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‘The Spanish seignor’ or the transnational peregrinations of an anti-Hispanic Dutch broadsheet

YOLANDA RODRÍGUEZ PÉREZ

‘The common grave of Europe’: with these negative words the Netherlandish humanist Justus Lipsius described the Low Countries. His adaptation of Catullus’ famous verse on Troy reveals an essential aspect of the role of these territories in early modern Europe. Although their privileged centrality had contributed to their function as a nodal point in the transmission of culture, it also turned the Low Countries into the theatre of war for a bloody and protracted conflict. Lipsius was obviously referring to the Dutch Revolt and its continuation in the Eighty Years’ War, the historical event that would be instrumental in the definition of the proto-national identity of the Low Countries, and eventually in the emergence of the modern states of the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. What for the rebellious Netherlandish subjects of Philip II was a matter of resistance against an oppressive ruler, was for the Spanish monarchy an inexcusable rebellion.

To legitimate their struggle and to convince a larger portion of the Netherlandish population, the partisans of the rebel cause deployed a highly sophisticated propaganda machine against ‘the Spaniard’, shaping the image of a ‘common’ enemy. In this manner, religious and political differences


2 Judith Pollmann, ‘Eine natürliche Feindschaft: Ursprung und Funktion der schwarzen Legende über Spanien in den Niederlanden, 1566–1581’, in Franz Bosbach (ed.), Feindbilder: Die Darstellung des Gegners in der politischen Publizistik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1992), 73–93. For its part, the Habsburg monarchy did not employ written propaganda in the same vociferous way. Their communication techniques (especially in the Low Countries) were predominantly oral, including sermons, proclamations and processions: see Monica Stensland, Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 155.

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among the people of the Netherlands were skilfully silenced, whereas other European nations could be reminded of the Habsburg urge for ‘Universal Monarchy’. Within this theatre of war, the Low Countries managed to become a major European creative locus and intermediary hub in the making and circulation of political propagandistic texts. Broadsheets, broadsides and pamphlets flew off the printing presses to respond to and comment on current affairs in a well-orchestrated propaganda campaign, that also masterfully combined the power of strong words with striking images. As a result of their potent messages, many of these texts were translated and experienced a second printing life abroad. Many of these publications were also particularly influential in the development of a very negative reputation of the Spaniards in early modern Europe, the so-called Black Legend that presented them as cruel, bloodthirsty and ambitious. A rich array of ‘spotprenten’ or derogatory prints in which the Spaniards and some of their highest officials are derivatively portrayed attest to this elaborate propaganda enterprise.

An extraordinary work within this avalanche of pamphlets is the illustrated anti-Hispanic broadsheet Aerdt ende eygenschappen van Seignor van Spangien (Nature and Qualities of the Seignor of Spain, 1598). It presents its readers with a series of striking images and satiric texts that meticulously expose the vices of the Spaniards, not only as military oppressors, but also as individuals, on a private as well as public level. Broadsheets were printed on one single sheet of paper and formatted to contain short texts and in most cases illustrations. In comparison to other pamphlets, they were easily produced and distributed and in this way affordable and widely popular. They were often posted in public spaces. Given its poster-size format (37.8 cm wide × 44.2 cm high) and its contents, the Seignor of Spain was presumably aimed at a wide array of readers. In an original free elaboration of the emblematic trio of motto, pictura and subscriptio, the illustrated broadsheet satirically pinpoints sixteen critical aspects of the ‘true’ nature, customs and qualities of ‘the’ Spaniard.

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4 Many texts were also initially meant for international distribution. The Dutch Republic can be considered as the first, or possibly the only state, born out of a pamphlet war, see: Helmer J. Helmers, ‘Popular Participation and Public Debate’, in: Helmer J. Helmers and Geert H. Jansen (eds.), The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 124–46, 126.
pamphlet was also multilingual, integrating Spanish words and expressions accompanied by translations in the margin. The use of Spanish was a means to provide convincing *couleur locale*, but this bilinguality also shows the interaction between Netherlandish and Spanish societies at the time. On a broader level, it also evinces the multilingualism of the Low Countries, where no single vernacular functioned, and where Latin was essential for the transmission of books and knowledge.  

The visual and textual template the broadsheet offered of the ‘evil’ Spaniard was so appealing and exportable that it met with great transnational success, being quickly translated and/or adapted into English, French and German, and enjoying international circulation until the mid-eighteenth century. The broadsheet was not simply translated from the Dutch original, since while migrating alterations took place from the one national context to the other. The practically literal English version was published in 1599 without illustrations and in descriptive prose, under the title *A Pageant of Spanish Humours: Wherin are naturally described and lively portrayed, the kinds and qualities of a Signior of Spaine.* The title of the first (undated) French broadsheet reads *Emblemes sus les actions, perfections et moeurs du Segnor Espagnol*. The French version was also published as an undated *suite* of illustrations without texts and as a mini-emblem booklet in 1608 with two different editions. An undated German broadsheet followed the French, with the Latinized term *Emblemata* in the title.

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11 The booklet is an octavo edition where the emblems and the texts are printed separately on different pages, not as a poster. One published in Middelburg (Dutch Republic), the other *sine loco*. María Carmen Marín Pina and Víctor Infantes (eds.), *Poesía y prosa contra España: Emblemas del Perfecto Español y Rodomuntadas españolas* (Capellades: José J. de Olañeta, 2013), 139, 143–4.

12 *Emblemata, Welche das Leben/ die Thaten/ Sitten/ und wunderbare verwandlung dess Signor Spangniols deutlich erklären/, zuvor in Castilianischer/ dannach in Niderländischer und Französischer/ und jetzt in hochteutscher Sprach beschrieben* (s.l.: s.a., s.n.). Briesemeister, *Spanien aus deutscher Sicht*, 176.
This essay delves into the exceptional transnational journey of this artfully constructed illustrated broadsheet. It scrutinizes the work’s framing devices with regard to prejudices against the Spaniards and its multifarious transformations across multiple cultures and languages of Europe. *Aerdt ende eygenschappen van Seignor van Spangien*, a seemingly minor individual text, remarkably illustrates the transnational fluidity of texts, especially of a political genre like pamphlets, and sheds light on the forging and deployment of national representations in early modern Europe.\(^{13}\) The *Seignor* allows its readers a wide range of levels of engagement, offering them an impressive use of ‘shorthands’ for Hispanic identity, both in visual images or through reference to Spanish literary works. In this way, the *Seignor* is strongly reminiscent of the squire (the *escudero*) in the *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the best-selling Spanish picaresque novel (1554). Its circulation, and the ways it morphed in accordance with shifts in space and time, reveals the fluidity of Dutch political texts once they transcended the ‘national’ borders of the Low Countries. How was this broadsheet transmitted, transformed and appropriated within different genres in neighbouring nations with a conflicting position towards Spain?\(^{13}\)

The *Seignor van Spangien* is so subtle that, over time, it was appropriated by different national historiographical traditions, overshadowing in this way its Netherlandish origins and its transnational dimension. It is remarkable that non-Dutch scholars from different countries continue to believe that there is no Dutch extant version of the pamphlet, or even that it ever existed. Martínez Luna states that English historiography seems to have appropriated the pamphlet.\(^{14}\) Interestingly, this process is more widely extended, since German and French scholars ignore the Dutch origin of the text as well.\(^{15}\) This ‘writing out’ of the broadsheet can be related to fixation on their own singular monolingual literature and culture, or just on a narrow comparison between two monolingual cultures. Along this line of thought, a recent Spanish edition of the French version of the *Seignor* suggests that it is not impossible that the pamphlet was French in origin and was then eventually translated into Dutch.\(^{16}\) Since the authors focus in their edition on French-Spanish relations,
they seem mostly concerned with presenting this remarkable pamphlet as a
telling exponent of French-Spanish antipathy, being unaware of strong inter-
textual and intervisual references to the context of the Dutch Revolt that
undeniably reveal the true origins of the pamphlet.

In order to understand fully the transnational peregrinations of the Seignor
of Spain, the essay will focus first on the textual and visual structure of the
broadsheet, and its rhetorical content, and will then analyse its further cir-
culation and re-elaborations. The manifold re-elaborations demonstrate the
extensive circulation of a Dutch text that offered its (inter)national public a
perfectly orchestrated and strongly hostile vision of the unreliable Spaniards
and their ominous obsession with world domination.

1. THE NATURE AND QUALITIES OF THE SEIGNOR OF SPAIN: TEXTUAL AND VISUAL
STRUCTURE & RHETORIC CONTENT

While this broadsheet could be a reprint, the publication date of 1598 under-
scores the historical significance of that particular year: Philip II’s death and
Philip III’s and the Archdukes Isabella and Albrecht’s accession to power in
Spain and the southern Netherlands. This new Habsburg order was re-
garded by the rebellious provinces with the same distrust as ever, as the depic-
tion of the Spaniards as untrustworthy in the Seignor of Spain attests. The same
holds for the 1608 French mini-emblem version, published at another histor-
ical milestone, the year before the beginning of the Twelve Years’ Truce (1609–21), when intense debate on the continuation of the war was taking
place in the Low Countries and Spain.

But how was this anti-Hispanic rhetoric displayed in this poster-size broad-
sheet and in what ways was it original in its composition? The visual display of
the broadsheet resembles the tripartite sequence of motto, pictura and subscriptio of an emblem (see Fig. 1). Many Dutch political pamphlets of the time
presented this ‘emblematic’ display with catchy titles, images and explanatory
texts. The question is whether the choice of the term ‘emblem’ in both the
French and German versions relates to this particular propaganda deploy-
ment or more to marketing strategies that saw possibilities in linking the

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17 Although the date ‘1598’ adorns the text, an earlier composition date between 1571 and 1581 has been
suggested: Briesemeister, Spanien aus deutscher Sicht, 180. Nonetheless, internal historical references rule out
this option. 1591 seems a possible terminus a quo because of the reference to the Aragonese revolts in 1590. The
fact that the illustrations in the pamphlet regarding America resemble Theodor de Bry’s famous illuminated
Latin edition of Bartolomé las Casas’ Brevísima relación [Narratio regionum Indicarum per Hispanos quosdam devas-
tatarum (s.l., Theodor de Bry and Joannes Saurius, 1598)] suggests the likely importance of 1598. See Martínez
18 For a detailed appreciation of the vivid illustrations of the pamphlet, see the digital version in: https://
www.geheugenvannederland.nl/nl/geheugen/view?coll=ngvn&identifier=KONB16%3A46363926X.
pamphlet to the popular emblem genre.\textsuperscript{19} There is a trend towards more politically engaged and propagandistic uses of the emblem after 1570,\textsuperscript{20} and in this case, the broadsheet’s effect was heightened because of its very clever


\textsuperscript{20} Russell, Emblematic Structures, 201.
construction. Under its title, sixteen illustrations are displayed in two rows of eight, with the title of each image directly above it, functioning as a sort of mnemonic phrase. The fact that the illustrations contain both a motto and an image argue for an independent use, without the text, given their strong visual power. The text of the pamphlet itself, containing also the number and title of the corresponding illustration, takes up about three-quarters of the page. Texts one to nine are accompanied by fragments on the left margin where Spanish words are translated, whereas from emblems ten to sixteen, long explanatory texts are added that comment on the particular content of the illustration. Typography varies throughout the text between Gothic and Roman type (the latter mainly for Spanish expressions and words, and for emphasis) and quotations are also integrated. Gothic letters were frequently used in the Dutch Republic until the mid-seventeenth century, mainly for popular literature and other texts in Dutch. Early modern authors perceived layout as a fundamental mechanism, a ‘material rhetoric’, in the production of textual meaning and pasting together collages of texts like quotations and maxims was a conscious form of writing.

What are the precise nature and qualities of the Seignor? Not flattering whatsoever: he is despicable, unreliable and dangerous on all fronts, in the private and public sphere. This characterization occurs through an elaborate array of framing devices around two distinct narratives: the medieval tradition of animal metaphors and the narrative of the Black Legend. After the first two introductory characterizations (the Seignor is an angel in the church and a despotic devil in his lodgings), the next seven illustrations exemplify the Spanish character through animal metaphors. The Seignor is portrayed therefore as a wolf at table, a swine in his chamber, a peacock on the street, a fox to deceive women, a lion in a place of garrison, a hare in a besieged place and a lamb under the gallows (3–9). It has been argued that animals in medieval literature symbolized different sins and contributed as a whole to creating an image of the Spaniard as a devilish figure. Animal satire was certainly a highly popular genre in medieval and early modern Europe, and politically inspired

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23 In Dutch, 1 to 9: Seignor is een Enghel in de Kercke/ Een Duyvel in Huys/ Een Wolf aen de Tafel/ Een Vercken in sijn Camer/ Een Pau op de Straet/ Een Vos om vrouwen te bedrieghen/ Een Leeu int Garnisoen/ Een Haes in een belegherde plaetse/ Een Schaep onder de Galghe.
26 Briesemeister, *Spanien aus deutscher Sicht*, 182.
animal satire was particularly in vogue in the sixteenth century. In explicating the Dutch Revolt, animal imagery was frequently deployed to link specific animals to religious confessions or political factions. As Anne Laure van Bruaene has argued: ‘By embedding political fear and religious anxiety in the familiar genre of satire and, more particularly, by reverting to animal satire, the messy reality of civil war was reworked into a comprehensible, undeniably cruel but often very funny tale about fighting, trick-playing and sometimes heroic animals’. The animalization of the Spanish enemy is also understandable within this context. The Spaniard is the butt of ridicule and laughter, but at the same time frightening and never to be trusted.

Image and text number 10 function as a rhetorical hinge in the series, ushering in a new form of framing device (he is greedy). With it, the broadsheet proceeds from a satirical anti-hispanic narrative based on metaphorical animal comparisons to a more specific one, based on the international actions of the Spaniards, especially in the Netherlands. Accordingly, the following four images (and texts) focus on stereotypical vices linked to the Spaniards in the context of the Black Legend. According to Koen Swart, the Dutch developed four themes that had previously received little attention within the Black Legend narrative: the evil machinations of the Spanish Inquisition, the private vices of King Philip, the plans for Spanish universal domination and the innate cruelty of the Spaniards. It is the last two themes that strongly come to the fore in the broadsheet: the Seignor is bloodthirsty and tyrannical, covetous, vindictive and faithless and perjurious (11–14). Furthermore, the broadsheet exposes throughout the thirst for universal rule, for monarchia universalis, of the Spaniards.

The last two images (15 and 16) are also to be understood against the backdrop of the Black Legend. Situated at the right end, top and bottom, they correspond with two powerful references in the context of the Dutch Revolt: illustration 15 is an obvious allusion to the Duke of Alba’s notorious statue in Antwerp’s citadel treading on the rebels and heretics of the Low Countries, and number 16, closing the series, boasts an image of the ‘Hollandse Tuin’, the Dutch Garden, with a roaring lion carrying a sword, representing the

28 Sr. is Ghelt-gierig.
29 Sr. is Eer-Gierigh/ Bloet-Gierich ende Tyrannich/ S. is Wraech-Gierich/ Sr. is trouwelos ende meyneedich.
Leo Belgicus, symbol of the political territory of the Low Countries.\textsuperscript{32} The enclosed space in which the lion and two Dutch male figures are set is a traditionally iconographic motif of biblical origin linked to the idea of divine protection and inviolability.\textsuperscript{33} Illustration 15 and 16 really catch the beholder’s eye, due to their position but also because they are twice the size of the other illustrations. They also differ from the rest in the character of the motto, which does not refer to the qualities or vices of the Spaniard, but engages with the rhetoric of oppression and liberty belonging to the Dutch Revolt: ‘A miserable estate to be under a seignor subjection’ (15) and ‘A happy state to be free from seignor’ (16).\textsuperscript{34}

The last emblem summarizes the final and common endeavour uniting the people in ‘onse Nederlanden’, ‘our Low Countries’: to be liberated from the seignors. This too is the only emblem where no Spaniard is depicted. The physical absence of the Spaniard in this last emblem, since it is a bold exception, is strongly functional. The Spaniard is figuratively and literally erased from the Dutch territories. Such an obvious Dutch allusion to the Dutch context like the ‘Dutch garden’ (‘Hollands Tuin’) disappeared from the later French and German versions of the broadsheet.

Despite the strong focus on the so-called ‘qualities’ or ‘properties’ (eygen-schappen), this is not the most relevant aspect in the characterization of the Spaniard. What is important is that these images deal as a matter of fact with his supposedly true nature (aerdt), something that in the case of the Spaniard was unchangeable, as William of Orange himself had pointed out in his Apology (1581).\textsuperscript{35} As Eric Griffin has contended, Orange’s programmatic text gave a boost and a new orientation to the anti-Hispanic discourse in Europe, since the actions of the Spaniards were judged from then on not from the point of view of ethos but of ethnos (their evil actions were determined by their nature, by their intrinsic, unchangeable character).\textsuperscript{36} What we do not encounter in the broadsheet is another fruitful theme used by Orange and previously hinted at by Philip van Marnix of Sint Aldegonde, counsellor to the Prince of Orange: the natural antipathy or opposition between Spaniards and the

\textsuperscript{32} On Alba’s statue, see Daniel Horst, ‘The Duke of Alba: The Ideal Enemy’, Arte nuevo, 1 (2014). On the Leo Belgicus or Netherlandish Lion, see Van Bruaene, ‘Animal Satire’, 37. When Prince Maurice, William of Orange’s son, had abandoned the southern Netherlands to defend the territory of the northern part, the Dutch Republic, he was said to have ‘closed Holland’s garden’.


\textsuperscript{34} Slavernije van Sr. overheert te worden/ Gheluckighen standt van Sr. ontslaghen te zijn.


\textsuperscript{36} Eric Griffin, English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 47. In emblem 15 we find a reference to a well-known slogan used by the rebellious ‘Beggars’: ‘Better to be slaved by the Turk than by the Spaniards’.
people of the Netherlands, which rendered their relationship impossible.\(^{37}\)
All in all, the broadsheet offered a highly exportable template of the Spaniards for further adaptation outside the Low Countries.

2. THE SEIGNOR UNDER WAY: TRANSNATIONAL CIRCULATION, TRANSLATION AND ADAPTATION

The *Aerdt ende eygenschappen van Seignor van Spangien* would morph over time and space in different contexts and shapes. The fact that all three translations/adaptations in English, French and German are explicitly introduced as translations is of relevance, since a foreign provenance is not occluded nor is the broadsheet silently appropriated. The broadsheet gains in this way ‘international’ legitimacy. It also testifies to the international/transnational applicability of negative or positive stereotypes. Interestingly, the different versions vary in the information they provide with regarding to textual origins. The English edition mentions in its title that it was translated from Dutch, the French version of the broadsheet only adds to the title ‘Traduit de Castillen’, whereas the German one specifies that the text underwent the following language route: first Castilian, then Dutch and French and finally German. The German translator (or publisher) was well aware of (part of) the transnational life of this pamphlet abroad. That the French broadsheet is the basis for the German is certain. The German and French versions are externally identical: they contain the same textual lay-out and same illustrations.\(^{38}\) The French-German illustrations of the broadsheet match the Dutch originals in visual motifs and composition in all except for the last one, as mentioned before (Fig. 2).\(^{39}\)

The reference to a supposed Castilian/Spanish original text is highly improbable given the extreme anti-Hispanic character of the broadsheet and the obvious articulating discourse of the Dutch Revolt. Branding works as ‘Spanish’ was a frequent strategy at the time to reinforce critical anti-Hispanic messages. If a Spaniard was critical of the politics of the Habsburgs or his fellow countrymen, the message sounded all the more realistic, as was the case with Bartolomé de las Casas’ defence of the rights of the Indian population in

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\(^{37}\) Duke, ‘William of Orange’s *Apology*, 30: ‘They also object that I am a foreigner (…) But what do they mean by the term foreigner? Someone born outside the country. He [Philips II] is then as much a foreigner as I, for he was born in Spain, a country which is naturally hostile to the Low Countries, while I was born in Germany, which is by nature well-disposed towards, and has a common border with, this country’. The Spaniards, on their part, attempt to underline the strong bond and harmonious relations they had always shared: Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, ‘*Un laberinto más engañoso que el de Creta*: Leyenda negra y memoria en la *Antiapología* de Pedro Cornejo (1581) contra Guillerico de Orange’, in Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, Antonio Sánchez Jiménez and Harm den Boer (eds.), *España ante sus críticos: Las claves de la Leyenda Negra* (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt: Vervuert, 2015), 156–7.

\(^{38}\) As to its dimensions: *Emblemes* (475 × 300 mm) and the *Emblemata* (267 × 398 mm). Marín Pina and Víctor Infantes, *Poesía y prosa contra España*, 139–40.

\(^{39}\) The engravings differ from the originals. The only difference in composition apart from number 16 is number 10: the ‘avaritious’ Spaniard stands next to a gold coffin in the Dutch one, whereas he sits at a table in the French/German versions.
America, *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1552) or the *Relaciones* (1591) by Antonio Pérez, Philip II’s (in)famous secretary. Both works can be considered as a source for the *Seignor of Spain.*40 De las Casas is even explicitly

mentioned in the margin of number 10 (greedy) as ‘the bishop of Chiapas’. He is put forward as an example of a Spanish ‘historian’ critical of the actions of his own countrymen. Through this strategy of a fictitious origin (often deployed by printers with certain ideological or commercial agendas), literary works were also presented in the Low Countries as pseudo-translations from Spanish.

_The Seignor van Spangien_ became _A Pageant of Spanish Humours_ in its English cloak. The broadsheet, without illustrations and in descriptive prose, was published in 1599 by John Wolfe. Wolfe played an essential role within William Cecil’s propaganda network and specialized in Hispanophobic polemics. The English edition explicitly mentions in its title that it was translated from Dutch, and the text is a very faithful translation of the Dutch main text (excluding the marginalia), with a couple of minor exceptions. The only addition in the _Pageant_ is an anti-Catholic passage in text 9, ‘A signior is a lambe under the gallowes’. Interestingly, the translator does not alter expressions that reveal its Dutch origin, such as explicit references to ‘our Netherlands’ or ‘our Netherlanders’ in the fragments dealing with Spanish bloodthirstiness and vengefulness. However, in this same context of Dutch

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41 See text 10.


43 I quote from the _Pageant_, literal translation of the list of the Dutch original. A transcription of the text is to be found here:


44 Eric Griffin, ‘Dramatizing the Black Legend in Post-Armada England’, in Rodríguez Pérez, Sánchez Jiménez and den Boer (eds.), _España ante sus críticos_, 211. A preface, reminiscent of translatio imperii, is also added in which the arrival of ‘Truth’ on English shores is mentioned. She intends to narrate ‘the several and sundry natural humors of a Spanish signior’.

45 ‘Signior had rather gone to Rome barefoote then to be hanged, it is such a hard morcell and of so bad disagsture, it is as good as stibium, to make him vomit up at his vilanie to the fryer that confesseth him, which done, he recommends his soule (with a thousand crosses) to some saint and then leapes at a danve [sic]. An alteration is also found in text 15, ‘A miserable servitude to be under a signior subiection’. The text is translated as ‘for it is far better to be slaves unto Turkes and Moores then to be molested with the gnawing worme of conscience’, whereas the Dutch original speaks of the importance of freedom of conscience: ‘want beter waert slave te worden van Turcken of mooren/ Turcken of Mooren/ Dan nac dese slavernijen der conscience te hooren’.

The question is whether the failure to refer openly to freedom of conscience is the result of a misinterpretation or a deliberate change. The _Pageant_ contains further a couple of elisions, such as in number 5 where the sentence ‘Soo is Sr Dominateur in Asia ende Africken’ is omitted.

46 ‘It is inough, yea too too much knowne in our Netherlands, and not only in Europe, Asia and Affrica but also in the farthest part of America’ (12) (‘Ons Nederlandt dat kent oock wel sijn bloetgiericheyt groot […] dat hij in Asia, end’Afrika Ielmoeidich/ America end’Europa bedreven heeft seer bloedich’); ‘The Indians to their cost knew it full well, as also the chiefest of Aragon and our Netherlanders the nobler sort’ (13) (‘Menich doysent heeft Sr. in _India_ gheveldt/ Oock in _Arragon_ de treffelijckste door dit gheweldt/ Desghelijcx in onse Nederlanden d’aldervoornaemste’. The Dutch texts refer in the margins to the dramatic execution of the Counts of Egmont and Horne in 1568 (without explicitly mentioning their names). The translator does not integrate this reference into the Dutch translation, as it may be irrelevant to an English public.
oppression, he seems critical. When reference is made to the number of Dutch victims, he does not unthinkingly translate the original ‘hondert duy-sent’ (in line with inflated Dutch propaganda figures), but he reduces the number to ‘many thousand’, maybe doubting its veracity. The original explanatory texts and translations of Spanish words into Dutch in the margin are now deleted. The Spanish words used in the Dutch original are left in Spanish in the English version, with the exception of a couple of paraphrases. This would not be a problem for many intended readers, especially if we think of a readership among the political elite. Spanish was a well-known language among many members of the English elite in the sixteenth century, who, like William Cecil himself, also collected Spanish texts. The question remains why the pamphlet was not published with its vivid and powerful illustrations. Probably this was a matter of practical and commercial consideration: the printing of engravings was an expensive enterprise and copper plates had to be at hand. Furthermore, if no visual strategic devices were needed to persuade the readers and the text alone sufficed, we can infer an elite readership.

It is within the French cultural context that the Seignor of Spain variously underwent the most transformations: it circulated as an undated broadsheet under the title Emblemses sus les actions, perfection et moeurs du Segnor Espagnol, as a suite of illustrations without texts (also undated), and as an octavo booklet published in 1608 in two different editions, one of them in the Dutch Republic (Middelburg), the other one sine loco or printer. Reprints of the French Seignor followed in the 1620s, although it is not certain in which precise form. In 1626 a new edition of the booklet was printed in Rouen in duodecimo. Remarkably, the Emblemses would become acutely relevant in the context of the growing Spanish-French opposition and ensuing armed conflict in the 1630s. From 1634 onwards, the booklet was published together with Les Rodamontades nouvellement composes par le Cappitaine Don Diego De Spheramonte & Escarabombardon, a collection of 32 short texts supposedly written by a boastful

47 In text 12 (‘A signior is bloodthirstie and tyrannous’). The original: ‘Daer menich hondert duy-sent de doot hebben moeten lijden’.
48 In text 10, ‘A signior is avaritious’, a reference in the margin to the image of a horse in a coat of arms in Santo Domingo is integrated into the English text, probably to further illustrate Spanish expansional urges: ‘As also thereon standeth a horse, with his hinder feete in the worlde, and seemeth with his fore feete to leape out of the same, and out of his mouth this motto: The world doth not suffice me’. This example also holds for the French and German broadsheets.
50 Marín Pina and Infantes, Poesía y prosa contra España, 143–4.
51 There are dubious references to the existence of a 1623 Middelburg edition and to a 1625 text in one folio with the title: ‘Poesies satiriques sur la vie d’un seigneur espagnol, a l’usage des lutheriens allemands; c’est un ange à l’église; un diable à la maison; un loup à table; un porc en chambre; un paon dans la rue; mais en fin on est délivré du senor’, see: Marín Pina and Infantes, Poesía y prosa contra España, 148–9.
Spanish captain in the tradition of the miles gloriosus that derisively expose his hyperbolic arrogance. The genre of the anti-Hispanic rodomontades became very popular in the seventeenth century, and it is not surprising that these two anti-Hispanic works directed against Spanish soldiers and hidalgos, two essential Spanish sociotypes, were joined together.

We learn from the textual content of the French broadsheet that it is a free translation of the original but the general gist of the original is recognizable. Translation practices were not clearly defined in the early modern period, and translators felt at liberty to paraphrase, abridge or add information. This freedom is evident with the introduction of Spanish refrains and other words, additions or adaptations to address the French audience, as in number 12 (bloodthirsty and tyrannous) where the reference to ‘our Netherlands’ is replaced by a reference to French suffering. All in all, the French version makes a ‘lighter’ impression, mainly because of comical additions, as in ‘Un Loup en table’ (3), with a description of the Seignor’s meagre menu and his feigned satisfied attitude, burping in the street and picking his teeth with a feather, or in number 9 with its references to the Spaniard dancing the sara-banda and playing castanets.

How the original Dutch text was transnationally adapted to a different setting is shown not only by internal textual interventions, but also through alterations regarding the illustrations and their visual arrangement. A significant difference can be noted in the order in which the Dutch pamphlet displays the illustrations: not in a linear order as later applied in the French and German versions. Whereas the latter arrange pictures 1 to 8 in the superior row and 9 to 16 in the inferior one, the Dutch pamphlet alternates between a top and a bottom position: image 1 is placed on the first top row left, image 2 on the bottom row left beneath, image 3 on the top row to the right of image 1, image 4 on the bottom row, next to image 2, and so forth. This alternation technique ensures that illustration 15 and 16 stand out on the right end, as mentioned before. These closing reference to the Dutch lion and the elected nation in a hortus conclusus obviously meant nothing to a French or German

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52 The authors suggest 1598–1601 as a possible composition date. The figure of the bragging Spanish soldier (‘Capitano Spagnuolo’) was deployed in the sixteenth century within the commedia dell’arte as a variation of the type of the ‘Capitan Spauento’, see Marín Pina and Infantes, Poesía y prosa contra España, 69, 132. This was the translation of the Rodomontadas castellanas (Paris: Pierre Chevalier, 1607) attributed to Nicolas Baudouin. See for the different editions: Marín Pina and Infantes, Poesía y prosa contra España, 81–8.

53 José Manuel Losada Goya, Bibliographie critique de la littérature espagnole en France au XVIIe siècle: Présence et influence (Genève: Droz, 1999).


55 French version: ‘Sa tyrannie est en tous lieux plantée/ La France en est encore ensanglantée/ Bres tout le monde a contre luy forfeit.’

56 Also freedom in the introduction of Spanish refrains such as at the beginning of number 15: ‘Sabio ha de ser y muy aventurado,/ En mal ajeno el que es escarmentado’. References to the Inquisition in the Dutch emblem 14 were eliminated in the French version as well. The threat of the Inquisition probably had limited functionality in the French context.
public and was therefore changed over time, being replaced by an image of a gentleman standing on a prone body reminiscent of the previous Alba illustration number 15 (see Fig. 2). The suite of loose images that circulated in the French context, also replaced this last illustration with a man leading a little lion with a sword in its paw and a little dog.\footnote{For the complete series of illustrations of the suite, see Marín Pina and Infantes, \textit{Poesía y prosa contra España}, 40–3.} In this way, the French text closes the rhetorical circle with the initial animal satire narrative.

Nonetheless, the previous functionality of the Dutch lion is still latent in the 1608 editions in French that even sported the image of the ‘Dutch Garden’ on the front page and left it also as the final one.\footnote{For the illustrations of the two 1608 booklets with the Dutch lion, see Marín Pina and Infantes, \textit{Poesía y prosa contra España}, 132.} Although these versions have been connected to the French context because of the language, Middelburg was a Dutch city where an important community of French-speaking Netherlanders resided. The presence of the Dutch lion underlines the essence of the whole text: the Netherlandish opposition to their Spanish overlord. This ‘French’ afterlife of the \textit{Seignor van Spangien} in the form of a mini-emblem book can be reconsidered as being of Netherlandish origin too.

The German version of the Dutch pamphlet was printed as \textit{Emblemata}, and it ‘clearly explained’ (as the title mentions) ‘the life, deeds, customs and marvellous metamorphosis of \textit{Seignor Spagniol}’.\footnote{\textit{Emblemata}, \textit{Welche das Leben die Thaten Sitten und wunderbare verwandlung dess Signor Spangniols deutlich erklären}. (s.l.: s.a., s.n).} According to Briesemeister, the text started to circulate at the beginning of the Thirty Years’ War (1618–48),\footnote{Briesemeister, \textit{Spanien aus deutscher Sicht}, 176.} which gives us a plausible chronological setting for its introduction in the German lands. As in the \textit{Pageant}, the French and German versions do not present long explanatory passages in the margins, but the German pamphlet includes in six cases the German translation of certain Spanish words, which the French does not. Although the German text is not a literal translation of the French, since information and order are sometimes altered, the two versions present the same sense and coincide in the use of Spanish words. As in the English version, the French and German texts sometimes integrate information from the original Dutch margin into the text. This is the case with the reference to the jumping horse in the Santo Domingo coat of arms as in the \textit{Pageant},\footnote{See n. 41.} but also in a new instance, namely in the reference to the executed Counts of Egmont and Horne. The two noblemen are mentioned in the marginal Dutch text only as executed ‘duke’ (sic) and count, whereas in the French and German versions they are endowed with their full identities.\footnote{‘Graf Egmond en Horne/ haben beyd ihrer leben verloren’ (13).}
3. LITERARY INTERPLAYS

Although there certainly exist more Netherlandish broadsheets and pamphlets that widely circulated throughout Europe in the context of the Dutch Revolt, the transnational resonance and wide-ranging transformations of the *Seignor* stand out. It is also extraordinary how it connects to the literary context, both in the way it subtly integrates well-known Spanish literary models, like the *escudero* of the best-selling picaresque novel *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554), and in the manner it would later be intertextually reworked/readapted/ integrated into French and Dutch seventeenth-century literary texts.

A Spanish literary genre that would become very successful in early modern Europe was the picaresque novel. This satirical genre criticized the misdeeds and malpractices in Spanish society through its main protagonist, the rogue. *Lazarillo de Tormes*, published in 1554 in Alcalá de Henares, Burgos, Medina del Campo and Antwerp, is the most famous example with the richest afterlife in Europe. Translations into French, English and Dutch appeared in the 1560s and 1570s. The Dutch translation of this international best-selling picaresque novel (1579) was based on the French one that claimed in the title that it would present its readers with ‘des meurs, vie & conditions’ of the Spaniards. The Dutch version took this promise by adding *schalckheyt* (rougishness) to the Spanish nature in the title. Although the *Lazarillo* was satirical in origin and its contents were accordingly hyperbolically exaggerated, a literal interpretation implied a negative interpretation of the Spaniards and their society. This anti-Hispanic reading is obviously present in the Dutch context, and it filters into Dutch (pseudo-) translations of Spanish picaresque works. A leading political figure such as Philip van Marnix of Sint Aldegonde possessed a *Lazarillo* in Spanish. Furthermore, the Dutch translation was published in 1579 in Delft, the general ‘headquarters’ of Orange *cum suis*. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Dutch playwright Gerbrand Adriaensz. Bredero would base his famous comedy *Spaanschen Brabander* (*Spanish Brabanter*, 1617) on *Lazarillo*’s third chapter about the *escudero*. With this picaresque novel, the...
image of an impoverished and hungry hidalgo, who haughtily and boastfully pretended to be what he was not, would become a persistent stereotype of the Spaniard. Alexander Samson contended that English readers of the *Spanish Pageant* would probably immediately recognize in the *Seignor* the figure of Lazarillo’s third master. Indeed, the portrayal of the Spaniard in the first part of the broadsheet is strongly reminiscent of this figure: his hypocritical behaviour in his private sphere and outside, his dreadful table manners, his peacock behaviour on the streets, his attitude towards women, etc. If these references to the *Lazarillo* were perceived in the English *Pageant*, in the illustrated broadsheet in Dutch, French and German, they would probably be more strongly and swiftly invoked. The French *Emblemses* even contains the essential word, *meurs*, in the title: *Emblemses sus les actions, perfections et moeurs du Segnor Espagnol*. The French term was etymologically connected to the Latin *mores*, meaning both ‘manners’ and ‘character’. The *Lazarillo* was not published in German until 1617, but this date coincides with Briesemeister’s contention that the pamphlet *Emblemata* was produced at the beginning of the Thirty Years’ War and fits well the anti-Hispanic climate in the German lands.

Recent research has shown that references to the characterization of the *Seignor* of Spain of the first part of the broadsheet intertextually filtered into seventeenth-century French and Dutch literary works. The French translation of the famous satirical prose work by Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas, *Los sueños* (1632), by le sieur de la Geneste, clearly plays with the negative Spanish traits from the *Emblemses sus les actions, perfections en moeurs du Segnor Espagnol* (1608). Quevedo’s satirical work exposes Spanish vices and social malfunctioning and it belongs to a European anti-Hispanic tradition of interpreting Spanish satirical prose literally. The Dutch translation of *Los sueños* by Haring van Harinxma (1641) is, in turn, based on La Geneste’s version, which implies that the influence of the *Seignor* filtered again into the Dutch context through a French detour. More remarkable is an editorial decision regarding the Dutch translation of *El diablo cojuelo* (*The Crippled Devil*) (1641) by Luis Vélez de Guevara, another successful Spanish satirical prose work on Spanish faults. The complete Dutch title expressly mentions that the translation is accompanied by the Spanish Rodomontades where ‘the Spanish pride and the character [*aerdt*, the same word as in the broadsheet] of this nation is openly revealed’. According to Van de Poel, no French, English or Italian

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69 Chris van de Poel, *De totstandbrenging van het satirische discours in vertalingen van Spaans satirisch proza in de periode 1641–1645* (PhD dissertation KU Leuven, 2018), 140. Quevedo was very popular in France, where several of his works were printed (some in Spanish) and translated; see Marie Roig Miranda, ‘La recepción de Quevedo en Francia’, *La Perinola*, 15 (2011), 235–61.

70 Van de Poel, *De totstandbrenging*, 8.

translation is known that could have functioned as intermediary for the Dutch translation, so it must have been directly translated from Spanish. As mentioned above, the mini-emblem 1608 booklet of the Seignor was published in France from 1634 onwards together with Les Rodomontades. This combined edition probably circulated in the Low Countries as well. What is exciting is that the Dutch editor or translator of El diablo cojuelo, decided to accompany this new translation of a Spanish novel with an anti-Hispanic work intimately linked to the Seignor van Spangien. The decision to print Les Rodomontades and not the booklet of the Seignor can be attributed to financial concerns, since illustrations were expensive, but also to matters of content. Being in the first person (like picaresque narratives), Les Rodomontades is also more anecdotal. It is clear that the reception of the broadsheets has a substantial effect on how the Lazarillo figure further circulated and entered other transnational contexts.

4. CONCLUSION

The illustrated broadsheet Aerdt ende Eygenschappen van Seignor van Spangien is a fascinating example of the transnational circulation and fluidity of Dutch propaganda. Crafted in the middle of an emporium of knowledge exchange with a highly developed printing culture, it successfully spread throughout the heart of Europe. Through its combination of engaging illustrations and texts, the real nature of the Spanish Seignor and his ominous plans for universal domination were thoroughly exposed. It offered an image of the Spaniard imagery through which the public could learn about or have prejudices confirmed and expanded. The unambiguous message was to be understood not only in the Low Countries as a result of the Dutch Revolt, but also in neighbouring England, France and the German states. Accordingly, the broadsheet would be incorporated into different European cultures in multivarous reworkings, depending on shifting political priorities. Thus it was adapted in French in 1608 on the eve of the Twelve Years’ Truce negotiations, around 1618 around the beginning of the Thirty Years’ War and just before the Spanish-French War in 1635. It will continue circulating until mid eighteenth-century. This individual case illustrates how closely interwoven international conflicts were and how transnational was the use of similar imagery for a ‘common enemy’. It is equally remarkable that the broadsheet picks up on the popularity of Spanish literary models like the satirical Lazarillo, a best-seller

72 Van de Poel, De totstandbrenging, 222. El diablo cojuelo was translated by Alain-René Lesage in 1707 (Le diable boiteux).
73 Sabine Waasdorp in her PhD thesis analyses the figure of Lazarillo and its circulation and Nachleben in political and theatrical texts in the Netherlands and England (part of the project Mixed Feelings at the University of Amsterdam).
74 Cf. Dick Harrison, Ett stort lidande har kommit över oss: Historien om Trittioåriga Kriget (Stockholm: Ordfront, 2014) who labelled the Thirty Years’ War as the very first world war.
that, if interpreted literary, presented the Spaniards in a very negative light. The influence of the Seignor was to be felt at a later stage in the new satirical picaresque literature in France and the Netherlands, where long-existing stereotypes of the Spaniards were to be perpetuated. The peregrinations of the Seignor were anything but uneventful.