Introduction

Ana Sáez-Hidalgo and Berta Cano-Echevarría

At the end of the sixteenth century, an anonymous English text presented Spaniards in a singularly unflattering light: 'It is a most detestable slavery to be under a Spaniards subiection, worse then death it self, being hurtfull not only to the bodie but to the soule. Although he sometimes dissemble [sic] his nature, yet is he therefore not to be trusted'.¹ This attitude of distrust and demonization of the political and religious 'other', stemming from actual early modern confrontations, has also shaped the scholarly discourse in more recent times. What Julián Juderías labelled as the 'Black Legend' more than a century ago² became the point of departure for countless studies on the relations, not only between Spain and England, but also the British Isles and Iberia, thus hindering more nuanced understanding of the relations between the countries on Europe's western periphery. This is the territory explored by *Exile, Diplomacy and Texts: Exchanges between Iberia and the British Isles, 1500–1767*. Focused on the dynamics of exchange resulting from early modern geographical mobility, this volume develops an interdisciplinary narrative of early modern religious, political, and diplomatic exchanges between the Iberian Peninsula and the British Isles from the perspective of exchange rather than confrontation, bearing in mind Robert Muchembled's view that 'if conflicts [in early modern Europe] were destabilising, they also created a dialectic which contributed to the overall advance of European civilization'.³ Even at moments of sharpest military or religious confrontation, tension or antagonism, the exchanges of information and news, the movements and interactions of people, the transactions of objects and texts, and the representations of the 'other' never ceased between the British Isles and the Iberian Peninsula.

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1 A pageant of Spanish humours. Wherin are naturally described and liuely portrayed, the kinds and quallities of a signior of Spaine. Translated out of Dutche, By H.W. (London, [J. Windet for] Iohn Wolfe: 1599) n.p.

2 Juderías J., *La Leyenda negra: estudios acerca del concepto de España en el extranjero* (Barcelona: 1914).

3 Muchembled R., "Preface", in Schilling H. – Tóth G. (eds.), *Religious and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400–1700* (Cambridge: 2006) xviii–xxi, here xx. See also the groundbreaking Hackett H.A. (ed.), *Early Modern Exchanges: Dialogues between Nations and Cultures, 1550–1750* (Farnham: 2015). The number of publications and book series on early modern exchanges has grown significantly in recent years, and has explored not only material exchanges, but also the immaterial ones. There is no space here to account for all of these studies.

This volume poses the following question, then: how best to understand multiple forms of exchange carried out over a period of two-and-a-half centuries uniquely marked by phased contention and friendship, of inconstant alliances and corresponding antagonisms that challenged geographical binaries? Taking uncommon account of often-overlooked political manoeuvring between lesser players – Ireland and Portugal – amidst the greater rivalry of England and Spain, the essays included here gather testimonies and analyse texts that challenge conventional views of Anglo-Spanish relations as monolithic, consistent, and uniformly antagonistic, finding new evidence in a wide variety of little-known or virtually forgotten materials: from manuscript letters to printed pamphlets and books and the traces of reading in them; from official reports – whether of soldiers or prisoners – to notarized inventories of libraries; from visual artefacts with narrative value to textual accounts of events and their performances, as well as fictionalized travellers' accounts. The essays in this volume extract from these sources fresh and significant testimony of the heterogeneous transnational and transcultural conversations carried out among the diverse communities in early modern Iberia and the British Isles, through examination of a range of religious, cultural, and diplomatic encounters.

Such encounters occurred across significant geographical and cultural distances in early modern Europe, largely due to the developments in traveling routes, global transportation and trade since the end of the Middle Ages, resulting in greater mobility of people and goods.⁴ The recent recognition of such an increase in geographical mobility has brought a redefinition of the period as one 'more multidimensional and culturally fluid'.⁵ It is from this perspective that the essays in this volume transcend the traditional, overly simplistic binaries of the Anglo-Spanish, Anglo-Portuguese, Anglo-Irish, Hispano-Portuguese axes. Consequently, these essays open up the discussion of Anglo-Spanish and Anglo-Portuguese relations to interrogate the dynamics of the diverse communities of British and Irish people in the Iberian Peninsula, and of Spanish and Portuguese 'others' travelling to Britain and Ireland throughout the early modern period, an historical moment when the borders between Spain and Portugal, and Ireland and England were converted into much more

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- 4 Lucassen J. – Lucassen L., "The Mobility Transition Revisited, 1500–1900: What the Case of Europe Can Offer to Global History", *Journal of Global History* 4, 3 (2009) 347–377. See, for the use of the term 'mobility' rather than other near-synonyms like 'migration', Jürgens H.P. – Weller T.H. (eds.), *Religion und Mobilität: zum Verhältnis von raumbezogener Mobilität und religiöser Identitätsbildung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa* (Göttingen: 2010) 1–12.
- 5 Singh J.G. (ed.), *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion* (Chichester: 2013) 5.

liquid territories as a result of political take-over, plantation, and/or religious persecution.

This essay collection investigates the varieties of exchange resulting from early modern networks of religious exiles, merchants and diplomats, as well as travellers, soldiers and captives, among others. Aligning this focus with the work of Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham, who have argued that a network is 'not only a number of people in contact but also [in] the narrower sense [...] a complex and dynamic system',⁶ the contributors to this volume identify relevant networks of exchange between the British Isles and Iberia during the early modern period, and establish how, in a variety of ways, they disseminated transnationally a striking panoply of cultural elements, material and non-material, visual and textual. In that regard, the seminaries established by recusant British Catholics throughout the Continent can be considered prototypical. Working in concord towards one purpose, namely the re-conversion of Britain to Catholicism, and relying on the assistance of fellow-Catholics in France, Spain, and Portugal, these British exiles established webs of communication and transportation for students, professors and staff in and out of the British Isles and throughout continental locations, a mobility that, as Liesbeth Corens has demonstrated, shaped their identity and the nature of their relation to their homeland.⁷ Notably, too, as Liam Chambers and Thomas O'Connor have argued,⁸ these institutions were neither isolated nor removed, from their location, or from each other. Rather, they were among the most fertile and productive conduits of European interaction and exchange during the early modern period, even providing information from one country to another and hosting travellers of their own nationality. The movement of people between the British Isles and the Continent prompted by seminaries and colleges such as those in Valladolid, Lisbon and Seville necessarily brought about an exchange and dissemination of material objects for their worship, liturgy, education, and to support their ideological purposes, a range of which are considered in this volume.

6 Raymond J. – Moxham N. (eds.), *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: 2016) 8. This idea is further developed in ch. 3, "News Networks: Putting the 'News' and 'Networks' Back in", *ibidem*, 102–129.

7 Corens L., *Confessional Mobility and English Catholics in Counter-Reformation Europe* (Oxford: 2019).

8 Chambers L. – O'Connor T. (eds.), *College Communities Abroad: Education, Migration and Catholicism in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: 2017) 1–33; see also their *Forming Catholic Communities. Irish, Scots and English College Networks in Europe, 1568–1918* (Brill: 2018).

Similar networks of exchange proved integral to the dissemination of information and news throughout early modern Europe, as has been widely studied.⁹ Paul Goring has pointed out that ‘in the early modern period news rapidly became a highly developed enterprise, involving vast numbers of agents and communication routes’.¹⁰ These frequently overlapped with the networks used by other groups to pass on information or propaganda. There is evidence that some of the so-called ‘avisi’ or ‘avisos’ that were distributed in manuscript form among the English colleges on the Continent ended up in the hands of Spanish printers avid for news on the persecution in England, a best-selling topic.¹¹ The part played by the dissemination of news in the ideologization of the ‘other’ was neither stable nor univocal, as the myth of the “Black Legend” insists. A range of groups competed to disseminate a stereotype that suited their purposes, politics and religion, but these again were mutable and adaptable to circumstances.

Likewise diplomacy, as the institution epitomizing transnational relations, both in peace and war, was at the heart of numerous exchanges between the states, transcending the political to reach, as Tracey A. Sowerby and Joanna Craigwood have variously shown, the cultural, the artistic and the literary.¹² Amicable conversation between courts was established by means of diplomatic missions, beginning in the sixteenth century, some more successful than others; but moments of tension could also prove richly productive, bringing an unprecedented interest in knowing the opponent and therefore paving the way for a variety of texts and objects that extended beyond the conventional reports from ambassadors. Visual artefacts, such as the paintings of battles decorating the Sala de las Batallas where ambassadors were received in the

9 See, apart from the abovementioned Raymond – Moxham, *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, Davies S. – Fletcher P. (eds.), *News in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: 2014); Dooley B. (ed.), *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: 2010).

10 Goring P., “A Network of Networks: Spreading the News in an Expanding World of Information”, in Brandtæg S. – Goring P. – Watson C. (eds.), *Travelling Chronicles: News and Newspapers from the Early Modern Period to the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: 2018) 3–24, here 4.

11 Some of these have been traced in Allison A.F. – Rogers D.M., *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640: An Annotated Catalogue*, vol. 2: *Works in Languages Other than English* (Aldershot: 1989); see also Murphy M., *St Gregory’s College, Seville, 1592–1767* (London: 1992) 115–122.

12 Sowerby T.A. – Craigwood J. (eds.), *Cultures of Diplomacy and Literary Writing in the Early Modern World* (Oxford – New York: 2019); see also their “English Diplomacy, Textual Production, and Early Modern Publics: An Introduction”, *Huntington Library Quarterly* (forthcoming).

monastery of El Escorial, or the Somerset House portrait representing the signing of the peace of London in 1604, present us with the double face of diplomacy: looking for peace and at the same time pointing towards the possibility of waging war. Their role as intermediators for groups of otherwise voiceless communities, such as captives or religious dissidents, is often neglected because their missions were sometimes surrounded by pomp and spectacle. In this volume we aim to shed light on this double side of ambassadors as at once silent mediators and visual representatives of their masters and monarchs. Thus, diplomats and their missions are not only vehicles of transmission but become themselves the focus of attention and the protagonists of accounts, poems, chronicles and texts such as Tomé Pinheiro de Veiga's *Fastiginia*, which are difficult to classify generically. Reading these texts and artefacts in a new light is the purpose of this collection.

To accommodate such diverse yet highly interrelated topics, the volume is divided into three sections that articulate the manners in which all these types of transnational exchanges took place between Iberia and the British Isles in the early modern period, as studied in the individual chapters. Thus, each section presents instances of interaction with the 'other': the encounter, the narration and the reading. The first section, 'Encountering the Other', explores occurrences of transnational relations ranging from military collaboration to the delicate intricacies and tensions derived from diplomatic missions, and passing through the complexities faced by nationals of Ireland in their interaction with other countries. Glyn Redworth's re-evaluation of the English contribution at the Battle of Saint-Quentin (1557) brings to the discussion not only written documentary sources, but visual representations drawn by one of the witnesses of the battle, Antoon van den Wijngaerde, whose sketches would later be used in the grand fresco that decorates the *Sala de las Batallas* in the Escorial monastery. English historiography has been inclined to play down the level of English involvement when Mary Tudor lent her husband Philip II a substantial military force to help him in his war against the French. This interpretation is consonant with the sense of English national independence as, according to critics, the English would have been reluctant to join Philip's multinational army. Early contemporary sources, however, tell a different story, and English testimonies proclaim the courage and commitment of their troops. Despite differing opinions of the English involvement, Redworth observes how Wijngaerde's sketch of the march on the fortress of Ham pictures the English contingent in a very strategic position, by the side of the king himself, a place of honour that would not have been possible if the intervention of the English troops at the previous siege of Saint-Quentin had been nothing but significant. The reconsideration of this episode as an instance of collaboration

between the English and the Spanish, rather than one of confrontation or obstruction, opens the door to different ways of reassessing the position of the various nationalities in their diverse encounters.

This is the case with Anglo-Portuguese relations. Friction between Portugal and England may seem to be exceptional, given the long-term alliance between these two countries, but Susana Oliveira's chapter underscores the diplomatic tensions that could arise from a perceived lack of balance in status and a transgression of each other's territorial boundaries. This imbalance is illustrated by the fact that while successive Portuguese ambassadors were sent to the English court, only one embassy went to Portugal in the period before the Iberian Union of 1580. However, this English embassy demonstrates how successful an ambassador could be in even the most inauspicious circumstances. Thomas Wilson's mission was to protest about and obtain compensation for the sinking by the Portuguese of an English ship with its crew and valuable cargo off the shores of Liberia. This delicate matter was made more difficult by the ongoing attacks of English privateers against the Portuguese, a matter that the successive ambassadors had been unsuccessfully bringing up as an issue with Queen Elizabeth. Sending a mission was, however, a way of acknowledging Portugal as a player in the international arena, not side-lined by Spain. It also opened up new networks of exchange with the merchant community and religious exiles, and certainly provided intelligence about the politics and the fluctuating power of the Portuguese court. So even when the goals of the mission were not met, its achievements proved rewarding. As Oliveira puts it, the aim of 'every diplomatic mission is to put the rhetoric of ambiguity at the service of peace and agreement'. By making the most of the ambiguities of diplomacy, Wilson became the man-in-the-know about Portuguese affairs upon his return to England.

Ambassadors were oftentimes involved in interceding for captives to be released. The priority was always the liberation of the most privileged, while the hard work of freeing the more common prisoners was usually undertaken by religious orders. The peripheral situation of Irish captives makes their stories especially poignant as they were left behind in many ransoming schemes because they were not a priority for the governments that they had been serving while taken captive. Thomas O'Connor offers a picture of the circumstances of Irish captives in northern Africa through a broad survey of archival sources. His focus is 'located in the rapidly changing geo-political and commercial circumstances that marked Irish involvement in expanding British and Spanish activity in the Maghreb'. As the already uprooted Irish were a mobile, resourceful minority they undertook military service for Britain and Spain and also found opportunities to participate in Mediterranean trade networks. Their

ambiguous position as Catholic subjects of Protestant Monarchs allowed them to embed themselves both with English and Spanish communities, but this marginality also allowed for them to be left behind on too many occasions. The multiple stories of this human traffic have sometimes left a record when the captives were released, escaped or went through a process of reintegration into Christianity after having converted to Islam, but, in all probability, many anonymous lives in captivity left no trace.

The second section of the book, 'Narrating the Other', brings together three studies of manners of representing the 'other', whether through the dissemination of popular pamphlets bringing news from another country, in accounts of military victories and their historiographical depiction, or in the description of people and customs from other countries in transnational encounters. The narration of the 'other' through half-truths and deceit is central to the argument in Berta Cano-Echevarría's chapter. Showing how 'the construction of a national enemy does not necessarily mean a vilification of the people of the opposing nation', Cano-Echevarría analyses the 'White Legend' created in Spain to disseminate and promote an image of the English that best suited the Spanish government for its plans for the British Isles. Although news about England was sparse, what there was arrived via the English Catholic colleges in the Iberian Peninsula, where the information they received in the form of letters from England was selected and translated with the purpose of promoting their mission: to return their nation to the Catholic faith. Through a variety of texts (newsletters, martyrs' accounts or even popular romances) the Spanish people were led to believe that most English citizens were subjected by a tyrant regime that persecuted them and prevented their natural inclination towards Catholic worship. The aim of the Spanish government was therefore to liberate them. Jesuitical equivocation played a significant role in this construction of identities, as not telling the truth in certain difficult circumstances was, though controversial, a way to protect the Catholic mission.

Representations of national identity were not only projected onto 'the other'; a concern with national self-representation was also prescient in the period, and this was best defined when the image of the self was constructed through opposing identities. Rui Carvalho Homem analyses a fascinating but neglected text that offers a rich tapestry of everyday life and courtly celebrations as experienced by the author in the guise of the invented persona of the extravagant warrior-bishop Turpin. The *Fastigínia's* pastiche nature opens to all sort of observations, incidents and anecdotes derived from the visit of its protagonist to Valladolid in 1605, then the capital of Spain, a visit which coincided with the festivities that celebrated the birth of the new heir to the throne of Spain, and the arrival of a seven-hundred-strong English embassy, led by

the Lord High Admiral of England, Charles Howard, to ratify the peace with England signed the previous year. In his reading of the *Fastigínia* Carvalho Homem introduces the perspective of imagology, which offers an alertness to 'the comparative tropes energizing the narrative', and brings to life the contrasts between Portuguese and Spaniards, Catholics and Protestants, northerners and southerners, and the role of women and religion in the midst of this revelry. The concept of 'foreignness' at a time when Portugal was under the Spanish crown fluctuates as the introduction of the English visitors breaks the binary: as Carvalho Homem remarks, the *Fastigínia* foregrounds 'the uncertainties and perplexities that envelop the persona's outspoken views, and a *tertium comparationis* that lends density and complexity to his otherwise polarized remarks'.

The dissemination of news in early modern Europe as well as the interpretation and reinterpretation of this news according to the national prevailing ideology is the topic of the last chapter in this section. Tamara Pérez-Fernández focuses for this purpose on the Fall of Granada in 1492, the last remaining stronghold of Islam in Western Europe. The Catholic monarchs, who accomplished this final conquest in the Iberian Peninsula, were eager to present it not as a regional dispute over territories but as a 'holy war that transcended the boundaries of the European kingdoms and that would be determinant in the final success of the Christian side in its clash against Islam'. As the news reached courts throughout Europe, various celebrations took place, and Ferdinand of Aragón made sure he had control over the narration of what had taken place. In England the Archbishop of Canterbury announced the news at St Paul's Cross with a solemn oration that was followed by a general procession. The process of incorporating this episode and its national celebration in historiographical accounts after the Protestant Reformation shows the difficulties of reconciling ideology with a desire to include episodes of international magnitude into these texts. Pérez-Fernández analyses the variations between Edward Hall's version of the event in his *Chronicle*, the rendering of the same event in Holinshed's *Chronicles* of 1577, and the very different version in the 1587 edition of Holinshed.

The third, and final section, 'Reading the Other', includes three chapters with a particular focus on the textual, as they analyse specific instances in which reading happens both through the material objects – books – or in the theatrical interpretation emanating from narratives of diplomatic encounters. In her chapter, Ana Sáez-Hidalgo analyses the traces of reading left in a Protestant book, *The Second Part of Christian Exercise*, that was used by English Catholics in Seville, during a period when the Spanish Inquisition tightly controlled

access to heterodox books, and particularly those coming from Protestant countries as does this one. Nevertheless, a number of copies escaped being seized and found their way either into the hands of English collaborators of the Inquisition, who checked the orthodoxy of their contents, or joined the holdings of English seminaries. In the latter case, such texts were essential for future priests as they learned to refute the arguments of their sectarian opposition. However, Sáez-Hidalgo argues, the peculiar features of the volume examined in this essay point toward different kind of usage: *The Second Part of Christian Exercise* is a Protestantization of Robert Persons' *Christian Directory*. As Sáez-Hidalgo shows, instead of engaging with this Protestantized work in an 'overtly hostile and combative' manner, the English Catholics in Spain who left annotations and markings in this book collated the text against Persons's original in order to restore it to Catholic orthodoxy, replicating Persons' exact wording. Thus, corrections that on first glance might seem the work of censors result in fact from the circumstances of exile and persecution, the subsequent culture of economy of resources, and the strategies of scribal culture in the dissemination by recusant Catholics of their own texts. Thus, as Sáez-Hidalgo notes, 'recycling the seized copy of *The Second part* by way of correcting the Protestant appropriations and reverting it to Persons's own text [...] constitutes a utilitarian (re)use of the book'.

The education of the English Catholics who came to take refuge in the Colleges of the Peninsula was different to that offered in other Jesuit institutions. These young boys, trained to return to their country as Catholic priests and keep alive their religion, needed a specific education that is best understood through their access to books. Marta Revilla-Rivas's chapter studies the library of the English College of St Alban's in Valladolid as it existed in the earlier times of the College. Focusing on this period, when the persecution against Catholics was most fierce, and more specifically on the books in English, helps to see which works reached the shelves of the College and were then used as educational tools for the young English exiles. For this purpose, Revilla-Rivas analyses the inventory that was made in 1767, when the Jesuits were expelled from Spain and all their properties confiscated and inventoried. The inventory of the library in St Alban's offered a special challenge to decipher the titles of the books in English as it is clear that the officers who undertook the task had no knowledge of the language and were phonetically transcribing a Spanish aural interpretation of English spelling. An added interest of the inventory is that it was made following the order in the shelves so that 'the list acts like a snapshot of the topographical contents of the library, with a division into sections, one for each bookshelf, and one for forbidden books'. This helps us

understand how each volume was understood and classified and which books were forbidden, placed in shelves also known as the *infierno*, to which the students had no access. Books of English history and literature, including some well-known classics, are among the holdings, but, as could be expected, the collection contains mainly religious titles.

Mark Hutchings' chapter revisits the episode of the English embassy's visit to Valladolid on occasion of the ratification of the peace in 1605 that was central to Carvalho Homem's chapter but through a different primary text and from a different angle. Hutchings proposes a reading of one of the English accounts of the embassy, Robert Treswell's *A Relation of Such Things*, with the intention of exploring how texts such as this could function at the time as re-enactments of the actual diplomatic event. Accounts of diplomatic embassies tend to be dry and devoid of artistic aspirations. While modern historians make use of them, bringing together all the available sources in an attempt to come as close as possible to the actual event, contemporary readers of these accounts were certainly looking for a different experience, an experience that may be not that different from that of reading a performance text. The common assumption that diplomacy is theatrical is taken one step further by Hutchings. His exploration of how diplomatic accounts, in their obsession with rendering a record of events as they had happened, with no adornment or personal comment, argues that they can also be read as an extended stage direction. If we distinguish 'between the *Haupttext*, or main text, i.e. the dialogue, and *Nebentext*, the apparatus of stage directions, or side text', the cast of characters, entrances, exits, gestures, order in processions and description of the attire of the protagonists in Treswell's account constitute the *Nebentext*, and the *Haupttext* is omitted, leaving the description of diplomatic ceremonial to speak for itself.

Throughout these chapters, the volume *Exile, Diplomacy and Texts: Exchanges between Iberia and the British Isles, 1500–1767* combines the philological, the historiographical and the cultural approaches into a multidisciplinary analysis of the relationship between these two geographic areas of Europe's periphery, and the exchanges happening among them, the networks facilitating them, and their results in a variety of textual expressions. The presence of British and Irish people in the Peninsula, and vice versa, brought about complex networks that doubtlessly contributed to establish the basis of a common culture of exchange of ideas and artistic expression. These 'visitors' faced a world that was very different from their own. This is the type of situation in which exchange becomes a basic strategy for mutual understanding between communities and individuals.

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