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### Shaping Spanishness

*Literary Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia in England and the Netherlands, ca. 1554-1621*

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# I Introduction

At the end of the sixteenth century, a Dutch pamphlet was published that characterised the Spaniard in a set of fixed qualities. This pamphlet, called *Aerdt ende Eygenschappen van Seignor van Spangien* (1598), defines the Spaniard as ambitious, arrogant, avaricious, bloodthirsty, boastful, cowardly, cruel, deceitful, disloyal, gluttonous, greedy, hypocritical, lascivious, and revengeful. No single positive attribute is reserved for the Spaniard or ‘Seignor ydoon, uyt de Spaensche Natie’ in this pamphlet or foreign translations of the pamphlet.<sup>1</sup> The English ‘Signor of Spaine’<sup>2</sup>, the French ‘Segnor Espagnol’<sup>3</sup>, the German ‘Signor Spangniols’<sup>4</sup>; all were afflicted with these overtly negative qualities.<sup>5</sup>

This bleak image of the Spaniard is a result of the Black Legend or ‘la leyenda negra’, as it was called at its coinage.<sup>6</sup> The Black Legend is a narrative which ‘systematically denigrates the character and achievements of the Spanish people’.<sup>7</sup> In novels, pamphlets, plays, paintings, and songs, stereotypical ‘images’ of the Spaniard – ‘the mental or discursive representation or reputation of a person, group ethnicity or ‘nation’ – were constantly confirmed and reinforced, resulting into a negative view of Spain and Spaniards that lasted for centuries.<sup>8</sup> Its origin is usually placed in Italy, which had various violent encounters with Spain and Spaniards during the early sixteenth century.<sup>9</sup> In the course of the sixteenth century, European countries such as England, France, Germany, and the Netherlands developed their own versions of the Black Legend. Over time, these narratives, which influenced each other, fused into a worldwide phenomenon of shared anti-Spanish sentiment.<sup>10</sup>

Until recently, these Black Legend narratives have heavily influenced our interpretation of the past. Especially the study of late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century England and the Netherlands, the main focus of this thesis, is coloured in Hispanophobic terms. Events such as the failure of the Spanish Armada to invade England in 1588, or the violent attacks

1 *Aerdt ende Eygenschappen van Seignor van Spangien* (N.p.: n.p., 1598), section ‘Seignor is een Enghel in de Kercke’. [Señor and don, from the Spanish Nation].

2 H.W., *A Pageant of Spanish Humours* (London: John Wolfe, 1599), A4r.

3 *Emblemes sus les actions perfections et moeurs du Segnor Espagnol* (Middelburg: Simon Molard, 1608), title page.

4 *Emblemata, Welche das Leben die Thaten Sitten und wunderbare verwandlung dess Signor Spangniol* (N.p.: n.p., n.d.), n.p.

5 For more on the transnational iterations of the pamphlet, see Fernando Martínez Luna, *Een ondraaglijk juk. Nederlandse beeldvorming van Spanje en de Spanjaarden ten tijde van de Opstand (1566-1609)* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2018), 36–39; Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, “‘The Spanish Signior’ or the Transnational Peregrinations of an Anti-Hispanic Dutch Broadsheet”, *Renaissance Studies* 36, no. 1 (2021): 46–64.

6 The concept was coined by the Spanish journalist and historian Julián Juderías (1877-1918). Julián Juderías, *La leyenda negra y la verdad histórica. Contribución al estudio del concepto de España en Europa, de las causas de este concepto y de la tolerancia política y religiosa en los países civilizados* (Madrid: Tip. de la ‘Rev. de Arch., Bibl. y Museos’, 1914).

7 William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England. The development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558–1660* (Duke University Press, 1971), 3.

8 Joep Leerssen, ‘Image’, in *Imagology. The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters. A critical survey*, ed. Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 342.

9 Among others, the kingdom of Naples was conquered by Spain in 1503 and Spaniards committed diverse atrocities in Rome in 1527. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England*, 5. For the origins of the Black Legend in Italy, see Sverker Arnoldsson, *La Leyenda Negra. Estudios sobre sus orígenes* (Göteborg: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1960).

10 Maltby, *The Black Legend in England*, 139.

by Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, the Duke of Alba (1507-82), of the Netherlandish cities of Naarden (1572), Zutphen (1572), and Haarlem (1573) are quickly recalled when one thinks of late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century Anglo-Spanish and Netherlandish-Spanish encounters.<sup>11</sup> Although these hostile encounters were of undeniable relevance in English and Netherlandish history and the development of the image of Spain and Spaniards in this period, they have also blinded us to other, more neutral or even Hispanophilic encounters that occurred in the same period. Spanish literature was abundantly translated into Dutch and English, being an important source of inspiration for the English and Netherlandish early-modern literary canons. Spain and Spanish culture, moreover, proved to be alluring for many Englishmen and Netherlanders in this period. They travelled to Spain and other parts of the Spanish Empire as adventurers, diplomats, (educational) travellers, merchants, religious exiles, and soldiers. Furthermore, they imported Spanish products such as cosmetics, garments, literature, oils, perfume, salt, subtropical fruits, leather, wine, wood, and wool.<sup>12</sup>

This thesis is a contribution to the emerging research on these still under-researched encounters with, and resulting views of, Spain and Spaniards. It explores the extraordinary interplay between Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia in Dutch and English literature in the period spanning between ca. 1554-1621.<sup>13</sup> I argue that through contact with Spain, Spaniards, and/or Spanish culture, whether this is direct contact within the Spanish Empire and/or places frequented by Spaniards, or indirect contact through (translated) Spanish literature and imported Spanish products, the ideas of what Spanishness entailed in England and the Netherlands evolved in variegated ways. By ‘Spanishness’, I mean those distinctive aspects of Spaniards, Spain, and Spanish culture that supposedly are characteristic of Spanish “national” identity. Instead of shaping Spanishness exclu-

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11 Luna, *Een ondraaglijk juk*, 101–5.

12 The following studies comment on the import of these Spanish products: Selma Barham, ‘Burgos Insurance for Basque Ships: Maritime Policies from Spain, 1547-1592’, *Archivaria* 11 (1980): 94; Pauline Croft, ‘Trading with the Enemy: 1585-1604’, *The Historical Journal* 32, no. 2 (1989): 281; Holly Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (John Hopkins University Press, 2011), 149–51; Victor Enthoven, ‘Zee-land en de opkomst van de Republiek. Handel en strijd in de Scheldedelta, c. 1550-1621’ (PhD thesis, Universiteit Leiden, 1996), 11; Farah Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama* (Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 42–44, 126–29; Johanna Ferket, “‘Dat eene gek voor deed, dat willen strax al de anderen na doen’: Kritiek op mode in het Nederlandstalig toneel van de zeventiende eeuw’, *Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandse maatschappij voor taal- en letterkunde en geschiedenis* 69 (2015): 62–63; Bethany Helen Pleydell, ‘The Spanish Tudors: fashioning the Anglo-Spanish elite through dress, c.1553-1603, and beyond’ (PhD thesis, University of Bristol, 2019), 6, 85–87, 92; Eddy Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders of de handelsbetrekkingen der Zuidelijke Nederlanden met de Iberische wereld 1598-1648* (Brussel: Paleis der Academiën, 1971), 254, 356–58.

13 Pivotal studies in this emerging research are Frans Blom and Olga van Marion, ‘Lope de Vega and the Conquest of Spanish Theater in the Netherlands’, *Anuario Lope de Vega. Texto, literatura, cultura* 23 (2017): 155–77; Frans Blom and Olga van Marion, *Spaans toneel voor Nederlands publiek* (Verloren, 2021); Frans Blom, ‘Enemy Treasures: The Making and Marketing of Spanish Comedia in the Amsterdam Schouwburg’, in *Literary Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia in Britain and the Low Countries (1550-1850)*, ed. Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez (Amsterdam University Press, 2020), 115–44; Rena Bood, ‘Between Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia. The Spanish Fascination in English and Dutch 17th-century Literature’ (PhD thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2020); Joyce Boro, ‘Spain in Translation: Peritextual Representations of Cultural Difference, 1614-1625’, in *Thresholds of Translation. Paratexts, Print, and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Britain (1473-1660)*, ed. Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 101–36; Barbara Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy. Emulating Spain in English Literature* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, ed., *Literary Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia in Britain and the Low Countries (1550-1850)* (Amsterdam University Press, 2020); Tim Vergeer, ‘The Theatre of Emotions. The Success of Spanish Drama in the Low Countries (1617–1672)’ (PhD thesis, Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, 2022).

sively in a Hispanophobic framework, Englishmen and Netherlanders of the long sixteenth century used a fluid set of representations to shape Spanishness in their literary sources. I demonstrate that these images could be placed within a gradated spectrum, ranging from fervent Hispanophobia to explicit Hispanophilia, and shaped not only Spanishness, but also Englishness and Netherlandishness. Ultimately, I show with this study that images of Spain and Spaniards, as well as those of Englishmen and Netherlanders, are unstable and offer no consistent or exclusively negative or positive representation of Spanishness, Englishness, and Netherlandishness.

In what follows, I will first discuss the textual tradition of the English and Netherlandish Black Legend narratives. Then, I will delve into the three main themes and arguments of this thesis by recounting past research on the image of Spain and Spaniards and by highlighting how my thesis contributes to this research. Thereafter, I will discuss my methodology, which consists of approaches from the field of imagology, translation studies, the study of appropriations, cultural transfer studies, and the study of paratexts. Finally, I will discuss the primary sources selected for this thesis and give an overview of the four chapters of this thesis.

### **The English and Netherlandish Black Legend narratives and their key literary sources**

In earlier studies on Spanishness in Dutch and English literature, most attention has been reserved for the negative representation of Spanishness established in the English and Netherlandish Black Legend narratives. The main components of the English Black Legend narrative were created during the joint reign (1554–58) of Mary Tudor (1516–58) and King of Spain Philip II (1527–98), who at the time was Prince of Spain. In writings of exiled English Protestants, for instance, Spaniards were painted as lascivious brutes who would rape English virgins and wives, which contributed to the idea in the English Black Legend narrative that Spaniards were inherently lustful and violent. Additionally, Spanishness and Spanish Catholicism was portrayed as the opposite of Englishness and English Protestantism. This last aspect would also be stressed in literature that was written during the reign (1558–1603) of Elizabeth Tudor (1533–1603), especially in works published in periods of Anglo-Spanish tension.<sup>14</sup> The failure of the Spanish Armada in 1588, for instance, was interpreted as a symbol of the moral and military superiority of the English nation and Protestantism as a whole.<sup>15</sup> Other elements of the English Black Legend narrative were directly inspired by the Netherlandish Black Legend narrative that was established during the Dutch Revolt (1566–1648).<sup>16</sup> First identified by K.W. Swart and further developed by other scholars, this Netherlandish Black Legend narrative consisted of '(i) the diabolical machinations of the Spanish Inquisition; (ii) the private vices of Spain's supposedly greatest king, Philip II; (iii)

14 For more anti-Spanish sentiment in the works of Marian exiles, see Mark G. Sanchez, 'Anti-Spanish sentiment in English literary and political writing 1553–1603' (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2004), 26–70. See also Paul Little, 'The origins of the political ideologies of John Knox and the Marian Exiles' (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1972). For a discussion of Spanishness as opposite to Englishness in Elizabethan drama, see Eric Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain. Ethnopoetics and Empire* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

15 Maltby, *The Black Legend in England*, 76.

16 Dutch anti-Spanish pamphlets were translated into English. For more on their impact on Elizabethan England, see Hugh Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt, 1560–1700* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1–29. For more on the overall entwinement of the two Black Legend narratives, see Maltby, *The Black Legend in England*, 44–60. For an elaborate overview of the development of both the English and Netherlandish Black Legend narratives, see Maltby, 44–60. Finally, for another elaborate overview of this development, see J.N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700. The Formation of a Myth* (The University of Michigan Press, 2000), 309–27, 351–93.

Spain's master plan for universal empire; and (iv) the innate cruelty of the Spanish people'.<sup>17</sup> In numerous anti-Spanish pamphlets written by Netherlandish rebels, key figures of the Spanish cause were afflicted with the negative qualities mentioned in the *Aerdt ende Eygenschappen*. Subsequently, Spain became a legitimate enemy to fight against.<sup>18</sup>

A couple of literary texts have been identified as vital for these Black Legend narratives, which, as mentioned before, were influenced by each other.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps the most famous of these is the *Apologie* (1581) or 'Apology' by William of Orange (1533-84), the rebel leader of the Dutch Revolt.<sup>20</sup> It includes all elements typical of the Netherlandish Black Legend as identified by Swart, and was the first political pamphlet which directly attacked King of Spain Philip II for his tyrannical governance of the Netherlands. Initially, Philip was exempted from attack by Orange's rebel party, which directed it instead to ministers of Philip, such as Cardinal Granvelle (1517-86), the Duke of Alba, and the Spanish Inquisition. They were accused of deceitfully manipulating the innocent, well-intentioned Spanish king to fulfil their tyrannical ambitions, and of introducing anti-protestant policies so cruel and severe that eventually, almost the entire Netherlandish population would be exterminated, including the Catholic Netherlanders.<sup>21</sup> Yet, after Orange was outlawed in 1580 for the price of 'vijffuentwintich duysent goude croonen' by Philip for being the cause of the political and violent unrest in the Netherlands, Orange directed his critique towards his Spanish ruler in a personal defence against Philip's proscription.<sup>22</sup> In this *Apologie*, Orange held Philip directly accountable for the cruel and tyrannical governance of the Netherlands. He also defamed Philip by, among other things, questioning his claim to the Netherlands due to his Spanish origin and by accusing him of murdering his son Don Carlos

17 K. W. Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War', in *Britain and the Netherlands: Volume V Some Political Mythologies*, ed. J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), 38. For a thorough study of the myth of the Spanish Inquisition in the Netherlands, see Werner Thomas, 'De mythe van de Spaanse inquisitie in de Nederlanden van de zestiende eeuw', *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 105, no. 3 (1990): 325-53.

18 For the development of the Netherlandish Black Legend narrative in Dutch pamphlets, see Luna, *Een ondraaglijk juk*. For the Netherlandish Black Legend narrative in Dutch plays, see Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, 'Los neerlandeses en el teatro de la primera fase de la guerra de Flandes (1568-1609)', in *España y las 17 provincias de los Países Bajos: una revisión historiográfica (XVI-XVIII)*, ed. Ana Crespo Solana and Manuel Herrero Sánchez (Servicio de Publicaciones, 2002), 811-32. For overviews of negative and positive representations of Spanishness in the sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century Netherlands, see S.A. Vosters, *Spanje in de Nederlandse Litteratuur* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1955), 5-43; Marijke Meijer Drees, *Andere landen, andere mensen. De beeldvorming van Holland versus Spanje en Engeland omstreeks 1650* (Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers, 1997), 79-99.

19 Although in particular Dutch anti-Spanish pamphlets were translated into English and subsequently shaped the English Black Legend narrative, unique elements of the English Black Legend narrative such as the failure of the Spanish Armada of 1588 also found their way in Dutch anti-Spanish propaganda. See, for instance, the pamphlets *Cort verhael vande groote Victorie die Godt almachtich de Conincklijcke Mayesteyt van Enghelant verleent heeft, over de Spaensche Armade* (Amsterdam: Barent Adriaenszoon, 1588) and *Warachtighe Relatie, overslach ende inhout der Krijchs-rustinghe ofte Armade* (Delft: Bruyn Harmanszoon Schinckel, 1588).

20 Although Orange is presented as the sole author of the *Apologie*, it is likely that the majority of the text was composed by Orange's advisor and court chaplain Pierre l'Oyseleur de Villiers (1530-90). Orange's advisors Hubert Languet (1518-81) and Philippe du Plessis-Mornay (1549-1623) were also involved in the editing process. K. W. Swart, *Willem van Oranje en de Nederlandse Opstand 1572-1584*, ed. Raymond Fagel, M.E.H.N. Mout, and Henk van Nierop (Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers, 1994), 190.

21 Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War', 38-43; Luna, *Een ondraaglijk juk*, 10-11, 95-106.

22 *Ban, ende edict by vorme Van proscriptie, uuytgegaen ende gedecreteert by onssen alreghenadichsten Heere de Coninck, tegens Wilhelm van Nassau, Prince van Oraignyen* (Den Bosch: Jan Schoeffler, 1580), Biiir. [twenty-five thousand golden crowns].

(1556-68) and third wife Elisabeth of Valois (1545-68). Additionally, Orange perpetuated stereotypical notions of Spaniards as naturally arrogant, avaricious, cruel, lustful, and tyrannical people, akin to Moors and Jews.<sup>23</sup> Orange thereby further solidified the Black Legend image of the Spaniard that had been carefully constructed in earlier anti-Spanish Dutch pamphlets.<sup>24</sup> As the *Apologie* was published in the spring of 1581 in English, French, Latin, and probably German besides Dutch, with the intent to be read by ‘Coninghen ende andere Potentaten van der Christenheit’, and was also reprinted multiple times, these negative depictions of Philip and Spaniards also spread throughout Europe.<sup>25</sup>

English texts which have been influential to the Black Legend, or rather the English Black Legend narrative, are the Protestant history and martyrology *Acts and Monuments* (1563) by John Foxe (1516-87) and the geography and history *The Principall Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589) by Richard Hakluyt (ca. 1552-1616). The *Acts and Monuments* describes the persecution of Protestants by the Roman Catholic Church. From the second edition (1570) onwards, a chapter on Spanish martyrs persecuted by the ‘cruell and barbarous’ Spanish Inquisition was included.<sup>26</sup> It argues that Spanish inquisitors abused their power and deceitfully manufactured crimes to enrich themselves and get rid of people against whom they held a grudge. Moreover, their prisoners were subjected to horrendous torture and almost always received the death sentence.<sup>27</sup> Together with *A Discovery & Plain Declaration of sundry Subtill Practises of the Holy Inquisition of Spain* (1568), the English translation of the impactful and widely distributed Latin tract *Sanctae Inquisitionis Hispanicae Artes aliquot detectae* (1567), which describes the abusive and cruel methods of the Spanish Inquisition,<sup>28</sup> this narrative in Foxe’s second edition of the *Acts and Monuments* contributed to the idea that the Spanish Inquisition posed an imminent threat to England.<sup>29</sup> As the book was so popular it saw nine editions between 1563 and 1684 and held a prominent place next to the Bible in churches and other public places as a sacred book, this narrative was widely available in England.<sup>30</sup>

In Hakluyt’s geography and history *The Principall Navigations*, ‘an extensive compilation of documents and sources relating to the voyages of exploration’ that aimed to promote English voyages of discovery and trade, the entire Spanish nation is attributed with the

23 Willem van Oranje, *Apologie, ofte Verantwoordinghe* (Leiden: Charles Silvius, 1581), 35-42, 72-74, 103-104. For an annotated English translation of the *Apologie*, see Alastair Duke, ‘William of Orange’s Apology (1580). A New Annotated English Translation With A Brief Introduction’, *Dutch Crossing* 22, no. 1 (1998): 3-96.

24 Luna, *Een ondraaglijk juk*, 9.

25 Oranje, *Apologie, ofte Verantwoordinghe*, 3. [Kings and other Rulers of Christendom]. Duke, ‘William of Orange’s Apology (1580)’, 4, 7. For more on the role of the *Apologie* in the English Black Legend narrative, see Sanchez, ‘Anti-Spanish sentiment in English literary and political writing 1553-1603’, 125-34.

26 John Foxe, *The Second Volume of the Ecclesiastical history, conteyning the Actes and Monuments, of Martyrs* (London: John Day, 1570), 1062.

27 Ibid., 1060-1065.

28 During the first three years after it was published, the book was translated into English, French, German, Dutch, and Hungarian, in eight different editions. Marcos J. Herráiz Pareja, Ignacio J. García Pinilla, and Jonathan Nelson, *Inquisitionis Hispanicae Artes: The Arts of the Spanish Inquisition. Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus: A Critical Edition of the Sanctae Inquisitionis Hispanicae Artes Aliquot (1567) with a Modern English Translation* (Brill, 2018), 5, 35-37.

29 For more on the place of these works in the English Black Legend narrative, see Maltby, *The Black Legend in England*, 32-43; Sanchez, ‘Anti-Spanish sentiment in English literary and political writing 1553-1603’, 80-81, 96-100; Alexander Samson, *Mary and Philip. The Marriage of Tudor England and Habsburg Spain* (Manchester University Press, 2020), 147-48.

30 Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*, 359-60.

vices of cruelty and treachery.<sup>31</sup> They enacted these vices particularly in the West Indies, against American Indians and English explorers and merchants who also tried to get a foothold in the New World. Additionally, the work foregrounds that the ambitious, greedy, and proud Philip II aimed to establish a universal empire by becoming a *monarchis universalis*.<sup>32</sup> This latter image was strengthened in the second expanded edition (1599-1600), which extensively discusses the miraculous victory of the English fleet over the Spanish Armada in 1588.<sup>33</sup> This victory is presented as proof that Protestant England was a glorious superior nation blessed by God.<sup>34</sup> As the *Principal Navigations* was common cargo on board ships bound for distant parts, enjoyed wide circulation and readership, and was widely referenced in the early modern English literature, these negative representations of Spanishness were omnipresent in England.<sup>35</sup>

Also two Spanish texts are reputed to have been crucial to the English and Netherlandish Black Legend narratives. These are the *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1552) by the Spanish bishop Bartolomé de las Casas (1484-1566) and *Un pedaço de história de lo sucedido en Çaragoça de Aragón* (1591) by Antonio Pérez (1540-1611), which is popularly known as the *Relaciones*. In the *Brevísima*, Las Casas criticised the mistreatment of American Indians in the West Indies by Spanish conquistadors. He argued they were cruel and greedy, and that the Spanish monarchy had to Christianise and protect its newly acquired subjects.<sup>36</sup> In 1578, his critique was translated into Dutch and changed significantly. Whereas the original *Brevísima* was written in favour of American Indians and not particularly directed against Spaniards, the *Seer cort verhael vande destructive van d'Indien* was used as proof that Spaniards were inherently tyrannical. This message was enhanced in the next edition of the Dutch translation (1579), which had the telling title *Spieghel der Spaensche tirannije* or 'The Mirror of Spanish tyranny' in English.<sup>37</sup> To further illustrate the Spaniard's cruel and tyrannical character, Netherlanders also added engravings from Theodor de Bry (1528-98), showing the most gruesome episodes related in the *Brevísima* (for an example, see Figure Introduction). These engravings first appeared in the Latin edition (1598) of the *Brevísima*, and were included not only in Dutch editions, but later on also in English, French, and German editions of the work, which first appeared in translation in 1579 (French), 1583 (English), and 1597 (German).<sup>38</sup> All these different language versions

31 Maltby, *The Black Legend in England*, 65.

32 Maltby, 65–71; Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*, 378. These ideas were also expressed in Hakluyt's earlier *Discourse on Western Planting*, a work presented to Queen Elizabeth in 1584 that was not printed until 1877. For an elaborate discussion of Hakluyt's *Discourse* and its anti-Spanish rhetoric, see Jonathan Hart, *Representing the New World. The English and French Uses of the Example of Spain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 124–51.

33 Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery, and Robert Baker, 1599-1600), 591-606. It is also in this edition that Hakluyt argued that Englishmen could imitate, challenge, and surpass Spanish imperialistic precedents. Sanchez, 'Anti-Spanish sentiment in English literary and political writing 1553-1603', 276–77.

34 This narrative of English superiority became popular in anti-Spanish texts right after the event. For more on the role of the Spanish Armada in the English Black Legend narrative, see Maltby, *The Black Legend in England*, 76–87; Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*, 383–88; Sanchez, 'Anti-Spanish sentiment in English literary and political writing 1553-1603', 157–220.

35 Claire Jowitt, 'Hakluyt's Legacy: Armchair Travel in English Renaissance Drama', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Ashgate, 2012), 301.

36 Maltby, *The Black Legend in England*, 13–19.

37 This title was copied in most subsequent Dutch publications. Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War', 53.

38 Most non-Dutch editions, including the English translation, were based on the first French translation, which was made by Jacques Migrode, one of William of Orange's most ardent supporters. Swart, 52.

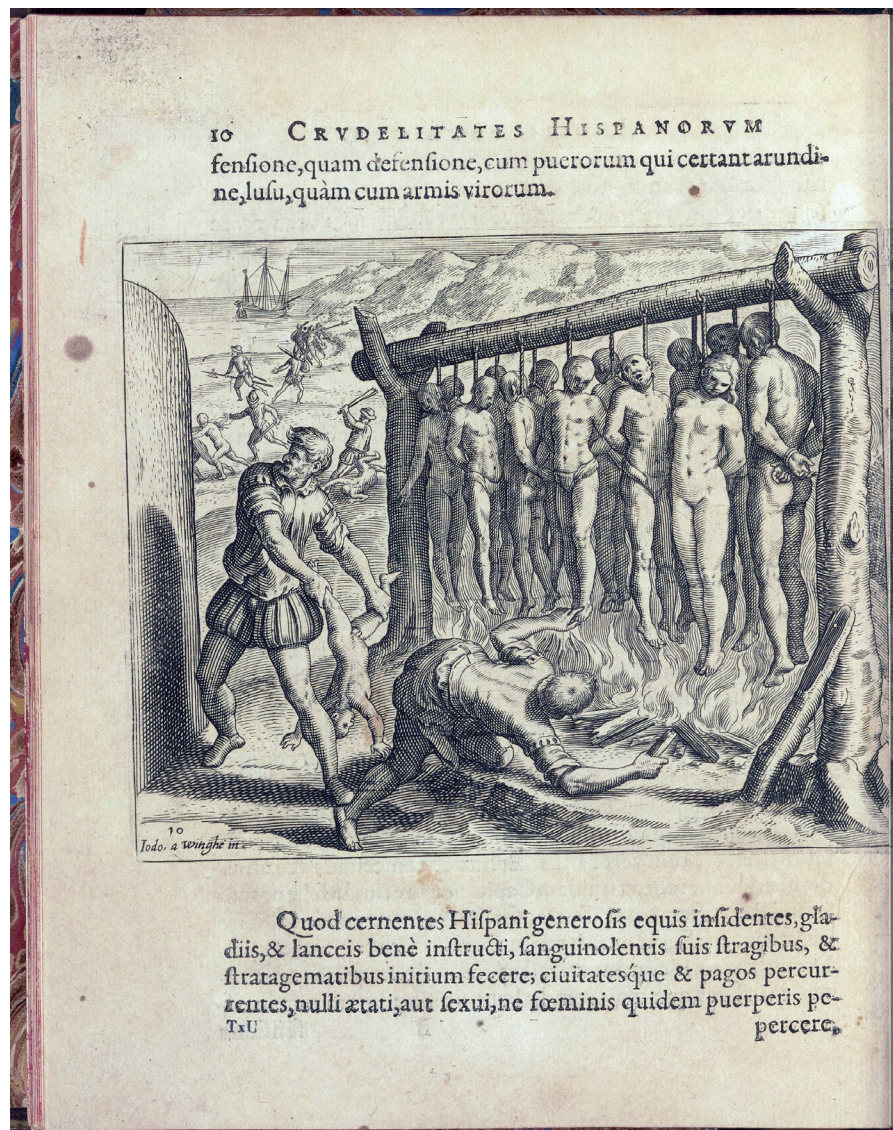


FIGURE INTRODUCTION: ENGRAVING OF SPANIARDS BURNING INDIANS IN A COPY OF THE LATIN EDITION OF *LAS CASAS BREVISIMA* (1598)

influenced the Black Legend narratives in these countries, the source being utilised, for instance, in all of the influential Dutch and English Black Legend sources mentioned earlier. Of these editions, however, the Dutch was arguably the most impactful, as it knew more editions than those in all other European countries combined. It also inspired numerous other Dutch 'mirror' publications<sup>39</sup> that demonstrated the cruel and tyrannical nature of the Spaniard.<sup>40</sup>

39 Examples are *Den Spiegel van de Spaensche Tyrannie* (1601) by Jacobus Viverius, which recounts Spanish crimes in the Netherlands and the *Spiegel der Jeught, ofte Korte Kronijck der Nederlantsche geschiedenissen* (1614), a children's version of the history book *Morghen-wecker der vrye Nederlantsche provintien* (1610) by William Baudertius that recounts the Dutch Revolt. Swart, 54.

40 Swart, 52–54. For more on the place of the *Brevisima relación* in the English Black Legend narrative, see Malt-

Finally, the *Relaciones* by Pérez criticised the Spanish monarchy and Philip II in particular. Pérez was a former secretary of Philip II who had fled Spain in 1591, after being convicted of the murder of royal secretary Juan de Escobedo (1530-78).<sup>41</sup> In his *Relaciones*, he argued Philip was an abusive, easily-deluded, tyrannical, and unjust king who heavily mistreated his subjects.<sup>42</sup> This negative framing of the King of Spain was embraced by both Englishmen and Netherlanders. Queen Elizabeth I, for instance, financed the publication of the second Spanish edition (1594)<sup>43</sup>, which was sent in massive numbers to Spain and Europe to incite a rebellion against Philip. Moreover, in 1596, a Dutch translation of the work appeared, titled *Cort-Begryp*, which, like the Dutch translation of the *Brevísima*, was presented as a mirror of the bloodthirsty, cruel, deceitful, and tyrannical Spaniard. This work would be influential to later anti-Spanish texts such as the Dutch pamphlet *Aerdt ende Eygenschappen* and subsequently became part of the Netherlandish Black Legend narrative.<sup>44</sup>

### Spanish literature as co-creator of Spanishness in England and the Netherlands

In the preceding, a couple of the most influential texts for the English and Netherlandish Black Legend narratives have been discussed. Of these texts, especially the Spanish works *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* by Las Casas and the *Relaciones* by Pérez have an interesting position in relation to the study of literary Hispanophilia and Hispanophobia in England and the Netherlands, as they indicate that the representation of Spanishness in these countries was not only shaped by Englishmen and Netherlanders but also by Spaniards. Of course, the works, which were critical towards Spaniard and the Spanish monarchy to begin with, were also heavily manipulated in their new literary contexts to comply with already present Black Legend notions in England and the Netherlands. Still, the Spanish origin was evidently important for those who translated them into Dutch and English, since the original authors, ‘the reverend Bishop Bartholomew de las Casas’<sup>45</sup>, the ‘Bischop don fran Bartholome de las Casas’<sup>46</sup>, and ‘Antonio Perez, onlancx verdreven Secretaris vanden teghenwoordighen Coninck van Spagien, Philips de

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by, *The Black Legend in England*, 12–28; Sanchez, ‘Anti-Spanish sentiment in English literary and political writing 1553-1603’, 134–41. For more on the international trajectory of the *Brevísima relación*, see E. Shaskan Bumas, ‘The Cannibal Butcher Shop: Protestant Uses of las Casas’s *Brevísima relación* in Europe and the American Colonies’, *Early American Literature* 35, no. 2 (2000): 107–36; Luna Nájera and Niels Faber, ‘Early Modern Expressions of Nationhood in French and Dutch Translations of Bartolomé de Las Casas’ *Brevísima Relación*’, *Traversea* 4 (2014): 34–41.

41 He was Philip’s secretary in 1567-79.

42 Ana María G. Laguna, ‘Antonio Pérez and the Idioms of Treason’, in *Signs of Power in Habsburg Spain and the New World*, ed. Jason McCloskey and Ignacio López Alemany (Bucknell University Press, 2013), 140–41, 145–46.

43 The first edition was financed by Catherine of Bourbon (1559-1604), sister of King of France Henry IV (1553-1610). Raymond Fagel, ‘De klokkenluider van het Escoriaal. Antonio Pérez en de Zwarte Legende’, *Leidschrift* 30, no. 3 (2015): 72.

44 Laguna, ‘Antonio Pérez and the Idioms of Treason’, 146; Fagel, ‘De klokkenluider van het Escoriaal’, 77–81; Rodríguez Pérez, ‘“The Spanish Signior”’, 56. Fagel notes that also an English translation was made of the work by order of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex (1565-1601), but that this translation was never published (75). For more on the influence of the *Relaciones*, see Paloma Bravo, ‘Las relaciones de Antonio Pérez, un texto en movimiento’, in *Felipe II (1598-1998), Europa dividida, la monarquía católica*, ed. Jorge Martínez Millán, vol. 4 (Madrid: Parteluz, 1998), 11–24; Laguna, ‘Antonio Pérez and the Idioms of Treason’.

45 M.M.S., *The Spanish Colonie, or Briefe Chronicle of the Actes and gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies* (London: William Brome, 1583), title page.

46 Bartolomé de las Casas, *Seer cort Verhael vande destructie van d’Indien* (N.p.: n.p., 1578), title page. [Bishop don fran Bartholome de las Casas].

Twede<sup>47</sup>, were credited. It were they who had noted down the vicious nature of their fellow Spaniards and shaped Spanishness in a negative way. Told by Spaniards, these negative narratives were evidently more credible.

Interestingly, in my period of study (c.1554-1621), the *Brevísima* and *Relaciones* were not the only Spanish texts that circulated in England and the Netherlands, and appeared in Dutch and English translation. Picaresque novels such as *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* (part 1 published in 1554; part 2 published in 1555) and *Guzmán de Alfarache* (part 1 published in 1599; part 2 published in 1604), chivalric romance cycles such as *Amadís de Gaula* (1508) and *Palmerín d'Oliva* (1511), novels and plays from Spanish Golden Age writers such as Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616) and Félix Lope de Vega (1562-1635), and moral and religious works by Spanish Dominicans such as Luis de Granada (1504-88) and Antonio de Guevara (1481-1545); they all became available in Dutch and English during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and left a considerable impact on the English and Netherlandish literary landscape.<sup>48</sup> In the past, especially the impact of Spanish chivalric romances in England, Spanish Golden Age drama in the Netherlands, and the works of Cervantes in both England and the Netherlands has been researched.<sup>49</sup>

In recent years, more attention has been paid to the influence of these Spanish works on the image of Spain and Spaniards in England and the Netherlands. Interestingly, these studies show that translations of Spanish literary sources did not solely convey negative representations of Spanishness. Barbara Fuchs, for instance, demonstrates in the first chapter of her study *The Poetics of Piracy* (2013) that English translators of Spanish military manuals and accounts of voyages had a Hispanophilic as well as a Hispanophobic agenda with their translations. On the one hand, they translated the works to educate the English in exemplary Spanish military prowess and exploration, thereby arguing that Spain ought to be imitated (Hispanophilia). On the other hand, they continuously stressed the English were superior to the Spanish (Hispanophobia).<sup>50</sup> Joyce Boro's study on paratexts in English translations of Spanish texts in the period of 1614-25 shows

47 Joost Byl, *Cort-Begryp Vande Stucken der gheschiedenissen van Antonio Perez* ('s-Gravenhage: Aelbrecht Heyndricx-zoon, 1596), title page. [Antonio Perez, recently banished Secretary of the current King of Spain, Philip the Second].

48 For studies that give an overview of Spanish translations in Dutch and English, see John Garrett Underhill, *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors* (Macmillan, 1899); G. J. Geers, 'De studie van Spaanse invloeden op de Nederlandse litteratuur', *Neophilologus* 37, no. 4 (1953): 193-202; Dale B.J. Randall, *The Golden Tapestry: A Critical Survey of Non-Chivalric Spanish Fiction in English Translation (1543-1657)* (Duke University Press, 1963). See also Alan K.G. Paterson and Alexander Samson, *Early Modern Spanish-English Translations Database 1500-1640*, accessed October 6, 2022, <https://www.ems.kcl.ac.uk/apps/index.html>.

49 For chivalric romances in England, see Helen Moore, *Amadis in English. A Study in the Reading of Romance* (Oxford University Press, 2020); Jordi Sánchez-Martí, *A Critical Edition of Anthony Munday's Palmerín d'Oliva* (ACMRS Press, 2020); Victoria Muñoz, *Spanish Romance in the Battle for Global Supremacy. Tudor and Stuart Black Legends*. (Anthem Press, 2021). For Spanish Golden Age drama in the Netherlands, see J.A. van Praag, *La Comedia espagnole aux Pays-Bas au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1922); Blom and Marion, 'Lope de Vega and the Conquest of Spanish Theater in the Netherlands'; Blom, 'Enemy Treasures'; Vergeer, 'The Theatre of Emotions'. For studies on the influence of *Don Quixote* and other works of Cervantes on the English and Netherlandish literary landscape, see J. A. Garrido Ardila, ed., *The Cervantean Heritage. Reception and Influence of Cervantes in Britain* (Modern Humanities Research Association and Maney Publishing, 2009); Prosper Arents, *Cervantes in het Nederland. Bibliografie* (Gent: Kon. Vlaamse Academie voor taal- en letterkunde, 1962); Dale B.J. Randall and Jackson C. Boswell, *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England. The Tapestry Turned*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Hendrik van Gorp, 'Don Quixote in the Netherlands: Translations and Adaptations of Cervantes' Novel', in *International Don Quixote*, ed. Theo D'haen and Reindert Dhondt (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), 157-68. For the influence of Cervantes in Europe in general, see Anthony J. Cascardi, ed., *The Cambridge companion to Cervantes* (Cambridge University Press, 2006); Jean Canavaggio, *Don Quichotte du livre au mythe. Quatre siècles d'errance* (Paris: Fayard, 2005); Theo D'haen and Reindert Dhondt, eds., *International Don Quixote* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009).

50 Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy*, 14-27.

a similar ambiguity towards Spanishness. She notes that only a few translations in her corpus of ninety-nine texts engage with Anglo-Spanish affairs in a negative manner and that the large majority simply acknowledges the Spanish origin without further commenting on it.<sup>51</sup> Finally, one of the most famous Dutch appropriations of a Spanish literary source, the comedy *Spaanschen Brabander Jerolimo* (performed in 1617, published in 1618) by Gerbrandt Adriaenszoon Bredero (1585-1618), is inherently both Hispanophilic and Hispanophobic: it praises the author of the source for the plot of the play, the picaresque novel *Lazarillo*, and simultaneously paints a negative picture of Spaniards and hispanised Netherlanders.<sup>52</sup>

To further investigate and nuance these insights, I engage in the analysis of translations, appropriations, and the overall afterlife of Spanish literature in England and the Netherlands. Throughout my thesis, I show that Spanish literature co-shaped the image of Spain and Spaniards in England and the Netherlands and offered modes of Spanishness that were both similar to and different from that perpetuated in the English and Netherlandish Black Legend narratives. Furthermore, I show that the image of Spain and Spaniards in the English and Netherlandish context is broadened through Spanish literature and diffused the boundaries of what Spanishness entailed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

### **Spanishness as a component of Englishness and Netherlandishness**

As noted earlier, most studies on the representation of Spanishness in Dutch and English literature concentrate on negative images of Spain and Spaniards. One reason for this is that these images played an important role as hetero-images in the shaping of late sixteenth-century and early-seventeenth century self-images of Englishmen and Netherlanders. The English self-image is usually defined in terms of opposition between Protestantism and Catholicism. It was the English adherence to the Protestant faith and the English resistance to Catholicism which made the English and England typically English.<sup>53</sup> As Spain and Catholicism were seen as infrangible, the 'religious traditions, imperial obligations, dynastic inheritances, and colonizing projects of Catholic Spain (along with "native" Roman Catholic pretensions) were demonized, delegitimized, and deposed' in England.<sup>54</sup> By contrast, the Netherlandish self-image is usually defined in terms of collective resistance against the tyrannical Spanish regime.<sup>55</sup> Spain was painted as a common enemy to all religious persuasions, while true Netherlanders were imagined as 'lovers of liberties of the fatherland' who defended the freedoms of their country.<sup>56</sup> Also after this 'common fatherland' split into the Dutch Republic (the northern prov-

51 Boro, 'Spain in Translation: Peritextual Representations of Cultural Difference, 1614-1625'.

52 For studies of this play in relation to the aforementioned themes, see Marijke Meijer Drees, 'Beeldvorming en lering in de Spaanschen Brabander', in *Kort tijt-verdrijf. Opstellen over Nederlands toneel (vanaf ca. 1550)*, ed. Wouter Abrahamse, A.C.G. Fleurkens, and Marijke Meijer Drees (Amsterdam: AD&L, 1996), 87-93; Judith Pollmann, "'Brabanters Do Fairly Resemble Spaniards After All". Memory, Propaganda and Identity in the Twelve Years' Truce', in *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands. Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, ed. Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (Brill, 2007), 211-27.

53 David Loades, 'Literature and National Identity', in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, ed. David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 213.

54 Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain*, 9.

55 Ellen Krol, 'Dutch', in *Imagology. The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters. A critical survey*, ed. Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 142.

56 Alastair Duke, 'In defence of the Common Fatherland. Patriotism and Liberty in the Low Countries, 1555-1576', in *Networks, Regions and Nations. Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1400-1650*, ed. Robert Stein and

inces of the Netherlands) and the Spanish Netherlands (the southern provinces of the Netherlands), imagery of freedom from the Spanish enemy stayed in use. The Dutch Republic characterised itself as 'bevrijde provintien', or 'freed provinces' in English, and argued that their Netherlandish neighbours who lived in the Spanish Netherlands, lived in 'de overheerde Nederlantsche Provincien' or 'the dominated Netherlandish Provinces' in English.<sup>57</sup>

According to past studies, the Spanish hetero-image in opposition to the English and Netherlandish self-image developed in different ways in late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century England and the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, these images were usually seen as quite static. Plays which dramatised historical events of the Dutch Revolt always imagined Spaniards as arrogant, cruel, and deceitful tyrants, and reiterated common tropes present in the Netherlandish Black Legend narrative. The Netherlanders who opposed these Spaniards, on the other hand, were imagined as heroic freedom fighters supported by God. Especially rebel leader William of Orange was placed in that heroic role. In no less than five plays, his assassination by order of King of Spain Philip II was staged, which was presented as unjust.<sup>58</sup> By contrast, in the English context images of Self and Other were usually seen as more fluid. For example, Eric Griffin has shown that the failure of the Spanish Armada in 1588 was a catalyst for plays in which the Spanish hetero-image was renewed. Whereas before the Spanish Armada, Spain's different *ethos* towards religion was the most important factor for the Spanish hetero-image in English literature, Spain was now marked as the cruel ethnic Other to Englishmen (*ethnos*).<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, the events of 1588 contributed to the characterisation of Spaniards as incompetent and cowardly, resulting into various *milites gloriosi* Spaniards on the English stage.<sup>60</sup> In addition, Ton Hoenselaars has shown that English self-images also changed in relation to Spanish hetero-images. The Anglo-Spanish peace period (1604-25), for instance, was marked by the diminishing of stereotypical traits in Spanish stage characters on the one hand, while there was also an increase of vices formerly exclusively attributed to foreigners now being attributed to English stage characters, on the other.<sup>61</sup>

Interestingly, a couple of scholars have noted that in some early modern literary sources, Spanish hetero-images and English and Netherlandish self-images could be even more fluid than has been previously noted, and that boundaries between the English and Netherlandish Self and Spanish Other were not as rigid as often proclaimed. Hoenselaars, for instance, has demonstrated that in some English plays, Englishmen 'neglect their English values and succumb to the temptations of things foreign', these Englishmen thereby becoming un-English and foreign, as

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Judith Pollmann (Brill, 2010), 233–34.

57 Quoted in Hugo de Schepper, *Belgium dat is Nederlandt. Identiteiten en identiteitsbesef in de Lage Landen 1200-1800. Epiloog: Koninkrijk der Nederlanden 1815-1830* (Breda: Papieren Tijger, 2014), 74.

58 For a discussion of the most well-known plays in this context, see Jan Bloemendal, 'De dramatische moord op de Vader des Vaderlands. De verhouding tussen vier typen toneel in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 23, no. 1 (2007): 99–117; Henk Duits, 'Om de eenheid en vrijheid van de gehele Nederlanden. Jacob Duyms Ghedenck-boeck (1606) als politiek manifest', *Voortgang* 20 (2001): 7–45.

59 For an extensive analysis of this process, see Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain*, 27–66; Eric Griffin, 'Dramatizing the Black Legend in post-Armada England', in *España ante sus críticos: las claves de la Leyenda Negra*, ed. Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, Antonio Sánchez Jiménez, and Harm den Boer (Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2015), 209–30.

60 Sanchez, 'Anti-Spanish sentiment in English literary and political writing 1553-1603', 240.

61 Ton Hoenselaars, *Images of Englishmen and Foreigners in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries: A Study of Stage Characters and National Identity in English Renaissance Drama, 1558-1642* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1992), 133–37.

it were.<sup>62</sup> In addition, Judith Pollmann has demonstrated that the main character of Bredero's comedy *Spaanschen Brabander Jerolimo* is uncannily close to Spaniards in his characterisation, even though he is officially a Brabantish Spanish-Netherlander.<sup>63</sup>

As it turns out, these diffusions between Self and Other, as expressed in these Dutch and English plays, were part of a larger cultural phenomenon in the early modern period in which contact with foreigners, foreign countries, and foreign culture was presented as a threat to the Self. Especially travel was considered dangerous, as it turned travellers into copies of the Other. Englishmen and Netherlanders who travelled to France and Italy as part of their *grand tours*, for instance, often returned 'Italianated' and 'Frenchified' in clothing and character.<sup>64</sup> Relevant for this study is that also the hispanised Englishman and Netherlander became a frequently recalled figure, appearing in an abundance of literary sources.<sup>65</sup> Particularly in moments of heightened Anglo-Spanish or Netherlandish-Spanish tensions, Englishmen and Netherlanders who adhered to the Catholic faith or who did not fully support the rebellion against Spain were afflicted with Spanishness and deemed equal to the Spanish Other.

Continuing the works of the scholars mentioned above, this thesis therefore re-evaluates the images of Englishmen, Netherlanders, and Spaniards in literary sources in my period of study (ca. 1554-1621). I argue that the Spanish hetero-image was by no means exclusive to the Spaniard in this period. It could be transferred to those Englishmen and Netherlanders who in cultural consumption, faith, and politics were deemed to be either an ally of Spain or sympathetic to Spaniards, Spain, and Spanish culture. Depending on the historical moment and the perspective from which the "hispanised" Englishman or Netherlander was viewed, the Englishmen and Netherlanders in question became either "Spanish" Others who were equal to the Spanish enemy, or a hispanised version of the English and Netherlandish Self who was more or less accepted in English or Netherlandish society. These literary figures thereby demonstrate that Spanishness was not only varied and multi-layered, but also fluid and transferable.

### **The influence of contact with Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture on Spanishness**

Past research on the representation of Spanishness has mainly focused on the deteriorating political relationships between England, Spain, and the Netherlands, which are taken as the main cause of the English and Netherlandish Black Legend narratives. Indeed, throughout the course of the sixteenth century, various instances of religious and violent conflict occurred between these three countries, which reflected negatively on Spain and Spaniards. For example, many English and Netherlandish Protestants were persecuted under the rule of the Catholic Philip II who jointly ruled England as Prince of Spain with Queen of England Mary I, his wife, from 1554 to 1558, and who ruled the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands as King of Spain since January

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62 Hoenselaars, *Images of Englishmen and Foreigners*, 239.

63 Pollmann, "'Brabanters Do Fairly Resemble Spaniards After All'", 211-227.

64 Anna Frank-van Westrienen, *De groote tour. Tekening van de educatiereis der Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandische Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1983), 55-59; Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Brill, 1995), 96-98, 105-37, 191-216.

65 Judith Pollmann, 'No Man's Land. Reinventing Netherlandish Identities, 1585-1621', in *Networks, Regions and Nations. Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1400-1650*, ed. Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann (Brill, 2010), 241-62; Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 151-87.

1556<sup>66</sup>, when he succeeded his father the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500-58).<sup>67</sup> In England, at least 280 Englishmen and women were burnt as Protestants heretics during his joint rule with Mary, a course of events in which the Spanish monarchy, which aided the restoration of Catholicism in England until Mary passed away in 1558, played an active role.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, in the Netherlands, the anti-protestant policies of Philip's father Charles were renewed without scruple when Philip became its ruler, under which Protestants had also been tried and burnt.<sup>69</sup> The most notorious of these policies was the *Bloedplakkaat* or Blood Edict (29 April 1550), which ordered the death of anyone who published, disseminated, sold, bought, or owned heretical books and prints.<sup>70</sup>

In the Netherlands, the growing dissatisfaction with these policies and the political marginalisation of Netherlandish nobles would eventually lead to a series of events which heralded the start of the Dutch Revolt (1566-1648). First, on 5 April 1566, Margaret of Parma, Governess of the Netherlands (1522-86), was asked by Netherlandish nobles for a relief of the measures with the petition 'Smeekschrift der Edelen'. In August 1566, the Iconoclastic Fury swept across the Netherlands, in which Catholic churches, chapels, and houses of religion were destroyed, and in 1567, a Spanish army led by the Duke of Alba arrived in the Netherlands to squash the ongoing political unrest.<sup>71</sup> These events also initiated the deterioration of the political relationship between England and Spain, which eventually would lead to the Anglo-Spanish War (1585-1604). From the beginning of the Dutch Revolt, England offered financial, humanitarian, and military aid to the rebelling Netherlanders, much to the distress of Spain. After England formalised their aid to the rebelling Netherlands with the Treaty of Nonsuch (10 August 1585), and supplied the Dutch rebels with a large English expeditionary force, Spain declared war on England as well.<sup>72</sup>

Numerous events in these violent conflicts have been singled out as crucial for the development of the English and Netherlandish Black Legend narratives. There was the infamous Sack of Antwerp (1576), in which mutinous soldiers of the Spanish army rampaged the city of Antwerp and killed numerous civilians<sup>73</sup>; the Union of Utrecht (1579), which united sever-

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66 The seventeen provinces consisted of modern-day Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and parts of northern France. Since the Treaty of Augsburg (1548), these provinces were regarded as a self-governing entity of states within the Holy Roman Empire which could not be divided. For the political relationship between the Holy Roman Empire and the Netherlands, see Christopher W. Close, *State Formation and Shared Sovereignty: The Holy Roman Empire and the Dutch Republic, 1488–1696* (Cambridge University Press, 2021). For a concise history of the formation of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, see Maarten Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century. The Golden Age*, trans. Diane Webb (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 8–15.

67 Charles abdicated the Netherlands in favour of his son Philip in October 1555 and the Kingdom of Spain and the Spanish Empire in the Americas in January 1556.

68 For recent studies on Spanish involvement in the restoration of Catholicism in England, see John Edwards, 'Spanish Religious Influence in Marian England', in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. Eamon Duffy and David Loades (Routledge, 2016), 233–56; Elizabeth Evenden, 'Spanish Involvement in the Restoration of Catholicism during the Reign of Philip and Mary', in *Catholic Renewal and Protestant Resistance in Marian England*, ed. Elizabeth Evenden and Vivienne Westbrook (Ashgate, 2015), 45–64; Samson, *Mary and Philip*, 146–51, 187–88.

69 The first Protestants were tried and burned in Brussels in 1523. Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Penguin Books, 1977), 36.

70 Liesbeth Geever, *Gevalen vazallen. De integratie van Oranje, Egmont en Horn in de Spaans-Habsburgse monarchie (1559-1567)* (Amsterdam University Press, 2011), 21.

71 For an elaborate description of the development of these events, see Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, 30–117.

72 Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt*, 63–65, 138.

73 Raymond Fagel has recently shown that the sack was actually a battle within the city walls between Spanish soldiers and the city garrison. Raymond Fagel, 'The Origins of the Spanish Fury at Antwerp (1576): A Battle Within City Walls', *Early Modern Low Countries* 4, no. 1 (2020): 102–23.

al northern provinces of the Netherlands in their rebellion against the Spanish monarchy; the assassination of rebel leader William of Orange in 1584, ordered by Philip II; the Conquest of Antwerp in 1585 by Alexander Farnese, the Duke of Parma (1545-92), which ultimately divided the Netherlands into two; and the failed Spanish invasion of England in 1588.<sup>74</sup> All events were important for the creation of the image of Spain as a cruel, tyrannical, Catholic enemy that oppressed freedom and Protestantism. Occurrences that took place during the Anglo-Spanish peace (1604-25) and the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-21), such as the failed Gunpowder Plot (1605) in which Catholics tried to kill King James I (1566-1625), and the religious dispute on the correct interpretation of the Reformed Protestant Church in the recently established Dutch Republic, contributed to this image as well. In both events, the foul hand of Spain was suspected, which due to the religious persecutions of Protestants and its active role in the Counter-Reformation mentioned earlier became associated with Catholic fanaticism, expressed in cruel institutions such as the Spanish Inquisition.<sup>75</sup>

As noted, it is these violent events which have received the most attention in research into the history of Anglo-Netherlandish-Spanish relations and the literary image of Spain and Spaniards in England and the Netherlands. Unjustly, less attention has been paid to the numerous occasions in which late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century Englishmen, Netherlanders, and Spaniards encountered each other in non-hostile ways. Particularly as merchants, mercenaries, and diplomats, they met each other in trade settings, the courts of England, Spain, and the Netherlands, and in the Spanish army stationed in the southern provinces of the Netherlands, and enabled Anglo-Netherlandish-Spanish (cultural) exchange. An excellent example in this regard is the English court of Mary I and Philip II. Although there was definitely tension between Englishmen and Spaniards – the fierce competition between English and Spanish noblemen for the attention of Philip II spilled over in violence on numerous occasions – scholars such as Sarah Duncan and Alexander Samson have demonstrated that there was also much amity between the two nationalities. They found common ground on the dance floor, in the etiquettes and chivalric ideals of their shared Burgundian court culture, and in the masks, tournaments, and religious ceremonies organised at court.<sup>76</sup> Besides cultural customs, also literature could be exchanged in such international settings, as is demonstrated by the visits of the diplomats Dudley Carleton (1537-1632) and Theodore Rodenburgh (1578-1644) to the Spanish royal court. When they returned to England (Carleton) and the Dutch Republic (Rodenburgh), they brought back the picaresque novel *La Pícaro Justina* (1605) by Francisco López de Úbeda (ca.

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74 A clear picture of the entire course of the Dutch Revolt can be found in works such as Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*; Graham Darby, ed., *The Origins and Development of the Dutch Revolt* (Routledge, 2001); Simon Groenveld and H.L.Ph. Leeuwenberg, *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog. Opstand en consolidatie in de Nederlanden (ca. 1559-1650)* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2008). For an elaborate description of the entire course of the Anglo-Spanish War, see Paul Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars. War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544-1604* (Palgrave, 2003), 121–235.

75 For a reflection on the anti-Spanish sentiment in these events, see Anne James, *Poets, Players, and Preachers. Remembering the Gunpowder Plot in Seventeenth-Century England* (Toronto University Press, 2016), 75; Ingmar Henrik Vroomen, 'Taal van de Republiek. Het gebruik van vaderlandretoriek in Nederlandse pamfletten, 1618-1672' (PhD thesis, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, 2012), 59–61, 75–93. For the literary connection of Spain with Catholic fanaticism, see Maltby, *The Black Legend in England*, 29–43; Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War', 38–43.

76 Sarah Duncan, "'He to Be Intituled King': King Philip of England and the Anglo-Spanish Court', in *The Man behind the Queen. Male Consorts in History*, ed. Charles Beem and Miles Taylor (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 60–66; Alexander Samson, 'A Fine Romance: Anglo-Spanish Relations in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 1 (2009): 76–77; Samson, *Mary and Philip*, 106–7, 205–7.

1560-c.1606) (Carleton), a copy of the first edition of *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha* (1605) by Cervantes (Carleton), and comedies and tragedies of famous Spanish Golden Age playwrights (Rodenburgh).<sup>77</sup>

In this thesis, these arguably more positive encounters are studied in relation to the representation of Spanishness in Dutch and English late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century literature. I will argue that the image of Spain and Spaniards and the overall representation of Spanishness was more nuanced in works written by Englishmen and Netherlanders who had contact with Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture. Additionally, I will argue that preconceived notions of Spain and Spaniards still impacted the way Spanishness was shaped by these individuals and that Hispanophobic and Hispanophilic discourses were constantly brought in balance in their literary works.

### **Methodological approach**

This thesis is a comparative and diachronic study of the representation of Spanishness in Dutch and English literature in the period spanning between ca. 1554-1621. As noted earlier, Spanishness comprises those distinctive aspects of Spaniards, Spain, and Spanish culture that supposedly are characteristic of Spanish “national” identity. In particular the image of Spain and Spaniards is studied to determine the way in which Spanishness was shaped. The chronological demarcation of ca. 1554-1621 stems from the first moment in which England, Spain, and the Netherlands were united under Spanish rule – the moment being Philip II’s marriage to Queen Mary I on 25 July 1554 – and ends with the cessation of the Twelve Years’ Truce (1609-21).

In the preceding I have touched upon the three main arguments of this thesis: 1) Translations and appropriations of Spanish literary works are essential contributors to the representation of Spanishness in England and the Netherlands; 2) Spanishness is a varied, multi-layered, fluid, transferable notion, and a vital part of both the hetero-image and the self-image of Englishmen and Netherlanders; and 3) Cultural contact between Englishmen, Netherlanders, and Spaniards played a key role in the shaping of Spanishness in Dutch and English literary works. Together, these arguments show that images of Spain and Spaniards, as well as those of Englishmen and Netherlanders, are unstable in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and offer no consistent or exclusively negative or positive representation of Spanishness, Englishness, or Netherlandishness. A combination of approaches from the fields of imagology, translation studies, the study of appropriations, cultural transfer studies, and the study of paratexts have been utilised to reach these arguments. These approaches will be discussed below.

### ***Imagology***

The conceptual apparatus of imagology, also known as image studies, has been leading in the study of the image of Spain and Spaniards and the overall representation of Spanishness in this thesis. Imagology is the discursive study of ethnotypes or stereotypical attributions of national character. These ethnotypes are comprised of images that, as noted earlier, are ‘the mental or dis-

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<sup>77</sup> Gustav Ungerer, ‘The Spanish and English Chronicles in King James’s and Sir George Buc’s Dossiers on the Anglo-Spanish Peace Negotiations’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 61, no. 3–4 (1998): 320–21; Olga van Marion and Tim Vergeer, ‘Spain’s dramatic conquest of the Dutch Republic. Rodenburgh as a literary mediator of Spanish theatre’, *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 32, no. 1 (2016): 41.

cursive representation or reputation of a person, group, ethnicity or ‘nation’.<sup>78</sup> These images are not based on empirical reality, but are derived from selective value judgements, shaped by real experiences and pre-conceptualised stereotypical notions of the represented nationality. Within the specialism of comparatist imagology, the construction and function are studied of images in literary sources used to construct ethnotypes.<sup>79</sup> ‘Literary’ is understood in the term’s broadest sense and includes genres such as history writing and critical essays, next to narrative fiction, poetry, and drama.<sup>80</sup> It is in literary sources that national stereotypes are most effectively formulated, perpetuated, and disseminated, obtaining their effectiveness in the cultural and communicative field through their intertextual tropicality.<sup>81</sup>

To quote Joep Leerssen, one of the leading scholars in the field of imagology, ‘[t]he tendency to attribute specific characteristics or even characters to different societies, races or ‘nations’ is very old and very widespread’.<sup>82</sup> For example, in ancient Greek testimonials dating back to 480 BC, the Persian enemies were already stereotyped as barbaric.<sup>83</sup> In the early modern period, European nationalities were systematically attributed with temperaments and personality traits. The encyclopedia *Poetices libri VII* (1561) by Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558) is usually regarded as one of the most influential works in this regard. Among the many lists that gave an orderly classification of the world, numerous lists were included which discussed national characteristics. With respect to Spaniards, Scaliger claimed the following:

The Spanish have a dour life-style, they live it up when they sit at another man’s table, they are fiery drinkers, talkative, busy, their arrogance is hellish, their disrespect infernal, their stinginess amazing; they are strong in poverty, their religious steadfastness is priceless, they are envious of All nations and all nations are envious of them.<sup>84</sup>

Systematic classifications of national characteristics also appeared in non-encyclopaedic sources, such as sixteenth-century travel manuals. Turler Jerome’s *The Traveler* (1575), for instance, describes ‘the properties of the foure principal Nations of Europe’ because Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, and Spaniards greatly differ ‘in gesture, gate, voyce, singinge, talke, meanyng, humanity, conversation, love, hatred, affaires, warfare, and other things’. Moreover, the Spaniard is described to have a ‘commendable gate, maners, and gesture’. He is also ‘curteous’ to foreigners, ‘impacient’ in love, persistent in hatred and ‘proude’ in his

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78 Leerssen, ‘Image’, 342.

79 Manfred Beller, ‘Perception, image, imagology’, in *Imagology. The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters. A critical survey*, ed. Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 4–5, 7. For the history of the field of Imagology, see Beller, 7–10; Joep Leerssen, ‘Imagology: History and method’, in *Imagology. The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters. A critical survey*, ed. Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 17–26.

80 Joep Leerssen, ‘Literature’, in *Imagology. The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters. A critical survey*, ed. Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 353.

81 Leerssen, ‘Imagology: History and method’, 26.

82 Leerssen, ‘Imagology: History and method’, 17.

83 Beller, ‘Perception, image, imagology’, 6.

84 This translation is taken from Joep Leerssen, ‘The poetics and anthropology of national character (1500-2000)’, in *Imagology. The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters. A critical survey*, ed. Joep Leerssen and Manfred Beller (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 65. For the original passage, see Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices libri VII* (Antonium Vincentium, 1561), 102.

look.<sup>85</sup> Overall, this systematic ordering of European nationalities would quickly dominate ‘the literary imagination’ of early modern authors and suffuse European literature in the following century.<sup>86</sup>

Imagology offers a wide variety of concepts that aid in the study of national stereotypes. Several of them are applied in this thesis. Firstly, the dynamics of dichotomies between Self (self-images or auto-image) versus Other (hetero-images), and spectant (the representing text or discourse) versus spected (the nationality represented), have proven to be fruitful tools in the analysis of the image of Spain and Spaniards in Dutch and English literary sources. As explained earlier, the self-image of Englishmen and Netherlanders was constructed in opposition to the hetero-image of the Spaniard, and often simultaneously called upon in the literary sources studied. Secondly, the intertext of a given national representation as a trope has been a guiding principle in this thesis. Whenever Spanishness was represented in my literary sources, I evaluated if and how this representation related to the trope of the Black Legend Spaniard. Was it reinforced, varied upon, mocked, or ignored by the spectant, and in what manner? Thirdly, as is recommended to do in the field of imagology and literary studies in general, images of Spain and Spaniards are always contextualised within the text of its occurrence – what genre conventions are at work? – and within the historical context of its occurrence. Finally, I have been guided by the imagological concept of ‘hybridity’, which comprises the intertwining of identity and otherness, to analyse images of Englishmen and Netherlanders which showed traces of Spanishness and determine when and how Spanishness was ‘incorporated and internalized’ by the English and Netherlandish Self and Other.<sup>87</sup>

### *Translation studies*

For the study of translations in this thesis, ideas coined in the so-called ‘cultural turn’ within translation studies are used.<sup>88</sup> Its main premise is that translations are influenced by the cultural, historical, and political context in which they are produced. To phrase Peter Burke’s definition, they are ‘cultural translations’, which means that they are the result of a textual negotiation between two cultures. The translator, the reasoning behind translating, the text, the audience, the translation strategies, and its reception are all deemed important indicators of this negotiation process. They offer information on the source culture, target culture, and their mutual relation.<sup>89</sup>

Early modern translations are particularly well suited to research this negotiation process. Contrary to the normative word-for-word translations of the medieval period, in which the most accurate and literal translation was aspired, were early modern translations more oriented towards their target audiences. To conform to literary and other conventions of the recipient country, early modern translators took more liberty with the source text.<sup>90</sup> Texts were

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85 Jerome Turler, *The Traveler of Jerome Turler* (London: William How for Abraham Veale, 1575), 39-41.

86 Leerssen, ‘The poetics and anthropology of national character (1500-2000)’, 65.

87 Joep Leerssen, ‘Identity/Alterity/Hybridity’, in *Imagology. The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters. A critical survey*, ed. Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 341.

88 Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures. Essays on Literary Translation* (Multilingual Matters, 1998).

89 Peter Burke, ‘Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe’, in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 9–11.

90 Theo Hermans, ‘Translating “Rhetorijckelijck” or “Ghetrouwelijck”. Dutch Renaissance approaches to translation’, in *Standing clear. A Festschrift for Reinder P. Meijer*, ed. Jane Fenoulhet and Theo Hermans (London: Centre for Low Countries Studies, 1991), 161–62.

amplified, shortened, bowdlerised, paraphrased, and modified for religious, moral, or political reasons. Foreign words, concepts, places, names, and phrases were domesticated to make them more familiar to the target audience. Those same elements could also be exoticised to confirm and reinforce ideas about the source culture. Finally, translators could be motivated by ‘cultural nationalism’, meaning they embedded language of rivalry in their translations that presented the translation as superior to the original text, or presented the translation as an original work of their own whilst inserting opinions alien to the original writer.<sup>91</sup> This is particularly shown by Barbara Fuchs, who argues that English writers obscured their dependency on Spanish literary sources by domesticating, disavowing, occluding, and ‘qualitatively’ trumping them.<sup>92</sup> It could also work the other way around: Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez has demonstrated that Netherlandish writers sometimes presented their original works as translations of Spanish literature, using these pseudo-translations to reinforce pre-existing notions of Spanishness.<sup>93</sup> In this last example, the fluidity between literary Hispanophilia (the interest in certain Spanish models, like the picaresque) and entrenched anti-Hispanic views comes clearly to the fore.

In this thesis, the translation strategies of translators are identified by comparing the source and target texts and by studying the paratextual material of the translation. I especially focus on content that reflects on contemporary Anglo-Netherlandish-Spanish relationships and/or formulates a vision on Spain, Spaniards, and/or Spanish culture. I thereby identify the representation of Spanishness in these translations, using the conceptual apparatus described in the previous section on imagology. The two disciplines merge wonderfully well, as has been shown by Luc van Doorslaer, Peter Flynn, and Joep Leerssen. Whereas imagology offers a conceptual apparatus to translation studies, translation studies returns the favour by not only tracing ‘the trajectories of images across language and cultures’, but also by indicating ‘the shifts ethnotypes and tropes undergo in crossing language and cultural boundaries’.<sup>94</sup>

It is important to note that, besides Spanish originals, also intermediary translations are analysed as source texts in this thesis, as these were often the only text(s) used by English and Netherlandish translators for the translation of Spanish literature. Using one or more intermediary translations to produce a translation, either as a replacement for the original source text or as an addition to the original source text, was a quite common practice in the early modern period.<sup>95</sup> The reasons for doing so were manifold. It could be challenging to procure a copy of the text in the original language or to find a translator versed in that specific language. It could also be a commercial decision. When a text was already translated into Latin or a prestigious vernacular such as French or Italian or was translated by a prestigious intermediary translator, it was more likely to prove financially viable.<sup>96</sup> The difficulty is that these translations of translations,

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91 Burke, ‘Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe’, 10, 19, 31–33.

92 Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy*, 6.

93 Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, ‘The adventures of an Amsterdam Spaniard. Nation-building in a 17th century Dutch pseudo-translation’, in *Interconnecting Translation Studies and Imagology*, ed. Luc van Doorslaer, Peter Flynn, and Joep Leerssen (John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2015), 37–52.

94 Peter Flynn, Joep Leerssen, and Luc van Doorslaer, ‘On Translated Images, Stereotypes and Disciplines’, in *Interconnecting Translation Studies and Imagology*, ed. Luc van Doorslaer, Peter Flynn, and Peter Leerssen (John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2015), 6.

95 Peter Burke, ‘The Renaissance Translator as Go-Between’, in *Renaissance Go-Betweens. Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 25.

96 Brenda M. Hosington, ‘On Mediated Translation: A Fruitful Dialogue between Specialists in Translation Studies and Early Modern Translation’, *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 58, no. 4 (1 October 2022): 481–82.

which are usually called indirect translations in translation studies<sup>97</sup>, are not always advertised as such, let alone that the used edition is mentioned.<sup>98</sup> It lies outside the scope of this thesis to determine which translations are mediated and what particular editions were used for the final product. However, whenever an intermediary source is mentioned in the translation or has been identified in earlier studies, it is included in the analysis.

### *The study of appropriations*

Besides translations, also literary appropriations of (translated) Spanish literary works in England and the Netherlands are closely examined in this thesis. A literary appropriation is a text which is shaped by (elements of) an earlier source text. The relationship with this earlier source text is, however, often unclear. According to Thomas Cartelli, who has studied post-colonial appropriations of early modern plays by William Shakespeare (1564-1616), this is because an appropriation ‘does not seek to reproduce in any faithful or sustained way’ the earlier source text but seeks to abduct from the earlier source text for social or political purposes.<sup>99</sup> A literary appropriation ‘both serves, and works in, the interests of the writer or group doing the appropriating’ and as it is primarily critical, it usually works ‘*against* the avowed or assigned interest of the writer whose work is appropriated’.<sup>100</sup> In the early modern period, literary appropriations served in a similar way, as has been demonstrated by Barbara Fuchs in *The Poetics of Piracies*. According to Fuchs, early modern English authors abundantly took from Spanish literary sources to animate and complicate English texts. These acts of piracy were, more often than not, occluded and served English texts which were sometimes heavily anti-Spanish.<sup>101</sup>

Various appropriative modes, as identified by Cartelli, are visible in the texts studied in this thesis. There is the satiric appropriation, which reassembles the appropriated elements ‘in ways that render them absurd’; the confrontational appropriation, which contests the original meaning of the appropriated text ‘in the interests of an opposing or alternative social or political agenda’; the transpositional appropriation, which ‘identifies and isolates a specific theme, plot or argument in its appropriative objective and brings it into the appropriation to ‘underwrite or enrich a presumably related thesis or argument’; and, finally, the proprietary appropriation, ‘which, however much they also may be indebted to an enabling critical bias or theory, involve the application and elaboration of an avowedly “friendly” or reverential reading of appropriated material’.<sup>102</sup> In this thesis, texts which display one or more of these appropriative modes in relation to Spanish literary sources are defined as appropriations.

Important to note is that I make a distinction between appropriations and translations in this thesis, which, due to their manipulative nature and social and political purposes, have a lot in common with each other. Yet, whereas the translations in this thesis are presented as translations by their translators and printers, the appropriations are not, even though

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97 For more on this field within translation studies, which only recently has gained more popularity, see Alexandra Assis Rosa, Hanna Pięta, and Rita Bueno Maia, *Indirect Translation. Theoretical, Methodological and Terminological Issues* (Routledge, 2019).

98 Guyda Armstrong et al., ‘On Researching Early Modern Mediated Translations: Challenges and Prospects’, *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 58, no. 4 (1 October 2022): 514–15.

99 Thomas Cartelli, *Repositioning Shakespeare. National Formations, Postcolonial Appropriations* (Routledge, 1999), 17.

100 Cartelli, *Repositioning Shakespeare*, 15.

101 Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy*, 6–7, 10.

102 Cartelli, *Repositioning Shakespeare*, 17–18.

their content could be largely based on that of a Spanish literary source. With regard to analysis, however, I treat appropriations and translations in a similar way, analysing content that reflects on contemporary Anglo-Netherlandish-Spanish relationships and/or formulates a vision of Spain, Spaniards, and/or Spanish culture and thereafter comparing this content with corresponding content of the original, appropriated source.

### *Cultural transfer studies*

In this thesis, also the concept from cultural transfer studies of the cultural mediator is used for the study of the representation of Spanishness. In cultural transfer studies, the transformation of culture through travelling ideas, objects, works of art, and people is analysed. Its main premise is that whenever a cultural idea or object moves from one context to another, a transformation occurs. These cultural ideas or objects not only become part of a new context but also transform along the way, being used in a different manner than in the former context they operated.<sup>103</sup> The people who facilitate cultural transfer are called cultural mediators. Ronald Taft, who introduced the concept of the cultural mediator in 1981, defines the role as follows:

A cultural mediator is a person who facilitates communication, understanding and action between persons or groups who differ with respect to language and culture. The role of the mediator is performed by interpreting the expressions, intentions, perceptions, and expectations of each cultural group to the other, that is, by establishing and balancing the communication between them. In order to serve as a link in this sense, the mediator must be able to participate to some extent in both cultures. Thus a mediator must be to a certain extent bicultural.<sup>104</sup>

As a cultural mediator is someone who bridges cultures, the early modern translators and appropriators studied in this thesis can be gathered under this definition, as they facilitated cultural transfer between England, Spain, and the Netherlands with their translations and appropriations. Therefore, in the analysis of translations and appropriations, I have also looked into the individuals who produced these translations and appropriations, as they were the go-betweens who transmitted messages from Spanish literary sources to English and Netherlandish audiences with their Dutch and English translations and appropriations. Although not much is known about the majority of these individuals, when available information on individuals relates to Spain and Spaniards, this is always discussed, particularly in relation to the representation of Spanishness in their works.

### *Paratexts*

Finally, in this thesis, both the main text and the textual and visual elements that mediate the book to the reader are analysed. The latter are classified as paratexts and are described in detail in Gérard Genette's seminal work *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (1987). Titles, subtitles,

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103 Anna Veronika Wendland, 'Cultural Transfer', in *Travelling Concepts for the Study of Culture*, ed. Birgit Neumann and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 45–47.

104 Ronald Taft, 'The role and personality of the mediator', in *The mediating person. Bridges between cultures*, ed. Stephen Bochner (Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1981), 53.

pseudonyms, forewords, dedications, epigraphs, prefaces, intertitles, notes, epilogues, and afterwords; all are textual devices which offer the reader ‘a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it (more pertinent, of course, in the eyes of the author and his allies)’.<sup>105</sup> They comprise the spaces in a text in which writers, printers, translators, appropriators, playwrights, and others can reflect upon the work at hand and express their purpose with the work. As demonstrated in edited volumes such as *Renaissance Paratexts* (2011) and *Thresholds of Translations* (2019), these spaces were amply used in the early modern period.<sup>106</sup> They are argued to be places of ‘authorial, social and cultural negotiation’ in which the value of the work could be advertised, relationships with patrons could be staged, political and religious authorities could be placated, the perception of the printed text could be shaped, and authors could engage with their peers.<sup>107</sup> In the cases of translations, also a reflection on the translator’s own abilities was usually included, as well as a motivation for translating the work.<sup>108</sup> Most importantly, paratexts are argued to be places in which authors, translators, appropriators, and printers could engage with contemporary political and ideological debates and could participate in the construction of Self and Other.<sup>109</sup> As such, they are valuable textual material in the study of the representation of Spanishness in late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century England and the Netherlands and they are therefore analysed in this thesis.

### Source selection

This thesis analyses a wide variety of sources from the period of c. 1554-1621 in a number of different languages. Genres included are the anti-court critique, chivalric romance, comedy, epic poem, epistolary essay, jest book, miscellaneous treatise, mirror-for-princes treatise, (illustrated) pamphlet, picaresque novel, political treatise, tragedy, tragicomedy, and religious treatise. The sources are (intermediary) translations, appropriations, and originals in Dutch, English, French, German, Italian, Latin, and Spanish. The binding factor between these sources is 1) their direct or indirect dependence on a Spanish literary source and/or 2) their representation of Spanishness in the paratext and/or content. In some cases, sources prior or after the period of c. 1554-1621 are consulted, either because the first or final edition of a repeatedly reprinted work or series was printed in this period, or because they alluded to one of the Spanish literary sources studied in this thesis.

For Dutch primary sources, two additional selection criteria were important: date and location. Sources published in the period of c. 1554-66 are not restricted to a location, as they were published in a period in which Netherlanders did not defy the Spanish Monarchy. Yet, for

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105 Gérard Genette, *Paratexts Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2.

106 Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, eds., *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge University Press, 2011); Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington, eds., *Thresholds of Translation. Paratexts, Print and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Britain (1473-1660)* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

107 Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington, ‘Introduction’, in *Thresholds of Translation. Paratexts, Print, and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Britain (1473-1660)*, ed. Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 3–4.

108 Theo Hermans, ed., *Door eenen engen bals. Nederlandse beschouwingen over vertalen. 1550-1670* (s-Gravenhage: Stichting Bibliographia Neerlandica, 1996), 9, 14–18. Also in some appropriations, appropriators reflected on their appropriation skills or the appropriated text in question, which is the case in Bredero’s comedy *Spaanschen Brabander Jerolimo*.

109 Belle and Hosington, ‘Introduction’, 8.

the period of 1566-1609, only sources are selected that were published in cities which at the time had joined the rebellion or which were reconquered by the rebelling Netherlanders. Sources of the period of c. 1609-21 are exclusively published in the Dutch Republic. Thus, from the start of the Dutch Revolt in 1566 onwards, I have only selected those sources which are produced in a political context that deemed Spain an enemy to the Netherlands: other Dutch sources fall outside the scope of this thesis.<sup>110</sup> Only in the second chapter of this thesis I deviated from this rule. In this chapter, I analysed a couple of translations of Spanish chivalric romances and the works of Antonio de Guevara, either produced in the Spanish Netherlands or a couple of years after the Twelve Years' Truce ended. These particular translations are part of a huge corpus of Dutch and English translations of Spanish bestsellers which are compared to each other with regard to their representation of Spanishness. For English primary sources, I had no additional selection criteria, although I have almost exclusively selected sources that were published in London, England. The few sources in my selection that had been published outside of England were disseminated in England and had an explicit opinion on Spain and Spaniards in relation to contemporary political Anglo-Spanish relations.

A noticeable absence in my corpus are the works of one of the most famous Spanish authors of the seventeenth century: Miguel de Cervantes. The reason for excluding his works is that they arrived too late in the Netherlands. Whereas the first English translation of Cervantes' most famous work *Don Quixote* appeared in 1612, the first Dutch translation appeared in 1657, a date which lies far outside the scope of this thesis (ca. 1554-1621). Similarly, whereas the first known printed allusion to a work of Cervantes appeared in 1607, in the play *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage* by George Wilkins, in the Netherlands it was only in 1637 that a work of Cervantes could be recognised in a Dutch text. This was Jacob Cats' 'Selsaem Trou-geval tusschen een Spaens Edelman, ende een Heydinne' in his marriage advice manual *Trouwingh* (1637).<sup>111</sup> Since this thesis is a comparative and diachronic study of the representation of Spanishness in both the English and Netherlandish contexts, it was thus not tenable to include Cervantes. However, I do reflect briefly on Cervantes' most famous work *Don Quixote* in the second chapter of this thesis, as it parodied Spanish chivalric romances, books that were literary bestsellers in both England and the Netherlands in my period of study, and was used as an inspiration for the comedy *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (performed in 1606-7, published in 1613), which also parodied Spanish chivalric romances.

The primary sources discussed in this thesis were collected from a variety of bibliographical sources. Translations of Spanish sources were primarily found in secondary sources that concentrated on one particular Spanish genre or one particular Spanish author.<sup>112</sup> Also digital

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110 Examples of Dutch works that reflected on Spaniards and were supportive of the Spanish regime are *Claer Bewijs, dat den Prince van Orangien de oorsake ende iersten oorspronck is gheweest van dese langduerighe allende ende tweedrachticheyt* (N.p.: n.p., 1583), *Chroniicke vande Gantsche Werelt* (Antwerpen: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1620) by Adrianus van Meerbeeck (1563-1627), and *De Spiegel der Nederlandsche Elenden* (Mechelen: Hendrick Jaey, 1621) by Richard Verstegan (c.1547-1640). For a discussion of these and other works written in support of the Spanish Habsburg regime in my period of study, see Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam University Press, 2012); Jasper van der Steen, *Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566-1700* (Brill, 2016), 81-107.

111 Wilkins referred to the windmill episode of *Don Quixote* and Cats' text was based on the story 'La Gitanilla' of Cervantes *Novelas Ejemplares* (1613). J. A. Garrido Ardila, 'The Influence and Reception of Cervantes in Britain, 1607-2005', in *The Cervantean Heritage: Reception and Influence of Cervantes in Britain* (Modern Humanities Research Association and Maney Publishing, 2009), 3; Gorp, 'Don Quixote in the Netherlands: Translations and Adaptations of Cervantes' Novel', 159.

112 These include Frank Wadleigh Chandler, *Romances of Roguery. An episode in the history of the Novel. The pica-*

catalogues such as the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (USTC) and the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Catalogue* (RCCC) were amply used. The USTC offers bibliographical data from printed literature published in Europe between 1450 and 1650.<sup>113</sup> The RCCC provides an overview of all English translations of the period of 1473-1640.<sup>114</sup> For Dutch translations in particular, Jan Lechner's *Repertorio de obras de autores españoles en bibliotecas holandesas hasta comienzos del siglo XVIII* was consulted.<sup>115</sup>

Dutch and English plays that were based on plots of Spanish sources or that reflected on Spain and Spaniards were largely gathered from bibliographies specialised in playtexts. For instance, *An index of Characters in Early Modern English Drama* has pointed me towards numerous English plays with Spanish characters in them and plays with characters based on famous literary Spaniards, such as the Lazarillos, Lazarellos, and Lazarottos discussed in the first chapter of this thesis.<sup>116</sup> Moreover, the various bibliographies and repertories on Dutch plays from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Gustaaf van Eemeren, Hubert Meeus, and W.M.H. van Hummelen aided in the selection of Dutch plays discussed in this thesis.<sup>117</sup> Finally, the *Online Datasystem of Theatre in Amsterdam from the Golden Age to the present* (ONSTAGE), which has collected the Amsterdam Municipal Theatre's repertoire, performance, popularity, and revenues between 1637 and 1772, was consulted to determine if plays originally published and performed in my period of study were staged in the remainder of the seventeenth century.<sup>118</sup>

Dutch pamphlets were mainly gathered from the *Dutch Pamphlets Online* database, which includes the Knuttel-Collection (1485-1853) and the Van Alphen Collection (1542-1853).<sup>119</sup> The illustrations of the illustrated pamphlets discussed in this thesis were gathered from the *Rijksstudio* of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and the database *Het Geheugen* of the Royal Library in The Hague.<sup>120</sup> Finally, this thesis is greatly indebted to the *Early English Online Database* (EEBO) 'which features page images of almost every work printed in the British Isles and North

*resque Novel in Spain* (Macmillan, 1899); Henry Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry. The Revival of the Romance of Chivalry in the Spanish Peninsula, and Its Extension and Influence Abroad* (Cambridge University Press, 1920); Praag, *La Comedia española aux Pays-Bas*; Ko Haak, 'Palmerijn van Olijve: "een fabuleus versiert boeck"' (PhD thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1979); Berry Dongelmans, Sylvia van Zanen, and Elizabeth Zeeman, eds., *De Amadis van Gaule-romans. Productie, verspreiding en receptie van een bestseller in de vroegmoderne tijd in de Nederlanden. Met een bibliografie van de Nederlandse vertalingen* (Leiden: SNL, 2001); S.A. Vosters, *Antonio de Guevara y Europa* (Universidad de Salamanca, 2009).

113 University of St. Andrews, *The Universal Short Title Catalogue*, accessed March 30, 2022, <https://www.ustc.ac.uk>.

114 Brenda Hosington et al, *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads*, accessed March 30, 2022, <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/rcc/>.

115 J. Lechner, *Repertorio de obras de autores españoles en bibliotecas holandesas hasta comienzos del siglo XVIII* (Utrecht: Hes & de Graaf Publishers Bv, 1999).

116 Thomas L. Berger, William C. Bradford, and Sidney L. Sondergard, *An Index of Characters in Early Modern English Drama. Printed Plays, 1500-1660* (Cambridge University Press, 1998).

117 Gustaaf van Eemeren, *Elck raept wat. Inhoudsopgaven van de ernstige Nederlanstalige toneelstukken uit de periode 1575 - 1650. Deel 1: 1567-1618* (Antwerpen, 1991); Gustaaf van Eemeren and Hubert Meeus, *Elck raept wat inhoudsopgaven van de ernstige Nederlanstalige toneelstukken uit de periode 1575 - 1650. Deel 2: 1618-1632* (Antwerpen, 1994); Hubert Meeus, *Repertorium van het ernstige drama in de Nederlanden, 1600-1650* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Acco, 1983); W. M. H. Hummelen, *Repertorium van het rederijersdrama 1500-ca. 1620. Herziene editie* (Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren, 2003), [https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/humm001repe02\\_01/index.php](https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/humm001repe02_01/index.php).

118 University of Amsterdam, *Online Datasystem of Theatre in Amsterdam from the Golden Age to the present (ONSTAGE)*, accessed October 9, 2022, <https://www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/onstage/>.

119 *Dutch Pamphlets Online*, advisor: W.P.C. Knuttel, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000, accessed March 30, 2022, <http://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/dutch-pamphlets-online>.

120 Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, *Rijksstudio*, accessed March 30, 2022, <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/rijksstudio>; Koninklijke Bibliotheek, *Het Geheugen*, accessed March 30, 2022, <https://geheugen.delpher.nl/nl>.

America, as well as works in English printed elsewhere from 1470-1700'.<sup>121</sup> Besides offering me access to all English primary sources discussed in this thesis, through the search engine of this database I was able to find an abundance of sources from both the sixteenth and seventeenth century that referenced the Spanish literary sources, the Spaniards, and the hispanised Englishmen subject in this thesis. These sources enriched my argument significantly. Unfortunately, there is no similar database for early modern Dutch sources yet. I was able to gather some of the same type of references through the search engine of the *Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren*<sup>122</sup> and through *Google Books*<sup>123</sup>, yet their numbers do not compare to that of English references found in EEBO. This means there is always a discrepancy in the amount of Dutch and English sources I cite when I discuss the literary afterlife of Spanish literary sources in England and the Netherlands. I believe, however, that this fact does not affect the representativity of the selected sources.

### Chapter overview

This thesis is divided into four chapters which are not ordered chronologically. Rather, each chapter focuses on a different theme to fully explore the various aspects of the Hispanophobic/Hispanophilic triangular relationship between England, Spain, and the Netherlands. Where possible, the chapters do discuss the primary source material in chronological order, to clearly show the diachronic development of the image of Spain, Spaniards, Spanish culture, and Spanishness as a whole. This thematic approach allows us to thoroughly situate the primary sources within the appropriate historical, cultural, and literary contexts.

The first chapter discusses the development of stereotypical literary Spaniards in relation to the best-selling picaresque novel *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554). This work was translated into Dutch and English and afterwards appropriated into various pamphlets and plays. In this process of translation and appropriation, various images of Spaniards were created that either contributed to the image of the Black Legend Spaniard, as was done in the pamphlet *Aerdt ende Eygenschappen* (1598), or that transformed already existing images of the Spaniard into new, ambiguous images. As will be shown, plays that used the *Lazarillo* as a source for their characters were distinctly different from more typical Black Legend pamphlets and plays in which a Spaniard was purely a braggart. Moreover, the Lazarillian characters in Dutch and English plays had more sides to their personalities than their Spanish counterparts in other plays, often being both dangerous and ridiculous at the same time. I thus argue that the *Lazarillo* shaped new modes of Spanishness in Dutch and English literature, endowing Spaniards with more depth in terms of their characteristics and relations with Englishmen and Netherlanders.

The second chapter focuses on two types of Spanish literary bestsellers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: Spanish chivalric romances and the works of the Spanish humanist Antonio de Guevara (1481-1545). These Spanish literary bestsellers were incredibly popular in England and the Netherlands, which is attested by the many translations and appropriations of the works, as well as their lively afterlife. This chapter analyses what role the Spanishness of these Spanish bestsellers played in the Dutch and English literary response to these popular texts. I will argue that the ideas on chivalry, counsel, and morals embedded in these works were highly appreciated in England and the Netherlands, and were considered worth imitating.

121 *Early English Database Online*, accessed March 29, 2022, <https://www.proquest.com/eebo>.

122 *Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren*, accessed March 30, 2022, <https://dbnl.org/>.

123 *Google Books*, accessed March 30, 2022, <https://books.google.nl/>.

Moreover, the various ways in which translators dealt with the Spanish origin of the texts and the literary afterlife of the chivalric romances and texts of Guevara show that contemporary politics, although influential, did not exclusively dominate the appropriation of these texts. The literary genre of these texts left room for modes of Spanishness, which stood in stark contrast to that of the Black Legend Spaniard and that were left untouched by translators and appropriators. Finally, I argue that these Spanish bestsellers became an integral part of English and Netherlandish literary culture and were transformed into nationalistic works that edified the people of England and the Netherlands.

The third chapter steers away from Spanish translations and instead focuses on the blurred boundaries between Englishness, Netherlandishness, and Spanishness in the representation of hispanised Englishmen and Netherlanders. I discuss the hispanisation of Queen Mary I, the hispanisation of English Jesuits, the hispanisation of the gentry of England during the Anglo-Spanish peace, the hispanisation of Netherlanders who lived in the Spanish Netherlands, and the hispanisation of Remonstrants and their leader, the Netherlandish statesman Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547-1619). Focusing on their representation in pamphlets and plays, I will argue that Englishmen and Netherlanders who did not fit contemporary ideas of what being an Englishman or Netherlander typically entailed, were either equal to the Spanish enemy and seen as an English or Netherlandish Other, or a new version of the English or Netherlandish Self who was more or less accepted within English and Netherlandish society. By being politically aligned to Spain, sharing the same faith as the Catholic Spaniard, having similar characteristics as the Black Legend Spaniard, or by appropriating Spanish culture, these hispanised figures demonstrate that Spanishness was a fluid and transferable set of qualities that was not exclusive to Spain and its people.

The fourth and final chapter of this thesis studies the effect of contact with Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture on the writings of three cultural mediators who, by living and/or working in Spain and other parts of the Spanish Empire, had experienced Spanishness in a different way than most of their fellow countrymen. I argue that the cross-cultural experiences of Catholic Englishmen Lewes Lewknor (ca. 1560-1626) and Anthony Copley (1567-1609), and of the Netherlander Theodore Rodenburgh are directly and indirectly visible in their writings. Although Black Legend rhetoric, as perpetrated in popular Dutch and English anti-Spanish literature, is not ignored in their writings, they also infuse their own individual ideas on Spain, Spaniards, and/or Spanish culture in their works, which varied from irrefutable Hispanophobia to explicit Hispanophilia. I thus show that contact of Englishmen and Netherlanders with Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture contributed significantly to the representation of Spanishness in England and the Netherlands and enabled the creation of more nuanced images of Spain and Spaniards.