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Shaping Spanishness

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

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Conclusion

As a way of introduction, this comparative and diachronic study of the representation of Spanishness in Dutch and English literature in the period of c. 1554-1621 began with a description of one of the most well-known and deeply-ingrained images of the sixteenth-century Spaniard. This Spaniard, known as the Black Legend Spaniard, was ambitious, arrogant, avaricious, blood-thirsty, boastful, cowardly, cruel, deceitful, disloyal, gluttonous, greedy, hypocritical, lascivious, and revengeful. For a larger number of both Englishmen and Netherlanders, he was a threatening enemy who aimed to recatholise and tyrannically oppress their countries. In the four case studies that make up this study, I have argued that this deeply negative image of the Spaniard was not the only one existing at the time. The sources selected in this thesis, Dutch and English translations and appropriations of (translated) Spanish literary sources, and also original works that reflected on Spain, Spaniards, and/or Spanish culture, offered negative, neutral, positive, and/or ambiguous images of Spain and Spaniards as well. These images could be interpreted along the lines of a graduated spectrum that ranged from fervent Hispanophobia to explicit Hispanophilia. Additionally, they offered negative, positive, and ambiguous images of Englishmen and Netherlanders who were influenced by images of Spain and Spaniards. All these images shaped Spanishness in England and the Netherlands, which consisted of those distinctive aspects of Spaniards, Spain, and Spanish culture that supposedly were characteristic of Spanish “national” identity.

A combination of approaches from the fields of imagology, translation studies, the study of appropriations, cultural transfer studies, and the study of paratexts was used to determine these images. By identifying and contextualising images of Spain and Spaniards in the paratexts and main body of the selected sources, by tracing their trajectory across language and cultural boundaries in translations and appropriations, by relating them to images present in the Black Legend, and by relating them to English and Netherlandish self-images, it was possible to unpack and problematise how Spanishness was represented in England and the Netherlands. Moreover, by taking the imagological concept of ‘hybridity’ into consideration, it was possible to determine when and how that Spanishness was incorporated by the English and Netherlandish Self and Other and influenced conceptions of Englishness and Netherlandishness. Furthermore, by identifying translations and appropriation strategies, and by taking the author’s relationship with Spain and Spaniards into account and ascertaining whether his literary work was created after contact with Spain, Spaniards, and/or Spanish culture, views of Spanishness could be distilled.

In total, three conclusions were drawn concerning the representation of Spanishness in Dutch and English literature in the period under review: 1) Translations and appropriations of Spanish texts are essential contributors to the representation of Spanishness in England and the Netherlands; 2) Spanishness is a varied, multi-layered, fluid, transferable notion, and a vital part of both the hetero-image and the self-image of Englishmen and Netherlanders; and 3) Contact with Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture played a key role in the shaping of Spanishness in Dutch and English literary works. Together, these conclusions demonstrate that images of Spain and Spaniards, as well as those of Englishmen and Netherlanders, were unstable in the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century. They do not offer a consistent or exclusively negative or positive representation of Spanishness, Englishness, or Netherlandishness. In the following, I will discuss these conclusions in more detail. Firstly, I will discuss the different types of images of Spain and Spaniards discussed in this thesis, as well as their implications for the representation of Spanishness. Secondly, I will delve into the images of Englishmen

and Netherlanders that are co-created by Spanishness. Thirdly, I will describe the role translations and appropriations of Spanish literary sources played in the shaping process of Spanishness in England and the Netherlands. Fourthly, I will discuss the influence cultural contact between Englishmen, Netherlanders, and Spaniards had on the representation of Spanishness in England and the Netherlands. Fifthly and finally, I will discuss the differences between the conception of Spanishness in England and that in the Netherlands.

The varied and multi-layered images of Spain and Spaniards

As noted above, the sources selected in this thesis offered negative, neutral, positive, and ambiguous images of Spain and Spaniards that could be interpreted along the lines of a gradated spectrum, ranging from fervent Hispanophobia to explicit Hispanophilia. The images that occurred most frequently could be placed on the Hispanophobic side of the spectrum and were often directly derived from the English and Netherlandish Black Legend narratives. These include, among others, images of the cruel and tyrannical soldier, the non-pure blooded Spaniard who descended from Moors, Goths, and Vandals, the country Spain as desirous to recatholise and tyrannically yoke England and the Netherlands, and the country Spain as inherently incompatible with true Englishmen and Netherlanders. These and other Hispanophobic images were all an integral part of the four case studies of this thesis. They appeared throughout my entire period of study (1554-1621) and demonstrate that the negative, all-encompassing narrative of the Black Legend played an important role in the representation of Spanishness in England and the Netherlands.

However, the neutral, positive, and ambiguous images of Spain and Spaniards available in the analysed Dutch and English literary sources, revealed that the Hispanophobic Black Legend was not all-dominant. On the contrary, non-negative images were as widely available as negative images of Spain and Spaniard were. They emerged throughout the entire period under review and in all four case studies. They even appeared next to negative images in the same source and were employed by authors who, in other sources, depicted Spain and Spaniards in a negative fashion.

Understandably enough, especially the positive images stand out, as they were in direct opposition to those perpetuated in the English and Netherlandish Black Legend narratives. The just, generous, prudent, and wise king, for instance, who appeared in Gerbrandt Adriaenszoon Bredero's tragedy *Rodd'rick ende Alphonsus* (1611)¹²²⁸, Thomas Heywood's history play *If you know not me, You know no bodie* (1602), and Theodore Rodenburgh's three-parted comedy *Keyser Otto den Derden* (1616-17), could be juxtaposed with the image of King of Spain Philip II as an ambitious, cruel, deceitful, greedy, lascivious, tyrannical, and unjust king, who abused his subjects and aimed to become a *monarchis universalis*. Similarly, the image of the courageous army general that appeared in Theodore Rodenburgh's tragicomedy *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa* (1619) could be juxtaposed with that of the Duke of Alba, who was depicted as an ambitious, cruel, haughty, and tyrannical army general. Moreover, because of these positive images that depicted Spain and Spaniards as chivalric, courageous, desirable, exemplary, generous, handsome, honourable, just, ingenuous, inspirational, learned, loving, loyal, orderly, valiant, warlike, wealthy, wise, and witty, Spanishness also consisted of traits that heavily con-

1228 For pamphlets and translations, I used the first publication date to indicate in which period these source were published. For plays, I either used the first performance date, or, when this is unknown, the date when it presumably was written or when it was first published.

trasted with Black Legend traits.

In addition, the neutral images of Spain and Spaniards allowed ideas of Spanishness to be free of overtly negative reputations, albeit temporarily. Instead of being associated with stereotypical traits, Spaniards were characterised, either as congruent to the social position they occupied in Spanish society or as equally vicious and virtuous as other nationalities. This neutral characterisation was consciously employed by English and Netherlandish authors. For example, David Rowland, the translator of the English translation (1576) of the picaresque novel *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554) ignored the additions of the French intermediary translation (1561), which stressed the Spaniard's innate arrogance, deceitfulness, and gluttony. Moreover, in his four-parted tragicomedy *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa*, Theodore Rodenburgh included a speech on the equal distribution of vices and virtues across nationalities, right after Spain and Spaniards had been negatively stereotyped by English nobles.

Finally, the ambiguous images of Spain and Spaniards, which were a combination of images of a negative, neutral, and/or positive nature, demonstrated how varied and multi-layered Spanishness could be. Exemplary in this regard are the appropriations of the *Lazarillo*, which staged numerous types of Lazarillian Spaniards in both England and the Netherlands. Instead of being comprised of one image, these Lazarillian Spaniards were compiled from (elements) of the Black Legend Spaniard, the *miles gloriosus*, the arrogant, penniless squire of the *Lazarillo*, the hungry servant Lázaro of the *Lazarillo*, the *gracioso* servant of the Spanish Golden Age theatre, the Hollander of the Dutch Republic, and/or the Brabanter of the Spanish Netherlands. The result was a kaleidoscopic variety of Spaniards that had not been present in the English and Netherlandish literary spheres before.

As a consequence, what all these different types of images indicate is that Spanishness was much broader in the period under review than what the English and Netherlandish Black Legend narratives argued. Although images derived from these narratives were indeed important, Spanishness was equally shaped by ambiguous, neutral, and positive images of Spain and Spaniards. Altogether, these images demonstrate that there was much variation and gradation of Spanishness possible within the Hispanophilia/Hispanophobia spectrum, as they allowed Spanishness to be associated with negative, neutral, and positive qualities.

Spanishness in relation to Englishness and Netherlandishness

Spanishness played a key role in the construction of Englishness and Netherlandishness in Dutch and English literature of the period under review. This is to be observed in two dynamics. Most frequently, Spanishness shaped Englishness and Netherlandishness by being their opposite. Dutch and English literary sources used the hetero-image of the Spaniard as a Catholic enemy with Black Legend traits to portrait the Englishmen and Netherlanders who opposed him as heroic, Protestant freedom fighters who resisted Spanish tyranny. Furthermore, Spanishness shaped Englishness and Netherlandishness by being incorporated and internalised by Englishmen and Netherlanders. By wearing Spanish clothes, consuming Spanish products, having Spanish lovers, displaying typical Spanish behaviour, practicing the Spaniards' Catholic faith, and/or acting in the interest of Spain, Englishmen and Netherlanders intertwined their English and Netherlandish identity with Spanish otherness and became hispanised. As a result, new self-images as well as hetero-images of Englishmen and Netherlanders arose that blurred the boundaries between Spanishness, Englishness, and Netherlandishness.

In most Dutch and English literary sources, a hispanised Englishman or Netherlander was considered an English or Netherlandish Other that was completely distinct from the English or

Netherlandish Self. Afflicted with Spanish vices such as arrogance, deceitfulness, and lasciviousness, people like Queen Mary I, English Jesuits, English Catholics, inhabitants from the Spanish Netherlands, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, Remonstrants, and Counter-Remonstrants had become un-English and un-Netherlandish. Even worse, they were to be considered equal to the Spanish enemy, as they married Spaniards, practiced the Spaniard's Catholic faith, accepted the Spanish tyrannical yoke, received Spanish coins, and aided Spaniards in their devious plans to conquer England and the Netherlands. Therefore, they were depicted as a threat to Englishmen and Netherlanders. Netherlanders like Gerbrandt Adriaenszoon Bredero and Nicolaes Biestkens, for instance, warned their fellow countrymen about the dishonest intentions of hispanised Netherlanders in their plays. Moreover, in English anti-Jesuit pamphlets, English Jesuits were presented as key figures in the failed Spanish invasion of 1588.

In the other sources in which hispanised Englishmen and Netherlanders are described, they are accepted as part of the English and Netherlandish Self, albeit sometimes reluctantly. Although their Spanishness distinguished them from the more prototypically "English" and "Netherlandish" characters, and was sometimes also viewed with suspicion, it did not make them English or Netherlandish Others. On the contrary, their Spanishness was presented as an asset, whether it was appropriated by adopting a Spanish appearance, as is done in Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* (1610) and *The Divell is an Ass* (1616), or by giving the Spanish *beso las manos*, as is done in Jan Janszoon Starter's *Daraide* (1618). It helped one rise in English society or helped to court Netherlandish women. Certainly, the farcical way in which hispanised characters are portrayed in these plays has to be considered also, as this shows that their Spanishness was also regarded as ridiculous. Nonetheless, it stands that their Spanishness benefitted them and was not rejected.

Concluding, the various images of Englishmen and Netherlanders that were shaped by Spanishness show that Spanishness was, besides varied and multi-layered, also fluid and transferable. Spanishness transformed Englishmen and Netherlanders into hybrid hispanised figures who were either placed outside the English and Netherlandish Self as English and Netherlandish Others, or into hybrid hispanised figures who, by still being considered as part of the English and Netherlandish Self, could broaden certain facets of Englishness and Netherlandishness. Finally, Spanishness shaped Englishmen and Netherlanders into the opposite of Spaniards. Consequently, Spanishness should be understood as a vital ingredient of Englishness and Netherlandishness in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The impact of Spanish literary sources

It is beyond dispute that the majority of the Spanish literary works under review had a great impact on the English and Netherlandish literary spheres. The picaresque novel *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554), for example, was not only translated into Dutch and English but also appropriated into pamphlets and plays. These appropriations introduced new types of Spaniards and semi-Spaniards to Englishmen and Netherlanders, by representing the arrogant, penniless squire of the *Lazarillo* and/or his plotline with the hungry servant Lázaro in numerous variegated and innovative shapes. Moreover, the works of Antonio de Guevara and the Spanish chivalric romance cycles of *Amadís de Gaula* (1508), *Palmerín de Oliva* (1511), *Belianís de Grecia* (1547), *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros* (1555-87), and *Don Florando de Inglaterra* (1545) were literary bestsellers in both countries. These works, which are numerous, not only were nearly all translated into English and/or Dutch, repeatedly reprinted, countless referred to in secondary sources, and appropriated into plays and treatises, but were also presented as profitable and virtuous

works that incited military prowess, chivalry, wisdom, and (morally) edifying qualities in English and Netherlandish readers. In addition, in the theatrical appropriations, various new types of Spaniards, Englishmen, and Netherlanders were staged, due to the influence of the chivalric, honourable, loyal, and warlike Spanish knight of the Spanish chivalric romance. Finally, the *comedias de capa y espada* and *comedias de honor* by Félix Lope de Vega and Gaspar Aguilar, which were appropriated by Theodore Rodenburgh, introduced Netherlanders to the Spanish theatre. This type of theatre would become particularly appreciated by Netherlanders from the 1640s onwards, as evidenced by the frequent and extremely successful performance of Spanish plays at the Amsterdam Public Theatre.

Regarding the impact of (directly) translated or appropriated Spanish literary sources on the representation of Spanishness in England and the Netherlands, a couple of relevant observations can be made. Firstly, intermediary translations were influential in the representation of Spanishness, among other factors because the intermediary translator's alterations of the Spanish original were often copied and enlarged by English and Netherlandish translators. Consequently, Spain and Spaniards were generally more often portrayed negatively in the Dutch and English translations in comparison to the Spanish original. This is exemplified by the English translation (1588) of the first part of the anonymous chivalric romance *Don Florando de Inglaterra* (1545), based on the French intermediary translation *L'Histoire Palladienne* (1555), and the Dutch translation (1579) of the *Lazarillo*, based on the French intermediary translation *L'Histoire plaisante et facétieuse du Lazare de Tormes Espagnol* (1561). Additionally, translators that used an intermediary translation often only mentioned this intermediary translation as their source text, and not the Spanish original on which their source text was based. In the case of the Spanish chivalric romance cycles, this had the consequence that they were largely identified as French instead of Spanish in England and the Netherlands.

Secondly, the translation and appropriation strategies employed by translators and appropriators greatly influenced the way Spanish literary works shaped Spanishness in England and the Netherlands. For example, by acknowledging the Spanish origin in the paratexts and by faithfully translating and appropriating content on Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture of Spanish literary works, translators and appropriators gave English and Netherlandish audiences direct access to Spanish culture and to a variety of new images of Spain and Spaniards that were free from an English or Netherlandish bias. In the case of Anthony Copley's *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* (1595), the English translation of the jest book *Floreña Española de apotegmas y setencias* (1574), this allowed Spaniards to be associated with their social position instead of their Spanish nationality. Furthermore, by explaining the Spanish customs, manners, and puns discussed in the translated Spanish original, translators and appropriators allowed English and Netherlandish readers to get a better understanding of Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture, with various results for the image of Spain and Spaniards. In the case of the English translation (1576) of the *Lazarillo*, these explanations, which were particularly useful for English travellers and merchants, argued for a more neutral or even positive outlook on Spain and Spaniards. By contrast, the explanations in the Dutch translation (1579) of the *Lazarillo* argued for a more negative outlook on Spain and Spaniards, as they, in addition to other matters, stressed the Spaniard's arrogant character.

Another translation and appropriation strategy worth mentioning is that of textual hispanisation. By adding Spanish *couleur locale* in the translation or appropriation, by inserting additional stories with a Spanish setting and Spanish characters, and/or by attributing stereotypical Spanish traits to (semi)-Spanish characters, translators and appropriators ensured that Spanish literary works conveyed images of Spain and Spaniards that coincided with conceptions of Spanishness already available in Dutch and English literature. For example, the original jokes concerning

Spaniards that Copley added to the jest book *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* depicted Spanish *hidalgos* as arrogant and Spanish soldiers as boastful, Catholic, and revengeful. However, also new images of Spain and Spaniards were introduced due to this translation and appropriation strategy. For instance, the courageous Spanish knight Rodderick in Gerbrandt Adriaenszoon Bredero's play *Rodd'rick ende Alphonsus* (1611), an appropriation of a chapter of the Spanish chivalric romance cycle *Palmerín d'Oliva* based on a story of *Le quatriesme livre des Bergeries de Julliette* (1595), was afflicted with stereotypical Spanish arrogance. He was the first Spanish knight depicted as such in Dutch literature, as the Spanish knights of Spanish chivalric romance cycles were usually only endowed with positive traits.

Ultimately, dehispanisation and domestication were influential translation and appropriation strategies for the representation of Spanishness in both countries. By occluding the Spanish origin from the text, removing Spanish *couleur locale* and/or replacing it with English or Netherlandish *couleur locale*, inserting nationalistic rhetoric and imagery, and/or inserting opinions alien to the original writer that reflected negatively on Spain and Spaniards, these Spanish literary works changed drastically. They were no longer recognised as originally Spanish and/or described Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture less extensively, more negatively, or not at all. Consequently, the works served English and Netherlandish politics rather than Spanish politics. This is especially true for the Dutch (1617) and English (1557) translations, as well as the Dutch appropriation (1578) of Antonio de Guevara's *Relox de Príncipes* (1529). While the original work praised and served the Spanish monarchy, the Dutch and English translations praised and served the English monarchy and the rulers of the Dutch Republic. The Dutch appropriation even turned the work into severe anti-Spanish propaganda and presented rebel leader William of Orange as the only legitimate ruler of the Netherlands.

Concluding, Spanish literary sources were well-read and widespread in England and the Netherlands and were to become part of the English and Netherlandish literary canons. They also contributed to notions of Spanishness in both countries. As translations and appropriations, they not only confirmed stereotypical notions of Spanishness by presenting familiar images of Spain and Spaniards, but also broadened the scope by introducing numerous new images of Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture. These images were conveyed in the Spanish original or the intermediary translation or were consciously constructed by the translator or appropriator. Consequently, translations and appropriations of Spanish texts are essential contributors to the representation of Spanishness in England and the Netherlands.

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

As demonstrated by several sources discussed in this thesis, the representation of Spanishness was obviously influenced by contact with Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture. Englishmen and Netherlanders who had experienced Spain, Spaniards, and/or Spanish culture first hand, in settings such as the Spanish court, trade cities, or the battlefield, conveyed images of Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture in their works that were coloured to a considerable degree by these personal experiences. As these experiences ranged from severely negative to incredibly positive, these images not only confirmed and defied English and Netherlandish preconceived notions of Spanishness but also fitted diverse places on the Hispanophobia/Hispanophilia spectrum.

Naturally, considering the hostilities between Englishmen, Netherlanders, and Spaniards during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the majority of the Englishmen and Netherlanders who expressed their experiences with Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture as cultural mediators in their writings had a negative personal experience. They were imprisoned by

Spaniards during the Dutch Revolt or were abandoned by their Spanish benefactors when they could no longer adequately serve as soldiers in the Spanish army. In response to these injustices, these cultural mediators – Jacob Duym, Johan Baptista Houwaert, Lewes Lewknor, and Anthony Copley – wrote works that not only reiterated stereotypical Black Legend imagery but that, for the most part, were also utilised by government officials as anti-Spanish propaganda. The *Milenus clachte* (1578) by Johan Baptista Houwaert, for instance, spurred Netherlanders to continue fighting against the tyrannical Spanish regime, and Lewes Lewknor's *A Discourse of the Usage of the English Fugitives* (1595), and *The Estate of the English Fugitives* (1595), in which he detailed the horrible treatment English Catholics usually received in service of the Spanish army, dissuaded English Catholics from joining the Spanish army. Consequently, their negative experiences with Spanish soldiers directly contributed to the Black Legend narratives in England and the Netherlands.

Nonetheless, it has to be pointed out that other works by the cultural mediators Copley and Lewknor indicate that negative experiences with Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture did not have to be all-dominating for one's perception and/or representation of Spanishness. Indeed, in Lewknor's translations *The Resolved Gentleman* (1594) and *The Spanish Mandevile of Miracles* (1600), and in Copley's translation *Wits, Fittes and Fancies* (1595) and his original *A Third Letter of Mr. A.C.* (1602), also neutral, positive, and ambiguous images of Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture are to be found contradicting their anti-Spanish imagery. Spaniards were witty (positive, Copley), congruent to their estate (neutral, Copley), and described without positive or negative adjectives (neutral, Lewknor); the Habsburgs monarchy was inferior to the Tudor monarchy, despite its excellence and superiority to the Burgundian royal family (ambiguous, Lewknor); and Philip II was a more benevolent ruler to English Catholics than Queen Elizabeth was, even though service to him was as horrible as a Spanish stew made out of inedible ingredients (ambiguous, Copley). Of course, some of these images are to be interpreted against the backdrop of a certain political agenda. By presenting the Tudor monarchy as superior to the Habsburg monarchy, Lewknor stressed that he favoured the Tudors over the Habsburgs and was loyal to his English queen and country. Moreover, by criticising Queen Elizabeth's policies towards English Catholics and deeming those of Philip more benevolent, Copley explained why he and other English Catholics had chosen to serve Spain. The other images, however, indicate that Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture could also be appreciated by people who had experienced Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture in a negative way.

Cultural mediators who had a more neutral experience with Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture showed more appreciation towards all these aspects in their literary works as well. Cornelis van Beresteyn, who spent time in Spain in the service of the marquis d'Altorgos, and David Rowland, who engaged daily with the Spanish merchant community during his employment with Sir Thomas Gresham in Antwerp, both elaborate on Spanish culture in their translations of Antonio de Guevara's *Epístolas Familiares* (1539 part 1; 1541 part 2) and the *Lazarillo* (1554). Beresteyn faithfully translated Guevara's reflection on the reason why the Kings of Spain called themselves Catholic Kings and included a translation of Juan de Mena's epic poem *El Laberinto de Fortuna* (1544). Furthermore, Rowland discussed Spanish customs, food, inns, and the value of Spanish money in the marginal comments of his translation, which were original or based on marginal comments of the French intermediary translation. Although both cultural mediators also excluded content of their sources from their translations – content that in the case of Rowland reflected negatively on the Spanish nature and in the case of Beresteyn reflected extensively on Spanish customs, history, and language – their translations demonstrate that neutral contact with Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture contributed to a broader understanding and

dissemination of Spanish culture and influenced the representation of Spanishness in a positive way.

Finally, the plays of the Netherlandish diplomat Theodore Rodenburgh demonstrate that positive experiences with Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture could contribute to a higher appreciation and dissemination of ideas of Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture, and could positively broaden the representation of Spanishness. Not only was Spanish culture represented more often in the Netherlandish literary sphere due to his efforts – both by his appropriations of (sub)plots, love intrigues, duels, disguises, and balcony and window scenes of Spanish Golden Age theatre, and his elaborate description and appraisal of Spanish history, Spanish society, Spanish weather, Spanish local commodities, and Spanish architecture in the four-parted tragicomedy *Hertoginne van Savoye en Don Juan de Mendossa* (1619) – but also numerous new types of Spaniards were introduced. These Spaniards were wise and prudent rulers, honourable army generals, and people who were as vicious and virtuous as people from any other nation. They were noblemen who justly defended their honour like those present in the Spanish *comedias de honor*, and Petrarchan laughing stocks who shared traits with the Black Legend Spaniard, the *miles gloriosus* of the English stage, the Lazarillian (semi)-Spaniards of the English and Netherlandish stage, and the Spaniards of the Spanish *comedias de honor*. As these types of Spaniards, as well as the earlier described images of Spanish culture, were for the most part novel in the Netherlands and contrasted greatly with the Hispanophobic images generally reinforced in Dutch literary sources, it can be argued that Rodenburgh's positive experiences enabled the introduction of a more Hispanophilic narrative into the Netherlandish literary sphere.

Concluding, contact with Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture significantly influenced the representation of Spanishness in England and the Netherlands. Although negative encounters usually resulted in a negative depiction of Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture that confirmed established Hispanophobic rhetoric, contact of a more neutral, positive, or ambiguous nature gave room for a more varied rhetoric regarding Spanishness that could be placed along the entire Hispanophobia/Hispanophilia spectrum. It allowed for the introduction of various new sources into the English and Netherlandish literary spheres that were either of Spanish origin or were inspired by Spanish literary works and gave room for various new images of Spain, Spaniards, and Spanish culture.

Shaping Spanishness in England and the Netherlands

This comparative and diachronic study of the representation of Spanishness in Dutch and English literature in the period of c. 1554-1621 also allows us to reflect on the different ways Englishmen and Netherlanders shaped notions of Spanishness. Although England and the Netherlands shared many similarities in the way they imagined Spain, Spaniards, Spanish culture, and Spanishness overall in their literary works, as demonstrated in the preceding sections, they also differed in numerous ways.

Firstly, the core element that marked Spanishness in a negative way differed. In England, the Catholic faith was used for negative portrayals of Spanishness. Spanishness and Catholicism were infrangible in English eyes and deemed dangerous to Protestant England, Protestant Englishmen, and Protestant Englishness, especially because of Spain's aim to recatholise England through invasion. Therefore, English literary sources usually emphasised and enhanced the Catholicism of Spain, Spaniards, Spanish products, and semi-Spaniards who served and/or supported Spain to show the serious threat they entailed. In the Netherlands, by contrast, it was Spain's tyrannical oppression of the Netherlands that was utilised for negative portrayals of Spanishness.

In the majority of Dutch sources discussed in this thesis, this tyrannical oppression by the Spanish government and the just struggle of the rebellious Netherlands to rid themselves of it, was incorporated, and more often than not it was essential to the main argument. Additionally, it was used to brand inhabitants from the Spanish Netherlands, Remonstrants, and Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, who supposedly supported the Spanish tyrannical regime, as hispanised.

Secondly, Englishmen and Netherlanders favoured different traits in their representations of Spain and Spaniards. According to Englishmen, lasciviousness was typically Spanish. They attributed the trait to Spanish chivalric romance cycles and to dangerous and comical types of Spaniards and semi-Spaniards – those being Black Legend Spaniards, *milites gloriosi* Spaniards, Lazarillian Spaniards, Queen Mary I, and to the character Surley of *The Alchemist* (1610), who was disguised as a Spaniard. In most cases, this lasciviousness was depicted as threatening. For example, Philip II, his Spanish soldiers, and his hispanised wife Mary were portrayed as rapists and whores who overwhelmed England. The Spanish chivalric romances, moreover, were supposed to incite sinful lust in English readers. In other cases, the excessive lustfulness of a Spanish character was presented as comical since his sexual desires were not fulfilled. On the other hand, Netherlanders argued deceitfulness was more of a typically Spanish trait. It was attributed to both Spaniards and hispanised Netherlanders in plays, pamphlets, translations, and appropriations, and was an essential element in Spain's tyrannical oppression of the Netherlands. For instance, it was Johan van Oldenbarnevelt's deceitful Twelve Years' Truce that aided Spain's aim to invade and tyrannically oppress the Dutch Republic. The trait's importance is also visible in the Dutch translation (1579) and Netherlandish literary afterlife of the *Lazarillo* (1554), a work that, according to the title page of its Dutch translation, showcased the virtues and vices of Spaniards. The deceitfulness of the *pícaro* Lázaro was enhanced in the translation, for instance, and in appropriations, the trait was attributed to characters based on Lázaro and the squire.

However, the trait that characterised Spanishness most frequently in both countries was arrogance. It was attributed to Spain as a whole and to the nature of almost every literary Spaniard or semi-Spaniard that has been discussed in this thesis. Considering that arrogance was also attributed to Spaniards in sources that systematically attributed European nationalities with temperaments and personality traits, as has been noted in the introduction of this thesis, it is not surprising that English and Netherlandish authors consistently employed this element to shape Spanishness in each of their countries.

Thirdly, Englishmen and Netherlanders used different frameworks for their translations and appropriations of the *Lazarillo*, as well as for their translations of the Spanish chivalric romance cycles and all works of Antonio de Guevara, except for his *Relox de Príncipes* (1529). Concerning the *Lazarillo*, the Dutch framework was more negative and less varied. Whereas the Dutch translation and appropriations of the *Lazarillo* served as anti-Spanish propaganda, the English translation and appropriations served as a manual for travellers and merchants, as anti-Spanish propaganda, and as entertaining plays that introduced various new types of Spaniards. Concerning the Spanish chivalric romance cycles and Guevara's works, the Dutch framework was more positive than that of the English. Although both countries transformed these Spanish literary bestsellers into universal, edifying literature, in the Netherlands, they were especially presented as morally edifying literature that made Netherlandish readers more pious and virtuous. Since text fragments were added to strengthen this rhetorical framework, and Theodore Rodenburgh also enlarged his appropriations of Spanish *comedias* with moralising passages, this framework was probably typically Netherlandish.

Fourthly and finally, the number of types of Spaniards and semi-Spaniards differed in the English and Netherlandish literary spheres. Overall, the Spaniards and semi-Spanish characters

in English literature were more varied and complex in their characterisation than those in Dutch literature. This is particularly visible in the staged Lazarillian Spaniards. Whereas in the Netherlands, they were representative of the arrogant, penniless squire and the Black Legend Spaniard who threatened the Netherlands, in England, they were all endowed with one particular Spanish vice that was blown out of proportion and largely presented as innocent laughing stocks. English literary sources also offered more negative, positive, neutral, and ambiguous images in comparison to Dutch literary sources. For example, whereas the positive depiction of Spaniards in the Netherlands was limited to the wise and prudent king, the chivalric and loyal knight, the nobleman who defended his honour, the laughing stock, and the cultural, literary, and worldly inspirator who edified people, the English also forwarded them as desirable friends and/or matches who elevated one's social status, as orderly, valiant, and warlike soldiers, and as ingenious and witty. Similarly, the negative depictions were more extensive in England, because the Spaniard or semi-Spaniard was, besides an exponent of the Black Legend Spaniard with one or more typical vices, also a *miles gloriosus* in England and thereby both threatening and funny.

There are two causes for this discrepancy of types of Spaniards and semi-Spaniards in England and the Netherlands. The first is that more translations and appropriations of Spanish literary sources appeared in England. This is best illustrated by the theatrical afterlife of the picaresque novel *Lazarillo*. Whereas in the Netherlands, only two plays were based on the novel, in England, eight plays were indebted to the *Lazarillo*. The translations and appropriations comprised a wider variety of genres in England as well. While in the Netherlands translations and appropriations were made of the picaresque novel, Spanish chivalric romances, the works of Antonio de Guevara, and Spanish Golden Age theatre, in England, also Spanish jest books, epic poems, and miscellaneous treatises were translated and appropriated. In these latter works, more neutral and positive images of Spain and Spaniards were present, which subsequently were transposed into English. Additionally, while Netherlanders usually based their literary Spaniards and semi-Spaniards on the Black Legend Spaniard, English literary Spaniards and semi-Spaniards were also modelled on other literary Spaniards. Lazarotto, for instance, from the anonymous burlesque *The First Part of Jeronimo* (1599-1604), was based both on Lázaro and on the squire from the *Lazarillo*, Pedrigano from the *The Spanish Tragedy*, besides the Black Legend Spaniard. Similarly, whereas Netherlanders usually used one Spanish literary source as their model, the English used more. For example, in the comedy *Love's Cure* (1615), both the *Lazarillo* as well as the picaresque novel *Guzmán de Alfarache* (part 1 published in 1599; part 2 published in 1604) was used, making the Lazarillian Spaniards in the play more roguish and dangerous. Consequently, (elements of) Spanish literary works seem to have circulated more in England than they did in the Netherlands, with more types of Spaniards and semi-Spaniards as a result, as well as broader, more varied conceptions of Spanishness.

A second cause for this discrepancy of types of Spaniards and semi-Spaniards in England and the Netherlands is related to Anglo-Spanish-Netherlandish politics. The Netherlands, regardless of the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-21), continued to produce severe anti-Spanish propaganda and only presented non-negative images of Spain, Spaniards, and semi-Spaniards in translations and appropriations of Spanish chivalric romance cycles and the works of Theodore Rodenburgh. By contrast, the Anglo-Spanish peace (1604) marked a departure from overtly negative depictions of Spain and Spaniards in English literary sources. King of Spain Philip II suddenly became a benevolent, peaceful, and wise monarch instead of a Machiavellian tyrant in Thomas Heywood's *If you know not me, You know no bodie* (1604), for instance. And a play like Thomas Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon* (1606), which argued that Philip II was a threatening Catholic enemy, was only staged once. Hispanised Englishmen, moreover, who were depicted as

menacing during times in which England was actively threatened by Spain through Anglo-Spanish marriages and Spanish invasions, were now depicted in a more positive light. Since the English court appreciated Spanish culture in this period of peace with Spain, wearing Spanish clothing, acting Spanish, and frequenting with Spaniards was now seen as an asset, as demonstrated in Ben Jonson's plays *The Alchemist* (1610) and *The Devil is an Ass* (1616). It was only when political Anglo-Spanish tensions started to increase, more negative depictions of Spain and Spaniards were again disseminated in the English literary sphere, as evidenced by the Lazarillian play *All's Lost by Lust* (1619).

Concluding, by emphasising different core aspects of Spanishness, translating and appropriating Spanish literary works in different ways, and presenting different types of Spaniards and semi-Spaniards in their literary works, Englishmen and Netherlanders shaped ideas of Spanishness differently. Even though Spanishness was varied, multi-layered, fluid, and transferable in both countries, that of England was considerably less negative and broader.

This study has demonstrated that literary notions of Spanishness in England and the Netherlands in the period of ca. 1554-1621 are thus not as static and stereotypical as frequently assumed, if analysed against the backdrop of nascent ideas of Englishness and Netherlandishness, and against the broader setting of cultural exchange. It has also illustrated how in both countries, despite much historical overlap, different and original literary traditions of shaping Spanishness developed that sometimes even contested or nuanced long-existing representations. Although these long-existing representations would continue to be powerful in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, recurringly reinforcing the Spaniard's nightmarish, Hispanophobic shape, it was due to the interest and fascination of a considerable amount of Englishmen and Netherlanders in Spain, Spaniards, Spanish culture, and Spanish literature, that this shape slowly became accompanied by representations that were less-nightmarish, more neutral, ambiguous, and sometimes even Hispanophilic. The ominous 'Seignor van Spagnien' of the pamphlet *Aerdt ende Eygenschappen van seignor van Spangien* thus lost its prominent place as the sole occupant of the minds of the English and Netherlanders of this period when they thought of Spaniards, Spain, and Spanishness as a whole. He had competition from Spaniards such as the Lazarillian Spaniards, Spanish chivalric knights, and honourable Spaniards of the Spanish *comedias de honor*, a competition so strong in some cases that it overpowered him.