, le Cid Campéador. Les poètes de tous les temps l'ont chanté. Le plus ancien monument de la poésie castillane porte son nom; plus de cent cinquante romances célèbrent ses amours et ses combats; Guillén de Castro, un des plus mâles talents de la Péninsule, Diamante, d'autres encore, l'ont choisi pour le héros de leurs drames. Tout le monde le connaît...⁵³

Was Masdeu not the Spanish historian most keen in highlighting the glories of his native country? His History was a passionate apology for Spain and Spaniards, and an endeavour to render foreigners aware of the scientific, cultural and military achievements of his countrymen. Yet, our Jesuit does his best to prove that the feats of the national hero, and possibly even the hero himself, are nothing but fiction. Furthermore, he does not seem to regret his destructive task in the least.

It has been said that the explanation of Masdeu's rejection of the *Historia Roderici* lies in the fact that he could not see this precious codex during his stay in León at the turn of the century. He spent fourteen months in this town in the years 1799-1800 with the aim of studying the documents kept in its archives. He relates that the canons of San Isidoro were very helpful, and that they had put at his disposal all the documents in their archive. Unfortunately, they could not find anymore the famous *Historia Roderici*. Neither could they explain how or when it had disappeared. From this strange and unjustified disappearance, Masdeu deduced that the codex had been hidden from him either because it was not as ancient as Risco purported it to be or because the copy produced by the Augustinian was not faithful to the original.⁵⁴ Menéndez Pidal briefly relates this episode showing bitterness towards the canons of San Isidoro, and he conjectures that the reason for such hypocrisy

⁵³ R. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen Age* (Leyde, 1881), II, p. 1.

⁵⁴ *Hist.*, XX, pp. 148-149.

was probably their desire to sell the precious codex (this manuscript, in fact, ended up in the open market until it was offered to the Spanish government in mid nineteenth century; it is now kept in the Real Academia de la Historia). He also remarks that, 'Por desgracia no han desaparecido estos hábitos de ocultación en algunas corporaciones religiosas, hábitos que tan fatales consecuencias tuvieron en el caso de Masdeu.'⁵⁵ Emphasizing the importance of the canons' concealment of the manuscript still more, Luis Sierra Nava has commented on the above-mentioned passage by the modern authority on the Cid, 'Qué posición tomó Menéndez Pidal respecto del anticidismo de Masdeu? Don Ramón le hizo justicia. Quien pudo haber sido considerado reprobable por su cidofobia fue excusado como víctima de la felonía canonical...'⁵⁶ Apart that it contains a misrepresentation, though small, of the more composite views of Menéndez Pidal on this question, this explanation is not as satisfactory as it claims to be.

Truly, our Jesuit entertained serious doubts about the antiquity of the codex and he complained that, in his *Castilla*, Risco had said nothing of the characters, abbreviations, punctuation and numbers in the *Historia Roderici*. These were '... los indicios elementales de la mayor o menor antigüedad de un manuscrito. No debía haber omitido el sabio continuador de Flórez un examen tan oportuno y necesario...'⁵⁷ What would he have thought if he had seen the original? Of its language —of which he could judge just as well from the reproduction in Risco's book— he says '... su lenguaje latino me parece sobrado bueno y correcto para un escritor castellano del siglo duodécimo...'⁵⁸ So that, confronted with the ancient document, he might still have considered it a very well-made forgery. But even excluding this perhaps too far-fetched conclusion, and admitting that, in front of the original, he would have accepted it as a contemporary or almost contemporary narration of the events of the Cid's life, would this have altered substantially his attitude? Would he have considered it a reliable piece of writing? He had no doubts, for instance that the *Historia Compostelana*, written in Galicia at the time of bishop Gelmírez, and under his aegis, was a document contemporary to the events the authors were describing and that they, often, must

55 Menéndez Pidal, *La España*, I, p. 18n.

56 Sierra, 'El P. J.F. Masdeu y la *Chronica Roderici*', *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid* (Madrid, 1970), p. 261.

57 *Hist.*, XX, p. 149.

58 *Ibid.*

have been first-hand witnesses to what they related. Nonetheless, Masdeu was extremely sure that the were immoderately biased in favour of the bishop of Santiago and against the Queen Urraca. Therefore, he emphasized that this work was not worth the attention of the historian. It was '... obra que no contiene sino mentiras y patrañas...'⁵⁹ He also advises that it should be destroyed by fire. There is no reason to suppose his standpoint would not have been similar to this if he had known the antiquity of the manuscript about the Cid.

Of course, in that case, he could not have maintained strong doubts about the existence of a Castilian warrior named Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar —called the Cid by the Arabs and the *Campeador* by the Christians— whose warring deeds took place in the second half of the XIth century. But, undoubtedly, this would not have changed a jot his views about the hero. His thoughts about a perhaps imaginary person would have become judgements about a historical figure, but they would have remained unaltered. He would still have branded the behaviour of the Cid as infamous and despicable. He would still have judged the author of the *Historia Roderici* an unfaithful, biased, and probably too gullible narrator, whose chronicle was not of any —or very little— historical value. In fact, even a summary examination of the many pages of Masdeu on this subject reveals that to foster scepticism about the existence of the Cid was only half of his concern; the rest of his efforts is spent in dethroning Ruy Díaz de Vivar from the status of hero to place him among vulgar brigands. Possibly, the very learned and well-documented —though extremely biased— work of the Dutch scholar R. Dozy can give us some ideas of Masdeu's attitude towards the Cid in the event his doubts about his actual existence had disappeared. Cidophobia can only remain unaltered —or, perhaps, it may be strengthened— by the certainty that the Cid was no product of the imagination.

Furthermore, I have the impression, when reading his long dissertation, that he always thought that the *Historia Roderici* was false and that his desire to see it while he was in León was only a desire to *confirm* his opinions about it. If Masdeu had really believed that to examine the antiquity of the codex was of primary importance, he would have made more extensive inquiries to obtain information about it (its actual existence, its punctuation, its characters, its numbers, as he says). Indeed, he had all the time to look for the answer

⁵⁹ *Hist.*, XX, p. 8.

to such questions because his stay in León ended in 1800, whereas his controversial dissertation came out only in 1805. Why did he not write to Risco during these five years, to obtain all the information he wanted? And Masdeu was also very accustomed to write to different people in order to make his History as accurate as he could. What is remarkable in this story is not so much that he held such controversial views on the topic, but the tremendous passion and self-assurance with which he held them. Manifestly, his arguments to invalidate the authenticity of the *Historia Roderici* are not the calm reasonings of a critic who is weighing evidence on both sides. He is simply trying to accumulate as many proofs as he can against it. For example, there is a passage in the Leonese codex found by Risco where the Cid answers some calumnies the count of Barcelona had written against him. The *Campeador* states that the count has accused him of *alevosía* according to the Castilian law, and of *bauzia* according to the French one.⁶⁰ To Masdeu, this is a clear demonstration that the episode here narrated is a complete invention. How could a brigand and an uncouth barbarian like Ruy Díaz have such detailed legal knowledge? The positive idea that the learning here displayed is proof that the Cid was not simply a rude, ignorant warrior does not cross in the least degree the mind of our Jesuit. Between two possible arguments, he instinctively chooses the one to the disadvantage of the *Campeador*. Despite what he says in the first pages of his *ilustración*, despite his inquiries while in León, he did not consider that an examination of the antiquity of the codex was of utmost importance. If this had been the case, he would have made greater efforts to obtain such knowledge before writing a learned dissertation of 223 pages, and his tone would have been less sure, more tentative.

How can, then, his fiery determination to destroy practically all the conclusions of Risco's *Castilla* be explained? Because in the same volume containing Masdeu's views on the Cid there is another very long attack on the reliability of the *Historia Compostelana* published by Fr. Flórez in the XXth volume of the *España sagrada*, it has been thought that the dispute over the Cid could be elucidated within the framework of the constant hostility between Augustinians and Jesuits in Spain during the XVIIIth century.⁶¹ Both Flórez and Risco fo-

60 Ibid., XX, p. 242.

61 V. de la Fuente, *Historia eclesiástica de España* (Madrid, 1873-1875), VI, p. 161; P. Sainz Rodríguez, 'Historia de la crítica' (unpublished), p. 31. Cf. Sierra, 'El P. J.F. Masdeu', p. 259; M.F. Miguélez, *Jansenismo y regalismo en España* (Valladolid, 1895),

llowed the rule of St. Agustín, and Augustinians were also those historians who were later on to take the defence of Risco and Flórez against Masdeu's attacks.⁶² In addition, Flórez had felt much hostility to the Ignatian order, and he had taken an active part in the defamatory campaign against the Jesuits at the time of the expulsion.⁶³ We also know that Masdeu cherished his own order and held exaggerated ideas about the benefits both society and religion had obtained from it. From the answer of Jovellanos to a letter from Masdeu, we also know that our Jesuit feared that, among Spaniards, unjustified anti-Jesuitism was widespread.⁶⁴ In spite of all these reasons, and in spite of the reality of the antagonism between the two religious institutions in the Spain of that time, there can be very little relationship between this mutual enmity and the Masdeu-Risco-Flórez dispute. Firstly, the quarrels among different religious bodies concerned mainly theological subjects, especially the much debated questions of grace, probabilism, probabiliorism, and rigorism. None of these themes was at stake in the case in question. Secondly, Masdeu does not seem to have *ever* taken part in the mutual campaigns of vituperation between Jesuits and other orders. His apologies for the Society of Jesus lay stress on the glories of its members and the wickedness of the impious; there is no attack, not even indirect I think, on other religious corporations. Thirdly, his attitude to Flórez —whom he quotes a number of times in the volumes of his History— seems quite impartial, not showing any particular resentment. He is quick to point out the Augustinian's mistakes, and even to make some unpleasant comment on them, but this is the usual way he deals with those who do not think like him. Sometimes, he earnestly praises Flórez' learning.⁶⁵

passim; G. de Santiago Vela, *Ensayo de una biblioteca ibero-americana de la orden de san Agustín* (Madrid, 1913-1931), I, p. 582; II, p. 676; V, p. 476.

62 A. Merino, 'Discurso en defensa de la historia del Cid del P. Risco' (1819), (RAH). L. de Frías 'Ensayo de defensa del Maestro Risco' (1805-1807) (RAH), cf. footnote 73. J. de la Canal, 'Fe crítica que merece la *Historia Compostelana*' (1834) (RAH, ms. 11-2-1 8134 núm. 2).

63 Fernando Huidobro y Velasco (Flórez' second Christian name and the surname of his mother), *Delación de la doctrina de los intitulados jesuitas sobre el dogma y la moral* (Madrid, 1768), quoted in Herr, p. 23; Cf. A. Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano* (Barcelona, 1951), V, p. 435.

64 'Carta de Jovellanos a don J.F. de Masdeu' (dated December 1800), *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (Madrid, 1956), LXXXVI, pp. 236-243.

65 Cf. for instance, *Hist.*, IV, p. 529; VI, p. 349; VIII, pp. 206 and 210; XI, pp. 203 and 373; XVIII, p. 360.

And in his 'Reprobación crítica de la Historia Compostelana, publicada por el P. Flórez', Masdeu's rage is directed towards the authors of the *Historia Compostelana* and not against its XVIIIth century editor. Fourthly, Masdeu expressly says that a learned Augustinian was one of his friends.⁶⁶ An Augustinian —Fr. Antonio Fabre— is listed among the collaborators to Masdeu's archeological researches.⁶⁷ At another place, he mentions the 'cultísimo P. Lector Muntaner de la orden de San Agustín.'⁶⁸ And, in 1796, he corresponded with Lorenzo de Frias, an Augustinian, in order to obtain information about the collegiate church of Medina del Campo.⁶⁹ Hence, it is wrong to believe that Masdeu's fury against Risco was brought about by the latter's membership of the order of St. Augustin.

It must also be emphasized that there was nothing in the tone of Risco in the *Castilla* which could justify the subsequent violent reaction by Masdeu. Of course, the Augustinian boasts his discovery of the ancient codex; yet, while praising himself, he does not insult or attack anybody. On the contrary, Masdeu's reaction is vehemently insolent. His passionate answer is still more amazing if we consider that Risco was a historian sharing his same preconceptions. Risco wanted to be critical and erudite; he distrusted practically everything that had been written on the Cid either in poetry or prose (apart his vaunted Leonese codex), and by editing the *Historia Roderici*, he had attempted to establish the facts of the *Campeador's* life in such a manner as to be acceptable to the learned and critical school of historians to which both he and Masdeu belonged. Here are a few samples of Masdeu's comments on the work of the Augustinian. 'Son empresas e ideas que hacen ridículos a quien las forja, y mucho más a quien se las cree.' 'Este último reparo me hace venir a la memoria, no se diga la mala fe, o la poca inteligencia del muy reverendo Padre Risco en su traducción castellana del presente artículo de historia.' 'En esta traducción (by Risco) o por sobra de malicia o por falta de inteligencia...'⁷⁰ These sarcasms are repeated *ad nauseam*. Moreover, when he completed his dissertation against Risco, he received the news of his death.⁷¹ Thus, the Jesuit's ironic contumelies —which he could have softened or cancelled once he received the sad news —become

66 Ibid., XVIII, p. 180.

67 Ibid., XIX, p. XV.

68 Ibid., XX, p. 419.

69 Ms. núm. 9-5030 (RAH).

70 *Hist.*, XX, pp. 183, 213-214.

71 *Hist.*, XX, p. 370, Risco died in 1801.

even more astonishing. How Luis Sierra Nava can say that Masdeu is 'respetuoso con la persona de Risco'⁷² is beyond anybody's comprehension. But how are we to explain Masdeu's passionate sarcasms on both the person and the work of the learned Augustinian if we cannot fit Masdeu's reaction within the scheme of the quarrels among religious orders, quarrels to which Masdeu had always been alien, and which were also alien to Risco's *Castilla*? I think there can be only one correct answer to this question, namely, that his dislike of the Spanish national hero is so great that whomsoever tries to extoll his glories provokes his anger. Had the defender of the Castilian champion been a layman or a Jesuit, Masdeu's answer would not have been kinder or softer. Many pages of his History testify that, when incensed, he did not pay any attention to whether the person he wanted to ridicule—if he was a cleric—followed the rule of St. Augustin, or that of St. Benedict, or any other religious teaching.

In a manuscript kept at the Real Academia de la Historia, Lorenzo de Frías argues that Masdeu's censures of Risco's work must be explained in terms of a personal grudge.⁷³ In the forty-second volume of the *España sagrada*, Risco sharply criticizes Masdeu for his attempt, in the sixth volume of the *Historia crítica*, to contradict the opinion of Flórez on the interpretation of a Roman coin which named the town of Dertosa. The whole argument hinged on whether Dertosa and Hibera (which seemed also to be mentioned on the coin) were two different towns or a single conglomeration. Flórez tended to think that they were two towns with some sort of alliance, whereas Masdeu considered them to be the same town. Risco accuses Masdeu of having reported the ideas of Flórez with some imprecision, and of having drawn his conclusions according to his own wishes and without any logical basis. He also makes a very brief, ironic comment on the inaccuracy, in this particular case, of a History which purported to be critical.⁷⁴ Considering that, in XVIIIth century Spain, long, bitter and puerile personal quarrels among intellectuals were very common, and considering that Masdeu was especially sensitive to criticisms and quick to react, there is possibly some

⁷² Sierra, 'El P. J.F. Masdeu', p. 259.

⁷³ 'Ensayo de defensa del Maestro Risco' (RAH, ms. 9-29-6-5993), anonymous but—according to Sierra, 'El P. Masdeu', pp. 253-254—written by L. de Frías between 1805 and 1807. The handwriting is that of Fr. de la Canal' states a note on the manuscript, but de la Canal may have simply copied this 'Ensayo'. Cf. Santiago Vela, I, p. 584, II, p. 676.

⁷⁴ M. Risco, *España Sagrada* (Madrid, 1801), XLII, pp. 36-39. *Hist.*, VI, p. 349.

foundation in the allegations by Frías. But even if one admits that such trifling divergences about a coin left in Masdeu a strong desire for revenge (which is very speculative), this would still only explain why he delights in pointing out Risco's failures to interpret the *Historia Roderici* correctly. It would account neither for his rejection of the *Historia Roderici* itself, nor for his low opinion of the Cid's personality.

In 1790, Masdeu sent a petition to the Real Academia de la Historia (together with a dissertation on the *Era española*) in order to be accepted as a member of this learned society. His request was refused. On the top of his application somebody wrote, 'La Academia por ciertas consideraciones tuvo por conveniente no acceder a su petición.'⁷⁵ What these 'certain considerations' were, it is impossible to ascertain. However, I imagine that this refusal must have provoked Masdeu's resentment against the Real Academia; perhaps he even thought that Fr. Risco —a member of this learned body— was especially responsible for the rejection of his petition? Could this explain his fury against Risco in the XXth volume of his History? I do not know, but it is strange that he should have waited fifteen years (from 1790 when he submitted his petition to the Academy to 1805 when he published his dissertation on the Cid) to wreak a literary vengeance on the Augustinian. In addition, six years after he sought to become a member of the Academy, he referred to Risco in flattering terms, calling him 'diligente', 'docto', 'doctísimo'.⁷⁶ But even if his anger against the Augustinian in the XXth volume of the *Historia crítica* were explicable in terms of a personal vengeance, this would, once again, neither explain his rejection of the *Historia Roderici* nor his dislike of the Cid himself.

Having come, by gradual elimination, to the conclusion that, essentially, the tone and content of his answer to the publication of the *Historia Roderici* must be explained in terms of the abhorrence he felt for the Castilian hero (a revulsion which is obvious in almost every single line of his dissertation), it is necessary to examine the causes of such intense dislike. Three clear motives can be detected to clarify Masdeu's scornful conception of the Castilian champion. Firstly, the *Campeador* is a rebel against his King. Secondly, he is a traitor who fights against his own countrymen, the very antithesis of a patriot. Thirdly, he has practically apostatized his Christian religion by fighting side by side with the Muslims against his own co-religionists.

⁷⁵ Ms. num. 9-29-5-5959 (RAH).

⁷⁶ *Hist.*, XVI, pp. 104-110.

The *Historia Roderici* relates how the Cid, enraged at a raid of Muslims in Christian territory, retaliated by pillaging the lands of the Moorish King of Toledo. However, because the *Campeador* had taken these steps without asking the authorization of his sovereign, the envious courtiers of Alfonso VI insinuated that he had looted the lands of the Saracens with the purpose of irritating them and thus impel them to destroy the whole Christian army under the command of Alonso. These jealous rumours provoked the first banishment of the hero. To Masdeu, such punishment is well-deserved.

¿Quién podrá sostener la acción temeraria del Cid, que movió una guerra sin orden ni autoridad, y contra un amigo de su soberano? ¿No es acaso este un delito de estado? ¿un crimen de lesa majestad? ¿una infidelidad que merecía la muerte? Pues ¿cómo habrá valor para defender a un vasallo tan rebelde? ¿para culpar y deshorrar a los fieles caballeros, que lo denunciaron? ¿al clementísimo rey, que no le dió más pena que el destierro?⁷⁷

Thanks to the monumental historical researches by Menéndez Pidal, now, everybody knows that the Cid was a paragon of loyalty and faithfulness to his master, the Castilian King. Although the *Fuero Viejo de Castilla* allowed the exiled vassal to take up arms against his sovereign, although this was often the case in the Middle Ages, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar constantly refused —sometimes with considerable personal disadvantage— to fight against Alfonso VI. On the contrary, whenever he had a chance to do so, the Cid tried to reach a reconciliation with his ungrateful King. He repeatedly subordinated all other interests in order to reach an understanding with Alfonso VI. This is the picture of the hero given by the *Historia Roderici*, which has been confirmed by modern scholarly studies. That Masdeu did not share the opinion of the medieval reporter is evidence of his ignorance of the Castilian legislation of that time, and of the limitations of his XVIIIth century outlook. He does not understand that relations between a medieval King and his vassal were quite different from those between an XVIIIth century Bourbon and his subjects. The Cid is not judged historically, but from the standpoint of a different age.

Similarly, Masdeu is incensed at the ferocious raid of the Cid in

⁷⁷ *Hist.*, XX, p. 177.

the lands under the governorship of his Castilian rival, the count García Ordóñez. Though the hero had been provoked into such action by his enemy, though this was the only time in his life he made an expedition into Castile, though medieval legislation allowed him this sort of retaliation (Masdeu probably ignored this), our Jesuit, after considering that the lands of García Ordóñez came under the jurisdiction of Alfonso VI, cannot help exclaiming '¡Qué bárbara hazaña! ¡Qué ignominia! ¡Qué infamia para el famoso héroe de Castilla! Así obró él contra su patria, contra sus paysanos...' ⁷⁸ If one takes into account the exaggerated patriotism of Masdeu, and the fact that the historians of the Enlightenment period were rarely prepared to give up their values and to accept —though momentarily— those of other ages, the furious utterances of our scandalized Jesuit can perhaps be understood.

The *Historia Roderici* tells how the *Campeador*, after his banishment, first went to offer his services to the count of Barcelona, who rejected his offer, and, then, to the Arab King of Saragossa, whom he was to serve for many years. Without commenting either on the necessity of the Cid, as a warrior, to live by fighting, nor on his previous frustrated attempt to fight under the Christian banner of the Catalan count, Masdeu scorchingly observes, '¿Qué mayor ignominia para un cristiano, que de irse a tierra de moros, y jurar obediencia a un mahometano, y seguir las banderas del Alcorán, y tomar las armas, siempre que se ofrezca, contra los fieles de Jesucristo?' ⁷⁹ Yet, neither Masdeu nor the other historians of the time ignored that, during the *Reconquista*, it was very usual for Christians to earn their living by fighting for the various Arab sovereigns of the peninsula. Many of the soldiers of Almanzor, who sowed tremendous havoc in the Christian kingdoms, were Christians themselves. Likewise, after the fall of the caliphate of Córdoba, the various petty Muslim sovereigns were often fighting against each other in alliance with Christian princes. In the XXIVth volume of his History, Masdeu gives a general account of this custom, and reproaches the editors of the XVIIIth century Valencian edition of Mariana's history, who had characterized such behaviour as insignificant and executed according to the national customs. Once again, he imposes his XVIIIth century views on medieval history, and stigmatizes such conduct as 'demiado frecuente, y no menos escandalosa.' ⁸⁰ To him, although these

78 *Hist.*, XX, p. 262.

79 *Hist.*, XX, p. 178.

80 *Hist.*, XXIV (BN, ms. 6940, written in Rome, 1810), p. 98.

warriors kept in their own heart the faith in the Redeemer, they opposed by their deeds their inner belief. In practice, the reader is left to conclude, they were apostates. Here also, Masdeu's criticism of the Castilian hero is consonant with his general outlook on religion, politics, and society.

Obviously, the *Campeador* was not our Jesuit's ideal type of hero, and his dislike of him is well grounded in his general attitude towards life. But this attitude still does not explain why Masdeu—always so keen to defend the honour of Spain—should have written at such length on the shortcomings of the Castilian champion. Why does he not point out, at least, that although the Cid infringed many a respectable law he was in a situation where he had little alternative. Why does he delight to show and to stress, again and again, the wickedness and baseness of the hero? He never tires of heaping insults on him. 'Loco héroe', 'infame traidor', 'guerrero de farsa', 'guerrero fanfarrón', 'conquistador de molinos', 'delincuente soberbio y altivo', 'ladrón', 'impudente y cobarde', these are only a small part of the repertory of contumelies about Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar.⁸¹ Ferdinand the Saint, the medieval Castilian King, had been keen on burning heretics, an abominable practice in Masdeu's opinion, yet he had tried to justify the King's actions as excesses of piety.⁸² Usually, when Masdeu is confronted with something Spanish that he does not like, he tries to find excuses for it. He is aware, for instance, that the Inquisition and baroque poetry have flourished in Spain, but he observes that, in these cases, Spaniards have been the victims of foreign influences and of the cultural atmosphere of the age. In the case of the Cid, Masdeu adopts the very opposite attitude; not only he does not try to justify or excuse the hero, but he underlines his faults as much as he can.

I believe that one can understand the quality of Masdeu's response to this issue only by stressing that he was a Catalan, and very aware of being such. In the title-pages of his History, he describes himself pompously as 'Juan Francisco Masdeu, barcelonés' or '... natural de Barcelona'. When, in 1816, he was moved from Barcelona to Valencia, he suffered from great nostalgia and wrote bad but nonethe-

81 *Hist.*, XX, pp. 204-207, 228, 273-274.

82 *Hist.*, XXII (BN ms. 2900 no date), p. 182. In *Hist.*, XII, p. 234, Masdeu recounts how Sancho IV reconquered his Kingdom with the help of the Muslims; but instead of censuring the King for this unholy alliance, he blames the circumstances that compelled him to act in this way.

less deeply felt verses mourning his separation from his native town.⁸³

The story of the Cid contains episodes which —if true— could well be displeasing to Catalans and Aragonese fond of the military glories of their ancestors. The Cid, who was not as noble and who was not commanding armies as big as those of the Aragonese and Catalan rulers, had nonetheless crushingly defeated these two sovereigns. The count of Barcelona he vanquished twice. In addition, the author of the *Historia Roderici* delights in making fun of the Catalan count and in showing his arrogance was not in harmony with his achievements. It also contains the texts of two sarcastic and offensive letters the count and the Cid sent to each other before engaging in battle. Masdeu compares the styles of the two letters and deduces that they must have been written by the same person; therefore, he continues, this episode must be completely fictitious. Then, deeming that, by such ridiculous inventions, the reputation of the counts of Barcelona can be maimed, he concludes that the medieval chronicler was entitled, if he so wished, to attribute to the Cid all the 'fanfarro-nadas y tonterías' he wanted, but that he had no right to discredit in the same manner the reputation of the counts of Barcelona of that age, who were, '...según consta por las historias, príncipes sabios y majestuosos, y muy ajenos del ridículo carácter, que aquí se les atribuye.'⁸⁴ Then, stressing the unlikelihood of the subsequent defeat of the count, he cries, '... es increíble, que siete mil hombres, y aun menos, se hiciesen superiores, y aun se atreviesen a medir sus fuerzas con las de los condes de Barcelona, que se hacían entonces respetar, por su mucho poder, aun de los reyes de Castilla...'⁸⁵

Indeed, every time that the military honour of his *patria chica* is at stake, even though only indirectly, the response of Masdeu is quick and vehement. The *Historia Roderici* tells how the Cid once camped in front of Valencia, and how the Arab King of this reign —frightened by the military fame the Castilian champion had already acquired— immediately sent him an embassy with many gifts and declared himself his tributary. Likewise acted the governor of nearby Murviedro. Since the same Valencian King had not feared the whole army of the count of Barcelona, Masdeu rejects the narration as pure fable. How was it possible that he who had not dreaded those who were often considered at that time the most valorous knights in the

83 F. Torres Amat, *Memorias para ayudar a formar un diccionario crítico de los escritores catalanes* (Barcelona, 1836), p. 400.

84 *Hist.*, XX, pp. 239-240.

85 *Ibid.*, XX, p. 246.

world—the Catalans— should panic in front of only seven thousand Castilians?⁸⁶ The medieval chronicler also relates how, in a war between the King of Saragossa and his brother the King of Denia, the Cid had occupied with great facility the town of Monzón because Sancho Ramírez, the King of Aragon, and Navarre, had refrained from taking action against this occupation. The *pusilanimidad* demonstrated by the Aragonese ruler on this occasion is clearly unpalatable to Masdeu, who exclaims. 'Se ve claramente, haberse inventado en Castilla todo este cuento para desacreditar al conocido valor de los catalanes, aragoneses y navarros.'⁸⁷ The *Historia Roderici* also describes how the Cid conquers Murviedro and how this feat is facilitated by the inability of its inhabitants to find allies prepared to measure their forces with those of Rodrigo Díaz. Again, Masdeu rejects this story on the basis of its inverisimilitudes, and he condemns the partisanship of the anonymous medieval historian.

Singularmente es reparable el mal humor, que manifiesta en esta ocasión, como en otras muchas, contra la corte catalana; pues representa al conde de Barcelona arrastrado ciegamente de dos viles efectos contrarios; del interés, que le saca a la campaña; y del temor, que le interrumpe la empresa...⁸⁸

So much to illustrate Masdeu's wounded Catalan pride because of the ridicule which is poured by the Cid's story on the '... muchas y formidables fuerzas de los antiguos condes de Barcelona...'⁸⁹ Menéndez Pidal guessed rightly when he placed —though without developing the theme— Masdeu within that Catalan and Aragonese tradition of historiography which had developed a sceptical attitude towards the existence of the Cid because of offended national vanity. The *Campeador* brought dishonour to the people and sovereigns of north-eastern Spain, therefore, it was desirable to doubt many of his exploits, or even to attempt a complete denial of his existence. The *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña* of the XIVth century and historians like Diago, Abarca, Zurita and Juan de Briz either refuted or questioned the victories of the *Campeador* against the rulers of Catalonia and Aragon.⁹⁰ Catalans and Aragonese had by no means been

86 Ibid., XX, p. 216.

87 Ibid., XX, p. 184.

88 Ibid., XX, p. 302.

89 Ibid., XX, p. 236.

90 Menéndez Pidal, *La España*, I, pp. 12-13.

alone in maintaining a sceptical outlook. Juan de Mariana and Fernán Pérez de Guzmán were Castilians. Esteban de Garibay was Basque.⁹¹ However, in north-eastern Spain, scepticism had been much stronger, and mixed with national self-esteem. If —from the preceding analysis of Masdeu's motivations— it is clear that he had more than one reason to react as he did to the work of Risco, it can also be supposed that the key-motivation was his affection for his region of origin.

Is one to push this conclusion still further and deduce that —since he represents the very climax of the scepticism of the Aragonese historical school, and since to this scepticism, he adds a degree of cidophobia hitherto unknown —our Jesuit must be regarded as one of the contemporary intellectuals most conscious and most proud of their Catalan origins? This is what must be analyzed.

Catalonia and Spain

Though the primary and immense task of the last and most fertile decades of his life was the defence of Spain and Spanish history as a whole, Masdeu was always aware that he did not belong to a uniform Kingdom where regional variations had either disappeared or had never existed. Surely, when confronted with the harsh criticisms of his country of XVIIIth century *philosophes* and historians, his reaction is one of intense Spanishness. As a rule, these censures had been directed to Spain as a whole. Rarely had the critics distinguished the histories and cultures of the different peoples living on the peninsula. Montesquieu and Voltaire, for example, wrote of the Inquisition as a typical institution of the country as a whole, and they did not have any interest in analyzing whether in its origin it was simply a Castilian tribunal, or whether its establishment in other provinces encountered any difficulties (as in fact had been the case in Catalonia). Religious fanaticism, cruelty, intolerance, ignorance, pomposity, bad literary tastes were censured as being typical of all Spaniards. The stereotyped idea of the proud, slothful, narrow-minded, bigoted Castilian *hidalgo* was applied to all the inhabitants of the monarchy. To counter-attack the sweeping censures of anti-Spanish writers meant, as a consequence, that apologists were likely to react with vindica-

91 Mariana, X, ch.4; F. Pérez de Guzmán, *Loores de los claros varones de España*, octavas CCXVII-CCXXI; E. de Garibay, *Compendio historial*, XI, chapters 2 and 6.

tions of the whole country. Being blamed as Spaniards, they reacted as Spanish patriots.

Truly, among these apologists, feeling of Spanishness and national solidarity overriding regional differences must have been very strong. Only in 1778, did Carlos III open various peninsular ports to the American trade which had been previously restricted to the Castilian Kingdom. Catalans had also been generally excluded from military and administrative posts in the Indies. This exclusion from American interests has been often voiced by Catalan autonomists and separatists as a patent case of Castilian egoism and injustice with regard to the Crown of Aragon. Yet, in the second half of the XVIIIth century, it is a Catalan who takes up most brilliantly and extensively the defence of Spanish civilization overseas: Juan Nuix de Perpinyá. This exiled Jesuit is aware that he is upholding actions in which his own people had almost no part.

Diráse acaso que soy español, y que el patriotismo hace alucinarse... No obstante ruego a mi lector que reflexione, que yo bajo el nombre de españoles defiendo comunmente la humanidad de casi solo los castellanos; y que puntualmente no soy castellano, sino catalán. Puede ser que entre aquellos famosos aventureros de las conquistas no haya habido un catalán siquiera. Eran estos entonces como extranjeros respecto de los castellanos: y aún al presente podría alguno sospechar, que así como estas dos provincias usan de distinta lengua, tampoco tuviesen un mismo carácter.⁹²

Conscious of being Catalan, conscious that the principality was, and probably still is, a separate entity, conscious that Catalans were debarrred from the Indies, he nonetheless takes upon himself the task of discharging the Castilians—whom he calls Spaniards—from the accusations of Las Casas, Raynal, and Robertson. This freely chosen undertaking is performed with passion and vigour.

Since Masdeu left his History unfinished, without writing anything, as he had previously proposed to do, about the 'España conquistadora', it is impossible to know precisely what he thought of the colonization of the New World. However, I think that, with the help

⁹² J. Nuix de Perpinyá, *Reflexiones imparciales sobre la humanidad de los españoles en las Indias* (Madrid, 1782), pp. XXIII-XXIV. Cf. M. Llorente, *Saggio apologetico degli storici e conquistatori spagnuoli dell'America* (Parma, 1804); Llorente was a Jesuit from Valencia.

of some comments he made on the work of the Mexican exiled Jesuit Javier Clavijero, it is possible to guess the essential traits of his opinions. Fundamentally, his attitude is the same as Juan Nuix's. Like him, he reckons that the strictures of foreigners (and of Las Casas, I suppose) about the colonization of America have been unfair, and that a vindication of the Castilian conquerors is consequently necessary. Even though Clavijero's History, compared to others published at the time, was sympathetic to the Spaniards, and although Clavijero had often tried to justify (at least in the footnotes) the cruelties of the *conquistadores*, this relative moderation could not satisfy Masdeu.⁹³

... tuve idea, y la tengo aún ahora, de impugnar muchos artículos de dicha Historia, por ser relativos a la mía, y estar escritos con muy ciega pasión, y demasiada y patente falsedad...⁹⁴

Masdeu's brotherly affection for Castile is also repeatedly shown by his pride in the military glories of the Castilian Kingdom at the time of the *Reconquista*, victories which considerably enlarged the dominions of its rulers and the spread of the Castilian language and customs. In the narration of the conflict between Alfonso I of Aragon and his Castilian wife, Masdeu takes up passionately the defence of *doña Urraca* and stigmatizes the Aragonese' ambitions on Castile. Hence, he condemns as false and inconsequent 'las relaciones de Zurita y de otros modernos escritores, aragoneses y navarros, que dejan arrastrarse a ciegas del amor nacional.'⁹⁵ Then, when our historian thinks that one or some Castilian individuals must be harshly judged, he is careful to differentiate clearly the culprits from their native land, a distinction for which he has no use when he writes about the mischiefs of Frenchmen. Around 921, the Castilian counts had refused to take part in the battle of Val de Junquera in which Ordoño II was defeated by the Moors. The monarch, believing that the absence of the counts and their troops was responsible for the disaster, condemned to death four of the counts. This drastic judgment is fully approved by our Jesuit in whose eyes the counts are blatantly guilty

93 F.J. Clavijero, *Historia antigua de México* (México, 1964), libros VIII, IX, X. First published in Italian (Cesena, 1780).

94 *Hist.*, XVII, p. 285.

95 *Hist.*, XXI (BN, ms. 2899, written in Rome, 1806), p. 105.

of the crime of lese-majesty. Therefore, he confesses that he cannot understand the efforts of Rodrigo Ximénez and various more modern historians to criticize the sentence of Ordoño II. The personal iniquities of the counts, he continues, cannot stain in any way the honour of the 'fidelísima nación castellana; no habiendo pueblo en el mundo, que no haya tenido malvados, y siendo verdadera locura echar en cara los delitos a la patria de los delinquentes.'⁹⁶ However, his love for Castile as one of the various parts of Spain is never transformed into a love for Castile *above* all other parts of Spain. When in his narration he gives priority to events concerning the Kings of Castile, it is only because they are the successors of those of Asturias and León. But Masdeu has no sympathy for the men who gradually constituted a Castile independent of León. In fact he does not accept that Castile became sovereign and free of every bondage of vassalage to León at the time of Fernán González. This, he claims, is an invention of modern historians incompatible with the accounts of more ancient writers who assume the dependence of Castile 'hasta la edad de don Sancho el Mayor, primer rey de Castilla.'⁹⁷

Masdeu has a unitary (though not uniform) idea of Spain. In the first book of his History, he develops a theory of the influence of climatic conditions which emphasizes the essential unity of the Peninsula. He is quite aware that the Spanish environment is not everywhere the same, that there are marked differences in rainfall, fertility, temperature and vegetation among the different regions. Yet, in his opinion, there are certain characteristics of the physical environment of the peninsula which are the same everywhere and which contribute to the formation of a single, compact *genio nacional* which distinguishes Spaniards from foreigners like Frenchmen or Italians. Then, Spain and Spaniards have always existed and must necessarily continue to exist as a unit because of the ever-lasting and ever-present power of the environment. According to Masdeu, in 469, under the sovereignty of the Gothic King Euric, this people with common characteristics achieved the political unity which was consonant with the climatic unity of their land, and the political independence which was in harmony with their essential differences from trans-Pyrenean races. To him, the peninsula is one independent whole. The sovereignty of Spanish Kings was never based on concessions from popes or emperors but on the nation itself since the end

⁹⁶ *Hist.*, XII, p. 201.

⁹⁷ *Hist.*, XII, p. 260.

of the Roman empire.⁹⁸ His treatment of Alphonso X is not sympathetic, and probably among the causes of this dislike there was Alphonso's claim to the imperial crown.⁹⁹

When, in 711, the Muslims' conquest begins, such event is viewed as a great calamity. It is surely a catastrophe because it meant the introduction of a false religion, but it may be guessed that the event is regarded as disastrous also because it put an end to Spain as a unitary, independent community. Consequently, the *Reconquista* is seen as an attempt to bring Spain back to the political structure of the Gothic age. The Christian monarchy of Asturias —under whose aegis the reconquering of territory from the Moors was begun— is considered a continuation of the Kingdom of the Goths with a perfectly legitimate claim, from a strictly political, non-religious point of view, to throw the Arabs out of the peninsula. In this sense, he writes of 'los reyes de Asturias, únicos y legítimos señores de todos los dominios que tenían los árabes en España.'¹⁰⁰ Likewise, the link between the Goths and the subsequent Asturian Kings is stressed by affirming —against the opinion of Pellicer and Mondéjar— that in the Asturian dynasty 'jamás faltó la sangre de los reyes godos.'¹⁰¹ This also explains why, in his analysis of the formation and development of the medieval Christian Kingdoms, he subordinates the narration of what is happening elsewhere in the peninsula to events occurring in the Kingdom of Asturias, later to become the Kingdom of León, and finally the Kingdom of Castile. These Kingdoms are seen as successively inheriting the just political rights of the Goths. Therefore, he approves the union of the two Crowns of Aragon and Castile, in 1106, brought about by the marriage of Urraca with Alfonso I of Aragon. 'Muy sanas fueron las intenciones del emperador don Alfonso (VI of Castile) en procurar y concluir... la estrecha unión de las dos reales casas de Aragón y Castilla.'¹⁰²

Our Jesuit's unitary conception of the peninsula is reflected in his unawareness of the political disintegration of the Middle Ages. To him all Christian Spain, apart from Catalonia, was united under the Asturian monarchy until Alphonso III gave Navarre as a fief to San-

98 *Hist.*, XIII, pp. 46-47.

99 *Hist.*, XXII (BN), pp. 373-375. A similar dislike of Alphonso X is shown by the patriotic historian Ruy Sánchez de Arévalo; cf. R. Tate, *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular del siglo XV* (Madrid, 1970), p. 23.

100 *Hist.*, XII, p. 122.

101 *Hist.*, XII, pp. 132-136.

102 *Hist.*, XXI (BN), p. 102.

cho Iñigo Arista, count of Bigorre (873), whose son was proclaimed King of Navarre. As already seen, he denies that there was a period when Castile, under her counts, was independent of León. For what concerns Al-Andalus, the formation of the *reinos de Taifas* is almost disregarded since he continues to treat as caliphs the petty rulers of Cordoba and then Seville.¹⁰³ The rise of Portugal as an independent Kingdom is stigmatized as Alfonso Henriques' 'injusta pretensión de no reconocer el alto dominio de los reyes castellanos.'¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, he stresses as much as possible the links of Catalonia with the rest of Spain, and her independence from France despite the French origin of the *Marca Hispanica*. He affirms that the French had no right to conquer land beyond the Pyrenees. He refutes Baluze and Pierre de Marca's assertion that the name *Hispania* did not include the lands between the Ebro and the Pyrenees. He claims that the Catalans never accepted the Carolingian capitularies, but continued to use the Gothic *Fuero Juzgo* as their legislation. French Kings never thought of themselves, nor were ever recognized by the Catalans, as Kings or princes in Catalonia. Their authority over the province (from 798 to 968) was not that of sovereigns or masters but that of protectors, for they entered Spain declaring that their only aim was the defence of Christendom, and the Catalans surrendered to them the government of the province on that condition. Hence, they never called the French rulers Kings or princes but only *seniores*.¹⁰⁵ Masdeu would never have accepted Vicens Vives' conception of Catalonia as a corridor, *pasillo*, between France and Spain with the consequent emphasis on the non-Hispanic features of Catalan culture and history.¹⁰⁶ To his mind Catalonia is entirely Spanish. He may dislike Castilian hegemony, but he cannot conceive of Catalonia as an entity separable from Spain. Essentially, this was also the attitude of an ardent Catalanist like Juan Maragall, though in Maragall the aversion to Castilian predominance is much more developed.¹⁰⁷

103 B. Sánchez Alonso, *Historia de la historiografía española* (Madrid, 1947-50), III, pp. 206-207.

104 *Hist.*, XXI (BN), p. 241.

105 *Hist.*, XIII, pp. 5-22.

106 J. Vicens Vives, *Noticia de Cataluña* (Barcelona, 1954), pp. 19-22.

107 *Epistolario entre Unamuno y Maragall* (Barcelona, 1951), pp. 43-44; J. Maragall, *El sentimiento catalanista, Trágico conflicto, La patria nueva* (Madrid, n.d.), pp. 22-39; id., 'El sentiment de pàtria. Articles', in *Obres completes de Joan Maragall* (Barcelona, 1932), XIII, p. 91.

Masdeu's attitude towards Catalonia can best be seen in a little work which aimed to prove that the contemporary pope Pius VII was of ancient and noble Catalan origin. He connects the Italian Chiaramonti —the pope's family— with the French Clermont and the Catalan Claramunt. He denies that the Claramunt descend from their French quasi-homonyms. On the contrary, he thinks that the noble house originated in Catalonia to settle successively in France and Italy. Since the Italian authority on these heraldic questions refers to Masdeu's views about the origins of the Chiaramonti with some scepticism, and since the Garcia Carraffa hold that the Claramunt came to Catalonia from France and do not mention any connection with the Chiaramonti, our Jesuit's arguments and conclusions are probably too far-fetched to be believed.¹⁰⁸ However, I am concerned only with the statements about Catalonia contained in this little treatise, and not with the veracity or accuracy of its historical arguments. The book, which is dedicated to the noble Catalan prelate Antonio Despuig, intends to enhance the celebrity of Pius VII, but it is also written 'a decoro di Catalogna' and 'a compiacenza dei Barcellonaesi.'¹⁰⁹ In fact, in Masdeu's eyes, it is a great honour for his beloved native region to count the successor to the chair of St. Peter among those of Catalan descent. At the same time, it seems that there is more honour in being of Catalan descent than in counting a pope among one's fellow-countrymen.

At times, this 'operetta genealogica' appears a pretext to sing the beauties and virtues of Catalonia. Because, in order to write it, he had to use documents from the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, he points out the richness and value of its collections and remarks that many learned foreigners have sincerely avowed that it is the most precious archive in Europe. Proud of the history of the county of Barcelona, he relates the anecdote of the public statement, made by Carlos V in Brussels in 1519, in which he declared that the title of count of Barcelona pleased him more than that of emperor of the Romans. The promulgation, in the XIth century, of the famous *Usatges de Barcelona* is greatly eulogized. He remarks that the Catalonia of the Middle Age must have been very rich, full of towns and castles, with hundreds of families of great wealth and lineage. The following

108 V. Spreti, *Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare italiana* (Milano, 1929), II, pp. 439-440; A. and A. García Carraffa, *Diccionario heráldico y genealógico de apellidos españoles y americanos* (Madrid, 1926), XXIV, pp. 217-219.

109 Masdeu, *Origine catalana del regnante pontefice Pio VII nato Chiaramonti* (Roma, 1804), dedication.

passage can well summarize our historian's thoughts on the culture of medieval Catalonia.

Vuolsi adunque sapere, che verso gli anni mille, nel secolo della maggiore barbarie d'Europa, era la Catalogna la meno incolta di tutte le province, ed in quella maniera, che permettevano quei tenebrosi tempi, dedicavasi fra le altre cose allo studio delle leggi, e delle belle lettere.¹¹⁰

This exaggerated evaluation of Catalan medieval history is typical also of the *Historia crítica*. Quoting the judgment of a historian of that time, he defines the conquest of Barcelona by Louis the Pious around 801 as 'la conquista de tan famosa ciudad, capaz de dar gran realce al nombre glorioso de Ludovico.'¹¹¹ The long strife between the two houses of Anjou and Aragon for the possession of Sicily in the late Middle Ages is described in a very partisan manner. He has not the smallest doubt that Pedro of Aragon had all the rights to the inheritance of Sicily as a descendant of Manfred and Roger, whereas Charles of Anjou was simply and only a very cruel tyrant. The support given by the pope to the Angevins is censured with the severest words. Papal policy is stigmatized as impious, shameful, motivated by human passions and base interests. The humiliating captivity and subsequent death of Boniface VIII in Anagni in 1303 and the previous death of the main supporters of Angevin power are seen as godly proofs of the rightness of the Catalan-Aragonese claims.

Así con la muerte desastrada del papa Bonifacio dio el cielo un nuevo testimonio ruidoso de los justos derechos del rey don Fadrique y de su padre don Pedro sobre la Sícilia; como ya lo había dado antes (in 1285) con las tres muertes de Carlos I, Felipe III, y Martino IV, sucedidas todas en un mismo año, que fue puntualmente el de las más lúcidas glorias militares de la real familia aragonesa.¹¹²

Unfortunately, I have been unable to find the unpublished XXVth volume of his History, which surely analyzed the culture of the 'España restauradora'. There, he probably wrote at length on the

110 *Ibid.*, pp. 13-24.

111 *Hist.*, XII, pp. 109-110.

112 *Hist.*, XXII (BN), p. 130.

language and literature of medieval Catalonia. Because of the loss of this manuscript, his views on the subject can only be found in the desultory and brief comments contained in the genealogical work about Pius VII. In this booklet, Masdeu does not make any distinction between Catalan and Provençal. To him, they are the same language. This mistaken idea of the identity of the two languages was common at the time. Bastero, the marquis of Llió, Juan Andrés, Javier Lampillas, for instance, all held this theory, and it was only thanks to the work of Milá y Fontanals in the XIXth century that the distinct personality of the two languages was finally established.¹¹³ Still, it is worthwhile to remark that the conception of the identity of the two languages automatically rendered the poetic works of Provençal poets the cultural heritage of Catalonia as well. Moreover, Masdeu considers that the French and Italian languages and literatures sprung from this Catalan language which he equates with Provençal. This is comprehensible because in the XVIIIth century there was a belief in the existence of a neo-Latin language from which all other Romance tongues originated. It was thought that this intermediate language between Latin and other Romance speeches was Provençal, and that once it was spoken all over the Romance linguistic area. This idea had already been held in the Renaissance by Varchi, who had written that Provençal, after Latin, was the language that had the greatest influence on the formation of Italian. Bastero affirmed a filiation of French, Portuguese, Castilian and Italian from Catalan and Provençal. Among the exiled Jesuits, the linguist Hervás y Panduro believed in the Catalan-Provençal origin of the *langue d'oïl*. Lampillas states that Italian may stem from Catalan, but he does not press this supposition, limiting himself to affirming that Italian was greatly embellished, and its vocabulary vastly enriched, by its contacts with Catalan.¹¹⁴ On the whole, Masdeu seems to choose the hypotheses which bring more distinction to the language of his native region.

The deep affection of Masdeu for his *patria chica* is also shown

¹¹³ Masdeu, *Origine catalana*, p. 25; A. Comas, *Historia de la literatura catalana* (Barcelona, 1972), IV, pp. 160, 169, 172-173; J. Rubió, 'Literatura catalana', *Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas* (Barcelona, 1949), I, p. 646.

¹¹⁴ L. Hervás y Panduro, *Idea dell'universo* (Cesena, 1784), XVII, p. 187; Lampillas, *Ensayo*, II, pp. 160-173; F. Lázaro Carreter, *Las ideas lingüísticas en España durante el siglo XVIII* (Madrid, 1949), pp. 170-171; I. Iordan, *An introduction to Romance linguistics* (London, 1937), pp. 7-8; G. Manacorda, 'Benedetto Varchi, l'uomo, il poeta, il critico', *Annali della R. Scuola Normale* (Pisa, 1903), pp. 142-143, 150-151.

by his biographies of two pious Catalans: the blessed José Oriol of Barcelona, and the Majorcan Caterina Tomás.¹¹⁵ In 1807, he also took the trouble to translate into Spanish his account of the life of Oriol. Although they are simply books about these two individuals and not about the places where they lived, it is still significant that Masdeu showed so much interest in the very humble lives of the two servants of God. And his earnest interest in the story of the German-born St. Emidius witnesses that Masdeu—a member of an international religious order and an intellectual versed in universal culture—felt some attraction for local history.¹¹⁶ In fact, this saint had become bishop of Ascoli, where he had preached Christianity and violently attacked the pagan cults, thus bringing about his death at the hands of the Roman authorities. Masdeu's learned treatise is mainly concerned with the defence of some documents which recorded the life and miracles of the saint and which had been impugned by the Bollandists. Years later, in 1795 and 1797, he also wrote a play and a poetical composition in honour of Emidius' martyrdom. All this vivid concern for the religious glories of a small Italian town like Ascoli (Masdeu observes that there was a time when it was populous and powerful) shows that this erudite of universal learning and nationalistic feelings was capable of local affections and interests. As already seen, his universalism was limited by his nationalism. Now, we observe his cosmopolitan interests restricted still further: by the town, by the region. This marks him off sharply from the *philosophes*. The idea of a Voltaire, for instance, spending much of his time and energy in illustrating the glories of some small French or English town is unconceivable.

These comments on Masdeu's attitude towards Catalan history and culture only prove that he had an exaggerated idea of the value of things Catalan as he had an inflated conception of Spanish history and culture as a whole. But in 1790 he wrote something more interesting. In that year, illustrating the difference, in Roman times, between *coloniae* and *municipia*, Masdeu shows his preference for a decentralized state organization, an idea consonant with his conception of Catalonia as an important and distinct part of one whole. *Coloniae*, he observes, were administered according to the statutes of the capital, whereas the *municipia* governed themselves according to their

¹¹⁵ Masdeu, *Ristretto della vita della beata Caterina Tomás* (Roma, 1792), published anonymously; id., *Vita santa del novello beato Giuseppe Oriol* (Roma, 1806).

¹¹⁶ Masdeu, *Difesa critica degli antichi atti del santo martire Emidio* (Ascoli, 1794).

ancient laws. As a consequence of being less dependent on Rome, they were thriving more than the *coloniae*. This explains why a town like Cadiz, although capital of a Roman *conventus* always kept its municipal status without caring for the honours that were distributed to *coloniae*. By contrast, Seville, 'por errada ambición de mayor lustre' gave up her ancient municipal rights.¹¹⁷ Though he is speaking of an empire and not of a national state, this clear eulogy of decentralization, written in the age of the centralizing Bourbon policies, does not contain any direct suggestion that what was valid for Roman Spain must be valid for XVIIIth century Spain as well.

In the thirteenth volume of his History, published in 1794, he examined the formation of municipal and provincial laws in the XIth century. Because he is very proud of the national code of the Goths, because he has a unitary conception of Spain, he is keen on pointing out the mistake of various historians in believing that municipal and provincial *fueros* abrogated the Gothic *Fuero Juzgo*. Nevertheless, the introduction of these laws which varied from town to town and from region to region is judged a wise legislation by which medieval Spaniards modified the Gothic code and kept it in harmony with changing realities. The function of these varied laws was 'proporcionarlo (the *Fuero Juzgo*), y aplicarlo a las novedades, que con el tiempo y diversidad de señores se habían ido introduciendo insensiblemente, así en los tribunales, como fuera de ellos.'¹¹⁸ But in this case as well, Masdeu limits himself to state something without even hinting that what he says of the positive results of diversified regional legislations may have any meaning for the times in which he lives. His love for Catalonia and his interest in territorial entities smaller than the nation plus his awareness of the benefits of local legal peculiarities and of a certain local independence could easily turn Masdeu into a Catalan autonomist rebelling against the centralizing tendencies of the Bourbons. Yet, around 1790 or 1794, at least, this result is only potential.

In 1815, in 'Monarquía española', what was only a possibility develops into a passionate actuality. The War of Independence had probably been the catalyst in this change because it had made everybody aware that the old institutions had crumbled and that a political change was therefore possible. As a consequence of the disasters it brought about, many thought that a change was not only possible,

117 *Hist.*, VIII, pp. 33-34.

118 *Hist.*, XIII, pp. 68-75.

but desirable. 'Monarquía española' is a project for political reconstruction according to a supposed 'true' Spanish constitution which existed in the Middle Ages, but was unjustly and unlawfully abolished by Habsburg absolutism, whose policy was continued by the Bourbons. Among the fundamental institutions of the realm which should be resuscitated there are also the medieval town corporation, *ayuntamientos*. Masdeu explains that their power varied from town to town, included the supervision of supplies, the organization of commerce and of the police-system.¹¹⁹ To these ends, they published decrees, levied taxes, and set up tribunals. This amounts to a straightforward demand for the re-establishment of the Catalan *fueros* partially abolished by Philip V's decree of *Nueva Planta* in 1716. In fact, Masdeu explicitly says that the War of the Spanish Succession had been fought by both parties 'movidos uno, y otro de probable razón, y apoyados en los mismos principios de honrada, y noble fidelidad.'¹²⁰ Hence, the retaliatory measures against the autonomy of Catalonia at the end of the war were unjust.

Moreover, not to rely simply on the historical argument 'things were such, and, therefore, we must put the clock back' (an argument which had considerable appeal at the time), he points out in some other pages that from the rebirth of past institutions many practical benefits will be reaped.

No puede volver nuestro comercio a su prodigiosa prosperidad, sino vuelve a tener toda la libertad que tuvo ni renacerá nuestra libertad comercial sino restablecemos según su antiguo sistema nuestros ayuntamientos municipales dándoles poderes más o menos amplios según la diversa proporción de los pueblos para esta o aquella clase de comercio externo o interno, pasivo o activo, terrestre o marítimo.¹²¹

Here, the tenets of free-trade, a doctrine in which he sincerely believed, are used to support a claim for economic autonomy. Is there

119 Masdeu, 'Monarquía española' (RAH), p. 30.

120 *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

121 *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64. J. Mercader Riba has pointed out that the Bourbon reform of the Catalan municipal administration, which took place gradually after the *Nueva Planta*, had harmful repercussions on the economic life of the principality; 'La ordenación de Cataluña por Felipe V: la Nueva Planta', *Hispania* (Madrid, 1951), XLIII, pp. 259-260, 351-357; «Del "Consell de Cent" al ayuntamiento borbónico», *Hispania* (1961), LXXXII, pp. 111-114.

anything easier, he asks, than leaving commerce to follow its own course without tampering with it? For him, this freedom of trade cannot be regained unless the autonomous town corporations of the Middle Ages are resurrected with all their ancient customs and privileges. The central government must have no say in commercial matters; they must depend only on 'los mayores ayuntamientos de las capitales' and such dependency must be 'absoluta'.

Another reason given by Masdeu in favour of decentralization is his conviction that people who live in one place must know better than others who are removed from it what is profitable for the community. The *ayuntamientos* are nearer to their spheres of interest than the central administration. Then, 'Ninguno conoce mejor que estos lo que conviene a su propio país, y a su propio interés; y ninguno puede mejor que estos avivar en las cortes generales las ideas de la pública felicidad.' This passage is also interesting because it reveals that Masdeu had a very high conception of the deputies from the town corporation, the Third Estate that would be part of the medieval *cortes* he wished to revive. They would be the supreme authority in economic matters, and such questions were judged very important by our Jesuit. It is remarkable that a thinker trying to oppose with all his energy the establishment of a modern society should have felt such a high esteem for the role of the bourgeoisie within the state. Such apparent contradiction confirms once more what, by now, we already know: that he was a Catalan from top to toe, the product of a society where the middle classes of the *ancien régime* had held considerable power. This Catalan consciousness is emphasized by his remark that in certain parts of Spain, and especially in Catalonia, people possess great commercial skill and knowledge. Hence, if left to themselves, prosperity will ensue. He also thinks that the rebirth of Spain will be mainly commercial, and commerce will, directly or indirectly, benefit the state, industry, everybody.¹²²

The strange blend of economic liberalism and autonomistic principles which is expounded in 'Monarquía española' would have been fundamentally unacceptable to the liberals who framed the Cadiz constitution. Though they paid lip-service to the virtues of ancient institutions, they agreed in the establishment of a centralized and uniform system of government in which the municipalities were only subordinate corporations. The meetings of the town-councillors were to be presided by the *jefe político* —the representative of the central

122 Masdeu, 'Monarquía española' (RAH), pp. 64-65.

government—who in practice wielded all decisive powers. Giving this legislation a philosophical justification, Toreno had bluntly denied that the *ayuntamientos* represented the towns or villages that elected them. There could be only one representative of the nation: the *cortes*. Autonomous municipalities would be tantamount to a federative organization, whereas the nation must be one and indivisible.¹²³ Such were the principles that would eventually create discontent in the Basque provinces and Catalonia, and encourage separatist movements looking 'to a revival of medieval institutions... as the safeguards of local interests and true liberty alike.'¹²⁴

Considering that local autonomy—because of the variety of custom-duties and legislation that it inevitably entails—tends to restrict commerce more than to favour it, it is surprising that Masdeu should use the maxims of liberal economic theory to convince his readers of the benefits of autonomism. Exponents of liberalism had usually considered regional variations in legislation as hindering the normal course of trade. Masdeu makes no attempt to conciliate his two at least seemingly contradictory proposals for autonomy and free-trade. He pleads for the revival of the municipal *fueros* all over Spain, and not only in one or few regions. Therefore, in practice, this would bring about mutually exclusive barriers restricting commerce. However, he does not desire an equality among the various chief *ayuntamientos* of the country. As already quoted, they are to be given more or less power according to their different aptitudes for certain types of commerce. It can obviously be inferred that a province which has demonstrated great economic ability, like Catalonia, should be much freer to have her own commercial legislation than regions mainly concerned with agriculture, which would mean the greatest part of Spain in 1815. Within such varied and unequal system, the sections of the country with less powerful local government would be unable to create real barriers to the trade of the more autonomous provinces. Masdeu's projects are not contradictory, for, in proposing the resurrection of municipal laws, he is much more concerned with Catalonia than any other part of Spain.

Masdeu's claim that only the traditional institutions can bring about the economic wealth which was so valued in the XVIIIth century is probably another Catalan feature of this very Catalan author.

123 A. Posada, *Evolución legislativa del régimen local en España* (Madrid, 1910), pp. 33-42; M. Artola, *Los orígenes de la España contemporánea* (Madrid, 1959), I, pp. 309-313.

124 R. Carr, *Spain, 1808-1939* (Oxford, 1966), p. 99.

In order to place Masdeu in the intellectual background of the time, the first comparison that comes to my mind is with another Catalan thinker: Antonio de Capmany. And I think that Masdeu was influenced by Capmany's work, especially by his economic history of Barcelona. The Asturian Campomanes had written on the necessity to abolish the guilds, which—in his judgment, and in that of those who accepted economic liberalism—were hindrances to the free movement of workers and the natural course of the economy.¹²⁵ Capmany espouses the cause of the guilds. These associations transmit from one generation to the other the technical skills needed for good craftsmanship. They protect the arts in difficult times, and favour them in times of prosperity. They stimulate the artisan to feel proud of his work and, therefore, to perform it in the best possible way. Through the guilds, the government can rule more efficiently, since they can control the workers and levy taxation. Capmany also emphasizes that the richest and most populous regions are those with a strong guild organization, whereas in the poorest and less inhabited parts of the country they do not exist. The Catalan guilds are seen as instruments of the prosperity of the principate.¹²⁶ This attitude must have been common in Catalonia since Francisco Romà also took up the defence of the guilds and seven of the Catalan deputies to the *cortes* of Cadiz voted against the decree of 4th June 1813 which virtually destroyed the guild system.¹²⁷ Moreover, Capmany praises the self-government of Catalan towns during the Middle Ages.¹²⁸ Like Masdeu, Capmany is, in many respects, a man of the Enlightenment. Like Masdeu, at the beginning of the XIXth century, he cannot accept the national uniformity that the Bourbons tried to impose on Spain. Like Masdeu, he believes that there is a vital connection between these ancient institutions and economic prosperity.

Among the medieval institutions that Masdeu would like to revivify, there is also the tribunal of the *Justicia* of Aragon. According to our Jesuit, the functions which had been characteristic of the *Justicia* were the following: to defend the fundamental laws of the realm; and

125 P. Rodríguez de Campomanes, *Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular* (Madrid, 1774), pp. 108-119.

126 R. Palacios (pseudonym of A. de Capmany), *Discurso político-económico sobre la influencia de los gremios* (Madrid, 1778), I have not seen this book; L. Sánchez Agesta, *El pensamiento político del despotismo ilustrado* (Madrid, 1953), pp. 274-277.

127 E. Jardí, *Els catalans de les Cortes de Cadis* (Barcelona, 1963), p. 41.

128 A. de Capmany, *Memorias históricas de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona* (Madrid, 1779), I, 3rd part, pp. 3-5.

to maintain a just balance between the rights of the strong and of the weak by acting as a judge in the disputes between ecclesiastics and laymen, rich and poor, the King and the people. Interestingly, he attributes the origin of the tribunal to the Aragonese' awareness of the need for a permanent institution capable of dealing with the 'negocios de la mayor importancia' during the long periods in which the *cortes* were not assembled.¹²⁹ This necessity to establish a permanent executive body—within a traditional constitution in which the *cortes* would meet only at long intervals—was felt by Capmany as well who, in his *Informe* of 1809 to the Cadiz representatives, spoke in these terms:

Si en la Corona de Castilla el poder de representación de las Cortes fue débil e incompleto, pues no fundaron una institución perfecta y legalmente reconocida que señalase los límites de las potestades, fue porque nunca se pensó en formar un cuerpo nacional que velase por la observancia de las leyes y se opusiese a toda usurpación de la potestad ejecutiva.¹³⁰

Hence, the necessity to revive, on a national basis, the *Diputació del General*, which had been a characteristic of the principality and of the Aragonese and Valencian Kingdoms. Capmany's ideas of this *Generalitat* is essentially similar to Masdeu's conception of the *Justicia*. I suppose that our Jesuit preferred the Aragonese *Justicia* to the *Generalitat* as a body able to protect the constitution during the absence of the *cortes* because it was an institution which had been much admired by both Spaniards and foreigners, and, of course, he is always very sensitive to eulogies paid to his country. Secondly, the Catalan *Generalitat* had probably possessed too much power for our very royalist Jesuit. It had its own fleet, which could be lent to the King only conditionally. It clarified and interpreted the constitution. It levied taxes, without excluding the sovereign from taxation. However, it is significant that both Capmany and Masdeu propose that institutions typical of the Crown of Aragon should be adopted by the entire nation.

Our historian also recommends the re-establishment of the *Her-*

¹²⁹ Masdeu, 'Monarquía española' (RAH), pp. 33-34.

¹³⁰ J. Alvarez Junco, 'Capmany y su informe sobre la necesidad de una constitución (1809)', *Cuadernos Hispano-Americanos* (Madrid, June 1967), CCX, p. 546. Cf. A. de Capmany, *Práctica y estilo de celebrar cortes en el reino de Aragón, principado de Cataluña y reino de Valencia* (Madrid, 1821), pp. III-VII.

mandades (which he also calls *Cofradías* and *Ligas Santas*). Usually, these had been medieval federations among town corporations in order to wage war or to perform police duties.¹³¹ Unfortunately, it is impossible to judge precisely Masdeu's conception of the *Hermandades* because his treatment of this topic is extremely laconic and the volume of his History examining it has not been preserved. However, he clearly states that such federations must be only temporary. Therefore, he indirectly rejects the *Santa Hermandad* which was established on a permanent basis by the Catholic monarchs to pursue criminals and bandits. Besides, Masdeu maintains that their function was to prevent a civil war or an insurrection, and to keep the public tranquillity. Then, it seems to me, though the hypothesis cannot be proved due to Masdeu's brevity, that his idea of the *Hermandades* (temporary bodies of armed people which could be used by the prince in a sedition, in a civil war, or against delinquents) is somewhat similar in attributions and duration to that typically Catalan institution called *somatén*, which after having been suppressed by Philip V had once again been revived in the war of 1793-95 against France, and in the War of Independence.¹³²

Conclusions

Now Masdeu's patriotism can be seen in its triple reality: nationalism, xenophobia and, for lack of a better word, catalanism. V. Cian, deceived by our writer's liking for writing Italian poetry and by his accidental birth in Palermo, defined him as the Spanish exile 'più italianizzato'.¹³³ If there was ever such 'italianization' it was paralleled by a much stronger 'hispanization' and 'catalanization'.

By drawing comparisons between the work of Masdeu and that of other enlightened scholars from the Catalan-speaking area (like Capmany, Lampillas, Andrés), it becomes clearer (in spite of the universalist outlook of the Enlightenment and in spite of the general Hispanic characteristics common to all *ilustrados*) that at least some of these intellectuals, on certain questions (like the *gremios*, the *ayun-*

131 R. Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España* (Barcelona, 1900), I, pp. 420-421; A. Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España* (Barcelona, 1922), III, pp. 346-348; M. Lunenfeld, *The Council of the Santa Hermandad* (Univ. of Miami Press, 1970).

132 F. Soldevila, *Història dels catalans* (Barcelona, 1970), V, pp. 2458-2464; F. Peres Unzueta, *El sometent a través de la història* (Barcelona, 1924).

133 Cian, p. 50.

tamientos, the origins of rhyme, etc.) held ideas different from those of intellectuals from other parts of Spain. Eguía Ruiz was right to point out that there were many features of Catalan XVIIIth century culture that were typical of Spanish or of European intellectuals as a whole. But he was wrong to pay no attention to what was peculiar to Catalonia alone.¹³⁴

Masdeu's intellectual evolution probably constitutes the best example of how the thinking of Catalans developed symptoms of catalanism at the end of the XVIIIth century and beginning of the XIXth. Because of his long life, because of his constant interest in the movement of ideas in his country, because of a passionate temperament that led him to write more freely than others, a clear development is seen in his biography. In the reign of Charles III, he admires the Spain of enlightened despotism like virtually all other Catalans.¹³⁵ Spain has a good, enterprising government and its subjects can have confidence in it. In 1790 and 1794, he wrote favourable comments on past examples of decentralization. Whether he thought that these historical examples had value for the present cannot be said with any certainty. I guess he thought his comments relevant to the present because he conceived of history as *magistra vitae*. Furthermore, in 1790 and 1794 Charles IV was ruling and Spaniards did not feel as confident as in the days of Charles III. The War of Independence made Masdeu extremely aware of the need for political solutions. The autonomy of Catalonia must be re-established. Institutions of the crown of Aragon are to be resuscitated on a national level. If he had lived longer, he would have observed that the central government was not prepared to accept either the autonomy of Catalonia or Catalan suggestions about how to rule the nation. How would he have reacted? It would be impossible to ask this question of any other contemporary Catalan intellectual, but in Masdeu's case his ideas on the *Cid Campeador* may give us this insight into the future. His learned dispute against Risco is an indication of how he would react in a situation of conflict between Castile and Catalonia, as for instance in some episodes of the *Historia Roderici* in which the greatness and power of the Castilian hero are achieved at the expense of the Catalan count. It seems to me that Masdeu, who started

134 C. Eguía Ruiz, 'Sabios catalanes de los siglos XVIII y XIX', *Razón y Fe* (Madrid, 1934), CIV, pp. 344-358, and CV (1934), pp. 77-91.

135 P. Vilar, *La Catalogne dans l'Espagne moderne* (Paris, 1962), I, pp. 158-160. Cf. E. Allison Peers, *Catalonia infelix* (London, 1937), pp. 93-97; Soldevila, *Història*, V, pp. 2508-2509; id., *Un segle de vida catalana, 1814-1930* (Barcelona, 1961), p. 35.

as an enlightened writer almost completely unconscious of political questions, would have ended up as a most ardent supporter of XIXth century catalanism. A study of his work reveals a paradox worth considering: he was the most nationalistic Spanish intellectual of the time, but he was the most Catalan author as well.

In 1969, in his prologue to the IVth volume of the correspondence of José Finestres, M. Batllori stated that since the first volume was published in 1932 the picture of the intellectual history of Catalonia in the XVIIIth century had changed sufficiently to require a general and impartial revision of the new contributions to the subject. This revision he proposed to carry out in the introduction to the Vth volume of Finestres' correspondence.¹³⁶ Unfortunately, many years after that sensible wish, this Vth volume has still to appear. While we wait for its publication, let us provisionally consider how our Jesuit fits into the general picture of Catalan XVIIIth century culture. Fr. Casanovas, in his study on Finestres and the university of Cervera stressed the Catalan features of this renowned scholar: Finestres wrote in Catalan, he seriously studied Catalan law, he was uninterested in Castilian things. However, the alleged 'catalanism' of Finestres proves nothing because he belonged to a generation which had known political life in Catalonia before the *Nueva Planta*. It is not surprising that his acceptance of new conditions was not wholehearted. Similar patriotic attitudes, towards Catalonia and Valencia respectively, were those of Fr. Agustín Eura and Agustín Sales. Eura lived from 1680 to 1763, and Sales must have belonged roughly to the generation of Finestres and Mayans.¹³⁷ What is important to notice in Finestres' correspondence is that, from around 1752 onwards, he is obliged to give up the use of Catalan since his main Catalan correspondents, Ignasi de Dou y de Bassols and his brother Ramón Lázaro, write in Castilian. They are much younger than Finestres and they are much more castilianized.

Historians such as Antoni Comas have stressed the love of XVIIIth century Catalan intellectuals for their culture, their past and their language. However, their work may be seen as either an erudite activity with no relevance to the present or as an implicit justification of the past. Whichever of these two alternatives we choose, our decision will often remain an unsubstantiated guess.

136 I. Casanovas, M. Batllori (eds.), *Documents per la història cultural de Catalunya en el segle XVIII* (Barcelona, 1932-1969), IV, p. VII.

137 Comas, pp. 200-201, 676-679; on Juan Antonio and Gregorio Mayáns, see A. Mestre, *Historia. fueros y actitudes políticas* (Valencia, 1970), pp. 272-295.

Apart from very isolated examples such as the *Representació* of the Catalan deputies to the *cortes* of 1760, the eulogy of Valencian *fueros* by Agustín Sales published in 1764, or M.J. Sanelo's exaltation of Valencian *fueros* in the *Diario de Valencia* in 1800, there were no political claims in the Catalan-speaking regions in the second half of the XVIIIth and beginning of the XIXth century.¹³⁸ The activity of the deputies for Catalonia of the *cortes* of Cadiz was not, on the whole, regionalistic.¹³⁹ Hence, in this rarefied atmosphere of Catalan political claims, Masdeu's statements are somewhat precious; and since they were gradually developed through some decades, probably they were not abrupt changes or creations out of nothing, but natural developments, potentiality becoming actuality. And this is perhaps an exceptionally clear example of the often obscure but nonetheless genuine development of regionalistic ideas in Catalonia. Historians who want to prove that the reign of Charles III was not a period of Catalan unconsciousness, that it was simply a time when regionalistic or Catalan feelings remained potential, implicit, hidden, unreleased—either because of prudence (as probably in the case of Capmany) or simply because people were confident in the future of enlightened despotism— may find Masdeu's intellectual evolution good ammunition to store in their arsenal of proofs.

ROBERTO MANTELLI

138 E. Moreu-Rey, *El 'Memorial de greuges' del 1760* (Barcelona, 1968); J.M. Palop Ramos, 'Centralismo borbónico y reivindicaciones políticas en la Valencia del setecientos. El caso de 1760', *Homenaje a J. Reglá Campistol* (Valencia, 1975), II, pp. 65-77; J. Ribelles Comín, *Bibliografía de la lengua valenciana* (Madrid, 1939), III, pp. 443-447; Comas, p. 204; J. Rubió writes that Sanelo's exaltation of Valencian *fueros* appeared in the *Diario de Valencia* in 1802, *Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas*, V, p. 231.

139 F. Rahola y Trémols, 'Los diputados por Cataluña a las cortes de Cádiz', *Memoorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, IX (Barcelona, 1912); E. Jardí, op. cit.; J. Mercader Riba, *L'ideologia dels catalans del 1808* (Barcelona, 1935); M. García Venero, *Historia del nacionalismo catalán (1793-1936)* (Madrid, 1944), pp. 25-26.