

of Indians should be integrated into the nation. Dionisio Inca Yupanqui was the sole representative of indigenous origins at the Cortes of Cádiz, and some claimed this reflected “Indian indifference to the nation’s political process” (263). Debates about slavery got swayed by the need for the support of Cuban elites. In other words, the Constitution was ultimately produced by compromises made between ideological forces. Yet, Feros argues, it symbolically transformed “an empire—the Spanish—into a nation—Spain” (277).

The nature of the approach Feros takes leads to a generally top-down history. He examines a range of treatises and decrees and occasionally court cases and petitions. More use of sources such as sermons, plays, and novels could allow the author to track how the debates about patria and lineage gained currency in broader networks and popular culture. Since most of the essays and treatises and works of history with which Feros engages were authored by men, it is perhaps not surprising that women receive little attention in this examination of ideas. He does allude to the ways biological theories on differences between sexes changed in the eighteenth century, and he notes the participation of women in the defense of patria against the Napoleonic invasions. However, there could easily be more recognition of the roles of women and of gender in the debates about lineages and miscegenation. Feros takes an approach that is European and Atlantic World in scope. There is not much coverage of how Pacific holdings and peoples shaped the debates and conceptualizations discussed. Nonetheless, *Speaking of Spain* is a rich study that has a great deal to offer scholars of early modern thought, identity, and race.

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Miguel Martínez, *Front Lines. Soldiers' Writing in the Early Modern Hispanic*

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For the Spanish soldier Cristóbal Rodríguez Alva, a veteran of the wars in Italy and the Low Countries, the pen was a natural extension of the sword. When he finished his epic poem *La inquieta Flandes* in 1594, he claimed the text had been “watered with the blood of my veins, and written among the arms and the

furor of death" (31). Rodríguez Alva was not alone in combining military and literary pursuits. Decades earlier, on the other side of the globe, Alonso de Ercilla wrote his famous *La Araucana* (1589) by his own account "amid the very war, in the very marches and sieges" of the Spanish campaigns in Chile (29). Alonso de Salamanca, a soldier who had been captured after the Ottoman siege of La Goleta near Tunis in 1574, wrote a war diary in verse of his experiences while in captivity in Constantinople's bagnios. Baltasar del Hierro in turn published an epic poem on the mutiny of a Spanish garrison at the Tunisian coast. Many other literary soldiers of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries fill the pages of *Front Lines*, the felicitously titled study of Miguel Martínez, Assistant Professor of Spanish Literature at the University of Chicago. His highly original and well-researched monograph provides a fascinating and thought-provoking overview of the many ways in which Spanish soldiers experienced and experimented with reading and writing on the global battlefields of Spain's early-modern empire.

Rodríguez Alva's epic from 1594 on the war in the Low Countries illustrates how writing practices in the Spanish army crossed frontiers and oceans, appropriating and reshaping literary genres in the process. Written in Turin, his *La inquieta Flandes* was one of the many examples of the importance of Italy for the development of Spanish soldierly writing in the sixteenth century. As Martínez shows, Italian literary models (especially Ariosto and Petrarch) provided templates of heroism and suffering—but Italy also formed the scene where existing genres were redefined in the wake of the military revolution. Following the battle of Pavia, the traditional narrative of epic was transformed into various examples of gunpowder epic that favored the truthfulness of autobiographical eyewitness accounts over chivalric romance, positioning the infantry soldier on the battlefield against the aristocratic knight at the court. This development was consolidated with *La Araucana*, which in its depiction of the Mapuche fighters at the Chilean frontier called into question the very limits of the Spanish empire, thereby "Americanizing" soldierly writing about war in Europe. The popularity of this new form of epic is evident from *La inquieta Flandes*, which in its mimicking of *La Araucana* shows how Rodríguez Alva projected the war in Chile upon the war in the Low Countries in which he participated.

Martínez excels in discussing the multi-layered connections between, and intricacies of, these various texts. With a sharp eye for the ambiguities of literature and the multiple perspectives of killers and survivors, of the victor and the defeated, he shows how soldierly writing tried to make sense of the irrationality and contingency of war. Particularly convincing is his analysis of how

the highly organized military apparatus of the Spanish monarchy provided the material conditions for the constant production, circulation and distribution of literary culture among the soldiers—a global Renaissance that pervaded the barracks and battlefields from the Mediterranean to the North Sea and the Pacific. Less convincing are the conclusions he draws on the social dimensions of this literary culture. Martínez aims to show how soldierly literature not only narrated the experiences of soldiers, but also constituted the social structures in which these experiences took shape. In other words, he aims to identify a specific “society of soldiers” or even a “soldiers’ republic of letters” based on a “collective ethos” that could be mobilized against the very structures of Spanish imperial rule.

To reach this conclusion, Martínez interprets the texts he discusses as tokens of an evolving class identity. In their writings about the horrors of war, Spanish soldiers are said to have established a sense of “class solidarity” and “subaltern camaraderie” that defined them as a specific social group and as a “political subject” that resisted the fundamental assumptions of the Spanish empire. The Gramscian phrasing reveals how Martínez wants to turn Spain’s early-modern soldiers into actors of a different struggle—as is also revealed by his incidental remark that they remind him of Marx’s description of the Parisian proletariat. This analysis in terms of class is however not elaborated in detail, and therefore it remains a somewhat superficial argument, which, as the conclusion shows, is especially directed against the legacy of Franco in contemporary Spain.

More relevant, but also more problematic, is Martínez’ use of the concept “republic of letters.” That concept suggests a transnational and trans-literary community of individuals engaging in disinterested cultural exchange, but it is difficult to apply this framework to the material Martínez discusses, which is all in Spanish and which he interprets as being highly politically loaded. To pay the metaphor of a “republic of letters” justice, it would therefore have been worthwhile to look into the possible trans-literary and intertextual connections between soldiers’ writings in different languages. Spain’s armies were constituted by soldiers from various nationalities and linguistic communities, so the question arises to what extent the literary culture central to Martínez’ analysis traveled between these communities, for example between Italian, German, French and Dutch soldiers in the Low Countries’ wars. On one occasion Martínez mentions the Dutch appropriations of Spanish writing on the Mapuche in Chile; he unfortunately does not engage in a detailed comparison of different soldiers’ writings from various linguistic backgrounds to test his hypothesis of a transnational “republic of letters.” But, despite this missed

opportunity, Martínez' study offers much insight into a fascinating subculture of soldierly writing, and it provides inspiration for extending his approach to early-modern literary culture more broadly.

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James Delbourgo, *Collecting the World: Hans Sloane and the Origins of the British Museum*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017, 504pp., ISBN 978 0 674 73733 4. \$35.00.

In the last decade or so, such surveys as Arthur MacGregor's *Curiosity and Enlightenment* (New Haven, 2007) and the essay collections, *Early Modern Things* (New York, 2013) and *The Material Cultures of Enlightenment Arts and Sciences* (London, 2016) have probed the role of objects in constructing individual and national identities, as well as the practices of collecting and museum-formation as they embed scientific and economic discourse. In 2003, the British Museum opened its new permanent display, *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*. Reintegrating objects that have fallen out of the history of the British Museum and reuniting some of the objects that once formed the nucleus of the British Museum but now reside in different institutions (the British Library, the Natural History Museum), the new gallery both rehearses and challenges assumptions embedded in the freighted term "Enlightenment." Collaborative projects based at the British Museum—*Reconstructing Sloane* (2010) and *Enlightenment Architectures* (2017)—have continued the project of the Enlightenment Gallery. Exploiting the tools of digital humanities, these projects are sharpening our understanding of the role of the museum's founder, Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) in shaping the institution's collections and are exploring what his manuscript catalogs can tell us about the organization of information in the eighteenth century.

As scholars seek to delineate the roles of key figures associated with the Royal Society and who assembled important collections of books and objects, and as the British Museum grapples with the legacy of their founder Sloane and with what are now recognized as the problematic "ideals" of the Enlightenment, the appearance of James Delbourgo's biography *Collecting the World: Hans Sloane and the Origins of the British Museum* is particularly timely.