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Shaping Spanishness

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

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Chapter 4. Experiencing Spanishness. The effects of contact with Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture on the representation of Spanishness

4.1. Introduction: the dismantlement of the stereotypical Black Legend

On 16 May 1605, Lord Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham (1536-1624) ratified the Anglo-Spanish peace in Valladolid. He thereby ended a period of warfare that had lasted almost two decades. On the same day, English ambassador Charles Cornwallis (ca. 1555-1629) started his four-year residency at the court of Spain. He was the first resident English ambassador since the expulsion of John Man (1514/15-69) in 1568.⁹⁵¹ As becomes clear from a letter written to the Privy Council early in his residency (May 31, 1605), Cornwallis' opinion of Spain and Spaniards was not particularly positive when he started. He complained of the 'exceedinge Barrenness of Place, and Povertye of that whole Countrey', which made him experience 'many Sufferances' when he travelled to the Spanish Court in Valladolid. He was of the opinion that Philip III only signed the peace because '[h]is Debts are greate'.⁹⁵² It also surprised Cornwallis that the Spanish nobility spent so much on their 'outward Appearance', especially since their expenses were 'not proportionable to the recoming of their Revenues'. Then again, it was probably common among Spaniards to 'make themselves great in Opinion without the Effects' as they were also guilty of giving 'an Appearance of Pietie and Devotion, without the working Power of either'.⁹⁵³ Although he did praise the great feasts and kind treatment he and his party had received, and argued that Philip was 'of an exceeding good nature, and of a plaine Heart', Cornwallis concluded his letter with the opinion that 'this Estate' was 'one of the most confused and disordered in Christendome'.⁹⁵⁴

Thus, according to Cornwallis, Spain is a poor, barren nation, and the Spaniard vainglorious, and falsely pious. The same was argued in *A Briefe Discourse of the Spanish State* (1590), *A Pageant of Spanish Humours* (1598), and numerous other anti-Spanish English pamphlets written during the Anglo-Spanish War (1585-1604).⁹⁵⁵ Evidently, these literary sources coloured his perception of Spain and Spaniards, their familiar Black Legend rhetoric being a useful tool for Cornwallis to get a grip on his alien hosts and surroundings. In fact, as has been noted by William S. Goldman, all letters written early in Cornwallis' residency were negative about Spain and Spaniards. Besides being a barren, poor nation, Spain is described as having extreme economic and social inequalities. Spaniards, moreover, are inherently corrupt, cruel, deceitful, lazy, and superstitious.⁹⁵⁶

951 For more on this expulsion, see Gary M. Bell, 'John Man. The Last Elizabethan Resident Ambassador in Spain', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 7, no. 2 (1976): 75-93.

952 'Sir Charles Cornwallis to Lords of the Council, 31 May 1605, Valladolid,' in *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Q. Elizabeth and K. James I*, Volume 2, ed. Edmund Sawyer (London: W.B. for T. Ward, 1725), 67, 73.

953 *Ibid.*, 73.

954 *Ibid.*, 72, 74.

955 Edward Daunce, *A Briefe Discourse of the Spanish State* (London: Richard Field, 1590), 4-5, 10-11; H.W., *A Pageant of Spanish Humours* (London: John Wolfe, 1599), A4r, Br-Bv.

956 William S. Goldman, 'Viewing Spain through Darkened Eyes: Anti-Spanish Rhetoric and Charles Cornwallis's Mission to Spain, 1605-1609', in *Representing Imperial Rivalry in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, ed. Barbara Fuchs and Emily Weissbourd (University of Toronto Press, 2015), 258-61.

Interestingly, the longer Cornwallis stayed in Spain, the less negative about Spain and Spaniards his letters became. Indeed, as shown by Goldman, letters written in a later phase of Cornwallis' residency were more positive towards his Spanish hosts. Cornwallis praised those Spanish persons he worked with, lauding their generosity, virtue, and wisdom. He also described Spanish customs and the Spanish administrative and judicial system with a much greater understanding and appreciation than he did at the start of his residency. Attacks on the Spanish character were toned down, and even Spanish Catholicism was judged less vigorously by Cornwallis.⁹⁵⁷ Evidently, the longer Cornwallis had actual contact with Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture, the less anti-Spanish his views became.

During my period of study (1554-1621), many Englishmen and Netherlanders directly engaged with Spaniards and Spanish culture in a manner similar to that of Cornwallis. As courtiers, diplomats, merchants, and soldiers, Englishmen and Netherlanders met Spaniards in trade settings, the courts of England, Spain, and the Netherlands, as well as in the Spanish army stationed in the southern provinces of the Netherlands. As will be highlighted in the next section of this chapter, in all these places Anglo-Netherlandish-Spanish cultural exchanges took place that ultimately influenced the representation of Spanishness in England and the Netherlands. Spanish clothing, customs, food, and literary works, as well as personal experiences were transferred to Englishmen and Netherlanders back home. They showed a more varied side of Spain and Spaniards than was usually available at the time. Whereas their fellow countrymen could often only form an opinion on Spain and Spaniards based on the many anti-Spanish publications produced in this period, those who had met Spaniards directly and had experienced Spain and Spanish culture first-hand, had the opportunity to form a more nuanced opinion. As a result, their descriptions of Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture offered neutral and also positive views of Spanishness besides the more common negative views of Spanishness. This is evident from Cornwallis' letters and the travel accounts of English travellers who visited Spain between 1604 and 1625.⁹⁵⁸ Functioning as cultural mediators, they facilitated 'communication, understanding and action' between Spaniards, Englishmen, and Netherlanders, bridging their cultures by the cultural transfer of Spanish products and by the narration of their own experiences.⁹⁵⁹

In this chapter, I will analyse the translations and original writings of three individuals who, like Cornwallis, had experienced Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture first-hand. The individuals in question are the English Catholics Anthony Copley (1567-1609) and Lewes Lewknor (ca. 1560-1626?), and the Netherlander Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644). I selected them because, firstly, their cross-cultural experiences as soldiers in the Spanish army in the Netherlands (Copley, Lewknor) and as a diplomat on the Spanish court in Madrid (Rodenburgh) were markedly more positive than those of most of their fellow writing countrymen who engaged with Spaniards in my period of study (1554-1621). For example, although both Copley and Lewknor suffered hardships in the service of the Spanish army, and Rodenburgh was thwarted in his diplomatic efforts at the Spanish Court by the Spaniard Rodrigo Calderón, the Count of Oliva (1576-1621)⁹⁶⁰, they were not imprisoned by Spaniards. This did happen, however, to the

957 Goldman, 263–64.

958 Alexander Samson, "The colour of the country": English travellers in Spain, 1604–1625', *Studies in Travel Writing* 13, no. 2 (2009): 111–24.

959 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. For a more elaborate discussion of the concept of the cultural mediator, see the introduction of this thesis.

960 J. A. Worp, 'Dirk Rodenburg I', *Oud Holland* 13, no. 2 (1895): 86.

English merchants John Frampton and Thomas Nicholas, who translated eight translations of Spanish literary works, and the Netherlanders Jacob Duym and Johan Baptista Houwaert, who wrote the anti-Spanish *Ghedenck-boeck* (1606) and *Milenus clachte* (1578), respectively.⁹⁶¹ To the contrary, both Copley and Lewknor received Spanish pensions from Alexander Farnese, the Duke of Parma, during their service in the Spanish army. Furthermore, Rodenburgh enjoyed the friendship of Francisco de Sandoval y Rojas, the Duke of Lerma (1552-1625) and of King of Spain Philip III while he was a diplomat in Madrid.⁹⁶²

Secondly, the literary works Copley, Lewknor, and Rodenburgh produced after they had returned to their home countries – translations of Spanish literary works as well as original texts about Spain, Spaniards, and/or Spanish culture – differed from those of others who had more joyful experiences in Spain or Spanish territories. Unlike writers such as Barnaby Googe (1540-94) and Cornelis van Beresteyn, whose borrowings and/or translations of Spanish literary sources do not reveal they visited Spain and engaged with Spaniards and/or Spanish culture,⁹⁶³ Copley, Lewknor and Rodenburgh (implicitly) embedded their experiences in Spain or Spanish service and/or the knowledge about Spanish culture they acquired in these Spanish settings in their literary works. Thirdly and finally, as Cornwallis did in his letters, they embedded rhetoric from the Black Legend in their literary works, to make the works more suitable for their predominantly Hispanophobic countries. They thereby differed from someone like David Rowland who, as argued in section 1.2.2 of this thesis, refrains from embedding stereotypical anti-Spanish imagery in his English translation of the picaresque novel *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554).⁹⁶⁴ As the literary works of Copley, Lewknor, and Rodenburgh were in most cases successful, being reprinted multiple times in a short period or staged well into the seventeenth century, this complex interplay between traditional Black Legend rhetoric and the writer's individual experience of Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture had a profound influence on the English and Netherlandish literary spheres. It allowed the introduction of various new perspectives on Spanishness in England and the Netherlands, and broadened the representation of Spanishness in both countries.

This chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section I will discuss the most common settings in which Englishmen and Netherlanders encountered Spaniards and Spanish culture in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. I will thereby highlight several

961 Donald Beecher, 'The legacy of John Frampton: Elizabethan trader and translator', *Renaissance Studies* 20, no. 3 (2006): 334–37; Johan Koppenol, 'Jacob Duym en de Leidse rederijkers', *Neerlandistiek*, 2001, 4; S.A. Vosters, *Antonio de Guevara y Europa* (Universidad de Salamanca, 2009), 576.

962 Michael A. R. Graves, 'Copley, Anthony (b. 1567, d. in or after 1609), Writer and Conspirator', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-6268>; Roderick Clayton, 'Lewknor, Sir Lewes (c. 1560–1627), courtier and translator', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-46411>; Worp, 'Dirk Rodenburgh I', 86.

963 Googe did include the poems 'Goyng towards Spayne' and 'Commynge home warde out of Spayne' in his *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonnetes* (1563), a book published shortly after his stay in Spain (1561-62). Yet, Googe only reflects on his departure and arrival from England in these poems. Barnaby Googe, *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonnetes* (London: Thomas Colwell for Ralph Newbery, 1563), Hr-Hv, Hiiiv; Mark Eccles, 'Barnaby Googe in England, Spain, and Ireland', *English Literary Renaissance* 15, no. 3 (1985): 358–60. For more on Googe's borrowings and translations of Spanish literary sources, see section 4.2.2 of this thesis. For more on Beresteyn and his translations of Spanish literary sources, see section 2.3.2 of this thesis.

964 They also differ from Rowland because they wrote original works on Spain, Spaniards, and/or Spanish culture, in contrast to Rowland.

instances in which a cultural transfer occurred between England, Spain, and the Netherlands, and will demonstrate in particular how common positive, non-hostile encounters between Englishmen, Netherlanders, and Spaniards were. In the second section, I will discuss why Copley, Lewknor, and Rodenburgh were cultural mediators. I will provide a brief biography of each and describe their relationship with Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture. In the third section I will analyse their translations and original works and highlight how the past experiences of these three individuals shaped their representations of Spanishness.

4.2. Places of Anglo-Netherlandish-Spanish cultural exchange

As stated earlier, Englishmen and Netherlanders connected with Spaniards in trade cities, at the courts of England, Spain, and the Netherlands, and in the Spanish army. In the following, I will briefly discuss these places and highlight a few examples of influential instances of Anglo-Netherlandish-Spanish cultural exchange. Thus, I will demonstrate that the popular notion that Anglo-Netherlandish-Spanish relations were predominantly marked by hostility in the period of c.1554-1621 is not accurate. Although many hostile encounters occurred between Englishmen, Netherlanders, and Spaniards during the Anglo-Spanish War and the Dutch Revolt, there were also countless encounters during this period in which Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture were appreciated instead of feared and despised by Englishmen and Netherlanders.

4.2.1. Trade between England, Spain, and the Netherlands

England, Spain, and the Netherlands were solid trading partners throughout the entire early modern period, even during times of war.⁹⁶⁵ For instance, Anglo-Spanish commercial relations date back as far as 1292, and in nearly every leading Spanish port a few English merchants could be found in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Many of those merchants married Spanish women and started families.⁹⁶⁶ Similarly, Netherlandish merchants, whose numbers increased especially after 1570, when traditional trade routes between the Netherlands and Spain were disrupted by the Dutch Revolt, could be found in Spanish port cities such as Cádiz and Seville, where they also integrated into Spanish society through marriage.⁹⁶⁷ Finally, Spanish merchants

965 Trade continued during times of war because the demand for Spanish products did not decrease and the livelihood of English, Netherlandish, and Spanish merchants depended on it. For studies on Anglo-Spanish trade during times of war, see Pauline Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy: 1585-1604', *The Historical Journal* 32, no. 2 (1989): 281-302; Jason Eldred, "'The Just Will Pay for the Sinners': English Merchants, the Trade with Spain, and Elizabethan Foreign Policy, 1563-1585", *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 10, no. 1 (2010): 5-28; Bethany Helen Pleydell, 'The Spanish Tudors: fashioning the Anglo-Spanish elite through dress, c.1553-1603, and beyond' (PhD thesis, University of Bristol, 2019), 92-102; Alexander Samson, 'A Fine Romance: Anglo-Spanish Relations in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 1 (2009): 78-82. For studies on Netherlandish-Spanish trade during times of war, see Victor Enthoven, 'Zeeland en de opkomst van de Republiek. Handel en strijd in de Scheldedelta, c. 1550-1621' (PhD thesis, Universiteit Leiden, 1996), 10-11, 112; Oscar Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamse stapelmarkt (1578-1630)* (Uitgeverij Verloren, 2000), 134, 152-53, 186; Johannes Hermann Kernkamp, *De handel op den vijand 1572-1609* (Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon, 1931); J.J.S. van den Tol, 'De handel met de vijand: het economisch belang van smokkel en Spaanse handelsbarago's voor de Republiek in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 1, no. 13 (2016): 53-75.

966 Pauline Croft, 'Englishmen and the Spanish Inquisition 1558-1625', *The English Historical Review* 87, no. 343 (1972): 252; Samson, 'A Fine Romance', 78.

967 Jonathan I. Israel, 'The Dutch Merchant Colonies in the Mediterranean during the Seventeenth Century', *Renaissance and Modern Studies* 30, no. 1 (1986): 92; Eddy Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders of de handelsbetrekkingen der*

established themselves primarily in the Netherlandish cities of Antwerp, Bruges, Mechelen, and Middelburg. They were so well integrated in Netherlandish society that some Spaniards were even allowed to participate in local politics.⁹⁶⁸ It is quite likely that the first wife of the cultural mediator Lewes Lewknor, Beatrice de Rota, was one of those Spanish merchants: Beatrice de Rota was the heiress of a merchant family in Antwerp.⁹⁶⁹ Her last name, 'de Rota', indicates that her family originally came from the Spanish city of Rota, which lies close to the port city of Cádiz.⁹⁷⁰

The Spanish products that were imported by English and Netherlandish merchants were cosmetics, garments, literature, oils, perfume, salt, subtropical fruits, leather, wine, wood, and wool.⁹⁷¹ Some merchants also translated the Spanish literary works they imported. The sixteenth-century merchants John Frampton and Thomas Nicholas, for instance, who were active in the Bristol trade with Seville (Frampton) and as English factor of Tenerife (Nicholas), respectively, were also responsible for the English translation of eight Spanish texts in 1577-81. They produced their translations after their mercantile activities in Spain were seriously thwarted at the beginning of the 1560s: both were arrested on religious grounds by the Spanish Inquisition, had their goods confiscated, and spent ample time in prison before being sentenced to a permanent stay in Spain.⁹⁷² After Frampton and Nicholas illegally escaped to England in the late 1560s, they capitalised on their Spanish language skills and turned translator, producing translations of Spanish works that focused on Spanish transatlantic commerce, the Spanish Empire, and the trade routes Spain had established over the past centuries.⁹⁷³ Interestingly, the two English merchants did not express anti-Spanish sentiment in their translations and instead urged their countrymen

Zuidelijke Nederlanden met de Iberische wereld 1598-1648 (Brussel: Paleis der Academiën, 1971), 57-61, 378-81; Werner Thomas, *In de klauwen van de Inquisitie. Europese protestanten in Spanje, 1517-1648* (Amsterdam University Press, 2003), 118-110.

968 Raymond Fagel, *De Hispano-Vlaamse wereld. De contacten tussen Spanjaarden en Nederlanders, 1496-1555* (Brussel: Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België, 1996), 106-23. For Spanish merchants in England, see Carla Rahn Phillips, 'The Spanish Wool Trade, 1500-1780', *The Journal of Economic History* 42, no. 4 (1982): 263-65; Pleydell, 'The Spanish Tudors', 91, 117-18.

969 Julio César Santoyo, 'Lewkenor/Lucanor (1555?-1627?): Fragmentos bio-bibliográficos de un traductor olvidado', in *Años Del II Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Renacentistas Ingleses*, ed. Fernández-Corugedo (Universidad de Oviedo, 1992), 282.

970 Unfortunately, nothing is known about Beatrice de Rota except for the fact that she died in 1605 and had two sons, William and Thomas (1587-1645), and a daughter Beatrice with Lewknor. Lewknor remarried in 1605 with Katherine Argall, the widow of his cousin Sir Thomas Argall. As Argall died of smallpox within six months of the marriage, Lewknor finally married Mary Blount, the daughter of Richard Blount of Dedisham, Sussex. Clayton, 'Lewknor, Sir Lewes (c. 1560-1627)'.

971 For studies on these products of trade, see footnote 12.

972 Beecher, 'The legacy of John Frampton', 334-37; Loren E. Pennington, 'John Frampton and Thomas Nicholas. Two Sixteenth-Century Propagandists for English Expansion', *Emporia State Research Studies* 20, no. 4 (1972): 11-12, 16-17.

973 John Frampton translated six Spanish texts: Nicolás Monardes' *Historia medicinal de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales* (1574), Martín Fernández de Enciso's *Suma de geographia que trata de todas las partidas y provincias del mundo* (1519), Bernardino de Escalante's *Discurso de la navegacion que los Portugueses* (1577), Pedro de Medina's *Arte de navegar* (1545), Francisco de Támara's *El Libro de las Costumbres de todas las gentes del mundo, y de las Indias* (1556), and Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella y Córdoba's *El libro del famoso Marco Paulo* (1503). Thomas Nicholas translated two Spanish texts: López de Gómaras' *La Historia de las Indias y conquista de Mexico* (1552) and Agustín de Zárate's *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú* (1555). For more on their translations, see Beecher, 'The legacy of John Frampton'; Pennington, 'John Frampton and Thomas Nicholas'.

to imitate the overseas exploits of Spain.⁹⁷⁴ Like Richard Eden (1520-76)⁹⁷⁵ had done twenty years earlier, and like Richard Hakluyt would do in the 1580s⁹⁷⁶, they played a pivotal role in the promotion of England's territorial expansion and demonstrated the desire to not only imitate, but also emulate Spain in their colonial and mercantile ventures.⁹⁷⁷

Spanish literature was also an interesting trading commodity for the Netherlandish Rotterdam-based publishers Jan van Waesberghe the elder (1528-90) and his son Jan van Waesberghe the younger (1556-1626). Both were initially based in Antwerp, which in the sixteenth century was specialised in devotional and polemical Catholic and Spanish literature intended for the Spanish Empire and the international market.⁹⁷⁸ Spanish literary bestsellers such as the chivalric romance cycle *Amadís de Gaula*, the works of Antonio de Guevara, and the picaresque novel *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554) were also produced in this city and published in, for instance, Spanish, Latin, Dutch, and French.⁹⁷⁹ When the Waesberghe family had to leave Antwerp for Rotterdam due to the Dutch Revolt, they brought various Spanish literary works produced in Antwerp with them. In total, one third of the titles the Waesberghe family published in Rotterdam, listed in the Short Title Catalogue Netherlands (STCN), are of Spanish origin.⁹⁸⁰ They include six editions of the Dutch translation (1565) of Miguel Comalada's *Spill de la vida religiosa* (1515), the first complete Dutch translation of Antonio Guevara's *Relox de Príncipes* as *Den Vorstelijcken Lust-hof ende Morgen-wecker* (1618), and Dutch translations of fourteen parts of the *Amadís* and three parts of the *Primaleón* cycle. *Den Schat der Sielen* (1565)⁹⁸¹, which is the Dutch translation of Miguel Comalada's *Spill de la vida religiosa* (1515), the first complete Dutch translation of Antonio Guevara's *Relox de Príncipes* as *Den Vorstelijcken Lust-hof ende Mor-*

974 Only in *The Pleasaunt Historie of the Conqueſt of the Weaſt India, now called New Spaine* (1578) by Thomas Nicholas, a translation of Gómaras's *La Historia de las Indias y conquista de Mexico* (1552), a small anti-Spanish remark could be found in the dedicatory poem by satirist Stephan Gosson. He calls Spain 'haughty'. Thomas Nicholas, *The Pleasaunt Historie of the Conqueſt of the Weaſt India* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1578), biir.

975 In Eden's *Decades of the New Worlde* (1555), a translation of the first three books of the *De orbe novo* (1516) by Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (1467-1526), Spanish heroism in the West Indies is extravagantly praised as a model for England. For more on the *Decades of the New Worlde*, see Andrew Hadfield, 'Peter Martyr, Richard Eden and the New World: Reading, Experience, and Translation', *Connotations* 5, no. 1 (1995): 1–22.

976 In the books *Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America* (1582), *Discourse on Weſtern Planting* (written in 1584), and *The Principall Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589), Hakluyt expressed the desire to emulate and surpass Spain. For more on Hakluyt's travel writing, see Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt, eds., *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Ashgate, 2012). For the place of these works in the English Black Legend narrative, see the introduction of this thesis and William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England. The development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558–1660* (Duke University Press, 1971), 61–75; J.N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700. The Formation of a Myth* (The University of Michigan Press, 2000), 370–79.

977 A comparable example of the Netherlandish context is the *Itinerario* (1596) of Jan van Linschoten (1562-1611), a Netherlandish traveller who had lived in Spain, Portugal, and Goa. The *Itinerario* described, among other things, Portuguese and Spanish nautical routes that were readily exploited on English and Netherlandish expeditions to Asia. Nuno Vila-Santa, 'Jan Huygen van Linschoten and the *Reys-Gheschrift*: Updating Iberian Science for the Dutch Expansion', *Historical Research* 94, no. 266 (1 November 2021): 736–37.

978 Lieve Behiels, Werner Thomas, and Christian Pistor, 'Translation as an Instrument of Empire. The Southern Netherlands as a Translation Center of the Spanish Monarchy, 1500–1700', *Historical Methods* 47, no. 3 (2014): 119; Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 149–50.

979 Frans M.A. Robben, 'De Antwerpse boekenwereld en haar relaties met Spanje in de 16de en 17de eeuw', *De Gulden Passer* 71–72 (1993): 12, 15–17.

980 'Waesberghe, Short Title Catalogue Netherlands (STCN), accessed June 13, 2022, https://picarta.oclc.org/psl/xslt/DB=3.11/CMD?ACT=SRCHA&IKT=8061&SRT=YOP&TRM=waesberghe&REC=*

981 They were printed in 1590, 1597, 1608, 1629, and 1638.

gen-wecker (1618), and Dutch translations of fourteen parts of the *Amadís* and three parts of the *Primaleón* cycle. They also published the multilingual dictionary *Dictionario coloquios, o dialogos en quatro lengas, flamenco, frances, Español y Italiano* in 1608. As has been noted by Rena Bood, in the seventeenth century more Netherlandish publishers would specialise in the production of translated Spanish literary works, which was a profitable niche in the Netherlandish book market.⁹⁸²

4.2.2. *The courts of England, Spain, and the Netherlands*

The higher classes of English and Netherlandish society engaged with Spaniards at the royal courts of Brussels, London, Madrid, Seville, and Valladolid as well as at the ducal court of Zafra. For Netherlanders, the court of Brussels in the Netherlands was the most important location where Netherlandish-Spanish cultural exchanges took place. Netherlandish noblemen like William of Orange, Lamoral the Count of Egmont (1522–68), and Philip de Montmorency the Count of Horn (1524–68) – all leading figures in the opposition to Philip II's government in the years leading up to the start of the Dutch Revolt in 1566 – held important government positions in Brussels in which they also closely cooperated with Spaniards. They spoke and wrote in Spanish, and communicated with the Spanish court in Madrid through Spaniards and/or Spanish-Netherlandish intermediaries.⁹⁸³ As shown by Renaud Adam, who has determined which Spanish books circulated in Brussels by 1569, they also had direct access to numerous famous Spanish literary works, such as the picaresque novel *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554) which is discussed in the first chapter of this thesis.⁹⁸⁴

Sometimes Netherlandish noblemen also resided at one of the royal courts in Spain.⁹⁸⁵ The Count of Egmont, for instance, travelled to Madrid in 1565, to discuss the current religious and political problems of the Netherlands with King of Spain Philip II.⁹⁸⁶ Yet, after the Dutch Revolt ensued, Netherlandish officials of the rebelling Netherlands and later Dutch Republic were generally shunned from the courts of Spain and the Spanish Empire.⁹⁸⁷ The third cultural mediator I will discuss in this chapter, the Netherlander Theodore Rodenburgh, was one of the few Netherlanders from the Dutch Republic who was exempted from this harsh treatment. As will be further detailed in the next section, it was during Rodenburgh's four-year residency at the court of Spain in Madrid that he became acquainted with Spanish noblemen, Spanish clothing, and the Spanish theatre.

English noblemen had the chance to engage with Spanish noblemen on a more regular basis in the period under review. During the joint reign of Queen Mary I and Prince of Spain Phil-

982 Rena Bood, 'Between Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia. The Spanish Fascination in English and Dutch 17th-century Literature' (PhD thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2020), 74–75.

983 For their exact occupations and relationships with Spaniards and Spanish culture, see Liesbeth GeEVERS, *Geval- len vazallen. De integratie van Oranje, Egmont en Horn in de Spaans-Habsburgse monarchie (1559-1567)* (Amsterdam University Press, 2011), 51–55, 62–71, 112–13, 118–21, 159–64.

984 Renaud Adam, 'Spanish Books in Michiel van Hamont's Bookshop (1569): A Case Study of the Distribution of Spanish Books in Sixteenth-Century Brussels', *Quaerendo* 48, no. 4 (2018): 305.

985 Under Charles V, the Spanish court was established in Seville. His son Philip II moved his court to Madrid in 1561. Finally, under Philip III, the court was temporarily moved to Valladolid in 1606–6.

986 For more on his trip, see GeEVERS, *Geval- len vazallen*, 128–37.

987 Carel Carelszoon van Cracou for instance was not received by the King of Spain or any other Spanish nobleman when he travelled for a diplomatic mission to Spain in 1616. P.A. Leupe, 'Rapport van Carel van Cracouw, als commissaris naar Spanje gezonden in het belang van den Staat en het daarop genomen besluit van de Staten Generaal', *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 2 (1879): 95–108; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, 29–30.

ip II, the court of London was the most important location of Anglo-Spanish cultural exchange. In preparation to Philip's Spanish household and the two thousand artisans who followed Philip to England, two Spanish language manuals were published to promote Anglo-Spanish trade.⁹⁸⁸ Moreover, various masks, tournaments, and religious ceremonies were organised in which both English and Spanish noblemen participated. Famed were the diverse *juego de cañas* performances organised in 1554 and 1555, a popular Spanish game in which two mock armies competed on horseback by throwing canes at each other.⁹⁸⁹ Finally, Mary dressed as a typical Habsburg Queen to underline her support for her Spanish husband Philip and the Anglo-Spanish alliance, most of her wardrobe consisting of Spanish clothing.⁹⁹⁰

Spanish culture was also present on the English courts of Queen Elizabeth I and King James I. For example, Queen Elizabeth and her chief advisor William Cecil Lord Burghley spoke Spanish, the former being portrayed in Spanish clothing⁹⁹¹ while the latter owned the largest collection of Spanish books in Elizabethan England.⁹⁹² Moreover, as already noted in the third chapter of this thesis, Spanish culture was particularly popular at the court of James I, 'the Spanish tongue, dress, &c' being 'all in fashion'.⁹⁹³ Yet, most Anglo-Spanish cultural exchanges took place in Spain: English noblemen who visited Spain or who took up residency as English ambassador at the royal courts of Spain usually returned to England with Spanish clothing and books in their inventories. Thomas Chaloner (1521-65), for instance, the resident English ambassador in the period of 1561-65, bought many pieces of expensive Spanish clothing during his ambassadorship.⁹⁹⁴ He was accompanied by the poet and translator Barnaby Googe, who was the first Englishman to borrow from Jorge de Montemayor's bestselling pastoral romance *Diana* (1559) and who also translated the proverbs of Íñigo López de Mendoza (1398-1458) in 1579.⁹⁹⁵ More-

988 *A very profitable booke to lerne the maner of redyng, wrytyng, & speakyng english & Spanish* (London: John Kyngston and Henry Sutton for John Wight, 1554) and *The booke of Englysshe and Spanysshe* (London: Robert Wyer, 1554). Alexander Samson, 'Culture Under Mary I and Philip', in *The Birth of a Queen. Essays on the Quincetenary of Mary I*, ed. Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 162-64.

989 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; Samson, 'A Fine Romance', 76-77; Alexander Samson, *Mary and Philip. The Marriage of Tudor England and Habsburg Spain* (Manchester University Press, 2020), 205-7.

990 Pleydell, 'The Spanish Tudors', 147-56.

991 See, for instance, Lucas de Heere's painting *An Allegory of the Tudor Succession* (1572) or William Roger's engraving *Eliza Triumphans* (1589). Pleydell, 'The Spanish Tudors', 166-72. For a discussion of the theme of Spain in Elizabeth's portraits in general, see Mercedes Alcalá-Galán, 'Elizabeth I and the Politics of Representation. The Triumph over Spain', in *The Image of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Spain*, ed. Eduardo Olid Guerrero and Esther Fernández Rodríguez (University of Nebraska Press, 2019), 137-76.

992 Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*, 447.

993 'James I - volume 90: January 1617', in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I, 1611-18*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London: 1858), 421. *British History Online*, accessed April 15, 2022, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/jas1/1611-18/pp421-430>. For more on the popularity of Spanish culture on the English court, see section 3.2.3. of this thesis.

994 In the anonymous portrait of Thomas Chaloner of 1559, which hangs in the National Portrait Gallery in London, Chaloner also wears Spanish clothing. Pleydell, 'The Spanish Tudors', 94-95, 190.

995 Eccles, 'Barnabe Googe in England, Spain, and Ireland', 360. The first complete English translation of *Diana* was published in 1598 and made by Bartholomew Yong (1560-1621), a Catholic Englishman who visited Spain in the period of 1578-80 and was known for his excellent command of French and Spanish. Yong became acquainted with the Spanish bestseller in 1582 after his friend Edward Bannister urged him to translate it. Gustav Ungerer, 'Bartholomew Yong, Mannerist Translator of Spanish Pastoral Romances', *English Studies* 54, no. 5 (1973): 440-41; L. G. Kelly, 'Yong, Bartholomew (Bap. 1560, d. 1612), Translator', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30257>.

over, when the diplomat Dudley Carleton visited Valladolid for the signing of the Anglo-Spanish peace treaty, he purchased, among other things, a copy of *La Pícaro Justina* (1605), the first picaresque novel with a female protagonist, and a copy of the first edition of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (1605).⁹⁹⁶ Finally, the poet and translator James Mabbe served several years as the secretary of the English ambassador Sir John Digby (1580-1653)⁹⁹⁷ in Madrid.⁹⁹⁸ Although not much is known about his stay, Mabbe did send a copy of the 1613 edition of the *Rimas de Lope de Vega Carpio* (1605), a collection of sonnets by Félix Lope de Vega, to Oxford.⁹⁹⁹ Additionally, Mabbe would become an important translator of Spanish prose, his translations including the *Guzmán de Alfarache* (part 1 published in 1599; part 2 published in 1604) by Mateo Alemán in 1622, the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* (1499) by Fernando de Rojas (1465/73-1541) in 1631 and six tales of the *Novelas Ejemplares* (1613) by Miguel de Cervantes in 1640.¹⁰⁰⁰

Arguably the most extensive Anglo-Spanish exchange took place at the ducal court in Zafra. Governed by the Spanish Duke of Feria Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Córdoba (ca. 1520-71) and the English Duchess of Feria Jane Dormer (1538-1612), this court was the centre of courtly life for English Catholic exiles in Spain.¹⁰⁰¹ English ambassadors, Jesuits, merchants, and travellers often visited the court and subsequently encountered Spanish culture. In fact, through one of those visits, a manuscript copy of the Duchess' guide to household management and cookery ended up in England in the hands of the Countess of Arundel Anne Howard (1557-1630). The book discusses, among other things, recipes for perfumes and pomanders with ingredients that were often only found in Spain. It also discussed the Spanish technique for eight variants of perfumed gloves, a fashion item which was particularly popular among Spanish noblewomen, and which also became popular among English noblewomen in late sixteenth-century England.¹⁰⁰²

996 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. For the other Spanish books he and other English noblemen purchased in Valladolid during this visit, see Gustav Ungerer, 'The Earl of Southampton's Donation to the Bodleian in 1605 and Its Spanish Books', *Bodleian Library Record* 16 (1997): 17-41.

997 Digby's son George Digby (1612-77), born in Madrid when his father served as resident ambassador, would play a vital role in the introduction of the Spanish *comedias* into England, by adapting three plays of the famous Spanish Golden Age playwright Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681) in the 1660s. Jorge Braga Riera, *Classical Spanish Drama in Restoration English (1660-1700)* (John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2009), 76-77, 80-81.

998 When Mabbe travelled to Madrid in 1611, he was accompanied by Leonard Digges (1588-1635), a poet and translator who in 1622 issued *Gerardo, the Unfortunate Spaniard*, an English translation of the *Poema trágico del español Gerardo* (1615) by Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses (1585-1638). Sidney Lee and Elizabeth Haresnape, 'Digges, Leonard (1588-1635), Poet and Translator', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2005), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7638>.

999 José María Pérez Fernández, 'Translation, Diplomacy and Espionage: New Insights into James Mabbe's Career', *Translation and Literature* 23, no. 1 (2014): 1, 8.

1000 Alexander Samson, 'Maybe Exemplary? James Mabbe's Translation of the *Exemplarie Novells* (1640)', *Republic of Letters* 4, no. 2 (2015): 1-16. For an analysis of Mabbe's translations of political and religious Spanish works, see Pérez Fernández, 'Translation, Diplomacy and Espionage: New Insights into James Mabbe's Career', 3-5, 17-21. For a study of Mabbe's translations of Spanish prose literature, see Martine Gagnon, 'Golden Age Spain Wearing English Clothes: James Mabbe, Renaissance Translator of Spanish Prose Literature' (Master thesis, Concordia University, 2010).

1001 The two had met at the court of London during Queen Mary's reign. The Duke of Feria belonged to Philip II's entourage and Dormer was Mary's lady-in-waiting. Hannah Leah Crummé, 'Jane Dormer's Recipe for Politics. A Refugee Household in Spain for Mary Tudor's Ladies-in-Waiting', in *The Politics of Female Households. Ladies-in-Waiting across Early Modern Europe*, ed. Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben (Brill, 2014), 56-57.

1002 Crummé, 64, 67-69, 71.

4.2.3. *The Spanish army*

Finally, a common setting were both Englishmen and Netherlanders engaged with Spaniards was the Spanish army stationed in the southern provinces of the Netherlands to suppress the Dutch Revolt. The army enjoyed great international prestige as, ‘in the words of a contemporary, “Spain’s university of military science”’. As such, it attracted many non-Spanish soldiers, among whom the two English cultural mediators discussed in this chapter.¹⁰⁰³ Anthony Copley and Lewes Lewknor both served in the Spanish army under the Duke of Parma (1578-92) for several years. It is probable that it was there that they became fluent in Spanish, since the main language of communication, command, and record-keeping in the Spanish army was Spanish or Castilian.¹⁰⁰⁴ Although Spaniards were generally favoured over other nationalities in pay and key posts, under the military leadership of the Duke of Parma, it was possible for Netherlandish noblemen as well as English and Italian soldiers to get promoted. They served in higher military positions in the *reconquista* campaign of the Netherlands and organised themselves in separate *tercios*, the ‘elite units’ of the Spanish army.¹⁰⁰⁵ The most famous English *tercio* was the regiment of general William Stanley (1548-1630) who, together with Rowland York (ca. 1555-88), betrayed Queen Elizabeth and the Netherlandish rebels by surrendering Deventer and Zutphen to the Spanish army on 28 January 1587. Whereas York died quickly after his treachery, Stanley’s regiment became a haven for Catholic English and Irish exiles and one of the most renowned units in the Spanish army.¹⁰⁰⁶

4.3. The cultural mediators Lewknor, Copley, and Rodenburgh

As demonstrated in the preceding section, contact with Spaniards and Spanish culture was not exceptional for Englishmen and Netherlanders in the period dealt with in this thesis. One could either experience Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture at the locations discussed above or rely on the experiences of cultural mediators through the Spanish (literary) materials and stories on Spain, Spaniards, and/or Spanish culture they transferred. In the remainder of this chapter, I will discuss the lives and impact of three cultural mediators active during my period of study: the Catholic Englishmen Lewes Lewknor and Anthony Copley, and the Netherlander Theodore Rodenburgh. All three spent ample time in the Spanish Empire and transferred ideas on what Spanishness entailed by not only translating Spanish literature, but also by reflecting on Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture in their original works. Although their representations of Spanishness also betray the influence of more common stereotypical views of Spain and Spaniards, these views being derived from the Black Legend, as a whole, their representations were more varied, nuanced, and positive than those of their contemporaries. This was in part because they were influenced by their own experiences as soldiers in the Spanish army and, in the case of Ro-

1003 Fernando González de León, *The Road to Rocroi. Class, Culture and Command in the Spanish Army of Flanders, 1567-1659* (Brill, 2009), 56.

1004 As I will demonstrate in sections 4.3.1. and 4.4.1., Lewknor probably already had a high command of Spanish before he joined the Spanish army.

1005 Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile*, 73; González de León, *The Road to Rocroi*, 96–99.

1006 York was most likely poisoned by Spaniards at a dinner in the Netherlands in February 1588. Sarah Clayton, ‘Yorke [York], Rowland (d.1588), soldier and traitor’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-30236>; Paul Hammer, *Elizabeth’s Wars. War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544-1604* (Palgrave, 2003), 134.

denburgh, as a diplomat at the Spanish court. I will delineate these experiences in the next section, together with a brief overview of the lives of Lewknor, Copley, and Rodenburgh, focusing on their relation to Spain and Spaniards. In the section thereafter, I will analyse the literary works that resulted from their temporary stay in the Spanish Empire and identify the representations of Spanishness conveyed in them.

4.3.1. Lewes Lewknor (ca. 1560-1626?)

Lewes Lewknor was born in a Catholic landed gentry family and grew up in the county of Sussex.¹⁰⁰⁷ He initially planned to become a lawyer like his uncle Richard Lewknor (1542-1616), but he changed his plans in 1580 when he, to uphold his Catholic faith, went into voluntary exile in the southern provinces of the Netherlands and joined the Spanish army of the Duke of Parma.¹⁰⁰⁸ During his service, Lewknor married Beatrice de Rota, the heiress of a merchant family in Antwerp, and was promoted to the function of captain. After his arm was maimed, however, Lewknor had to retire from the Spanish army. The loss of this Spanish pension, together with the loss of a lawsuit over his wife's dowry in 1587, brought Lewknor into severe financial difficulties, forcing him to request safe conduct to England from the Governor of Flushing and Earl of Leicester Robert Sidney (1563-1626), on 4 June 1590.¹⁰⁰⁹

Back in England, Lewknor immediately provided information on other Catholic English exiles. He detailed how many of them lived in Flushing and other places on the continent, and which Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scots received Spanish pensions.¹⁰¹⁰ He also converted to the Anglican faith and promised to write a book, disclosing:

[...] the tyrannous and most detestable intencions of the Spaniardes [before all loyal subjects], which I doe in parte presume to knowe, because I have long lived with them bothe in Courte and Campe, in fielde and garrison, in their Cavallerie & infantrie. I lived in good reputacion among them and had conference with the best, I understande and speake their language, and therefore, especially conferring dayly with them, am not ignorant of their humours and condicions.¹⁰¹¹

As a former soldier of the Spanish army and a fluent speaker of the Spanish language, Lewknor considered himself an expert on Spaniards. He had daily conversed with Spanish soldiers for a considerable time, which had made him knowledgeable not only about the Spanish national character, but also about the 'tyrannous and most detestable' plots of the Spanish enemy.

1007 For more on the Catholic ties of Lewknor's family, see Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England. Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550-1640* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 44-45, 49, 58-59.

1008 Clayton, 'Lewknor, Sir Lewes (c. 1560-1627)'. Although the exact circumstances of Lewknor's departure from England in 1580 are unknown, his decision was presumably caused by harsher legislation against English Catholics in the late 70s and early 80s. Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572-1588* (Princeton University Press, 1981), 127-33.

1009 Santoyo, 'Lewkenor/Lucanor (1555?-1627?)', 282-83. William J. Tighe, 'Five Elizabethan courtiers, their Catholic connections, and their careers', *British Catholic History* 33, no. 2 (2016): 222.

1010 Santoyo, 'Lewkenor/Lucanor (1555?-1627?)', 283.

1011 British Library, Harleian MS. 6798. No. 16 [ff. 80-4], quoted in Tighe, 'Five Elizabethan courtiers, their Catholic connections, and their careers', 222.

Such knowledge was extremely valuable during the Anglo-Spanish war, particularly for a Catholic Englishman who needed to be pardoned for his treasonous service in the Spanish army. It comes as no surprise, then, that the promised book took the shape of anti-Spanish propaganda when it was published five years later, appearing in a pirated version as *A Discourse of the Usage of the English Fugitives, by the Spaniard* (1595) and the starkly altered, authorised version *The Estate of the English Fugitives under the King of Spain and his ministers* (1595, reprinted in 1596). The two anti-Spanish works described in great detail the abuses Englishmen could expect in service of the Spanish army, and were endorsed by the English government as official English anti-Spanish propaganda. Additionally, the books were ardent personal pleas of pardon that demonstrated that expatriate Catholics like Lewknor could be loyal to the Protestant English monarchy.¹⁰¹²

Lewknor was also active as a translator of Italian and Spanish works. The first work he translated was the epic poem *El Cavallero determinado* (1553) by Hernando de Acuña (1518-80), which in turn was a translation of the French medieval epic poem *Le Chevalier Délibéré* (1483) by Olivier de la Marche (1426-1502). Lewknor's version appeared as *The Resolved Gentleman* in 1594 and was based on a Spanish copy of Acuña's *El Cavallero determinado*. As will be detailed in section 4.4.1., this book was, similar to *A Discourse* and *The Estate*, a plea for pardon in which Lewknor, among other things, framed the Tudor monarchy as being superior to the Habsburg monarchy. The next work Lewknor produced was *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice* (1599), which was a direct translation of the Italian version (1545) of *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum* (1543) by Gasparo Contarini (1483-1542). Finally, in 1600, *The Spanish Mandevile of Miracles* was published, which was a direct translation of the miscellaneous treatise book *Jardín de flores curiosas* (1570) by Antonio de Torquemada (1507?-69). As argued in the paratextual material that was written by a friend of Lewknor, this translation was 'the fruite and exercise' of Lewknor's 'youngest yeeres', meaning it was either produced before Lewknor went into voluntary exile in the southern provinces of the Netherlands in 1580, or in the first years of his exile.¹⁰¹³

Lewknor's proficiency in the Spanish language and overall knowledge about Spain and Spaniards was pivotal to his later career. From 1600 onwards¹⁰¹⁴, Lewknor acted as Spanish interpreter for Queen Elizabeth and her courtiers, and was occasionally employed to look after the needs of foreign dignitaries.¹⁰¹⁵ After King James I accessed the throne in 1603, moreover, Lewknor was appointed in the newly created office of 'master of the ceremonies', an occupation which focused on the hosting of diplomats and other foreign dignitaries. One of Lewknor's first guests was the Spanish ambassador Don Juan de Tassis y Acuña (ca. 1540-1607), who had travelled to England in 1603 to discuss the future Anglo-Spanish peace.¹⁰¹⁶ In this office, which he occupied until his death in 1627, Lewknor quickly gained the reputation of being one of those people 'that have English tongues and Spanishe harts', particularly because he tended to favour Spanish ambassadors over ambassadors of other foreign countries.¹⁰¹⁷ His paycheck, family, and

1012 Marco Nievergelt, 'Catholic loyalism, service and careerism: Lewes Lewkenor's quest for favour', *Renaissance Studies* 24, no. 4 (2010): 538.

1013 Lewes Lewknor, *The Spanish Mandevile of Miracles* (London: James Roberts for Edmund Matts, 1600), A4r.

1014 For details of Lewknor's life in the period of 1590-1600, see Clayton, 'Lewknor, Sir Lewes (c. 1560-1627)'.

1015 Carole Levin, *The Reign and Life of Queen Elizabeth I. Politics, Culture, and Society* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 193-94; Tighe, 'Five Elizabethan courtiers, their Catholic connections, and their careers', 223.

1016 Santoyo, 'Lewkenor/Lucanor (1555?-1627?)', 298-99. For a detailed analysis of the embassy of Juan de Tassis, see Albert Joseph Loomie, *Toleration and Diplomacy: The Religious Issue in Anglo-Spanish Relations, 1603-1605* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1963).

1017 William Trumbull to Ralph Winwood, 14/24 Feb 1617, *Downshire MSS*, 6.112, no. 258, quoted in Clayton,

faith also indicated that Lewknor was favourable to Spain and Spaniards in this final period of his life. Since July 1603, Lewknor received a Spanish pension again, and in 1616, his younger son William joined the Spanish army in Antwerp. Also, in 1618, Lewknor secretly reconverted to the Catholic faith at the Spanish embassy.¹⁰¹⁸

4.3.2. *Anthony Copley (1567-1609)*

Anthony Copley was born in a Catholic family of landed gentry in Sussex. When Copley was only three years old, his father Thomas Copley (1534-84) illegally left England because he was unwilling to submit to the Protestant Church of England. This decision had dire consequences for the Copley family. In response to Thomas' departure, the *Act Against Fugitives over the Sea* (1571) was instated, which penalised subjects who left the realm without the license of Queen Elizabeth with the loss of goods and tenements. Consequently, the Copley family home Gatton manor and its interior were confiscated, leaving the Copley family in desperate financial straits.¹⁰¹⁹ Whereas his mother Catherine Luttrell followed his father into exile, Anthony Copley stayed in England and lived under the charge of his uncle and aunt Thomas and Bridget Southwell until 1582, when he joined his parents in Rouen.¹⁰²⁰ Two years later, Copley joined the English College in Rome, supported by a pension from Pope Gregory XIII, secured for him by his first cousin, the Jesuit martyr and poet Robert Southwell (1561-95).¹⁰²¹ As Copley did not get along with the English Jesuit Robert Persons, supervisor of the College at the time, he left the College when his pension stopped in 1585.¹⁰²² He then travelled to the Netherlands and secured a pension from the Duke of Parma through his brother-in-law Richard Stanihurst (1547-1618).¹⁰²³ After serving the King of Spain as a soldier in the Spanish army for the next four years, Copley illegally returned to England in 1590.¹⁰²⁴

Back in England, Copley was immediately imprisoned due to his connections to the English Jesuits and the Spanish enemy. To secure his release from prison, Copley wrote several proclamations in which he denounced his former patrons and pleaded for Queen Elizabeth's pardon.¹⁰²⁵ Interestingly, the information Copley offered was similar to that offered by Lewknor upon his return to England: Copley and Lewknor both described the harsh treatment Englishmen in the service of the Spanish army commonly endured, and both offered information on fellow English Catholic exiles. However, whereas Lewknor offered information on English Catholic exiles in general, detailing how many lived on the continent and who among them received Spanish pensions, Copley only provided information on those Catholic English exiles he

'Lewknor, Sir Lewes (c. 1560-1627)'.

1018 Tighe, 'Five Elizabethan courtiers, their Catholic connections, and their careers', 223.

1019 Ibrahim Mumayiz, 'Anthony Copley's *A Fig for Fortune*', *The Downside Review* 123, no. 431 (2005): 110.

1020 Susannah Brietz Monta, *A Fig for Fortune by Anthony Copley* (Manchester University Press, 2016), 9.

1021 Graves, 'Copley, Anthony (b. 1567, d. in or after 1609), Writer and Conspirator'.

1022 Copley hated Persons' authoritarianism, while Persons disliked Copley's fickle, flamboyant character. Mumayiz, 'Anthony Copley's *A Fig for Fortune*', 112-13.

1023 Stanihurst married Copley's sister Helen in 1586. Colm Lennon, 'Stanihurst [Stanyhurst], Richard (1547-1618), literary scholar and translator', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-26294>.

1024 His father Thomas and older brother William also served in the Spanish army. Monta, *A Fig for Fortune*, 4, 8.

1025 The proclamations and other documents related to Copley's arrest can be found in the Lansdowne collection of the British Library (Lansdowne MS 64, 9; Lansdowne MS 66, 25; Lansdowne MS 66, 47). Monta, *A Fig for Fortune*, 11, footnote 66.

considered to have acted treacherously against the English monarchy.¹⁰²⁶ He argued that many of the Englishmen who lived abroad only did so based on their conscience and otherwise remained loyal to their English country and monarch.

After his release in 1591, Copley began his brief literary career. The first work he produced was an English translation of the Spanish jest book *Floreſta Española de apotegmas y setencias* (1574) by the Spanish writer Melchor de Santa Cruz de Dueñas (ca. 1505-85). The work, directly translated from the Spanish source text, appeared as the *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* in 1595 and was, with over a thousand jests, the largest English jest book of the early modern period.¹⁰²⁷ It was immediately successful and reprinted twice, first in 1596 and second in 1614 in an augmented second edition. The 1595 and 1596 editions of the *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* also included the poem *Love's Owl*, an English translation of Rodrigo's de Cota's *Dialogo entre el amor y un caballero Viejo* (1511). Copley's second work was the epic poem *A Fig for Fortune* (1596). The poem was a Catholic response to Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590) and articulated ideas 'on Catholic loyalism, religious persecution, and the English political regime'.¹⁰²⁸ Finally, Copley wrote the anti-Jesuit propaganda pieces *An Answere to a Letter of a Jesuited Gentleman* (1601), *Another Letter of Mr. A.C. to his Dis-Jesuited Kinseman* (1602), and *A Third Letter of Mr. A.C.* (1602) which was included in the publication of *Another Letter*. The works were written for the Appellants, a self-proclaimed loyalist Catholic faction within England that rejected the appointment of George Blackwell (ca. 1544-1613) as archpriest of England, due to Blackwell's ties to English Jesuits and the Spanish monarchy.¹⁰²⁹

On 5 July 1603, Copley was again arrested, this time for his involvement with the Bye Plot (1603). This was a conspiracy by Catholic laymen and priests who, by kidnapping King James I, hoped to enforce more religious tolerance for English Catholics and to ensure the removal of anti-Catholic councillors from the Privy Council. Copley was instrumental in the plot's discovery and his confessions enabled the swift arrests of his fellow conspirators. Unlike some of his fellow conspirators who, due to Copley's betrayal were sentenced to death, Copley received a pardon by late summer 1604 and was sent into exile.¹⁰³⁰ Almost nothing is known about Copley's life after this date, except that he retracted the accusations he made against Robert Persons and other English Jesuits in *An Answere* and *Another Letter* in 1605/6. Persons subsequently wrote two letters of recommendation for him.¹⁰³¹

4.3.3. Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)

Theodore Rodenburgh was born in Antwerp in a Protestant family with roots in Amsterdam. His family had moved to Antwerp because of their faith, but moved back to Amsterdam once a Protestant city government was instated in 1578. After spending his childhood in Amsterdam, Rodenburgh spent his young adult years travelling, staying five years in Italy, four years in Por-

1026 Santoyo, 'Lewkenor/Lucanor (1555?-1627?)', 283. Monta, *A Fig for Fortune*, 11-12.

1027 Ian Munro, *A Womans Answer Is Neuer to Seke: Early Modern Jestbooks, 1526-1635* (Ashgate, 2007), xxi.

1028 Monta, *A Fig for Fortune*, 32. For an overview of studies on the Catholic dimension in *A Fig for Fortune*, see Lucy Underwood, 'Sion and Elizium: National Identity, Religion, and Allegiance in Anthony Copley's *A Fig for Fortune*', *Renaissance and Reformation. Renaissance et Réforme* 41, no. 2 (2018): 65-96.

1029 Monta, *A Fig for Fortune*, 15-16; Claire Reid, 'Anthony Copley and the Politics of Catholic Loyalty 1590-1604', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 43, no. 2 (2012): 393-94.

1030 Mark Nicholls, 'Treason's Reward: The Punishment of Conspirators in the Bye Plot of 1603', *The Historical Journal* 38, no. 4 (1995): 824, 830-31, 835.

1031 Monta, *A Fig for Fortune*, 21.

tugal, and six years in France. It is likely that he acquired his enormous language skills during these travels, as Rodenburgh spoke no less than seven foreign languages.¹⁰³² After these travels, Rodenburgh went to London to represent the Frisian port city of Emden and the German trade interests of the Hanseatic League. During the ten years he lived in England (1601-10), Rodenburgh also started his literary career. His work included a French poem for a print of the Amsterdam stock exchange. He also appropriated the pastoral tragicomedy *The faithfull Shepheard* (1602), the English translation of Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido* (1590), into the tragicomedy *Anna Rodenburghs Trouwen Batavier* (1617).¹⁰³³

The next country Rodenburgh travelled to was Spain. On 14 April 1611, Rodenburgh arrived in Madrid on behalf of the Amsterdam *Guineevaarders*, a Netherlandish trade company which sailed exclusively to the Guinea coast of Africa for the trade of gold and ivory.¹⁰³⁴ Although according to the fourth stipulation of the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-21) Netherlandish merchants were allowed to sail to the Guinea coast¹⁰³⁵, they were violently repulsed by the Spanish and Portuguese from 1609 to 1610.¹⁰³⁶ Rodenburgh was ordered to ensure the release of those Netherlanders who had been captured and to procure compensation for the suffered damages. For four years (1611-14), Rodenburgh stayed at the Spanish court in Madrid. During his stay, he ensured the release of many of his countrymen, became a well-loved figure in the highest circles of Spanish society, and enjoyed the favour of King Philip III, who knighted Rodenburgh in the Order of the House of Burgundy in 1612 and gifted him a golden chain in 1613.¹⁰³⁷ He seems to have been proud of these accomplishments, since several of his literary works referred to them. Six of Rodenburgh's literary works called him Knight of the House of Burgundy, for instance.¹⁰³⁸

1032 Rodenburgh was fluent in Dutch, English, German, French, Italian, Latin, Portuguese, and Spanish. Wouter Abrahamse, 'Het toneel van Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)' (PhD thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1997), 167; Wouter Abrahamse and Mieke B. Smits-Veldt, 'Een Nederlandse polyglot in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw: Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 8, no. 1 (1992): 237-39.

1033 Abrahamse, 'Het toneel van Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)', 168. Rodenburgh used English literary sources extensively. He adapted *The Revengers Tragedie* (performed in 1606, printed in 1607) by Cyril Tourneur as *Wraeckgierigers Treur-spel* (1618), used passages from Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590) and *Astrophel and Stella* (1591) for his tragicomedy *Melibea* (1618), and used parts of Philip Sidney's *The Defence of Poesie* (1595), Thomas Wilson's *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), and John Dove's *A Confutation of Atheism* (1605) in his *Eglentiers Poëtens Borst-weringh* (1619). Wouter Abrahamse and Ton Hoenselaars, 'Theodore Rodenburgh and English Studies', in *The North Sea and culture in early modern history, 1550-1800. Proceedings of the international conference held at Leiden University, April 21-22, 1995*, ed. Juliette Roding and Lex Heerma van Voss (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 1996), 327-29, 333-35; Nigel Smith, 'Transnational Literary Activity, Diplomacy and Crisis: *The Revenger's Tragedy* and Theodore Rodenburgh's *Wraeckgierigers Treur-Spel*', *Renaissance Studies* 36, no. 1 (2022): 85-103.

1034 Johan Karel Jakob de Jonge, *De oorsprong van Neerland's bezittingen op de kust van Guinea* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1871), 7-11. This area is geographically located in West Africa and covers approximately modern-day Ghana, Benin, Ivory Coast and Nigeria.

1035 The stipulation states that the Dutch Republic can trade with areas outside of Europe if this area is not part of the Spanish Empire. Simon Groenveld, *Unie, bestand, Vrede. Drie fundamentele wetten van de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2009), 108, 118-19.

1036 When a Netherlandish ship was captured by the Spanish or Portuguese, the persons on board were usually beheaded or enslaved. Jonge, *De oorsprong van Neerland's bezittingen op de kust van Guinea*, 12-13.

1037 Abrahamse, 'Het toneel van Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)', 169-71. For an extensive overview of Rodenburgh's mission, his political activities at the court of Spain, and his friendships and rivalries with Spanish noblemen and other foreign dignitaries, see Worp, 'Dirk Rodenburgh I', 79-90.

1038 Theodore Rodenburgh, *Alexander* (Amsterdam: Jan Evertszoon Cloppenburgh, 1618), n.p.; Theodore Rodenburgh, *Eglentiers Poëtens Borst-weringh* (Amsterdam: Paulus van Ravesteyn for Jan Evertszoon Cloppenburgh, 1619), title page; Theodore Rodenburgh, *Geboorte Christi* (Amsterdam: Nicolaes van Ravesteyn voor Dirck Corneliszoon Hout-haek, 1639), A3r; Theodore Rodenburgh, *Melibea* (Amsterdam: J.E. Cloppenburgh), **r; Theodore Roden-



FIGURE 4.1: PORTRAIT OF THEODORE RODENBURGH DRESSED IN SPANISH FASHION (1639)

One of those works, Rodenburgh's collection of meditative poetry *Geboorte Christi* (1639), also included an engraved portrait of Rodenburgh (Figure 4.1), which depicted Rodenburgh with the golden necklace and medallion that had been awarded to him by the States General of the Dutch Republic for his diplomatic services in Spain.¹⁰³⁹ The fact that he was also dressed like a Spanish courtier through the Spanish cape, doublet, and ruff underlined this connection as well.¹⁰⁴⁰

burgh, *Rodomont en Isabella* (Amsterdam: Voor Jan Evertszoon Cloppenburgh, 1618), *4r; Theodore Rodenburgh, *T'Quaedt Syn Meeſter loondt* (Amsterdam: Paulus van Ravesteyn voor Dirck Peterszoon Voskuyl, 1618), *3r.

1039 Rodenburgh, *Geboorte Christi*, A3r. For more on this medallion, see Abrahamse, 'Het toneel van Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)', 172.

1040 For more information on the typical 'Spanish silhouette' worn at the court of Spain, see Pleydell, 'The Spanish Tudors', 60–68.

When Rodenburgh returned to the Dutch Republic in 1614, he brought four Spanish *comedias* with him. These were *La escolástica celosa* (1604) by Félix Lope de Vega, which he appropriated into the comedy *Jalourse Studentin* (1617); Lope de Vega's *El Molino* (1604), which he appropriated into the comedy *Hertoginne Celia en grave Prospero* (1617); Lope de Vega's *El perseguido* (1604), which he appropriated into the tragicomedy *Casandra Hertoginne van Borgonie en Karel Baldeus* (1617); and *La venganza honrosa* (1616) by Gaspar Aguilar (1561-1623), which he appropriated into the comedy *'t Quaedt syn meester loondt* (1618). Lope's *Escolástica celosa* and *El Molino* were *comedias de capa y espada*, cloak-and-dagger plays. This type of comedy was famed for its many duels, disguises, *graciosos*, and side-plots that mirrored and parodied the story of the protagonists, and for the happy marriage at the end of the play.¹⁰⁴¹ Lope's *El perseguido* and Aguilar's *La venganza honrosa*, on the other hand, were *comedias de honor* or honour plays. In this type of comedy the honour and/or virtue of the protagonist had to be restored after it was damaged by the immoral behaviour of a family member, by the accusation of cowardice or felony by an enemy, and/or by the suspicion of impure blood and tainted ancestry.¹⁰⁴² Both typically Spanish comedy genres had not been performed before in the Dutch Republic, which is why Rodenburgh has been called the first Netherlandish 'literary mediator of the Spanish theatre'.¹⁰⁴³ As argued by scholars such as Frans Blom, Rena Bood, Olga van Marion, and Tim Vergeer, Spanish theatre would become particularly popular in the Dutch Republic from the 1640s onwards.¹⁰⁴⁴ According to Blom, '[b]y 1655 nearly 50 per cent' of plays staged at the Amsterdam Public Theatre 'were Spanish import plays, remaining the theatre's main attraction for three decades'.¹⁰⁴⁵ The appropriated Spanish *comedias* by Rodenburgh would become popular during this time, too, as is evidenced by numerous performances and reprints.¹⁰⁴⁶

I consciously call these plays appropriations instead of translations, because Rodenburgh made significant changes to the Spanish *comedias* to make them more "appropriate" for his Netherlandish audiences. Although he was generally faithful to the plot and structure of his source texts¹⁰⁴⁷, Rodenburgh often changed the setting and/or action in a scene into something more

1041 Abrahamse, 'Het toneel van Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)', 95, 101.

1042 Alix Ingber, 'What is an honor play?' (MLA Annual Convention, Washington D.C., 1992), <http://www2.ups.edu/faculty/velez/Comedia/html/unit1/honoringber.htm>; Matthew Stroud, 'The *Comedia* in Amsterdam, 1609-1621: Rodenburgh's Translation of Aguilar's *La Venganza Honrosa*', *Laberinto* 1 (1997): 44-77.

1043 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.

1044 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, '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; Frans Blom and Olga van Marion, *Spaans toneel voor Nederlands publiek* (Verloren, 2021); Bood, 'Between Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia', 82-94; Tim Vergeer, 'The Theatre of Emotions. The Success of Spanish Drama in the Low Countries (1617-1672)' (PhD thesis, Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, 2022).

1045 Blom, 'Enemy Treasures', 122.

1046 *'t Quaedt syn meester loondt* was republished in 1631 and performed 7 times (1645-46), *Jalourse Studenten* was republished in 1644 and performed 10 times (1644-46), *Hertoginne Celia* was republished in 1629, 1645 and 1666 and performed 19 times (1658-78) and, last but not least, *Casandra en Karel Baldeus* was republished in 1632, 1634, 1642, 1646, and 1663 and performed no less than 66 times (1642-78). 'Het kwaad zijn meester loont', *ONSTAGE*, accessed March 30, 2022, <https://vondel.humanities.uva.nl/onstage/plays/304>; 'Jalourse Studenten', *ONSTAGE*, accessed March 30, 2022, <https://vondel.humanities.uva.nl/onstage/plays/303>; 'Hertoginne Celia en grave Prospero, bly-eynde-spel', *ONSTAGE*, accessed March 30, 2022, <https://vondel.humanities.uva.nl/onstage/plays/15>; 'Casandra en Karel Baldeus', *ONSTAGE*, accessed March 30, 2022, <https://vondel.humanities.uva.nl/onstage/plays/302>.

1047 Rodenburgh did alter the length and amount of acts, for instance making the first act of his *Jalourse Studenten*

familiarly Netherlandish.¹⁰⁴⁸ He also added moralising passages to edify his audience, and expanded already existing ones. These passages focused on the difference between love and lust, the inner workings of the soul, and exemplary vicious and virtuous behaviour.¹⁰⁴⁹ Additionally, Rodenburgh added allegories, echo-scenes, spectacles, songs, and tableaux vivants to his plays and put more detail into the inner agitations or *woelingen* of the characters.¹⁰⁵⁰ Moreover, he applied Lope de Vega's recommendation of using polymetric verse by varying with verse forms native to the Netherlandish theatre tradition.¹⁰⁵¹ Finally, Rodenburgh published these works as his own, making not a single reference to the Spanish author or to Spain in the paratexts of the plays.¹⁰⁵²

Interestingly, a couple of the other plays Rodenburgh published in this period – the pastoral comedy *Bataviese vryagiespel* (1616), the tragicomedy *Alexander* (1618), and the three-parted tragicomedy *Melibea* (1618)¹⁰⁵³ – had typical elements of Spanish *comedias* such as complicated subplots, love intrigues, balcony and window scenes, and multiple disguises in them.¹⁰⁵⁴ Moreover, Rodenburgh's poetics were inspired by Lope de Vega's essay *Arte Nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (1609). In this tract on 'how to write plays in this day and age', Lope de Vega argued that theatre had to adapt to the taste, time, and knowledge about contemporary audiences and that theatre should avoid slavishly following the poetics of ancient playwrights. In particular Aristotle's concept of *mimesis* was vital for great theatre, according to Lope de Vega, as theatre had to entertain audiences and not bore or alienate them through impossible characters and events.¹⁰⁵⁵ The *Eglentiers Poëtens Borst-weringh* (1619), Rodenburgh's own tract on drama, reflects these ideas of 'Den treffelijcken Poët *Lope de Vega Carpio*'.¹⁰⁵⁶ Other Spanish works that influenced

longer than the following two acts and adding a fourth act to his *Casandra* and his *Celia ende grave Prospero*. Rina Walthaus, 'La comedia lopesca y el teatro holandés de principios del siglo XVII. Un temprano triunfo para Theodore Rodenburgh', in *La comedia española y el teatro europeo del siglo XVII*, ed. Henry W. Sullivan, Raúl A. Galoppe, and Mahlon L. Stoutz (London: Tamesis, 1999), 159–60; Abrahamse, 'Het toneel van Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)', 90; Tim Vergeer, 'Lustful Love and Atrocious Angst. The Affective Operations of the *Comedia Nueva* and Senecan-Scaligerian Playwriting in Amsterdam 1617-1672. A Comparative Analysis of Dramatic Structure' (Master thesis, Leiden University, 2016), 45.

1048 Abrahamse, 'Het toneel van Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)', 91–92, 94; Vergeer, 'The Theatre of Emotions', 71.

1049 Abrahamse, 'Het toneel van Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)', 88–107, 158.

1050 Stroud, 'The *Comedia* in Amsterdam, 1609-1621', 58; Harm Den Boer, 'La representación de la comedia española en Holanda', *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 23 (1999): 118–19; Walthaus, 'La comedia lopesca', 165–74; Marion and Vergeer, 'Spain's dramatic conquest of the Dutch Republic', 50–52; Vergeer, 'The Theatre of Emotions', 84–87.

1051 Marion and Vergeer, 'Spain's dramatic conquest of the Dutch Republic', 52–53.

1052 Blom, 'Enemy Treasures', 122.

1053 Rodenburgh also wrote the three-parted comedy *Keyser Otto den Derden* (1616-17), the *Il pastor fido*-adaptation *Trouwen Batavier* (1617), the *Revenge* adaptation *Wraeckgierigers Treur-spel* (1618), the tragedy *Rodomont en Isabella* (1618), the four-parted tragicomedy *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa* and *Deuchts violieren crans* (lost) in this period.

1054 Abrahamse, 'Het toneel van Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)', 70, 163–64; Stroud, 'The *Comedia* in Amsterdam, 1609-1621', 15; J. A. Worp, 'Dirk Rodenburg II', *Oud Holland* 13, no. 1 (1895): 160; J. A. Worp, 'Dirk Rodenburg III', *Oud Holland* 13, no. 1 (1895): 233; J. A. Worp, *Geschiedenis van het drama en van het tooneel in Nederland* (Groningen: Wolters, 1903), 368.

1055 Jonathan Thacker, 'The *Arte Nuevo de Hacer Comedias*. Lope's dramatic statement', in *A Companion to Lope de Vega*, ed. Alexander Samson and Jonathan Thacker (Boydell & Brewer, 2008), 112–16. For more on the innovative nature of Lope's *Arte Nuevo* for the Spanish theatre, see Joan Oleza, *From Ancient Classical to Modern Classical. Lope de Vega and the New Challenges of Spanish Theatre* (New York: Idea Books, 2012).

1056 Theodore Rodenburgh, *Eglentiers Poëtens Borst-weringh* (Amsterdam: Paulus van Ravesteyn for Jan Evertszoon Cloppenburgh, 1619), 47. [The very good Poet *Lope de Vega Carpio*].

Rodenburgh were the scientific treatise *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (1575) by the Spanish physician and psychologist Juan Huarte de San Juan (1529-88), the *Coloquios* (1547) by the Spanish humanist Pedro Mexía (1497-1551), the *Libro áureo* (1528) by the Spanish humanist Antonio de Guevara, and the *Menosprecio de Corte* (1539) by Guevara.¹⁰⁵⁷

The majority of the texts mentioned earlier were published during Rodenburgh's short-lived career as head of the Chamber of Rhetorics *De Eglentier* (1617-19). In this position, he competed with the public theatre the *Nederduytsche Academie* over the correct poetics of Netherlandish theatre.¹⁰⁵⁸ Thereafter, Rodenburgh took up his diplomatic work again, leaving the Dutch Republic in 1619 to serve King of Denmark Christian IV (1577-1648) and stimulate the Danish economy. Interestingly, Spain continued to play a role in Rodenburgh's life. In 1620, he became responsible for the import of salt from Spain to Denmark and in 1628, he started to represent Frederick III Duke of Holstein-Gottorp (1597-1659) at the royal court of Brussels in the Spanish Netherlands. For the remainder of his life, Rodenburgh would live in the Spanish Netherlands, occupied with diplomacy and with the production of several more plays.¹⁰⁵⁹ These were the two-parted tragedy *Hoecx en Cabeliaws* (published in 1628), the two-parted comedy *Sigismund en Manuella* (performed in 1632, published in 1636), the play *Aurelia* (written in 1632), the tragicomedy *Mays treur-bly-eynde-spel* (written in 1633, published in 1634), and the history play *Vrou Jacoba* (performed and published in 1638).¹⁰⁶⁰ In total, Rodenburgh wrote sixteen plays during his lifetime. Four of these were appropriations of Spanish *comedias*, while at least five were influenced by Spanish *comedias* and other Spanish texts.¹⁰⁶¹

4.4. Spain and Spaniards in the works of Lewknor, Copley, and Rodenburgh

Although the lives of Lewknor, Copley, and Rodenburgh differed starkly, they shared three similarities in relation to their experiences with Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture. Firstly, all three men lived in Spain and/or worked together with Spaniards in a crucial period of their lives. Secondly, all translated and/or appropriated Spanish literature after they returned to England and the rebelling Netherlands, which by then was the Dutch Republic. Thirdly, all embedded some of their personal experiences with Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture in their literary works

1057 Abrahamse, 'Het toneel van Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)', 21, 26, 46; Abrahamse and Smits-Veldt, 'Een Nederlandse polyglot in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw', 237; Didi van Trijp, 'Cosmological talk. Three dialogues on the heavens in early seventeenth-century Amsterdam', *Renaissance Studies* 32, no. 1 (2018): 152. See also section 2.3.3. of this thesis for the influence of Guevara's *Libro áureo*.

1058 Abrahamse, 'Het toneel van Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)', 175. The poetical views propagated by Gerbrandt Adriaenzoon Bredero, Samuel Coster (1579-1665), and Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (1581-1647), who founded the *Nederduytsche Academie*, were starkly different from that of Rodenburgh. They advocated theatre strictly based on the classical principles of Aristotle, Seneca, and Scaliger. For a comprehensive discussion of the differences between their poetics, see Vergeer, 'Lustful Love and Atrocious Angst', 21-43.

1059 Abrahamse, 'Het toneel van Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)', 175-79. For a more detailed overview of this part of Rodenburgh's life, see Worp, 'Dirk Rodenburg III'.

1060 Abrahamse, 'Het toneel van Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)', 177-78.

1061 As there are only a couple of studies which speculate on the influence of Spanish *comedias* and other Spanish texts on plays written by Rodenburgh during his time in the Spanish Netherlands – see below – it cannot be said with certainty if more than five plays by Rodenburgh were influenced by these Spanish sources. I will not determine this either, as these plays lay outside the scope of this thesis. For those interested in earlier speculations about the Spanish influence on Rodenburgh's later plays, see R.A. Kollewijn, 'Theodore Rodenburgh en Lope de Vega', *De Gids* 55 (1891): 359-60; Stroud, 'The *Comedia* in Amsterdam, 1609-1621', 15; Vergeer, 'Lustful Love and Atrocious Angst', 72-75.

by either reflecting on their time in the Spanish Empire directly or by describing Spanish cultural landmarks which they must have seen personally as well. As will be delineated in the following section, their time in the Spanish Empire and their aims heavily influenced the representation of Spanishness in their literary works. Whereas Lewknor mainly had negative memories of his experience in Spanish military service and was set on foregrounding his renewed loyalty to England by painting the Spaniard in a bad light, his contemporary Copley never completely forsake his former Spanish patron, due to the disappointing and harsh conduct of his monarch and government against English Catholics. Copley therefore explicitly honoured King Philip II for his past patronage and offered, besides Hispanophobic images of Spanishness, also neutral and positive images of Spanishness in his works. The most positive images of Spanishness, however, were put forward by Rodenburgh, whose personal experience of Spain and Spaniards had arguably been the most positive of the three. He actively questioned the commonly used Black Legend framework and integrated elaborate positive descriptions of Spanish culture in his works.

4.4.1. *Convenient pro-Elizabethan views of Spanishness by Lewes Lewknor*

In total, four of Lewes Lewknor's literary works reflected on Spain, Spaniards, and/or Spanish culture, demonstrated his knowledge about Spain and Spaniards, and his proficiency in the Spanish language. These are 1) the epic prose treatise *The Resolved Gentleman* (1594), a direct translation of Hernando de Acuña's *El Cavallero determinado* (1553); 2) the unauthorised, pirated anti-Spanish work *A Discourse of the Usage of the English Fugitives, by the Spaniard* (1595); 3) the authorised anti-Spanish work *The Estate of the English Fugitives under the King of Spain* (1595, reprinted in 1596) that was starkly different from the unauthorised, pirated version *A Discourse*; and, finally, 4) the *Spanish Mandevile of Miracles* (1600), a direct translation of the miscellaneous treatise book *Jardín de flores curiosas* (1570) that Lewknor probably translated before or during his service in the Spanish army (1580-90). The works were all published in the first decade after Lewknor's return to England in 1590 and, as I will demonstrate, all contributed to Lewknor's aim to be pardoned for his service in the Spanish army. By painting England and Queen Elizabeth as superior to Spain and King Philip II, by providing inside information on the nature and plots of the Spanish enemy, and by translating Spanish literature already at a young age, he showed that he was a loyal asset to the English monarchy. The result was a range of images of Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture that were either neutral or severely Hispanophobic.

The first of Lewknor's publications, the epic prose treatise *The Resolved Gentleman* (1594), is at first glance quite neutral towards Spanishness, in particular because the text was framed as originally French in the paratext. As mentioned in the previous section, Acuña's *El cavallero determinado* (1553), the Spanish text on which Lewknor's *Resolved Gentleman* was based, was in turn based on the French medieval epic poem *Le Chevalier Délibéré* (1483) by Olivier de la Marche (1426-1502). *Le Chevalier Délibéré* was one of the most popular Burgundian allegories of the late fifteenth century.¹⁰⁶² It describes the earthly progress of a knight-errant, who on his final and inevitable pilgrimage to death, encounters allegorical agents who represent the various stages of life. Additionally, the book includes a fifty-stanza digression in which battles between several members of the Burgundian royal family and the invincible Knights of Death are described. The Burgundians, who like any mortal are unable to vanquish the invincible Knights of Death, are

1062 David A. L. Morgan, 'The Resolved Gentleman: Lewis Lewkenor, Olivier de La Marche and the consciousness of Burgundy', *Publications du Centre Européen d'Etudes Bourguignonnes* 41 (2001): 90.

elaborately praised in this digression for their chivalric virtues.¹⁰⁶³

In the section 'To the Reader', Lewknor gives ample praise to the original French author Olivier de la Marche by describing his life, the circumstances in which he wrote *Le Chevalier Délibéré*, and the excellence of his treatise.¹⁰⁶⁴ Lewknor also introduces his source text, Acuña's *El cavallero determinado*, in this section. He argues he used this text because he 'coulde never yet light on any of the French originals'.¹⁰⁶⁵ This last comment could be read as an apology to the reader, since Lewknor thereafter argues:

It seemeth that the *Spanyarde* in some places much altered the Authors meaning, adding & taking away, according to his owne fancy, and fitness of the tyme in which he translated it, as both by the sequele of this discourse appeareth, as also by his Epistle to the Emperour, which I have here prefixed.¹⁰⁶⁶

Indeed, as is evident in the dedication of Acuña to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, which Lewknor included in his *Resolved Gentleman*¹⁰⁶⁷, and, of course, in *El cavallero determinado* itself, much was changed in Acuña's Spanish version of *Le Chevalier Délibéré*. For instance, 85 couplets were added in which the Habsburg royal family succeeds the Burgundian royal family in their struggle against the Knights of Death. Additionally, a veiled eulogy to Charles V was added at the end of the book, which presents him as superior in virtue and power to his seven deceased ancestors. The result of these changes was that Acuña's text, instead of the Burgundians, now celebrated the Habsburgs, and Charles V in particular.¹⁰⁶⁸

Lewknor does not comment any further on these changes by the '*Spanyarde*' in the paratext. However, he was evidently inspired by them as he also added another celebratory episode to the allegorical tale. In *The Resolved Gentleman*, it is not the Habsburg royal family but the Tudor royal family who closed the row of monarchs who battle the Knights of Death, thereby becoming superior to both the Burgundians and Habsburgs. The Tudors discussed are King Henry VIII, 'the excellent heire of the two long divided houses *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*', King Edward VI, 'the most valourous and towardly young Prince of the worlde', Queen Mary, the 'eldest daughter' of Henry VIII, and, last but not least, Queen Elizabeth, 'the most admirable Princesse that ever lyved'.¹⁰⁶⁹ Especially Elizabeth is praised by Lewknor, who claims that she inhabits 'all the severally dispersed Vertues that made so glorious the forenamed Princes' and was thus the inhabitant of all that was good in all the monarchs who preceded her.¹⁰⁷⁰

Interestingly, Lewknor also made changes to passages which celebrated the Habsburgs. As shown by Susie Speakman Sutch and Anne Lake Prescott, Lewknor shortened passages which described members of the Habsburg royal family and changed passages that formerly described

1063 Susie Speakman Sutch and Anne Lake Prescott, 'Translation as Transformation: Oliver de La Marcher's *Le Chevalier Délibéré* and its Hapsburg and Elizabethan Permutations', *Comparative Literature Studies* 25, no. 4 (1988): 282–86.

1064 Lewes Lewknor, *The Resolved Gentleman* (London: Richard Watkins, 1594), A4r-Br. Also in the dedicatory poem by Morris Kyffin (1555-98), the French origin of the text is mentioned (A2r).

1065 Ibid., A4r. The title page and the dedicatory poem of Kyffin (A2r) also mention the Spanish source text.

1066 Ibid., A4r-A4v.

1067 Ibid., Bv-B2r.

1068 Speakman Sutch and Lake Prescott, 'Translation as Transformation', 286–89.

1069 Lewknor, *The Resolved Gentleman*, 40v, 42v-43r.

1070 Ibid., 43r. Lewknor also praised her in his 'To the Reader' where he argued that the living Princes in his treatise 'are of all the worlde most worthily honored with admirable applause' (Br).

the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian (1459-1519) into a description of Henry.¹⁰⁷¹ Subsequently, in Maximilian's description, it is only mentioned that his 'zeale, justice, and magnanimatie' made him as glorious as his predecessors.¹⁰⁷² Moreover, passages that formerly described Charles V now describe Elizabeth, the former thereby being almost entirely removed from the treatise.¹⁰⁷³ The effect of these changes was that the Habsburgs were lauded significantly less in Lewknor's treatise and that they were outshone by the Tudors.

A similar effect was accomplished by a couple of references to the governance and military prowess of the current Habsburg monarch Philip II, which Lewknor embedded to paint Elizabeth as Philip's superior. For example, in a passage that describes Elizabeth's benign governance, Lewknor also mentions that subjects of neighbouring countries of England suffer 'through the tyrannous exactions of their Prince'.¹⁰⁷⁴ This is an allusion to the heavy taxes that Philip II and the Duke of Alba imposed on Netherlanders at the start of the Dutch Revolt, and to the governance of Philip II, which in the English Black Legend narrative was often characterised as tyrannous. By juxtaposing these two styles of governance, Lewknor pointed out that Elizabeth's governance was superior. Additionally, in a passage that describes Elizabeth's prowess on the battlefield, Lewknor argues that Elizabeth's 'powerfull Armes' are 'the yoking bridle of *Ambitious Tirants*'.¹⁰⁷⁵ This is an allusion to a popular trope in the English Black Legend narrative that argued that Philip II was infamous as an ambitious tyrant for yoking innocent people and nations. By inverting this trope, Lewknor demonstrated that Elizabeth was not only Philip's superior in military prowess but also in the aims of her military activities, since she yoked tyrants instead of innocent people and nations.

What did Lewknor want to accomplish with all these changes? Of course, a pro-Tudor book was a lot more appropriate in Elizabethan England than a pro-Habsburg book, which makes minimising the role of the Habsburgs and embedding elaborate laudatory passages on the Tudors obvious choices. Yet, it is also likely that these changes served an additional, personal goal for Lewknor: showing that he was truly loyal to Elizabeth and no longer served the current Habsburg monarch Philip II. By especially lauding the current Tudor monarch Elizabeth and by covertly criticising his former Spanish employer both through Black Legend characterisations and through juxtapositions of Philip II with Elizabeth, implying his inferiority to her in governance and military prowess, Lewknor demonstrated in *The Resolved Gentleman* that, in his eyes, nobody could equal Elizabeth.

This very same message was expounded much more extensively and explicitly in Lewknor's subsequent publications, the pirated *A Discourse of the Usage of the English Fugitives* (1595) and the authorised *The Estate of the English Fugitives* (1595, reprinted in 1596). In these anti-Spanish treatises, Lewknor replaced covert criticism with explicit criticism towards Philip II, by delineating the horrors Englishmen endured in the service of this Habsburg monarch, a 'Spanish tyrant' who abuses his 'miserable subjects' with great cruelty and inhumanity.¹⁰⁷⁶ Besides

1071 Speakman Sutch and Lake Prescott, 'Translation as Transformation', 310.

1072 Lewknor, *The Resolved Gentleman*, 38v.

1073 Speakman Sutch and Lake Prescott, 'Translation as Transformation', 310–11. Charles V only appears in the 'To the Reader', in Acuña's dedication to Charles V, which Lewknor included in his translation, and in the introduction of Henry VIII. Lewknor, *The Resolved Gentleman*, A4r, Bv-B2r, 39v.

1074 Lewknor, *The Resolved Gentleman*, 43v.

1075 Ibid., 44r.

1076 Lewes Lewknor, *A Discourse of the Usage of the English Fugitives* (London: Thomas Scarlet for John Drawater, 1595), B2v. For the sake of clarity, I mainly quote from *A Discourse* in the following paragraphs, as this was the first text published. In the cases I do quote from *The Estate*, I do so to pinpoint the differences between the pirated and

these horrors, Lewknor also delineates the 'treacherous practices' of English Jesuits abroad and their aim to 'ruine and overthrowe England', and the contrast between the 'most gracious and mercifull government' of Elizabeth and the 'tyrannical government of the Spanish tyrant'.¹⁰⁷⁷ The purpose of expounding on these topics was to dissuade Englishmen from going into exile and enlist in Spanish military service.¹⁰⁷⁸ Employment by the King of Spain was a tempting future path for many young men in England, as it included several positive prospects. One could see 'strange and forreine Countries', 'grow to greate preferment, advancement, imployment, and wealth' or 'live with more libertie and ease of minde' with regard to one's faith.¹⁰⁷⁹ Yet, as Lewknor had experienced himself, these positive prospects never occurred. Therefore, in respect of the 'loyall fidelitie and regarde' he feels for both the 'most gracious Sovereaigne, the Queenes most excellent Majestie' and this 'native Countrie and Countrye-men', Lewknor wrote down his own 'painfull experience' in the hope this might serve as a 'looking Glas', and prevent 'the young Gentlemen' of his nation from repeating his mistakes.¹⁰⁸⁰

Lewknor spends ample time describing the horrible treatment Englishmen receive from Spanish soldiers in his treatises to dissuade his fellow countrymen from enlisting in the Spanish army. He argues that English soldiers are not paid or paid less than other foreign soldiers and are therefore forced to live the life of a poor beggar. Spanish soldiers, moreover, seize any opportunity to make the life of English soldiers miserable, whom they 'mortally abhorreth' in their hearts.¹⁰⁸¹ They constantly abuse English soldiers, calling them 'vermin', 'spies', and 'traitours', and murder them, out of jealousy, for the slightest offense.¹⁰⁸² Their hateful Black Legend-like behaviour is complemented by the behaviour of other Spaniards in Lewknor's treatises, who are also recalled to frighten Englishmen. The 'cruell ministers the Inquisitours' of Philip II, for instance, burn alive anyone who does not act like the perfect Catholic.¹⁰⁸³ Furthermore, Philip II extorts and tyrannizes his 'unfortunate subjects' because his financial resources are insufficient to support his ambitious aspirations.¹⁰⁸⁴ Spain as a country, finally, is framed as 'the most base, wicked, proude and cruellest nation that liveth'.¹⁰⁸⁵ It is a country with an 'insolent, wicked, and tyrannous government' in which 'tyranny, blasphemy, sodomy, cruelty, murther, adultery, and other abominations' lavishly flourishes.¹⁰⁸⁶ In short, Lewknor utilised the English Black Legend narrative extensively in his treatises, using familiar vices and tropes to shy Englishmen away from Spanish service.

The governance of Queen Elizabeth is used by Lewknor as well to dissuade Englishmen from Spanish service. In his view, living under her rule is a hundred times better than living under the rule of Philip II. Whereas the King of Spain extorts and tyrannizes his subjects, for instance, the Queen of England exacts subsidies in a gentle manner and also 'profusely spendeth' her 'owne treasure' to deliver 'justice and securitie' to her subjects.¹⁰⁸⁷ Additionally, she preserves

authorised texts.

1077 Ibid., B2r-B2v.

1078 Ibid., A3r-Bv.

1079 Ibid., A3v.

1080 Ibid., A4r, Br.

1081 Ibid., B3r.

1082 Ibid., D2r.

1083 Ibid., F2v.

1084 Ibid., G4r.

1085 Ibid., E3v.

1086 Ibid., E4r.

1087 Ibid., G3v.

her subjects from foreign violence through the many ‘men of warelike disposition’ who serve, love, and adore her, and through the various alliances she has with foreign Kings and Princes.¹⁰⁸⁸ By contrast, the King of Spain wages ‘war with all the world’ and even makes enemies out of his soldiers by not paying them for their services.¹⁰⁸⁹ In policies concerning religion, too, the two differ starkly, those of Elizabeth being incredibly mild and lenient in comparison to those of Philip.¹⁰⁹⁰ Whereas Philip tyrannically condemns all heretics to the fire, Elizabeth is averse to shedding blood and is always ready to:¹⁰⁹¹

[...] receive into grace and favour those of whome shee hath any hope that they will become good subjects, and hath (as I have heard) offered even at the houre of their death her princely mercy and favour to some of them, if they would have promised to become good subjects.¹⁰⁹²

Elizabeth’s mercy towards those who temporarily turned their back towards her is supported by the pardons she offered to the English captains of William Stanley’s regiment and to Lewknor himself. Although all served the Spanish King for a considerable time and were, allegedly, Catholics, through the Queen’s gracious pardon they are able to live an honest life in England again.¹⁰⁹³ These same Englishmen could only expect scorn from the King of Spain, who suspected anyone who for his sake ‘have made shipwacke not only of their honor and credit, but also of their loyalty, duetie, & alleagance to her Majestie and their native country’.¹⁰⁹⁴ Altogether, these positive depictions of the rule of Elizabeth, particularly opposite the negative depictions of Philip II’s rule, argued strongly for a life in England in the service of Elizabeth. Indeed, in the eyes of Lewknor, all who did not choose this life, and remained in the service of a country that desired the ‘destruction of so sweete a countrie’, were ‘unnatural English-men’.¹⁰⁹⁵

Interestingly, as I will argue below, this last message is slightly subverted in the official, authorised version of Lewknor’s treatise, *The Estate*. As mentioned earlier, *A Discourse* was pirated and published earlier than the authorised *The Estate*. Although the two texts present the same line of thought and were both treated by contemporaries as knowledgeable literature on Englishmen in Spanish service – Elizabeth’s chief advisor William Cecil, for instance, annotated a copy of *A Discourse* looking for arguments against Catholic Englishmen going to Spain or to the Spanish Netherlands – the texts differed significantly from each other in content and length.¹⁰⁹⁶ This was also noticed by Lewknor himself who, in his ‘To the Reader’ in *The Estate*, complains about the many liberties taken by the one who had pirated his text. The pirate had left out ‘manye thinges’ he had written, inserted many things he ‘never ment’, and the treatise was, on the whole, ‘so falsified and changed, as well in matter as words’ that it had become ‘a thing fabulous, grossely handled and full of absurdities’. As he refused to ‘be censured’, Lewknor therefore decided to

1088 Ibid., I2v.

1089 Ibid., Ir.

1090 Ibid., Fr.

1091 Ibid., F2r.

1092 Ibid., F2v-F3r.

1093 Ibid., C2v, F2r, K4r.

1094 Ibid., K3v.

1095 Ibid., E3v.

1096 Paul A. Jorgensen, ‘Enobarbus’ Broken Heart and *The Estate of English Fugitives*, *Philological Quarterly* 30 (1951): 388–89; Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*, 443–44.

publish his original treatise.¹⁰⁹⁷

Two liberties of the pirated *A Discourse* stand out. The first is that *A Discourse* only includes a fraction of all that was described in the authorised *The Eſtate*, leaving out many examples of poor, starved, and murdered English Catholics serving in the Spanish army, as well as much of Lewknor's knowledge about the King of Spain, Spain, and English Jesuits. Whereas *The Eſtate*, for instance, elaborately discusses Jesuit Colleges in the Spanish Empire and the places where the King of Spain is forced to entertain garrisons and galleys in order to maintain his Spanish Empire, *A Discourse* does not.¹⁰⁹⁸ This had the effect that the pirated *A Discourse* text was less knowledgeable about the Spanish enemy than Lewknor's original treatise *The Eſtate* was, knowledge which demonstrated that Lewknor was a valuable asset to the Queen and government of England. The second liberty is that in *A Discourse* anti-Catholic rhetoric is embedded. Catholicism is presented as a superstitious religion, the underlying cause of all treacheries enacted by English Catholics against England and England's queen.¹⁰⁹⁹ By contrast, in *The Eſtate* it is argued that Catholicism is abused by those who desire to subvert England and England's Queen and is made 'a maske' to their 'intended treasons'.¹¹⁰⁰ Additionally, the *Eſtate* argues that there are many patriotic English Catholics in exile, a fact which is barely mentioned by *A Discourse*. Whereas *A Discourse* only states that there are English Catholics who are called 'Patriots', *The Eſtate* gives an elaborate description of these 'lovers & affecters of their Countrey' and argues they wish no harm to England or Queen Elizabeth:¹¹⁰¹

These in deed, among all the rest, are men of the greatest temperance and best behaviour, who, howsoever they are in religion contrarilye affected, yet you shall never heare them speake unreverently of her Majestie, neyther truly do I thinke that in their hearts they wish her anie harme, at least-wiſe they are verie respectuous in bewraying it either in word or action [...]¹¹⁰²

Lewknor also argues that these patriotic Englishmen are averse to the treacherous plots of the English Jesuits to recatholicise England through a Spanish invasion.¹¹⁰³ They only wish to 'injoy the libertie of theyr conscience' and would return to England and accept poor living standards if they could freely profess their faith.¹¹⁰⁴ Indeed, as noted by Anthony Pritchard, who studied Catholic loyalism in Elizabethan England, many English Catholics in exile continued to proclaim their loyalty to Queen Elizabeth and actively rejected the militant methods of English Jesuits.¹¹⁰⁵ Thomas Copley, the father of Anthony Copley, is one of the most well-known exiles who did so.¹¹⁰⁶ As will be detailed later in this chapter, this loyalty was not rewarded.

Thus, although both texts argued Englishmen suffered in Spanish service, the length

1097 Lewes Lewknor, *The Eſtate of the English Fugitives* (London: Thomas Scarlet for John Drawater, 1595), 2v.

1098 *Ibid.*, I3r-I4v, N2v-N4r.

1099 Lewknor, *A Discourse of the Usage of the English Fugitives*, D2v-D3r, E3v.

1100 Lewknor, *The Eſtate of the English Fugitives*, I2r.

1101 Lewknor, *A Discourse of the Usage of the English Fugitives*, D3r; Lewknor, *The Eſtate of the English Fugitives*, G3v.

1102 Lewknor, *The Eſtate of the English Fugitives*, G3v.

1103 For more on this plot, see section 3.2.2. of this thesis.

1104 Lewknor, *The Eſtate of the English Fugitives*, G3v.

1105 Arnold Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England* (University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 57.

1106 For a description of Thomas Copley's political and religious views and his life in exile, see Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England*, 56–61.

and tone of voice differed starkly in each text. Whereas *A Discourse* was a heavily shortened version of *The EState*, with stark anti-Catholic undertones, *The EState* was neutral on Catholicism and more concerned with displaying Lewknor's excellent knowledge about the Spanish enemy, through the inclusion of numerous facts on the King of Spain, Spain, English Jesuits, and English Catholics in Spanish service. Moreover, in comparison to *A Discourse*, *The EState* was more sympathetic towards those English Catholics who chose a life in exile in the service of the Spanish enemy, probably because its author Lewknor had been in the exact same situation a few years earlier. *A Discourse* filtered these more positive views of Lewknor and other English Catholics out, most likely because they did not fit well with other anti-Spanish Protestant English texts of the time, which were for the most part fervently anti-Catholic. Still, it did include Lewknor's main message: serving the tyrannous King of Spain was a certain path to misery and if one showed true regret for this path taken once, a pardon could be obtained from the merciful Queen of England Elizabeth.

Lewknor would publish one more book which reflected on Spain, Spaniards, and/or Spanish culture after these anti-Spanish treatises. This was *The Spanish Mandevile of Miracles* (1600, reprinted in 1618), a direct translation of the miscellaneous treatise book *Jardín de flores curiosas* (1570) by Antonio de Torquemada (1507?-69). It consists of six miscellaneous treatises in which three interlocutors comment on (super)natural and monstrous phenomena across the world. The stories in the treatises are derived from classical, medieval, and renaissance sources. They echo earlier popular fantastical travel narratives like the *Voyages* by Jean de Mandeville – known in England as *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (ca. 1357-71) – and *The Travels of Marco Polo* (13th century).¹¹⁰⁷

In comparison to the earlier works of Lewknor that reflected on Spain, Spaniards, and/or Spanish culture, *The Spanish Mandevile* is surprisingly neutral in its representation of Spanishness. Textual elements which recall the original Spanish source are copied without scruple and lack additional negative or positive commentary. The Spanish origin of the text, for instance, is acknowledged on the title page, and a translated version of Torquemada's original dedication the Bishop of Astorga is included.¹¹⁰⁸ The Spanishness of the text is even enhanced through the addition of 'The Spanish Mandevile' to the title.¹¹⁰⁹ This was a clever way to refer to the content of the book that, as mentioned earlier, echoes *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*.¹¹¹⁰

Two things explain this neutral approach. Firstly, in the paratext it is stated that the work was the 'fruite and exercise' of Lewknor's 'youngest yeeres' and that it was translated 'for his exercise in the Spanish tongue'.¹¹¹¹ This indicates the book was produced either before or during Lewknor's service in the Spanish army (1580-90), thus before Lewknor had to explicitly prove

1107 Mar Martínez-Góngora, 'Los personajes fabulosos del *Jardín de flores curiosas* de Antonio de Torquemada', *Hispanófila* 153 (2008): 2-3. The earliest surviving copy of the *Voyages* is a French manuscript copy (1371) that lies in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (NAF 4515). The earliest surviving text of *The Travels of Marco Polo* or *Livre des Merveilles du Monde* is a Franco-Venetian manuscript (13th century).

1108 Lewes Lewknor, *The Spanish Mandevile of Miracles*, title page, qr-qv. This dedication is not included in the 1618 reprint of the work.

1109 Ibid., title page.

1110 For the popularity of *John Mandeville* in medieval and early modern England, see C. W. R. D. Moseley, 'The Metamorphoses of Sir John Mandeville', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 4 (1974): 5-25; C. W. R. D. Moseley, 'The Availability of *Mandeville's Travels* in England, 1356-1750', *The Library* 30, no. 2 (1975): 125-33; Rosemary Tzanaki, *Mandeville's Medieval Audiences. A Study on the Reception of the Book of Sir John Mandeville (1371-1550)* (Ashgate, 2003).

1111 Lewknor, *The Spanish Mandevile of Miracles*, A3r, A4r.

his loyalty to Queen Elizabeth and the anti-Spanish English regime. Secondly, *The Spanish Mandevile* was published without Lewknor's consent. It was Ferdinando Walker¹¹¹², a self-proclaimed friend of Lewknor, who took it upon him to publish the translation, since Lewknor himself judged the work 'unwoorthy of his owne name' and did not want to be associated with it.¹¹¹³ As argued by Walker, this judgment was unjustified because the work had 'passed the censure of grave and learned judgements, and received excellent allowance'.¹¹¹⁴

Through this neutral approach, the work seems to relate uncomfortably to earlier works by Lewknor. After all, in *The Resolved Gentleman, A Discourse*, and *The Eſtate*, Lewknor embedded anti-Spanish rhetoric, among other things to demonstrate his renewed loyalty to Queen Elizabeth, and to show his substantial knowledge about the Spanish enemy. Yet, I argue this publication might also have served Lewknor's position in English society, as it showed that he had been proficient in the Spanish language from a young age. As argued in section 4.3.1., Lewknor's proficiency in the Spanish language was pivotal to his occupation as 'master of ceremonies', for which he regularly received Spanish ambassadors. In fact, the same year in which *The Spanish Mandevile* was published, Lewknor started to act as a Spanish interpreter for Queen Elizabeth and her courtiers. Although it is impossible to prove that this appointment was caused by *The Spanish Mandevile*, it is very likely that it worked in Lewknor's favour.

Concluding, the works discussed show that Lewknor, – or in the case of *The Spanish Mandeville*, his friend Ferdinando Walker –, used his literary works to pave a career for Lewknor in England in which his Spanish past was not an impediment but an asset. By pitting Queen Elizabeth and England against Philip II and Spain in *The Resolved Gentleman, A Discourse*, and *The Eſtate*, imagining the former as the superior of the latter, Lewknor showed that his loyalties towards his country and monarch were renewed and that he could be trusted by his Queen and government. Moreover, by dissuading fellow English Catholics from going down the same treacherous path he had taken, by pointing out the cruel treatment Spaniards meted out to English Catholics, and by showing his substantial knowledge about the Spanish enemy, Lewknor demonstrated to his Queen and government that he could be useful as an informant on the King of Spain, Spaniards, and English Jesuits. Lewknor also showed through the ample use of Black Legend rhetoric in *A Discourse* and *The Eſtate* that he was well versed in the writing style the English government habitually made use of in official anti-Spanish propaganda. Finally, by showcasing the excellent command of the Spanish language he already had at a young age with *The Spanish Mandevile*, Lewknor demonstrated that he could be valuable for Elizabeth and the English government as a Spanish interpreter.

4.4.2. *Ambiguous views of Spanishness in the works of Anthony Copley*

In total, three of Anthony Copley's literary works reflected on Spain, Spaniards, and/or Spanish culture, showed his knowledge about Spain and Spaniards, and his proficiency in the Spanish language. These are 1) the jest book *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* (1595, reprinted in 1596 and augmented in 1614), a direct translation of Melchor de Santa Cruz de Dueñas' *Floreſta Eſpañola de apotegmas y ſetencias* (1574), which in the 1595 and 1596 editions also included the poem *Love's Owl*, a translation of Rodrigo's de Cota's *Dialogo entre el amor y un caballero Viejo* (1511)¹¹¹⁵;

1112 We know virtually nothing about this Ferdinando Walker, whose only trace is left in this book.

1113 Lewknor, *The Spanish Mandevile of Miracles*, A3r.

1114 Ibid., A4v.

1115 This poem, which describes a debate between the personification of Love and an old man who is afraid to

2) the anti-Jesuit treatise *An Answer to a Letter of a Jesuited Gentleman* (1601); and, finally, 3) the anti-Jesuit treatise *Another Letter of Mr. A.C. to his Dis-Jesuited Kinseman* (1602) that also included the anti-Jesuit treatise *A Third Letter of Mr. A.C.*. As I will demonstrate, in all these works, both positive and negative representations of Spain, Spaniards, and/or Spanish culture are included, indicating an ambiguous stance towards Spanishness. Although Copley, like his contemporary Lewknor, was critical of his previous Spanish employer and embedded Hispanophobic rhetoric in his texts, he also made room for neutral and Hispanophilic rhetoric, and for descriptions of Spanish language and culture. Additionally, like Lewknor, Copley juxtaposed Spaniards with Englishmen in his texts. Interestingly, these juxtapositions did not always favour Englishmen, particularly in the way they treated English Catholics. As a result, Copley's works reveal both a genuine admiration as well as a critical stance towards the Spanish country and King that Copley once served.

Copley's first publication, the jest book *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* (1595, reprinted 1596 and augmented in 1614), is the most ambiguous towards Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture, as it presents negative, neutral, and positive depictions of Spanishness. This ambiguity is partly due to the immensely popular Spanish jest book *Floreſta Española de apotegmas y sentencias* (1574) by Santa Cruz de Dueñas, which Copley used as his source.¹¹¹⁶ The popularity of the *Floreſta Española* was caused, among other things, by its hundreds of entertaining and moralising short stories, jokes, and anecdotes on the various social classes of Spanish society.¹¹¹⁷ Spanish monarchs such as Ferdinand II of Aragon, Queen Isabella I of Castile, and Charles V, but also the Spanish clergy and Spaniards of lower occupations such as Spanish soldiers, merchants, and thieves are subject, and their characterisation in the jest book is congruent with the social position they occupied. Copley did not diverge from this estate-like approach and faithfully copied the characterisations of each Spaniard from the *Floreſta Española*.¹¹¹⁸ This had the effect that higher-ranked Spaniards such as Spanish monarchs and Spanish military leaders, for instance, who in most English texts of the time were attributed with negative Black Legend qualities such as arrogance, cruelty, and tyranny, are ascribed positive qualities in *Wits, Fittes and Fancies*, such as benevolence, bravery, generosity, honour, mercy, wisdom, and wittiness, because these qualities befitted their estate.¹¹¹⁹ At the same time, Copley's *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* also included jokes on *hidalgos* from the *Floreſta Española*. As I have disclosed in chapter one of this thesis, in the discussion of the *Lazarillo* (1554), in Spain, negative qualities such as arrogance and boastfulness were attributed to *hidalgos* due to their estate, as they were seen as typically Spanish qualities.¹¹²⁰

Copley's jest book did not exclusively contain translated text from the *Floreſta Española*-

love again, will not be discussed in the upcoming analysis, as it does not reflect on Spanishness. For more on the poem, see Richard F. Glenn, 'Rodrigo Cota's *Diálogo entre el Amor y un viejo*: Debate or Drama?', *Hispania* 48, no. 1 (1965): 51–56.

1116 By the end of the seventeenth century, the *Floreſta Española* had been produced in at least twenty-two editions in Spain. Patricia Shaw, 'Wits, Fittes and Fancies: Spanish *Ingenio* in Renaissance England', *Estudios Ingleses de La Universidad Complutense* 12 (2004): 134.

1117 Jokes on themes like death, food, and love are also included in the *Floreſta Española*. Shaw, 'Wits, Fittes and Fancies', 134.

1118 In fact, the 1614 edition frames the *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* as a representative of estates literature on the title page, by stating that it is 'A generall and serious Collection, of the Sententious Speeches, Answers, Jestes, and Behaviours, of all sortes of Estates, From the Throane to the Cottage'. Anthony Copley, *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* (London: Edward Allde, 1614), title page.

1119 For examples, see the sections 'Of Kings and Princes' and 'Of Gallants and Upstarts' in Anthony Copley, *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* (London: Richard Johnes, 1595), 7–12, 32–35.

1120 For examples, see the section 'Of Gallants and Upstarts' in Copley, *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* (1595), 29–32.

la. Copley also included a dedication to George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland (1558-1605), an introductory letter to his readers, and original jokes. In these additional textual elements, Copley also conveyed various images of Spanishness. To start, Copley suggested in the paratext of his translation that the positive qualities of ingenuity and wittiness were typically Spanish. As noted by Patricia Shaw, in England Spaniards were often implicitly associated with ingenuity and wittiness. Spanish women were called witty in numerous English travel journals, while title pages of English translations of Spanish works also regularly framed the work or protagonist as witty.¹¹²¹ Copley did the same in the paratext of his *Wits, Fittes and Fancies*. He translated the original Spanish title 'Floresta Española de apotegmas y setencias' – literally 'Spanish Forest of anecdotes and sentences' – as 'Wits, Fittes and Fancies'. Thus, he openly acknowledged the Spanish origin of the work in his dedication to Clifford, and framed the jokes as 'presidents of Wits' in his introductory letter to his readers.¹¹²²

Interestingly, Copley partly dismantled this framework of Spanish ingenuity and wittiness by questioning the quality of the Spanish work and by making it more English through various improvements. He argued that if 'any absurditie escaped,' the 'generalitie of the matter, joint that the Author is a stranger' is to blame.¹¹²³ Although the '*Spaniard*', who remains nameless in the entire *Wits, Fittes and Fancies*, dedicated it 'to so high a State as' Philip II's half-brother Don John of Austria (1547-78), and Copley himself judged the book to be 'fronted and suffused with an honest blush of Honour and Wisdome', this was no proof of the work's quality, as Copley did not know 'howe *Don John* conceived it'.¹¹²⁴ In addition to distancing himself from absurd elements in his translation by blaming the original Spanish author for these, Copley gave an English flavour to the Spanish text by changing the content and the structure of the jest book. Firstly, Copley inserted jokes of his own. These did no 'injury' to the original author, as they were 'easily to be discerned from his, for that they taste more Englishlie'. Secondly, Copley changed the structure of the text. He stated that he took his method 'to be better' and had therefore used it instead of the method of the author.¹¹²⁵ Overall, these comments and changes implied that the Spaniard's reputation as ingenious and witty was not untouchable.

Despite these notes on the original Spanish text, it was clear that Copley had a great respect for the Spaniard who wrote it, and for the Spanish language in which it was written. As stated earlier, Copley translated the jokes of the Spanish author faithfully, without adding additional characteristics to the Spanish subject of the jokes. Additionally, Copley made sure the Spanish humour was comprehensible to his English audiences by giving English equivalents of Spanish concepts and names, and by explaining Spanish words in jokes in which wordplay played a crucial role.¹¹²⁶ An excellent example in this regard is the following joke:

A covetous Earle came to salute the Emperour *Charles*, and his Jester seeing him, still pointed to him, and said to the Emperour, *Este es conde, Este es Conde*. viz. this is the Earle, this is the Earle: *Esconde* signifying also in Spanish to hide or to hoord up.¹¹²⁷

1121 Shaw, '*Wits, Fittes and Fancies*', 132–34.

1122 Copley, *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* (1595), title page, A2r-A3r.

1123 Ibid., A2r.

1124 Ibid., A2r-A2v.

1125 Ibid., A2v.

1126 Shaw, '*Wits, Fittes and Fancies*', 136–37.

1127 Copley, *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* (1595), 131.

The difference in meaning between ‘es Conde’ and ‘Esconde’ is pivotal to understanding the joke, as it makes a big difference whether the earl is called an earl or a hoarder. Interestingly, in the original Spanish joke this difference was not pointed out, as the author only wrote ‘Este es Conde’.¹¹²⁸ It shows that Copley had an excellent command of the Spanish language, being able to not only understand the ingenuity and wittiness of his Spanish author, but also adequately transfer it to his own language.

Besides the estate-congruent images of Spaniards and the image of Spaniards as ingenious and witty, Copley also included images of Spaniards that were more congruent with stereotypical English notions of Spanishness in his own jokes. The jokes in question focus on King of Spain Philip II and Spanish soldiers of the Spanish army stationed in the southern provinces of the Netherlands.¹¹²⁹ They argue that Philip II is of mixed ancestry in both his blood and his character, that Spanish *hidalgos* are afflicted with arrogance, and that Spanish soldiers are boastful, Catholic, and revengeful.

The two jokes by Copley that focus on Philip II make fun of his supposed mixed ancestry. In the first joke, Philip’s Austrian/Habsburg lineage is mocked by a pureblood Spanish *hidalgo*, who arrogantly considers himself superior to Philip:

A Spanish *Hidalgo* used to say, that in a case of brabble betweene king *Philip* and him, hee might with more right give the King the lie, then the King give it him, because he himselfe is a pure *Spaniard*, and the King but an *Ostrich*.¹¹³⁰

The word ‘*Ostrich*’ has two meanings in this joke. Firstly, ‘*Ostrich*’ referred to the house of Austria of which Philip was a descendant.¹¹³¹ According to the ‘Spanish *Hidalgo*’, this foreign ancestry impacted Philip’s status. Since the mid-fifteenth century, the purity of blood or *limpieza de sangre* was an important marker for one’s cultural, political, and social status in Spain.¹¹³² Thus, by being of mixed ancestry, Philip was no pureblood Spaniard and lower in status than the Spanish *hidalgo*, a ‘pure *Spaniard*’. As Philip was still the *hidalgo*’s superior, however, Philip was also a literal ‘*Ostrich*’. Like the peacock, ostriches were known for their vainglorious character.¹¹³³ Of course, the *hidalgo* is also acting like an ostrich, as he deems himself superior to his monarch. He is the representative of the stereotypical arrogant Spaniard who, as argued earlier in chapter one, was especially represented in English literary sources inspired by the *Lazarillo*.

In the second joke, Philip’s Netherlandish descent and his position as King of the Netherlands are ridiculed. Since Philip is currently the most noble Netherlander of all Netherlanders, it is logical that he is also afflicted with the Netherlandish vice of drunkenness:

Because King *Philip* is the noblest Dutch-bloud at this day in al the world, and a Duch-man the greatest Drunkard: Therefore a Spaniard dispraising one

1128 Melchor de Santa Cruz de Dueñas, *Floreña Española de Apothegmas o Sentencias sabia y graciosamente dichas, de algunos Españoles* (Salamanca: Pedro Lasso, 1592), 55v. I used the Spanish 1592 edition, published in Salamanca, and the first edition of Copley’s *Wits, fittes and fancies* of 1595 for my analysis.

1129 Other original jokes of Copley focus on famous historical Englishmen and key moments in English history.

1130 Copley, *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* (1595), 30.

1131 Monta, *A Fig for Fortune*, 13.

1132 Max-Sebastián Hering Torres, María Elena Martínez, and David Nirenberg, *Race and Blood in the Iberian World* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2012), 1–2.

1133 Edgar Williams, *Ostrich* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 129.

for drunkennesse, said: Thou are even as errand a Drunkard as King *Philip*.¹¹³⁴

Netherlanders were notorious for their excessive drinking and appeared consistently as bibulous characters in England literature.¹¹³⁵ As their King, it was only sensible that Philip was afflicted with Netherlandishness and subsequently behaved in a Netherlandish way. It also demonstrates that the boundaries between two hetero-images could be as fluid as the boundaries between the hetero-images and self-images discussed in the third chapter of this thesis.

The four jokes by Copley that focus on Spanish soldiers portray them as revengeful Catholics, boastful Catholics, and simply boastful. In each of these jokes, the Spanish soldier is in conflict, either with Dutch heretical rebels or with English Catholic exiles. The two jokes which demonstrate his conflict with Dutch heretical rebels particularly stress his Catholic faith in combination with the qualities of revengefulness or boastfulness. His revengefulness comes to the fore in a joke on the Siege of Maastricht (1579). When the Spanish soldier enters Maastricht, he comes across a broken and defaced 'Image of the Virgin *Marie*'.¹¹³⁶ He immediately bends down on one knee, swears to avenge her by killing eight Netherlanders, and does so right away. The Spanish soldier's boastfulness, moreover, is underlined in the following joke:

A Spanish souldiours match in *Flanders*, not taking fire so presently as he would, said: Gogs Nouns, this *Lutherane* fyre refuseth to light my *Catholike* match, for feare (belike) least it shuld kill some thousand Dutch *Lutheranes*.¹¹³⁷

After the Spanish soldiers fails to light his match, he blames this to differing faiths. A heretical fire refuses to light a Catholic match, as it fears it would be used to kill a thousand Netherlandish heretical rebels. This statement is evidence of his boastfulness, as it is quite a stretch that one single match would kill so many people.

The two jokes that demonstrate the Spanish soldier's conflict with English Catholic exile also stress his boastfulness:

A Spaniard braving an English fugitive souldiour in the Low-Countries, said, that in his dayes hee had slaine as manie Englishmen, as he had buttons in his doublet: The Englishman answered: So often kisse you my tayle.¹¹³⁸

A *Spanish* Officer braving an English Gentleman that serv'd his king in the Lowe countries, and saying: My Liege gives thee bread to eate: els might'st thou starve wel ynough: He answered: Your King indeed adventures his purse for mee, but I my Princesse displeasure, and my life for him.¹¹³⁹

In both jokes, which may have been drawn from Copley's experiences in the Spanish army, the Englishman wittily corrects the blunt brags of the Spaniard. In the first, he argues that the Span-

1134 Copley, *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* (1595), 186.

1135 Demmy Verbeke, 'Swag-Bellied Hollanders and Dead-Drunk Almaines: Reputation and Pseudo-Translation in Early Modern England', *Dutch Crossing* 34, no. 2 (2010): 182–91.

1136 Copley, *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* (1595), 36.

1137 Ibid.

1138 Ibid., 106.

1139 Ibid., 38.

iard has killed as many Englishmen as the Spaniard has kissed English 'tayles' or asses.¹¹⁴⁰ This means nobody because, unlike Spaniards¹¹⁴¹, Englishmen generally did not flee from battle and were deemed courageous and victorious instead.¹¹⁴² In the second joke, the Englishman corrects the Spaniard's assumption that he is a freeloader who would starve if the King of Spain did not feed him. He argues that the Spanish King's bread was dearly bought: he not only risks his life in battle, but also risks to be condemned as a traitor by his own monarch, Queen Elizabeth. The joke emphasises that service in the Spanish army was not chosen lightly by English Catholics, as it marked someone's life for good.

Summarising, Copley provided a variety of images of Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture in his *Wits, Fittes and Fancies*, taking up a rather ambiguous position with regard to Spanishness. On the one hand, Copley represented Spanishness in a critical manner. He blames the original Spanish author for unwitty, absurd content, deems his approach to the text superior to that of the Spanish author, and embeds jokes which painted Spaniards as arrogant, boastful, Catholic, Netherlandish in their desire to drink excessively, and revengeful. Moreover, he imagined Spaniards as inferior to Englishmen by giving the latter the upper hand in all the jokes in which the two were juxtaposed. On the other hand, Copley's representation of Spanishness is positive. He implies Spaniards are ingenious and witty and takes ample space to explain Spanish words and customs to his English audience. Yet, the faithfulness with which the jokes of the *Floreſta Eſpañola* were translated by Copley – jokes which comprised the vast majority of the *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* – reveal that neutrality should be regarded as Copley's main translation strategy. Instead of fashioning Spaniards with either negative or positive qualities, Spaniards remained representatives of their social occupation. It shows that Hispanophilic and Hispanophobic sentiments could co-exist in the same text without undermining each other, especially when neutrality towards Spanishness dominated the main narrative.

Interestingly, in Copley's next publications, it was Hispanophobic sentiment that dominated the narrative. In the anti-Jesuit treatises *An Answer to a Letter of a Jesuited Gentleman* (1601) and *Another Letter of Mr. A.C. to his Dis-Jesuited Kinseman* (1602), rhetoric from the English Black Legend narrative is embedded to criticise the English Jesuit's plot to put a Habsburg monarch on the English throne.¹¹⁴³ Copley dismantled all these arguments on the desirability of this treacherous way to recatholise England. He argued that true English Catholics were loyal to Queen Elizabeth, and laboured for the recatholisation of England through loyal service. The treatises, which were especially written to protest the appointment of the pro-Jesuit and pro-Spanish George Blackwell as archpriest of England, were part of a larger loyalist English Catholic propaganda offensive that differentiated English Jesuits from English Catholics.¹¹⁴⁴ As noted in section 3.2.2. of this thesis, these two groups were often seen as one treasonous hispanised group, which

1140 The phrase 'my tongue in your tail' was a common early modern analogue for 'kiss my ass'. Valerie Traub, *Thinking Sex with the Early Moderns* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 206.

1141 Spaniards are attributed with cowardice since the start of the Anglo-Spanish War. Sara Bradley, 'Pamphlet Literature and the Anglo-Spanish War. A Study of Anti-Spanish Sentiment in England between 1580 and 1590' (PhD thesis, Nottingham Trent University, 2019), 156.

1142 In particular Elizabethan plays that were set abroad depicted Englishmen as courageous and victorious. 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), 179–80.

1143 For more on this plot, see section 3.2.2. of this thesis.

1144 Monta, *A Fig for Fortune*, 15–16; Reid, 'Anthony Copley and the Politics of Catholic Loyalty 1590-1604', 393–94.

had the consequence that anti-Catholic policies and anti-Catholic sentiment increased in England.

In the treatise *An Answer to a Letter of a Jesuited Gentleman*, Copley refuted several arguments of the English Jesuits that pleaded for the subjection of England by Spain. Whereas English Jesuits, for instance, argued that it was beneficial to England to be ruled by Spain, Copley argued that this would be 'slaverie in us to endure', 'dishonourable and abominable' to true 'English-nature and valour'.¹¹⁴⁵ England was far too great a nation to become a 'vassal to Spaine', as it were.¹¹⁴⁶ The fact that the English readily got rid of present Spaniards right after the marriage of Queen Mary I and King Philip II had ended with Mary's death, also pleaded against Spain as England's ruler. Englishmen had been fed up with the 'chargeable use' Spaniards made of Englishmen in their wars, 'their insolence', and their 'proude misgovernance'.¹¹⁴⁷ Another argument of the English Jesuits was that the King of Spain would leave England once the Catholic religion was re-established. This was also refuted by Copley with the argument that no monarch would leave a crown it just obtained, '[e]specially a crowne so sweet and so hard to winne as *Englands*'.¹¹⁴⁸ In fact, Copley had learned during his service in the regiment of the Duke of Parma that the Spanish invasion of 1588 was not conducted out of 'love or religion', as was argued by the English Jesuits, but out of 'revenge and rapine', and that those who went to England only aimed to rob it of its 'riches' and 'women-kind'.¹¹⁴⁹ By pointing this out, Copley showed that the arguments of the English Jesuits in favour of Spanish dominion were 'misgrounded-conceits' which, ideally, no English Catholic should believe or act upon.¹¹⁵⁰

Copley's second treatise, *Another Letter of Mr. A. C. to his Dis-Jesuited Kinseman* also discusses the English Jesuits' plot to betray England to Spain and mainly argues that it was impossible for English Catholics to be complicit in this plot. According to him, English Catholics remember their duties towards their sovereign and country, and despise 'the pipe of *Spaine*'.¹¹⁵¹ By contrast, English Jesuits and the 'Jesuited' willingly defile their 'owne neast' on behalf of the King of Spain, for example by accepting Spanish pensions that allow the Spanish King to 'tyrannize over the Commons to their utter bondage and beggarie'.¹¹⁵² Copley also emphasised that England and true Englishmen – which include English Catholics – are incompatible with Spanishness. This incompatibility is based on several tropes usually employed in the English Black Legend narrative.¹¹⁵³ The King of Spain, for instance, is called a 'demi-Moore' whose language is incomprehensible to Englishmen and 'whose humours and fashions' Englishmen are never 'able to abide'.¹¹⁵⁴ As noted earlier in this thesis, since the 1570s, in England Spaniards were racially conflated with Moors in anti-Spanish propaganda.¹¹⁵⁵ Another Black Legend trope utilised by Copley is the idea that Spaniards are naturally ordained with vices such as tyranny and lustful-

1145 Anthony Copley, *An Answer to a Letter of a Jesuited Gentleman* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1601), 47.

1146 *Ibid.*, 48.

1147 *Ibid.*, 50.

1148 *Ibid.*, 56.

1149 *Ibid.*, 62, 64.

1150 *Ibid.*, 72.

1151 Anthony Copley, *Another Letter of Mr. A. C. to his Dis-Jesuited Kinseman* (London: Richard Field, 1602), 13.

1152 *Ibid.*, 14-15.

1153 In Copley's first treatise *An Answer*, these tropes are also employed, but less explicitly and less frequently. See, for instance, Copley, *An Answer to a Letter of a Jesuited Gentleman*, 47, 53.

1154 Copley, *Another Letter of Mr. A. C. to his Dis-Jesuited Kinseman*, 17.

1155 Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation. Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 122–26.

ness. He argued that nothing but ‘tyrannie *in octavo*’ could be expected if England would ever fall in ‘*Spaines hands*’, as well as:

[...] the horne to your forehead, the rape of your daughter, or the buggerie of your sonne, or the Sodomizing of your sow, with thousands such like insolencies and shames, as are all natural to that torrid nation, and you had better be dead then endure.¹¹⁵⁶

Therefore, Copley hoped that all English Catholics will regard the English Jesuit plot ‘in *Spaines* behalfe as imposturall and disloyall’, and, like ‘true English’, will stick to their own country and ‘true, lawfull, and natural Princesse’.¹¹⁵⁷

Thus, in both treatises, Copley demonstrated that Spain was not fit to recatholise and rule England, as the English Jesuits would have it. Indeed, through their greedy, proud, lustful, revengeful, and tyrannical conduct during the Marian regime and the failed Spanish invasion of 1588, Spaniards and Spanish rulers had shown that they harboured no love for the English and that there were no benefits ‘so of worth’ for English Catholics to become ‘traitours to their Prince and countrie in *Spaines* behalfe’.¹¹⁵⁸ Therefore, instead of relying on English Jesuits and Spain, English Catholics had to make England ‘Catholicke again (if it please God) in English manner’, which meant that they had to win Queen Elizabeth and the English government over by ‘humble sutes, services, submission and meeke deserts’.¹¹⁵⁹

Curiously, it remains in the middle in both treatises whether it was even possible to move England’s rulers into a more friendly position towards Catholicism and English Catholics. It is pointed out several times that English Catholics suffered under the current English regime, as ‘all the lawes of the land’ were directed against them.¹¹⁶⁰ The consequences of this legislation for English Catholics, especially for those who were forced to seek their fortune in the service of Spain, are expounded in Copley’s final treatise *A Third Letter of Mr. A.C.*. This third treatise is included in the publication of *Another Letter*. It is a response to Robert Persons’ *A Manifestation of the Great Folly and Bad Spirit of certayne in England calling themselves secular priestes* (1602). In the treatise, Copley gave an overview of his life abroad. He explained in what manner he was involved with English Jesuits and Spaniards, and what his relationship was to his English country and monarch. Most importantly, he argued that service in the Spanish army was a horrible necessity for him and other loyal English Catholics because many are not allowed to come home to England.

Firstly, in *A Third Letter*, Copley expounded on his own situation. He explained that serving in the regiment of the Duke of Parma was horrible and similar to eating a Spanish stew or ‘*Oleo podrido*’, which was made out of inedible ingredients such as ‘the concoction of the *Phoenix*, *Pellican*, bird of Paradise, Larkes, Quailles, Venison, Sturgeon, Achovaes and Tabacco, the Bezar and Philosophers stone’.¹¹⁶¹ What is more, this horribly-tasting Spanish stew was an

1156 *Ibid.*, 15.

1157 *Ibid.*, 17.

1158 Copley, *An Answere to a Letter of a Jesuited Gentleman*, 61.

1159 *Ibid.*, 54, 70.

1160 *Ibid.*, 67.

1161 Copley, *Another Letter of Mr. A.C. to his Dis-Jesuited Kinseman*, 62. Normally, Spanish stews were made out of diverse types of meats, vegetables, grains, and spices. The dish was popular in Spain and across Europe. Carolyn Nadeau, ‘European Perspectives on the *Olla podrida* and Other Early Modern Spanish Fare’, in *The Gastronomical Arts in Spain. Food and Etiquette*, ed. Frederick A. de Armas and James Mandrell (University of Toronto Press, 2022),

expensive purchase, as it had forced Copley to serve 'in a quarrel wherein my owne Princesse was interested against him'.¹¹⁶²

Still, these negative conditions did not make Copley ungrateful for this "Spanish stew", as his adversary Persons argued in *A Manifestation of the Great Folly*.¹¹⁶³ To the contrary, Copley regarded it as slander that Persons accused him of ingratitude, as he explicitly acknowledged the King of Spain's bounty to him:

I take it as a slaunder to be reputed ungrateful to the King of *Spaine*, seeing that gratitude is a great morall vertue, and much commended in Catholike Religion. For setting my loyall dutie to my owne Soveraigne and Countrey aside, and as farre as this respect will give me leave, I acknowledge the King of *Spaines* bountie unto me, and do highly honour him as the most Catholicke King of the world, neither whiles I live, will I ever draw sword or serve against him or his estates; onely to my owne Princesse and her estates he must give me leave to be loyall. Greatly in the honor of a gentleman I scorne the imputation of ungrateful, but specially of disloyall in so high a kind.¹¹⁶⁴

Copley's statement is quite daring in the Hispanophobic England of his time. Not only did he explicitly honour the King of Spain, but he also argued that he would never fight or serve against him if he had the choice, regarding only service to Queen Elizabeth superior to service to King Philip II. Copley thereby deviated quite drastically from his earlier arguments. Whereas in *An Answer* and *Another Letter*, he argued that true English Catholics 'despise the pipe of Spaine'¹¹⁶⁵ and regard preference to Spain a stain to 'English nature'¹¹⁶⁶, here, in *A Third Letter*, he argued that English Catholics can serve Spain after all, provided it did not interfere with service to England.

The reason for this positive attitude towards Spain is given right after this statement. In Copley's view, it is the precarious situation of English Catholics in exile that forces them to take the side of Spain, because they can expect no help from their own country and monarch. The horrible treatment Copley's late father Thomas Copley had received is evidence of this. Copley is no:

other then my fathers sonne, who as litle liked that *England* should be Spanish as I do, which was the cause he was committed to the Fleete in Queene *Maries* dayes, for having too bold a voice in the Parliament against her Spanish match, and who likewise some two yeares afore he died noting the jarres to grow hot betwixt *England* and *Spaine*, became a loyall sutor to her Majestie for his returne home from *Spaines* pension to her grace and favour his Catholicke conscience reserved; but her Highnes did not so daigne it, but gave him leave to die where he did.¹¹⁶⁷

51–52, 55.

1162 Copley, *Another Letter of Mr. A. C. to his Dis-Jesuited Kinseman*, 62.

1163 Robert Persons, *A Manifestation of the Great Folly and Bad Spirit of certayne in England calling themselues secular priestes* (Antwerp: Arnout Coninx, 1602), 96v.

1164 Copley, *Another Letter of Mr. A. C. to his Dis-Jesuited Kinseman*, 62.

1165 *Ibid.*, 13.

1166 Copley, *An Answer to a Letter of a Jesuited Gentleman*, 39.

1167 Copley, *Another Letter of Mr. A. C. to his Dis-Jesuited Kinseman*, 62–63.

Copley's father Thomas is depicted by Copley as a loyal servant of the English throne, who not only had protested against Spanish involvement in English governance since the Marian regime, but who also had pleaded for a pardon from Queen Elizabeth two years before his death, as he desired to exchange his Spanish pension for the chance to come home. Indeed, during his life, Copley's father Thomas continuously expressed his loyalty to the English monarchy in personal letters to Queen Elizabeth, her chief advisor William Cecil, and her principal secretary Francis Walsingham (1532-90). Yet, as Copley remarked, Thomas was never allowed to return to England, and died in poverty in a Spanish military camp near Antwerp.¹¹⁶⁸ It demonstrated that the loyalty of English Catholics was disregarded by the Protestant rulers of England and that a Spanish pension was a necessary means of survival for English Catholics like Copley and his father.

So, in these anti-Jesuit treatises, Copley's stance towards Spain and Spaniards is yet again ambiguous. On the one hand, most of the texts are Hispanophobic in content due to the use of stereotypes common in the English Black Legend narrative, and the explicit protestation against the idea that a Spanish ruler would be beneficial to England. Yet, on the other, Copley also included an almost Hispanophilic description of the King of Spain, who, in contrast to England's own monarch, offered employment and pensions to English Catholics. By doing so, Copley criticised the harsh treatment of his Queen Elizabeth towards English Catholics.

In conclusion, the simultaneous use of Hispanophobic, neutral, and Hispanophilic rhetoric in the works discussed indicate that Copley's attitude towards Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture was not consistent and depended on the argument Copley tried to make. In highly politicised works such as the anti-Jesuit treatises *An Answer*, *Another Letter*, and *A Third Letter*, Hispanophobic discourse was the most fitting. It was, therefore, amply used. Still, since Copley was also critical of his own monarch and government for their mistreatment of English Catholics, Copley embedded some Hispanophilic rhetoric as well, by expressing his gratitude to the King of Spain for offering him and his father employment and pensions in a time of need. By contrast, in a neutral work like the jest book *Wits, Fittes and Fancies*, which was solely written to entertain, there was room for a more varied perspective on Spanishness. Subsequently, Hispanophobic, neutral, and Hispanophilic content is interchanged, showcasing Spaniards as arrogant, boastful, Catholic, Netherlandish, and revengeful, as representatives of their social occupation, and as ingenious and witty. As a result, the works of Copley show a variety of images of Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture, ranging from extremely positive to extremely negative. They demonstrate that Spanishness could be regarded in multiple ways, that this vision of Spanishness depended to a great degree on the argument one tried to make, and, most importantly, that Hispanophobic and Hispanophilic sentiments were not mutually exclusive.

4.4.3. Unconventional views of Spanishness in Theodore Rodenburgh's plays

In total, five of Theodore Rodenburgh's plays reflected on Spain, Spaniards, and/or Spanish culture and history. Two of these plays are appropriations of foreign plays. These are 1) the comedy *Hertoginne Celia en Grave Prospero* (1617), an appropriation of Lope de Vega's *El Molino* (1604); and 2) the tragicomedy *Anna Rodenburghs Trouwen Batavier* (written in 1601-10, published in 1617), an appropriation of the pastoral tragicomedy *The faithfull Shepherd* (1602). The other three plays are 3) the tragicomedy *Alexander* (1618), based on the last story of the *Historie vande seven Vroeden van Roomen* (1595), which is a cyclical frame narrative of medieval Latin stories;

1168 Michael A. R. Graves, 'Copley, Thomas (1532–1584), landowner and Roman Catholic exile', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-6273>.

4) the three-parted comedy *Keyser Otto den Derden* (1616-17), based on the French translation of the eighteenth story of the first part of the *Novelle* (1554) by Italian writer Matteo Bandello (1480-1562); and, finally, 5) the four-parted tragicomedy *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa* (1619), based on the French translation of the forty-fourth story of the second part of Bandello's *Novelle* (1554).¹¹⁶⁹ In all these plays, an unconventional view of Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture can be discerned that starkly contrasts with that of Rodenburgh's Netherlandish colleagues. Instead of imagining Spanishness exclusively in an Hispanophobic way, Rodenburgh also used neutral and Hispanophilic rhetoric to describe Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture. In fact, these neutral and Hispanophilic framings dominate the plays. As I will argue, this unconventional approach to Spanishness was influenced by, among other things, the literary sources Rodenburgh used and by his time spent in England and Spain, during which he had the opportunity to see Spain, Spaniards, diverse types of staged Spaniards, and Spanish culture up close.

Firstly, Rodenburgh's more nuanced view of Spain and Spaniards is visible in references to vital historical events and figures of the Dutch Revolt that he embedded to domesticate the plays. Instead of using common anti-Spanish rhetoric when describing these events and figures, Rodenburgh described them in a neutral manner. Take, for instance, the tragicomedy *Anna Rodenburghs Trouwen Batavier*, which focuses on the love intrigues of several young Batavians and the difference between love and lust. Its main character is the Batavian Cypriaen, a young man who as a baby is swept away by a flooded Rhine river and is subsequently adopted by a different family than his own. Whereas in Rodenburgh's source text *A faithfull shepheard*, it is not clear why this river flooded, in *Anna Rodenburghs Trouwen Batavier*, it is because the troops of William of Orange and the States General had breached a local dike to free the city of Leiden from besieging Spaniards during the Siege of Leiden (1573-74).¹¹⁷⁰ This information is presented without any additional adjectives by Rodenburgh: 'den Spangjaert' simply laid siege on 'Leyden'.¹¹⁷¹ This was different in most other Dutch sources that memorialised this historical event. For example, Jacob Duym's play *Benoude Belegheringe der stad Leyden* (1606), a play frequently performed at the celebration of the rescue of Leiden and pivotal for the memorialisation of the event,¹¹⁷² is full of anti-Spanish rhetoric and depicts the Spanish besiegers as bloodthirsty, cruel, and deceitful individuals, who are eager to wash their hands 'int Leydsche bloed'.¹¹⁷³

A similar neutrality regarding Spaniards is visible in Rodenburgh's three-parted comedy *Keyser Otto den Derden* (1616-17), which dramatises the dishonourable love of emperor Otto for the virtuous virgin Galdrada. This time, Rodenburgh referred to King of Spain Philip II to give characters and games in his play a bit more background. Firstly, Philip is recalled as one of the many monarchs whom Tyter, the protagonist of the subplot, served as a diplomat.¹¹⁷⁴ Like

1169 Abrahamse, 'Het toneel van Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)', 53-54, 71, 164.

1170 *Il pastor fido: Or The faithfull Shepheard. Translated out of Italian into English* (London: Thomas Creede for Simon Waterson, 1602), E4v, Pr-Pv.

1171 Theodore Rodenburgh, *Anna Rodenburghs Trouwen Batavier* (Amsterdam: Voor Dirck Pieterszoon Vos-cuyt, 1617), ***3v, M3r. [The Spaniard; Leiden].

1172 Johannes Müller, 'Herinnering op het toneel. Jacob Duym's *Ghedenck-Boeck* en de constructie van een literaire herinneringscanon van de Nederlandse Opstand' (Master thesis, Leiden University, 2008), 45-47.

1173 Jacob Duym, 'Benoude Belegheringe der stad Leyden' in *Een Ghedenck-boeck* (Leiden: Henrik Lodowijcxszoon van Haestens, 1606), Diiv, Fiiiv. [in the blood of the people of Leiden]. For more on the theatrical representation of the rescue of Leiden, see Cobi Bordewijk, Juliette Roding, and Victor Veldheer, *Wat geeft die Comedie toch een bemoeijng! De Leidse Schouwburg, 1705-2005* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2005).

1174 The subplot focuses on the tragic love between Tyter and Laura and was possibly inspired by Rodenburgh's own ill-fated love affair with Maria de Vos. Wouter Abrahamse, 'Schaken en liefdesverdriet in *Keyser Otto den derden* van Theodore Rodenburgh', *Literatuur* 10 (1993): 200-201.

the besieging Spaniards of *Anna Rodenburghs Trouwen Batavier*, Philip is described without any adjectives and is simply called ‘spaensen Philips den tweeden’.¹¹⁷⁵ Secondly, Philip is mentioned in a conversation between Galdrada and her lover Guydeon about the game of chess. According to Galdrada, chess usually reveals a Prince’s true nature and the ‘tweeden Spaensen Philips’ was the perfect example of a Prince who is ‘wijs’ and ‘voorzichtlijck’:¹¹⁷⁶ at the start of every game, Philip always donated his presumed financial loss to his opponent, thereby making sure that the outcome of the game would not influence his temper.¹¹⁷⁷ Again, Philip was depicted in a completely different way in the works of Rodenburgh’s contemporaries. Instead of a wise and prudent ruler, Philip was a negligent and tyrannical ruler, whose rulership of the Netherlands was marked by cruelty.¹¹⁷⁸ This is visible, for instance, in the tragedy *Truerspel van de moordt begaen aen Wilhelm, by der gratie Gods, prince van Oraengien* (written in 1616, published in 1617) by Gijsbrecht van Hogendorp (1589-1639). In the tragedy, Philip and his Spanish advisors are portrayed as vainglorious Machiavellian tyrants, who will not rest until they have squashed the rebellion and subjected all Netherlanders to the Catholic faith and the Spanish regime. In the words of Hogendorp’s Philip: ‘Ick sweert u *Belgica*, ick sal u doen ghevoelen / Hoe wreet ick straffen can u onghehoorsaem woelen’.¹¹⁷⁹

Secondly, Rodenburgh’s neutral approach to Spaniards is visible in the way in which staged Spaniards are characterised in the plays *Hertoginne en Grave Prospero* (1617), *Alexander* (1618), and *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa* (1619). In all of these plays, staged Spaniards are either faithful copies of their literary predecessors in both their negative and/or positive characteristics (*Hertoginne en Grave Prospero*; *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa*), or similar in their characterisation to characters of other nationalities, having both negative and positive qualities, without one predominant Black Legend quality (*Alexander*). Not one of these staged Spaniards is characterised as a stereotypical arrogant, cruel, and/or deceitful Spaniard. In fact, whenever rhetoric of the Netherlandish Black Legend is used by Rodenburgh, as is the case in *Alexander* and *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa*, he actively countered this through the characterisation of both Spanish and non-Spanish characters (*Alexander*) as well as through reflections on the falseness of stereotyping (*Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa*).

Of these three plays, Rodenburgh’s appropriation of Lope de Vega’s *El Molino*, the tragicomedy *Hertoginne Celia en Grave Prospero* (1617), reflects the least on Spain and Spaniards. It mentions the setting of the play, Spain, only twice, without any particularities.¹¹⁸⁰ In addition, only the Prince of Spain Aristippus and his father the King of Spain are explicitly framed as Spanish, even though all characters but the Princess of France and her servant Alberto are presumably

1175 Theodore Rodenburgh, *Keyser Otto den Derden, en Galdrada. Het Eerste Deel* (Amsterdam: Porcevant Morgan, 1616), A3r. [spanish Philip II].

1176 Theodore Rodenburgh, *Keyser Otto den Derden, en Galdrada. Het Tweede Deel* (Amsterdam: Abraham de Coningh, 1617), Ev. [second Spanish Philips; wise; prudent].

1177 Philip II was indeed a passionate chess player, who often organised chess tournaments at the court of Madrid. Abrahamse, ‘Schaken en liefdesverdriet in *Keyser Otto den derden* van Theodore Rodenburgh’, 204.

1178 Fernando Martínez Luna, *Een ondraaglijk juk. Nederlandse beeldvorming van Spanje en de Spanjaarden ten tijde van de Opstand (1566-1609)* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2018), 105–8.

1179 Gijsbrecht van Hogendorp, *Truer-spel Van de Moordt, begaen aen Wilhelm by der Gratie Gods, Prince van Oraengien, etc.* (Amsterdam: Cornelis vander Plasse, 1617), Av. [I swear *Belgica*, I will let you feel / How cruel I can punish those who stir disobediently].

1180 Theodore Rodenburgh, *Hertoginne Celia en Grave Prospero* (Amsterdam: Jacob Pieterzoon Wachter, 1617), F2r, F3r.

Spaniards.¹¹⁸¹ Of these two Spanish characters, it is Aristippus who, at first glance, resembles Black Legend Spaniards in his character.¹¹⁸² He is the main antagonist to the protagonists of the play, the couple Duchess Celia and Count Prospero. Aristippus is in love with Celia and incredibly jealous of Prospero. During the play, he is set on pulling Celia and Prospero apart and win Celia's love, acting in an excessively cruel, deceitful, and tyrannical manner in the process. Although these traits are inherent to stereotypical Black Legend Spaniards in the Netherlands, Aristippus is explicitly not framed as one: he only enacts these traits because he is crazed by love and jealousy. The moment he falls in love with another woman at the end of the play, his 'dulle razernij'¹¹⁸³ and hatred for Prospero disappears: 'Al de warring mynes zinnen / Sproot uyt een verwoest beminnen.'¹¹⁸⁴ Moreover, Rodenburgh's Aristippus barely differs from Lope's 'Príncipe Aristipo', since his negative traits were only slightly amplified by Rodenburgh.¹¹⁸⁵

In Rodenburgh's tragicomedy *Alexander*, the staged Spaniards are also the antagonists of the play. The tragicomedy, based on the last story of the medieval Latin cyclical frame narrative the *Historie vande seven Vroeden van Roomen* (1595), focuses on the exceptional friendship between the knight and future King of Egypt, Alexander, and the Prince of France, Lode-wijck.¹¹⁸⁶ The two young men are each other's mirror image in both character and physique and immediately become friends when they meet each other at the court of the Emperor of Rome. At the time of their meeting, Lodewijck is courting Princess Florentina, the daughter of the Emperor and of Netherlandish descent in this play. The courtship does not immediately run smoothly, particularly because the two Spanish characters in the play, Prince of Spain Guydeon and the nobleman Don Jeronimo, attempt to thwart it. Whereas Guydeon is Lodewijck's rival in love, Don Jeronimo discovers that Lodewijck and Florentina are having premarital sexual intercourse. The Spaniards immediately report this forbidden activity to the Emperor and accuse Lodewijck of robbing Princess Florentina of her honour. Since Lodewijck refuses to admit the crime, Don Jeronimo challenges Lodewijck to a duel. Alexander, the stronger of the two twin-like friends, then comes to the aid of Lodewijck and secretly replaces him as Don Jeronimo's opponent. Alexander wins the duel and subsequently restores the honour of Lodewijck and Florentina.

As noted, in the play, the Spaniards Guydeon and Don Jeronimo play a crucial role as antagonists by thwarting the protagonists Alexander, Lodewijck, and Florentina. They are also explicitly framed as antagonists by the protagonists, who amply use Black Legend rhetoric to characterise them. Yet, as I will argue below, they do not resemble Black Legend Spaniards in their character. Instead, they are more like the *milites gloriosi* Spaniards of the English stage, the

1181 Ibid., *3r, *4v. They are called Spanish in the *dramatis personae* and the summary of the play.

1182 The King of Spain is mainly concerned with the tyrannical outbursts of his son in the play, being keen on setting him straight. He does portray some stereotypical Spanish deceitfulness in his attempts to seduce Celia, searching for Celia's father behind her back to ask for her hand. Yet, he does not match the deceitfulness of his son Aristippus, who banishes Prospero from the Spanish court and even feigns the death of his rival to obtain Celia's love. Rodenburgh, *Hertoginne Celia en Grave Prospero*, A4v, B2r, D3v.

1183 Ibid., F3r. [crazy unbridled rage].

1184 Ibid., F4r. [All the chaos of my character / Sprouted from an impetuous love]. For more on the 'woelingen' or inner agitations of characters in Rodenburgh's plays, see Marion and Vergeer, 'Spain's dramatic conquest of the Dutch Republic', 49–52.

1185 Lope de Vega, *Las Comedias del Famoso Poeta Lope de Vega Carpio* (Antwerp: Martin Nuyts, 1607), 523. As noted by Abrahamse, the virtuousness of Celia and the loyalty of Prospero were also amplified by Rodenburgh. Additionally, Rodenburgh sporadically removed or added text passages. Abrahamse, 'Het toneel van Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)', 100.

1186 For the history of the Dutch translation, see Johan Oosterman and Sasja Koetsier, eds., *De zeven wijze mannen van Rome* (Amsterdam: Atheneum - Polak & Van Genneep, 2006), 119.

various Lazarillian (semi)-Spaniards of the English and Netherlandish stage, and the Spaniards who avenge their honour in the *comedias de honor* of the Spanish stage. This alternative characterisation stands out for two reasons. Firstly, the two staged Spaniards are largely Rodenburgh's invention. Although the plot of the original story is followed quite closely, Rodenburgh added and enlarged characters and scenes for dramatic purposes in his play. Vital additions are Guydeon's amorous interest in Florentina, his role as the play's laughing stock, and the character Don Jeronimo. To compare: in the original story, Guydeon is not in love with Florentina and fulfils the role of Don Jeronimo, as the informant on the forbidden love affair of Florentina and Lodewijck. Secondly, in some aspects, Guydeon and Don Jeronimo are more positively characterised than the non-Spanish protagonists of the play are. Whereas Alexander, Florentina, and Lodewijck become happy through dishonourable deceit, the Spaniards Guydeon and Don Jeronimo are unjustly duped by this.

Guydeon plays the largest role in *Alexander*. Numerous scenes focus on Guydeon's inner agitations of unrequited love and his attempts to court the Netherlandish Florentina. He is ridiculed in all of these scenes, serving as the laughing stock of the play. In Guydeon's first scene, it is particularly his outdated chivalric love rhetoric that is ridiculed. Drowning 'in tranens heete vloed', for instance, he curses the unfortunate day that his rival Lodewijck arrived at court.¹¹⁸⁷ This language is mocked by Florentina herself, who paints Guydeon as a clueless and outdated Petrarchan lover.¹¹⁸⁸ She also argues that the Spaniard always 'brald' or brags, thereby harking back to the stereotype of the arrogant Spaniard.¹¹⁸⁹ When Guydeon bawdily asks if she will sauce her partridge with 't sap van onze Spangie', she rejects him resolutely and argues that the Netherlands and Spain are incompatible:¹¹⁹⁰

Florentina. 't Vleesch liever zonder saus als zonder 't vleesch d'Orangie,
Te scherp uw sausen zijn, en voor ons al te zuur,
Wy Duytzen zijn hier van zoet-zapigher natuur.
Uw App'len toonen cierlijck op hun boomens telghen,
Maer hier en kennen noch de na-smaeck niet verzwelghen.¹¹⁹¹

In her view, the meat of the Netherlands, which now belonged to the Orange family, no longer matched the pungent and sour sauces of Spain. Although the apples of Spain – oranges or 'appels van oranje' ('orange apples') – looked tasty, they hid a horrible aftertaste that contemporary sweet-natured Netherlanders could not consume.¹¹⁹²

1187 Theodore Rodenburgh, *Alexander* (Amsterdam: Jan Evertszoon Cloppenburch, 1618), 15. [in a hot flood of tears].

1188 Francesco Petrarca (1304-74) was an Italian poet who is most remembered for his unrequited love sonnets to Laura, an unavailable married woman. The poems had a major influence on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century lyrical poetry in Western Europe. For the influence of Petrarch in the Netherlands, see Catharina Ypes, *Petrarca in de nederlandse letterkunde* (Amsterdam: De Spieghel, 1934).

1189 Rodenburgh, *Alexander*, 15; 'Brallen', *WNT*, accessed March 14, 2022, https://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=M011234&lemmodern=brallen&Betekenis_id=M011234.bet.26

1190 Rodenburgh, *Alexander*, 16. [the juice of Spain]. Partridges were a symbol of lust and fertility, which indicates Guydeon's sauce is a metaphor for his sperm. E. de Jongh, *Kwesties van betekenis. Thema en motief in de Nederlandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw*. (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 1995), 28.

1191 Rodenburgh, *Alexander*, 16. [**Florentina.** I rather have meat without sauce than not have the meat of Orange, / Your sauses are too pungent, and for us too sour, / Us Netherlanders are of a sweeter nature. / Your Apples shine elegantly on their tree branches, / But here we cannot consume their aftertaste.].

1192 'Appel: appel van oranje', *WNT*, accessed December 18, 2022, <https://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=ar>

Subsequent scenes that feature Guydeon have a similar comical and anti-Spanish flavour, in particular because Guydeon is oblivious to Florentina's antipathy towards Spaniards and stubbornly continues his courtship. He reasons that Florentina's true feelings for him can only be discovered by a ruse and disguises himself as her confessor, the Capuchin monk Hendrick. Accidentally, Guydeon's rival Lodewijck has the exact same idea and arrives somewhat earlier at Florentina's private quarters in the same disguise. The consequence is that Guydeon cannot meet Florentina and has to return at a later moment. In the scene between Florentina and Lodewijck that follows, it is then again confirmed that Florentina has no interest in Guydeon: when the "monk" Lodewijck asks if Florentina will marry 'met Spaignien', she immediately rebukes him and argues she has never harboured amorous feelings for Guydeon.¹¹⁹³ Guydeon's hears these harsh words himself a couple of scenes later, when he attempts to reach Florentina for a second time.¹¹⁹⁴ On his way, he encounters Lodewijck who is dressed as himself again. Lodewijck, who as the monk Hendrick successfully convinced Florentina to make Lodewijck her lover, is afraid that "monk" Guydeon will ruin his earlier performance. He therefore tries to stop the disguised Spaniard by stalling him with the confession that his love for Florentina is unrequited. When "monk" Guydeon then claims that Prince Guydeon must be the cause of his misfortune, a comical conversation unfolds, in which "monk" Guydeon has to endure a speech full of anti-Spanish rhetoric by Lodewijck:

Lodewijck. [i]ck niet en ken verwerven
 Vrou *Florentinaes* liefde. **Guydeon.** Is daer uw liefd' gheleydt?
Lodewijck. Om heur is 't dat dees Prince bloede tranen schreydt.
Guydeon. Weer-liefdt zy niet? **Lodewijck.** Och neen.
Guydeon. Om Spangjen dit geschiet. Prins *Guydeon* doet het u.
Lodewijck. Neen Heer die vrees ick niet.
 Ick weet zy hem veracht, zy haet het Spaens ghezinde,
 Ja dat zy *Guydeon* in 't minste noyt beminde,
 Zy haet de trotsheyt van de Spangiaerts moed'ghe aerdt,
 Zo dat zy Guydeon heur liefde niet acht waerdt,
 Ick weet zy hem verfoeyt. **Guydeon.** Wat vreemdicheyt wy hooren.
Lodewijck. Al zijn Vryagie, heer, is niet als tijdt verlooren.
Guydeon. Hy neemt my voor Broer *Hendrick* en ben *Guydeon*,
 'k Verwonder dat zijn liefde heur weer-liefd' niet won.
Lodewijck. 'k Verwonder niet mijn Heer, wat gracy heeft een Spangjaerd?
 Een moed'ghe hovaerdy, een trotsert, en een dwangaert,
 Vol valscheyt, vol bedroch, vol woorden, en vol klap.
Guydeon. 't Verdriet my 't gheen ick hoor, ach waer ick uyt de kap!
Lodewijck. Hoe zeyt mijn Heer? **Guydeon.** Helaes wat zoudt ick kunnen
 zeggen?
 Zo dees ghebreken in hunliens verburghen legghen,

title&wdb=WNT&id=M004072&lemmodern=appel. Oranges were actually a desired product in the Dutch Republic. They were regularly imported from Spain during the Dutch Revolt. S.A. Vosters, *Spanje in de Nederlandse Litteratuur* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1955), 26–27.

1193 Rodenburgh, *Alexander*, 28. [with Spain].

1194 Guydeon tries to reach the princess three times. The third time is also unsuccessful, as he is immediately sent away by Florentina when he arrives. Guydeon damns the monk's hood afterwards. Rodenburgh, *Alexander*, 37–38.

Princes zo doet ghy wel dat ghy van Spangjen weeckt.

Lodewijck. *Al wat uyt Spangjen komt is goed, als 't gheen dat spreeckt.*¹¹⁹⁵

Lodewijck's anti-Spanish speech is full of common Spanish stereotypes and seems directly derived from the Netherlandish Black Legend narrative. He paints Spaniards as arrogant, boastful, deceitful, and domineering, and does not attribute a single virtue to them. He also argues that the Spanish Guydeon and the Netherlandish Florentina are incompatible, thereby harking back to the trope that Spain and the Netherlands were naturally opposed.

Interestingly, this characterisation of Guydeon as the Black Legend Spaniard is not congruent with his actual character. In the scenes that have been discussed so far, Guydeon is not a threatening enemy, but rather a bombastic, lovesick suitor whose courtship is not taken seriously by either Florentina or Lodewijck. Moreover, during the only time that he acts Spanish by plotting a ruse to court Florentina, this 'listicheydt' ('cunningness') of dressing up as the monk Hendrick completely blows up in his face.¹¹⁹⁶ In this role as laughing stock, he has a lot in common with the bumbling, boasting *milites gloriosi* Spaniards of the English stage and the various Lazarillian (semi)-Spaniards of the English and Netherlandish stage discussed in chapter one.¹¹⁹⁷ They are also endowed with stereotypical Spanish traits with a comedic flavour, being both threatening and funny. Since Rodenburgh acted as a diplomat in London from 1601 to 1610, and Bredero's 'Lazarillian' comedy *Spaanschen Brabander Jerolimo* was staged a year before the *Alexander* was published, it is likely that he had seen the plays in which these Spaniards were staged and was influenced by them.

What is more, in the scenes that follow Guydeon's failed disguise plot, Guydeon's character becomes intermingled with another type of staged Spaniard: the Spaniard who avenges compromised honour. This type typically appeared in the Spanish *comedias de honor*, a dramatic genre Rodenburgh was evidently familiar with, considering his comedy *'t Quaedt syn meester loont* (1618), an appropriation of Aguilar's *La venganza honrosa* (1616). The type had also appeared in Bredero's tragedy *Rodd'rick ende Alphonsus* (performed in 1611, published in 1616), discussed in chapter two.¹¹⁹⁸ In *Alexander*, the type can be recognised in Guydeon's monologue after Lodewijck's anti-Spanish speech:

Guydeon uyt-de kap. *Lod'wijck* waer zijt ghy nu die Spaingien zo veracht?

'k Heb dees onreden nimmer van een Prins verwacht.

Fy Prince, schaemt u Prins, van Spangien zo te spreken,

1195 Rodenburgh, *Alexander*, 32. [**Lodewijck.** I cannot obtain / the love of Lady *Florentina*. **Guydeon.** Is your love directed there? **Lodewijck.** This Prince cries bloody tears because of her. **Guydeon.** She does not love you back? **Lodewijck.** Oh no. **Guydeon.** This occurs because of Spain. Prince *Guydeon* does it to you. **Lodewijck.** No Lord, I do not fear him. I know she despises him, she hates those who are inclined to Spain, / Yes, she loved *Guydeon* not even a little, / She hates the pride of the Spaniard's haughty character, / Therefore she does not regard *Guydeon* worthy of her love, / I know she abhors him. **Guydeon.** What strangeness do we hear. / **Lodewijck.** All his Courtship, Lord, is nothing but lost time. / **Guydeon.** He thinks I am Brother *Hendrick* and I am *Guydeon*. / I am surprised that his love did not win her love in return. / **Lodewijck.** I am not surprised, my Lord, for what grace has a Spaniard? / A haughty self-conceited person, a show-off, and a domineering person, / Full of falseness, deceit, words, and prattle. / **Guydeon.** It saddens me what I hear, oh, I wish I was out of the hood! / **Lodewijck.** What do you say my Lord? **Guydeon.** Alas, what could I say? / If these vices are hidden in these people, / Princess, it is wise that you depart from Spain. **Lodewijck.** *Everything that comes from Spain is good, except for that which speaks.*].

1196 Rodenburgh, *Alexander*, 20. [traitor; cunningness].

1197 See section 1.5 for a discussion of these staged Spaniards.

1198 See section 2.2.3 of this thesis.

Doch aen u, Prins, zal dezen Prins zich Prinslijck wreken.
 Uw zegghen ick verfoey, uw vuyle afterklap,
 Die ick verdraghen heb mits ick was inde kap.
 Ick zweer u Vranckens Prins ick d'eere zal verdedighen,
 Of houdt my voor geen Prins, en scheld my voor meenedighen.¹¹⁹⁹

Guydeon is astonished by Lodewijck's slanderous critique of a fellow Prince and deems this extremely unprincely. He himself had always remained honourable towards Lodewijck up until this moment in the play and had lamented only the fact that Lodewijck is his rival.¹²⁰⁰ Subsequently, Guydeon swears he will defend his honour, something any Prince would do in this situation. Ironically, his preparation for his revenge is not particularly princely and made him more like the Black Legend Spaniard Lodewijck accused him to be. Conjuring various hellish creatures to aid him in his revenge, Guydeon proclaims that he, the son of a King who 'tracht na monarchy des Werelds', should be served by a Frenchman like Lodewijck.¹²⁰¹ Spain's desire to be a *monarchis universalis* or universal monarch was a widely used trope in the Netherlands Black Legend narrative; it was used to depict the Spaniard as a domineering threat to all other European countries.¹²⁰² Yet, in the case of Guydeon, this menacing image is quickly dismantled by Rodenburgh, who, after depicting Guydeon as both a Spaniard who avenges his honour and a Black Legend Spaniard, concluded this revenge subplot by again depicting Guydeon as the play's laughing stock. The moment Guydeon confronts Lodewijck with his slanderous words, arguing that it was the monk Hendrick who told him about Lodewijck's slander, the real monk Hendrick appears, who, of course, is ignorant of all that had happened before. As a result, Guydeon is forced to take back his accusation and apologise to the one who has spoken so slanderously about him and fellow Spaniards.¹²⁰³

The second Spanish character of the play, the nobleman Don Jeronimo, also resembles the Spaniard who avenges his compromised honour. Firstly, he does so in his actions. As mentioned earlier, Don Jeronimo is the one who discovers and discloses the forbidden, premarital sexual relationship of Florentina and Lodewijck. When Lodewijck denies this relationship and calls Jeronimo a rogue, Jeronimo immediately throws his 'handt-schoen' or glove on the ground and challenges Lodewijck to a duel to defend his honour. Secondly, his name resembles the name of a famous staged Spaniard who avenges his tarnished honour: the honourable knight-marshal Don Jeronimo from *The Spanish Tragedy* by Thomas Kyd (written in c. 1587, published in 1592). The play was republished when Rodenburgh was in London, which means it could have been an inspiration for Rodenburgh.¹²⁰⁴

Like Guydeon, Don Jeronimo pulls the shortest straw in his feud with Lodewijck. He is killed in the duel and framed as an 'eer-rover', whose lies dishonoured both Lodewijck and

1199 Rodenburgh, *Alexander*, 33. [**Guydeon out-of-the-hood.** *Lod'wijck* where are thou now who despises Spain so? / I never expected such unreasonableness of a Prince. / Shame Prince, be ashamed Prince, to speak of Spain in such a way, / But to you, Prince, this Prince will Princely avenge himself / I despise your words, your dirty slander, That I endured because I was wearing the hood. / I swear you Prince of France I will defend the honour, / Otherwise I am not worthy of being called Prince, and accuse me of perjury.]

1200 Ibid., 15, 19-20.

1201 Ibid., 42. [pursues the monarchy of the World].

1202 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), 44-45.

1203 Rodenburgh, *Alexander*, 42-43.

1204 For more on *The Spanish Tragedy*, see section 1.5.2.

Florentina.¹²⁰⁵ His untimely death is presented as unjust in the play through the juxtaposition of scenes with the guilty Florentina and Lodewijck on the one hand, and scenes presenting the just Spaniards on the other. Whereas the couple frets about the exposure of their relationship and makes Alexander secretly take Lodewijck's place to avoid a direct battle between Lodewijck and Don Jeronimo, Don Jeronimo and Guydeon are proud of the fact that they defend the truth and restore Florentina's and Don Jeronimo's honour in the battle with Lodewijck. Both are convinced Don Jeronimo will be guided by God on the battlefield and will gain glory because justice should win over injustice.¹²⁰⁶ Yet, in this case, the opposite turns out to be true: the unjust lies of Lodewijck win over the just truth of Jeronimo. In Guydeon's final monologue in the play, Guydeon ponders on this heavenly injustice:

Guydeon. Is d'hemel onrechtvaardich? Op wiens recht wy vertrouwen?
 Hoe mocht dan *Lodewyck* zijn onrecht staende houwen?
 Of is het recht gheen recht? Wat is de waerheydt dan?
 Zo waerheydt de on-waerheydt niet verwinnen kan.¹²⁰⁷

The motto of the play, 'Onghezien,, Ken geschien' or 'Unnoticed,, Can happen' in English, also refers to this painful fact of life. It foregrounds how easily the main characters could get away with their lies.¹²⁰⁸ Guydeon only takes solace in the idea that God does not forget past actions and that 'yder een in 't eynd zijn straffe vindt'.¹²⁰⁹ Luck is temporary, and sorrow always follows happiness. His words immediately come true. The Emperor dies as soon as Guydeon finishes his sentence. Alexander is cursed with leprosy and deposed from his Egyptian throne. Finally, Florentina and Lodewijck have to murder their own children to heal Alexander from his leprosy. Although the children are miraculously revived afterwards and all the main characters get a happy ending, it is remarkable that a Spaniard not only is in his right in an early seventeenth-century Dutch play, but also gets some kind of vengeance for the murder of his honourable and just friend.

Thus, neither Guydeon nor Don Jeronimo fitted the Netherlandish Black Legend framing in which they were cast by Florentina and Lodewyck. Although Guydeon's *universalis monarchis* speech shows that he had a little of the Black Legend Spaniard in him, in his role as laughing stock, Guydeon embodied the Spanish *miles gloriosus* of the English stage and the various Lazarillian (semi)-Spaniards of the early modern English and Netherlandish stage. Additionally, in his desire to avenge his compromised honour, he, together with Don Jeronimo, resembled the Spaniards of the Spanish *comedias de honor*. The use of these different types of staged Spaniards in the Spanish characters of Guydeon and Don Jeronimo shows, that Rodenburgh deliberately deviated from the dangerous Spanish characters commonly staged in the Dutch Republic. A lovesick prince who constantly arrives too late on the scene and a truthful nobleman who fights for his honour, are significantly less threatening than the tyrannical soldiers of the plays in Jacob Duym's *Ghedenck-Boeck* (1606). Also, it shows that Rodenburgh was a cultural mediator *per excellence*. He not only transferred plays to the Dutch Republic from England and Spain, but also images of Spain from both cultures.

1205 Rodenburgh, *Alexander*, 61. [honour-thief].

1206 Ibid., 51-53, 61-62.

1207 Ibid., 64. [**Guydeon.** Is heaven unjust? On whose jurisdiction we trust? / How could *Lodewyck* maintain his injustice? / Or is jurisdiction no jurisdiction? What is truth than? If truth from untruth cannot win?].

1208 Ibid., title page.

1209 Ibid., 65. [everybody will get his punishment in the end].

The third and final play in which Rodenburgh staged Spaniards, the four-parted tragicomedy *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa*, also starkly deviates from the typical Netherlandish Black Legend play. As I will discuss, it does so in two ways. Firstly, the male protagonist of *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa*, the Spaniard Don Juan de Mendossa, is extremely positively portrayed. He is a courageous, honourable, and steadfast lover who comes to the aid of his love, the Duchess of Savoye, when her honour is compromised. Secondly, the play included numerous praiseworthy descriptions of Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture, and criticised the notion that every nationality is born with a couple of vices. As such, the play is another demonstration of the fact that Rodenburgh deliberately deviated from the Hispanophobic Netherlandish Black Legend narrative, which he replaced with a more neutral and positive rhetoric on Spanishness.

Rodenburgh's *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa* is based on the sixth story of the first volume of the *Histoire Tragiques* (1559) by Pierre Boaistuau (1517-66), which in turn is the French translation of the forty-fourth story of the second part of the *Novelle* (1554) by Matteo Bandello.¹²¹⁰ The story in question focuses on the love between the Duchess of Savoye and the army general Don Juan de Mendossa. When the Duchess hears from Don Juan's sister Isabella that Don Juan is an exceptionally virtuous man, who, with great courage, won the battle of Toledo, she immediately falls in love with him. To meet him in person, the Duchess feigns an illness, claiming soon afterwards that she is miraculously healed by God. Out of gratitude for this miracle, she then sets out on a pilgrimage to Spain and meets Don Juan. It is love at first sight for both. Yet, the Duchess, who is married, decides to stay faithful to her husband and returns to Savoye in France. When she comes home, she is greeted by the Duke of Pancelier, who is also in love with her. As soon as she rejects him, he accuses her of adultery, a crime punishable by death. The moment Don Juan hears this, he travels to Savoye disguised as a monk, visiting the Duchess of Savoye in her cell to hear her confession. The Duchess, thinking he is a monk, then confesses that she has feelings for Don Juan. Subsequently, Don Juan challenges Pancelier to a battle to restore the Duchess' honour, leaving Savoye immediately after he defeats him. Some years later, when the two meet by chance in England after the Duke of Savoye has died, the couple finally gets married.

As with his other plays, Rodenburgh wanted to edify his audience with the *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa*. To accomplish this, he enlarged characters into examples of virtue and vice and embedded moral instructions.¹²¹¹ Rodenburgh also positively changed the Spaniard Don Juan. He is more virtuous than his French counterpart and has been transformed into a spokesman for moral instructions. For example, in Rodenburgh's French source text, it is only mentioned that Don Juan's role is victorious in the battle of Toledo.¹²¹² By contrast, in Rodenburgh's play he is depicted as a wise and just army general (part 1), who argues he owes his victory to God.¹²¹³ The difference between the French source text and Rodenburgh's play is also visible in the way Don Juan's sister Isabella praises her brother. Whereas the French source describes Isabella's praise only briefly, just mentioning that Don Juan is handsome, Rodenburgh's Isabella also describes Mendossa's exemplary character:

1210 Wouter Abrahamse, "Gekabaste cierselen". Bronnen van 'Theodore Rodenburgh', *Nederlandse Letterkunde* 1, no. 4 (1996): 371.

1211 For more on Rodenburgh's edifying strategies, see section 4.3.3. of this thesis.

1212 Boaistuau, Pierre and Francois de Belleforest, *XVIII Histoires Tragiques* (Lyon: Pierre Rollet, 1578), 107r.

1213 Rodenburgh, *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa*, 15-16.

si est ce que j'ose bien dire avecque tous ceux qui le cognoissent (sans que l'affection du sang me transporte) que c'est l'un des plus beaux gentilshommes qu'ait product l'Espagne depuis vingt ans.¹²¹⁴

Isabella. Want 't gantsche spaense ryck int minste niet en kan,
Niet vinden zijn gelycke, oft zo schonen man,
Gelyck mijn broeder is, de gratien deelachtich,
Uytmuntende in deughd, stoutmoedig ende manhaftich
Gheen schoonder schepsel oyt natuur geschapen heeft
Waer dat gantsch spangien oock ghetuyghenis van geeft.¹²¹⁵

Nowhere in the Spanish realm a more handsome Spaniard can be found than Don Juan, a Spaniard who is not only graced with beauty, but also with virtue, fearlessness, and courage, according to Rodenburgh's Isabella.

Rodenburgh also praised Spain and Spanish culture in his play. In a conversation with the Duchess (part 2), Isabella describes the history of Spain, Spanish society, the Spanish weather, Spanish local commodities, and the Escorial building in Madrid.¹²¹⁶ To compare, in Rodenburgh's French source, the mere words 'devisans de diverses choses' sufficed to describe this same conversation.¹²¹⁷ Particularly Isabella's extensive praise of the Escorial, 'het grootste wonder' of Spain, is noteworthy because she describes its origin, architecture, and art in no less than four pages and argues the building gives its initiator and patron Philip II 'euwichduurigen faem'.¹²¹⁸ It is probable that this description echoes Rodenburgh's own opinion, as it is very likely that he himself visited the Escorial during his four-year residency in Madrid. Of course, it is also possible that he used the *Sumario y breve declaración de los diseños y estampas de la Fábrica de san Lorenzo el Real del Escorial* (1589) by the architect of the Escorial, Juan de Herrera (1530-93).

Yet, the most interesting addition by Rodenburgh can be found in the second act of the fourth part of the play, in a scene that staged a meeting between the King of England and his councillors. During the meeting, the advantages and disadvantages of a marriage between the Prince of Spain and the Princess of England are discussed. Proponents of the match argue that Spain might protect England from their long-time enemy France.¹²¹⁹ By contrast, opponents make use of the *universal monarchis* trope of the Netherlandish Black Legend narrative, arguing that Spain wants to become 'de monarch der gantsche wereld', 'Englands kroon' being the first stepping stone to this goal.¹²²⁰ Two opposing councillors soon engage in a fierce discussion on the

1214 Boaistuau and Belleforest, *XVIII Histoires Tragiques*, 109r. [If I can say it well with all those who know him (without being influenced by the affection I have towards him through our kinship) I can say that he is one of the most handsome gentlemen that Spain has produced over the last twenty years].

1215 Rodenburgh, *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa*, 22-23. [**Isabella.** Because in the whole of the Spanish kingdom it is impossible / to find his equal, or such a handsome man / As my brother is, endowed with graces, / Excellent in virtue, fearlessness, and courage / Nature has never created a more handsome creature / To which the whole of Spain also bears witness].

1216 Rodenburgh, *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa*, 65-66, 72-75.

1217 Boaistuau and Belleforest, *XVIII Histoires Tragiques*, 116r. [discussed diverse subjects].

1218 Rodenburgh, *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa*, 72, 75. [the greatest wonder; everlasting fame].

1219 Ibid., 231-232.

1220 Ibid., 231. [the monarch of the entire world; England's crown]. A later scene in the play (253-257) that takes place at the court of Spain shows that Spain was indeed interested in strengthening its power through the marriage.

nature of both nations, describing Frenchmen as deceitful and fickle, and Spaniards as arrogant, bloodthirsty, and cruel.¹²²¹ After a few sentences, the King of England stops their discussion and argues that all vices are equally shared by all nations:

K. v. Engeland: Dees scheldingh heeren kan de tyt altans niet lyen,
 Tzijn passyen gantsch Vruchtloos buyten ons besteck
 't Is waer dat alle volckeren hebben hun ghebreck.
 't ghebreck is algemeen, waer van wy hebben teken,
 Ghelijck ghy van hun spreeckt en van ons moghen spreken,
 Ja oordelen het quaetst, in't best men oordlen moet,
 In alle Volckeren zijn zom quaet, en and'ren goedt,
 Volmaecktheyt isser niet.¹²²²

In this monologue, Rodenburgh explicitly breaks with the idea that every nation has a typical set of vices. Spaniards in general are not born arrogant, bloodthirsty, and cruel, but some are, as are Frenchmen, Englishmen, Netherlanders, and so forth. In the context of the Dutch Revolt, in which all vices of Spaniards were propagated to be innate, Rodenburgh's view of Spaniards clearly deviates from the main anti-Hispanic narrative. As I have shown throughout this thesis, Spaniards or hispanised Netherlanders were always represented with one or more well-known "Spanish" characteristics in Dutch literary sources. This is also true for the Spaniards in most of the English literary sources. Only in the English, pro-Spanish pamphlet *A Temperate Ward-word* (1599) by the English Jesuit Robert Persons, I found a similar view on the native vices of nations. Like Rodenburgh, Persons deems it ridiculous that the 'defectes' of some Spaniards should be 'attributed universally to the whole Spanish nation,' arguing that with that logic the 'gluttonie and drunkennes' of some English travellers should be understood as characteristics of the entire 'English nation'.¹²²³ Since Persons wrote from an extremely Hispanophilic stance, Rodenburgh's agreement on this particular point suggests that he had a Hispanophilic attitude as well. What is certain is that Rodenburgh actively ignored the Netherlandish Black Legend trope that every Spaniard is full of vice, and that he argued that the world was not as black and white as many of his Netherlandish contemporaries framed it.

In conclusion, Rodenburgh's literary oeuvre shows a remarkably positive attitude towards Spanishness, evincing that neutral and/or more Hispanophilic views were also present in the Netherlandish context. Whereas most of his contemporaries in the Dutch Republic wrote plays that solely depicted Spaniards as cruel tyrants, Rodenburgh argued that Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture could also be admired for the beautiful architecture, the dramatic traditions, the wisdom, courage, and sense of honour. By modelling his staged Spaniards after staged Spaniards

1221 Ibid., 232.

1222 Ibid. [**K. of. Engeland:** This dispute lords can time not endure now, / These are passions completely useless outside our time limit / It is true that all people have their vice / vice is common, we also show them, / Like you speak of them we can speak of ourselves / Yes judge the most evil, in general one should judge, / In all nations are some evil, and some good, / There is no such thing as perfection.].

1223 Robert Persons, *A Temperate Ward-word, to the turbulent and seditious Watch-word of Sir Francis Hastings Knight* (Antwerp: A. Coninx, 1599), 104. This pamphlet was a reaction to *A Watch-word to all religious, and true hearted English-men* (London: Felix Kyngston for Ralph Jackson, 1598) by Puritan Francis Hastings (1546-1610), in which it is argued that Spain was superior to all nations in deceitfulness, pride, and tyranny (92). For more on their debate in relation to national stereotyping, see Hilary Larkin, *The Making of Englishmen. Debates on National Identity 1550-1650* (Brill, 2014), 151-64.

of the English and Spanish stage, moreover, he enlarged the variation in types of staged Spaniards in the Dutch Republic. Finally, he presented Spaniards and events in which Spain played a crucial role in a neutral manner and discouraged stereotypical thinking. In doing so, he actively countered the Hispanophobic rhetoric usually uttered in Dutch plays. True, it is unclear whether these more neutral representations and explicit appraisals of Spain and Spaniards were easily accessible to contemporary Netherlanders. It is likely that each play was performed and the prologue of *Keyser Otto den Derden* (1616-17) also referred to an earlier performance of said play¹²²⁴. Yet, there is concrete evidence of staging only for the appropriated comedy *Hertoginne Celia en Grave Prospero* and the four-parted tragicomedy *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa* (1619), because they are mentioned in the administration of the Amsterdam Public theatre.¹²²⁵ Moreover, only two of the plays, *Anna Rodenburghs Trouwen Batavier* and *Hertoginne Celia en Grave Prospero*, were republished. In fact, *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa* (1619) was not printed at all, surviving only in two manuscript copies.¹²²⁶ Still, it remains that Rodenburgh's views of Spain and Spaniards starkly differed from those of his anti-Hispanic contemporaries. His time in Spain had turned him into a Hispanophile who, as his plays demonstrate, refused to slavishly copy the one-sided, negative, anti-Spanish rhetoric of his contemporaries.

4.5. Conclusion: Broadening literary Spanishness through personal experience

As soldiers and diplomats, Lewes Lewknor, Anthony Copley, and Theodore Rodenburgh were able to experience Spanish culture in a more direct way than most of their fellow countrymen could. They were able to directly speak with Spaniards of diverse social classes, consume Spanish culture and literature, and explore Spanish institutions that were inaccessible to the majority of Englishmen and Netherlanders. Moreover, as pamphleteers, playwrights, and translators, they had the ability to transfer their unique experiences with Spanishness to a literary form. The manner in which they represented Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture in their literary works was directly influenced by their experiences abroad and resulted in a variety of images of the Spanish Other that, in most cases, not only was unknown in England and the Dutch Republic, but also broadened the representation of Spanishness.

Of the three cultural mediators, Rodenburgh was the most experimental and controversial in his representation of Spanishness. He defied Netherlandish literary traditions by not only importing Spanish plots and plays to the Netherlandish stage, but also by representing Spaniards, Spain, and Spanish culture in a positive way. Whereas his contemporaries Jacob Duym and Gijsbrecht van Hogendorp solely portrayed Spaniards as cruel tyrants who were set on destroying the Netherlands, Rodenburgh avoided such rigid characterisations of Spaniards in his plays. Most of his Spaniards were depicted in a neutral way, their nationality having no influence on

1224 Abrahamse, 'Het toneel van Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)', 57, n. 29. For a reflection on possible performances of the tragicomedy *Anna Rodenburghs Trouwen Batavier*, see Abrahamse, 'Het toneel van Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)', 81, n. 10.

1225 *Hertoginne Celia en Grave Prospero* was performed nineteen times between 1658 and 1678, the first part of *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa* was performed thrice in 1642, and the second part of *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa* was performed twice in 1642. 'Hertoginne Celia en grave Prospero, bly-cyn-de-spel', *ONSTAGE*, accessed 23 December 2022, <https://vondel.humanities.uva.nl/onstage/plays/15>; 'Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa', *ONSTAGE*, accessed 23 December 2022, <https://www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/onstage/plays/486>

1226 The manuscripts can be found in the University library of Utrecht (Hs. 1848) and in the British Library (Egerton MS 1655). Abrahamse, 'Het toneel van Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644)', 70-71, n. 89.

their overall character. Furthermore, in the plays in which the Spanish nationality of a character was vital to the plot, Rodenburgh experimented with different prototypes of literary Spaniards, presenting the image of the Black Legend Spaniard next to the *milites gloriosi* Spaniards of the English theatre and the honourable noblemen of Spanish *comedias de honor*. By attributing Spaniards with positive traits such as chivalry, honour, and loyalty, Rodenburgh broadened the image of the Spaniard significantly. He thereby followed in the footsteps of Bredero and Starter, who, as has been shown in chapter two of this thesis, did the same in their dramatisations of the Spanish chivalric romance cycles *Amadís de Gaula* and *Palmerín d'Oliva*.

Copley also broadened the representation of Spanishness in a positive way. He offered his English readers a unique insight into Spanish society by explaining Spanish customs and Spanish puns in his translation of the *Floreſta Eſpañola*. He consistently framed Spaniards as ingenious and witty, too. Moreover, he kept his translation almost completely free of anti-Spanish sentiment. Copley only stereotypically portrayed the Spanish soldiers and the King of Spain, Philip II, who figured in his own jokes, as well as the Spaniards who were negatively portrayed by Santa Cruz de Dueñas. The success of the *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* (1595), with a reprint in 1596 and an augmented second edition in 1614, show that this overall neutral take on Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture did not bother his English audiences. Of course, the fact that the *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* was a jest book did matter. In Copley's anti-Jesuit treatises, which among other things, commented on the plot of the English Jesuits to recatholise England with the help of Spain, a more critical view towards Spaniards was unavoidable. In these pamphlets, Copley reiterated many Hispanophobic Black Legend tropes that had been circulating in England for decades, embellishing these with his own experiences in the Spanish army. Although the criticism towards Spaniards in these pamphlets is quite explicit, Copley refrained from criticising those individual Spaniards who had been influential in Copley's life and had supported him during his life in exile. Instead, he criticised his own monarch Queen Elizabeth and the way she treated English Catholics both in- and outside England. He thereby also broadened the self-image of Englishmen, in a critical way this time.

Finally, Lewknor is the least innovative of the three cultural mediators. His personal experience in the Spanish army only confirmed the negative view of Spanishness of his fellow countrymen, a view he readily enhanced in his writings. In both his translation of the *Cavallero Determinado* and his political pamphlets, *A Discourse* and *The Eſtate*, Lewknor portrayed England as Spain's superior and argued that Queen Elizabeth's rule should be favoured over the rule of the tyrannical King of Spain. He also painted a grim picture of service in the Spanish army, to discourage English Catholics from joining. He had experienced first-hand how Spaniards 'mortally abhorreth' Englishmen in their hearts and wished this experience on none of his fellow countrymen.¹²²⁷ Still, it cannot be denied that this negative experience shaped the rest of Lewknor's career. His knowledge about the Spanish army and the court, and his proficiency in the Spanish language made him an important asset to the English government, first in producing official, governmental, anti-Spanish propaganda and later as interpreter of the Spanish language in the function of master of ceremonies. Although his contact with Spaniards would not change his literary perception of them, it did improve his chances in English society significantly, considering that he was a Catholic.

Overall, through the international endeavours of these cultural mediators, many different aspects of Spanish culture could be directly transferred to England and the Netherlands,

1227 Lewknor, *A Discourse of the Usage of the English Fugitives*, B3r.

contributing subsequently to the expansion of Spanishness. Through the translations of Spanish literary texts and the inversion of Spanish culture, language, and history in original writings, Copley, Lewknor, and Rodenburgh showed how influential actual contact with Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture could be, on a literary but also on a personal level. Their experiences coloured their representations of Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture significantly but also made these representations more in-depth and varied. No longer was the Spaniard purely framed in Black Legend rhetoric. Instead, he was adorned with traits such as courage, ingenuity, honour, loyalty, and wit and embellished with information on his country, customs, and language. As their works were published, republished, read, and performed long after their initial publications, their varying perspectives on Spanishness were most likely known by all layers of English and Netherlandish society, thereby contributing to the intricate interplay of Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia in England and the Netherlands.