

5. ‘The Barke Is Bad, but the Tree Good’: Hispanophilia, Hispanophobia and Spanish Honour in English and Dutch Plays (c. 1630-1670)

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Abstract

In the seventeenth century, Spain featured prominently on the English and Dutch stages. Although this foreign influence has been overlooked in the past, especially in the Dutch context, scholars have recently broadened the scope of their analysis to Spain, but the tendency to focus on the image of the Spaniard in predominantly Hispanophobic terms remains widespread. This ‘Black Legend Spaniard’, demonizing the Spanish as the enemy, shows only one side of the coin. Taking the ‘typically Spanish’ characteristic of ‘honour’ as an example, this chapter explores how Spanish characters are presented on the English and Dutch stages, evincing that ‘honour’ was not only an exponent of a vengeful Spanish nature and that such characters could also be viewed as a source of inspiration.

Keywords: Spanish honour, seventeenth-century drama, *El Cid*, stereotypes, image (re)negotiation

In the first season of the animated series *Archer* (2009-present), Malory Archer exclaims: ‘Oh all Hispanics look roguish!’,¹ and in the popular PC game *Sid Meier’s Civilization 6* (2017) players are encouraged ‘to unite the world under one faith and one empire, making you truly the Most Catholic king’ as Philip II, and Spain is further given the ability to build ‘fleets and

¹ Reed, ‘Honeypot’.

armadas' at an earlier stage than other nations in the game.² These recent examples from popular culture find their roots well before the twenty-first century. In the seventeenth century, rogue narratives hailing from Spain were translated, imitated, emulated, and adapted in both England and the Dutch Republic,³ and the fear that Spain truly aspired to world domination, uniting all under the Catholic faith, was legitimately present.⁴ The persistence of the cultural stereotype of the Spaniard has largely been investigated with a focus on the negative aspects of the image, the 'Black Legend' narrative, in such seminal studies as William Maltby's *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660*, and K.W. Swart's 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War'. However, this focus on the Black Legend narrative paints an incomplete picture of the role Spain and the Spaniards played in seventeenth-century literary works and play texts, in particular. This chapter aims to bring to light the tension between the co-existing Hispanophilia and Hispanophobia in English and Dutch play texts and their paratextual materials between c. 1630 and 1670. It argues that the 'blackness' of the Black Legend can be further renegotiated to include 'shades of grey'.

A stereotype, or a nation's 'inherent personality blueprint', does not need to be empirically verifiable since it is the result of a process of cultural construction. In fact, Joep Leerssen notes that 'their strongest rhetorical effect lies in [the] familiarity and recognition value rather than in their empirical truth value'.⁵ Thus, regarding Spain, we find that the image of the Spaniard as cruel, bloodthirsty, and violent amongst other things, stems from a time when Spain was a dominating force in Europe.⁶ As a reaction to the perceived threat from the Catholic Habsburg Empire, both England and the Dutch Republic carried out propaganda campaigns demonizing the Spanish whilst casting themselves as the 'good' counterpart.⁷ This Spanish Black Legend narrative was later adapted to target other countries, as for example in its shift from Spain to France in the Dutch Republic, and from Spain to the Dutch in England.⁸ However, throughout the seventeenth century, Spain would continue to be depicted negatively more often and with

2 Firaxis Games, 'Spanish Empire, Philip II'.

3 See Samson, 'Lazarillo de Tormes', and Ardila 'Introduction'.

4 See Griffin, 'New Directions'.

5 Leerssen, 'The Rhetoric of National Character', p. 287.

6 As reviewed by López de Abiada in 'Spaniards'.

7 See the previously mentioned studies by Maltby and Swart, as well as Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy*.

8 See the introduction of this volume and Nocentelli, 'The Dutch Black Legend'.

greater emphasis than any other nation. What we find, then, is a continuous cycle where a particular image of the expansive repertoire of anti-Hispanic images is affirmed and reinvented to offer the audience a well-known point of reference whilst ensuring that the slightly 'new' take is still appealing and the image does not grow stale. For inspiration, both England and the Republic often turned to Spain for source material, for as Barbara Fuchs notes, Spain was 'not just a rival but an irresistible source'.⁹ The result, which Fuchs terms 'piratical translation', finds most of its strength 'in its versatility, its ability to take from what is beyond the nation's experience, and to yoke together the projects of poetry and empire'.¹⁰ In other words, whilst continuously recycling certain anti-Hispanic images, playwrights simultaneously used Spanish plays to reinvent these images. As such, variations between the same 'type' co-exist and thrive at the same time. To assume that these variations are all equally negative would be incorrect, as would be the assumption that no Spaniard in a play text could potentially be anything but a vehicle for ridicule, or cruelty, or any other characteristic commonly associated with a 'Black Legend Spaniard'.

To illustrate the potential versatility of this sort of Spaniard on the English and Dutch stage, this chapter will examine the characterization of the Spaniard in three plays with a specific focus on the honour motif. Honour, as a trait often associated with the Spaniards, is frequently used by playwrights as the driving force behind a plot intent on revenge and vengeance. However, Joseph Rutter's *The Valiant Cid* (1637), Johan van Heemskerck's *De verduytsste Cid* ('The Dutchified Cid, 1641), and Dirck Pietersz. Heynck's *Don Louis de Vargas of edelmoedige wraek* (Don Louis de Vargas, or honourable revenge, 1668) show that honour in a Spaniard is not necessarily or exclusively negative. The English and Dutch Cid were based on Corneille's adaptation of Guillén de Castro's *Las Mocedades del Cid* (c. 1600, printed 1618). The French *Le Cid* (1637) was the first non-Spanish treatment of the legend of the Spanish hero and was almost immediately followed by Rutter's translation. It is not self-evident to make use of the same original Spanish play translated and adapted in both England and the Dutch Republic as is the case for this play, because of the differing requirements for the Amsterdam and London stages, with the former being a more centralized, commercial institution, and the latter housing multiple, competing theatre companies.¹¹ Of course, taste

9 Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy*, p. 12.

10 Ibid., p. 38.

11 For more information on the Amsterdam Municipal Theatre as a commercial institution, see Blom and Van Marion, 'Lope de Vega'.

and the accessibility of plays could have also played a role in the selection criteria of theatrical material.

'I hate your Spanish honour ever since it spoil'd our English plays', Wildblood exclaims in John Dryden's popular play *An Evening's Love; or, The Mock-Astrologer* (1668).¹² It is precisely this 'Spanish honour' which is the focus of this essay as it is one of the foremost motifs of the Black Legend, and, as Jorge Braga Riera notes, it is 'one of the pillars of the Spanish plays that were triumphing in London' in the seventeenth century.¹³ Braga Riera likewise points out that overall, in seventeenth-century English translations/adaptations of Spanish plays, the word 'honour' occurs more often than it did in the source texts though the English made no distinction between the 'Spanish *honor* (social category) and *honra* (reputation) [...] in the English comedies, "honour" covered both concepts'.¹⁴ Nevertheless, 'honour' was, as shown by Donald Larson, a key ingredient in Spanish Golden Age plays.¹⁵ Thus, considering the sheer quantity of Spanish Golden Age plays imported into the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century, we can safely assume that this theme is equally present on the Dutch stage.¹⁶ Although 'honour', as part of the Black Legend, has primarily been considered for its negative attributions, it is a characteristic which holds the potential to be applied positively as well. This chapter seeks, therefore, to renegotiate the association between 'honour' and 'Spaniard' and to problematize the existing gradations in the attribution of this Spanish trait on the seventeenth-century stage. Despite the abundant Hispanophobia, there is a continued and co-existing current of non-Hispanophobic features that sometimes even appear to lean towards a certain Hispanophilia.

Paratexts and Spain

It is essential to take into account paratextual material when reconstructing how national images were perpetuated, or altered, in certain contexts. It offers the bridge between the literary work and the 'real' world, between the reader and the writer.¹⁷ It is the place where authors,

12 Dryden, *An Evening's Love*, Act 5, p. 77, ll. 153-154.

13 Braga Riera, *Classical Spanish Drama*, p. 36.

14 Ibid., p. 37.

15 See Larson, *The Honour Plays of Lope de Vega*.

16 For more information on the import of Spanish plays, see Blom and Van Marion, 'Lope de Vega'.

17 The function of paratextual material was most extensively described by Gerard Genette in his 1997 study *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, which aided the analysis of paratexts as an object of study for literary scholars.

translators, printers, and other people involved in the process of producing and selling a book have the space needed to reflect upon the work at hand. Often, this space is used for dedications – usually addressed to patrons – and for convincing the reader of the work's quality or interest. Additionally, it is the place where authors, printers, and booksellers can express their view on the work's origins, on the changes they made, or on socio-political events taking place at the time. Paratexts offer more liberty for such observations than the literary text itself.¹⁸ Admiration for Spanish artistic endeavours, truly meant or as a commercial strategy, could also be expressed in paratexts.¹⁹ A telling example of English negotiation between co-existing Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia in a paratext is clearly on display in James Mabbe's *The Spanish Bawd Represented in Celestina; or, The Tragicke-Comedy of Calisto and Melibea* (1631), from which I took my title. The *Celestina* (1499) has been a major influence on literature in Western Europe, and in both England and the Netherlands this influence is clearly visible. The Spanish edition was printed in Antwerp, which made it easily accessible in the Low Countries where the Dutch translation would go through several editions.²⁰ Though the story of the *Celestina* was well-known in England, most other plays or editions have been lost. Thus, besides the 1525 edition printed by John Rastell, Mabbe's translation of 1631 is the only remaining one until Captain Stevens's rendition in 1707 as *The Bawd of Madrid*.²¹ Writing about the character of Celestina in the preface, Mabbe notes:

Her life is foule, but her Precepts fair; her example naught, but her Doctrine good; her Coate ragged, but her mind inriched with many a golden Sentence; And therefore take her not as she seems, but as she is, and the rather, because blacke sheepe have as good Carcasses as white. [...] The barke is bad, but the tree good.²²

18 See Belle and Hosington's *Thresholds of Translation*, which discusses both textual, material and cultural transfer in early modern books and the translation and cultural use of paratexts.

19 For the device of Spanish branding, see the prefaces in Blom's contribution in this volume. For instance, from 1645 onwards, Lope de Vega's authorship was emphatically praised.

20 The *Celestina* was printed in Dutch in 1550, 1574, 1580, and 1616. There are different versions of these latter two editions, which still raises the question of authorship and source text for these translations. See *Celestina: An Annotated Edition*. It was likewise printed in Antwerp where it went through eight editions between 1539 and 1601. See Geers, 'De studie van Spaanse invloeden'.

21 See Murillo 'Love and Chastity' and 'Cultural Transfer'.

22 Mabbe, *The Spanish Bawd Represented in Celestina*, Preface.

Here the author renegotiates the original '*corteza/moello*' argument made by Teresa de Cartagena, justifying her authorship of her theological work *Arboleda de los enfermos*. As Elizabeth Howe explains, 'Sor Teresa employs an image drawn from the natural world. A tree's bark or *corteza* is "very robust and strong and resistant to the weather", while the core or *moello* "is weak and delicate".'²³ Mabbe reapplies this metaphor – which was initially intended to signify the strength of men and how it protected the weakness of women – to translation by specifically using it along with the 'redressing' analogy commonly employed to signify early modern translation practices. Here the Spanish and English 'Carcasses' (i.e. the bare bones), Mabbe argues, are equally good in quality. In other words, the outward appearance of the Spanish black wool and bad bark does not hinder the fact that the story itself is 'inriched with many a golden Sentence'. Once stripped of the bad bark and the black wool, Celestina's core is like that of the English. The reader is advised not to take her at face value, for her outward appearance is Spanish, but to see beyond her looks and perceive her true character, one with a good 'Doctrine', and fair 'Precepts'.²⁴ What Mabbe means to say here is not that Celestina is virtuous or selfless, but rather he refers to her role as discreet mediator between Calisto and Melibea, the two illicit lovers in the story. Celestina is known, according to Mabbe, for her extraordinary understanding of what drives the other characters and is eloquent and fair in her dealings with them.

Mabbe observes that the 'bones' of the Spanish work are like the 'bones' of an English literary work, and a similar though different take on this is offered in a dedicatory remark in the extremely popular play *De verduytsche Cid* (1641), where its author claims to have found a 'Hollands hart in een Spaanse boesem'. The dedicatory remark in *De verduytsche Cid*, reads as follows:

I let myself think that I found a Dutch heart in a Spanish bosom; that is, an unmovable proponent of Patriotic freedom, and a dauntless opponent of the imposed foreign supremacy: which this Cid repels with words right worthy to be spoken by a free Dutchman against the imperiousness of

23 Sor Teresa was forced to defend her work publicly when 'after its appearance, a number of people questioned whether a woman, especially one who was deaf, could have written a work that drew on Scripture and religious sources as this one had' (Howe, *Education and Women*, p. 25).

24 González Echevarría suggests that because of her wanton ways, Celestina 'could hardly be touted as the expression of national identity, as was *Don Quixote*'. Nevertheless, Celestina's Spanishness was not a source of debate (see *Celestina's Brood*).

the present-day Spaniard: And the more remarkable because the Cid was given these words to speak by the pen of a Spanish Jesuit (severe amongst the severe). This, dear reader, I did not want you to be unaware of.²⁵

Here the author/translator, Johan van Heemskerk, shares with the reader how, upon reading the source text, he found a kinship between the Dutch people and the Spanish protagonist Roderigo, otherwise known as the Cid. Van Heemskerk does not inform his readers that the Cid is a medieval hero who fought against the Moors, which suggests that either the figure of the Cid was so well-known that he required no introduction, not even in the Dutch Republic, or that Van Heemskerk himself was unaware of the cultural importance of the Cid in Spain. The history of Don Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar, the Cid, and his celebrated deeds against the Moors in eleventh-century Spain, continued to grow throughout the Middle Ages and expanded into an impressive body of epic literature, including *El poema del Mio Cid* (c. 1140). Even in the opening chapter of *Don Quixote* he is lauded as a praiseworthy champion. His story became a legend and would attain over time the status of a myth, as he was placed on a pedestal as *the* example of Spanish heroism in the nineteenth century.²⁶ The fact that he was actually more a 'mercenary' collaborating with Christians and Moorish masters is something nuanced by twentieth-century historiography at a later stage. Within the Spanish context he is to be compared to Arthur, Roland or Siegfried, as a national hero whose destiny is inextricably linked to that of his country. Since he is remembered as a heroic commander fighting on the Spanish side against the Moorish conquerors, it is not surprising that the figure of the Cid came to be used as a symbol in the fight against oppression and tyranny.²⁷

25 Van Heemskerk, *De verduytsde Cid*, preface: 'ick my liet duncken een Hollandts hert in een Spaenschen boesem ghevonden te hebben; dat is een onversettelijcken voorstander der Vaderlandsche vryheyt, en een oversaeght teghensprecker van den opdrangh der uytheemscher heerschappye: Die dese Cid afweert met woorden recht weerdigh om door een vryen Hollander tegen den heersch-sucht der huydenaegsche Spanjaerden uytghesproocken te sijn; En des te aenmerckelijcker om datse de Cid door de penne van een Spaenschen Jesuit (heftigh onder de hevige) inde mondt ghegeven werden. Dit wilde ick niet, billicke Leser, dat u onbewust soude sijn.'

26 See Davies, who argues that the Cid became Spain's national hero when 'Romanticism collided with Nationalism in the nineteenth century' (*Europe*, p. 348).

27 See Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*, where he argues that 'In Spain too the permanency of the Germanic or of the kindred Visigothic influences is a fact of the first historical importance. Here, upon the substratum of an indigenous race conquered, crushed, re-created, remodelled into a Roman province more Roman than Rome itself, is superinduced the conquering race, first to ravage, then to govern, then to legislate, then to unite in religion, and lastly to lead on to deliverance from Moorish tyranny' (p. 4).

This play, celebrating Spanish military success of all things, was evidently judged to resonate with the Dutch rhetoric of freedom and rebellion against a 'foreign supremacy'. Van Heemskerck finds this all the more remarkable as the author of the original is said to be a severe Spanish Jesuit. So, whilst an originally Spanish play, about Castilian/Spanish military success against the Moors, with Spanish characters, is here commended, the antagonism towards the 'present-day Spaniard' is simultaneously present, represented by such words as 'imperiousness', a trait often included in the Black Legend. It is a point Van Heemskerck finds important to make, but not in defence of *his* decision to translate a Spanish play but rather to ensure that the reader is aware of the incredible feat of finding that 'Dutch heart in a Spanish bosom'. His *Cid* is not only 'Dutchified' because he is translated into Dutch, but also because the deeds and laudable character of this *Cid* make him seem to display Dutch virtues and endeavours.

The *Cid* cloaked in English and Dutch

The noticeable tension between dislike of Spain and admiration for Spanish authors/source texts is tangible in English and Dutch drama. To see how this tension functions in the play texts themselves, we will now turn to both the Dutch and English versions of the *Cid*, compared side by side below, and the Dutch tragedy *Don Louis de Vargas*. The selection of this last play serves to show that even within the tragic genre, which allows for most of the representations of Spaniards as cruel and bloodthirsty, honour is not necessarily used to highlight a negative aspect of the Spaniards, and the play's popularity (with 142 performances) attests to the audience's willingness to embrace this different perspective on a familiar motif.²⁸ Spanish honour, besides often being the cause of the cruel and bloody actions in a (revenge) tragedy, can be employed in a more positive way when it is used as a vehicle of praise (for the *Cid*), and as proof of the justifiable motivations behind the character's actions (as is the case with *Don Louis*), bloody though they still might be.

The Dutch and English *Cid* are strikingly similar in their translated forms. Both works were translated from the French translation by Pierre Corneille, which is considered to be a remarkably faithful one of Guillén de Castro's original *Las Mocedades del Cid*. Though Joseph Rutter's translation appeared earlier (1637), the only information about its performance available to us

²⁸ See *ONSTAGE*.

stems from the second half of the seventeenth century.²⁹ From this information, however, we gather that it was not a popular play on stage, unlike its Dutch counterpart, which was performed no fewer than 230 times in the Amsterdam Municipal Theatre between 1641 and 1768, earning it the fifth place in the overall ranking of most frequently performed plays.³⁰ The story of the *Cid* is driven by honour, and from the onset it shows all the signs of developing into a typical revenge tragedy. When Roderigo defends his family's honour from the insult committed by Cimená's father, he kills the father and thus forces Cimená to seek justice for her loss. Despite the fact that the two are deeply in love with each other, Cimená adheres to custom and remains steadfast in her quest for redemption of her father's honour. However, this is the point where the play steps away from the revenge-tragedy genre as it sidelines Cimená's quest for vengeance: a new, more imminent danger requires Roderigo's attention, and rather than offering up his life uselessly to satisfy Cimená's desired justice, he joins the military to defend Castile against the Moors. Roderigo returns a hero, and the king, aware of Cimená's love for Roderigo, finally forces her to let go of her desire for vengeance.

Even without knowing the plot, it is not difficult to pick up on its main theme. The word 'honour' is used no fewer than 60 times in the English translation, and 'valiant' follows with another 34 mentions. Terms such as 'revenge', 'avenging' or 'dishonoured' are used intermittently as well. Thus, on the basic lexical level, there is a noticeable link between 'Spain' and 'honour', which steers the audience towards perceiving this connection. However, as mentioned before, in the original *El Cid*, 'honour' has a double meaning as in Spain the concept is twofold. On the one hand, there is *honra*, a type of honour bestowed upon one by a superior and often 'associated with the idea of surplus, ambition, property, wealth, power, high office, war, and culturally-specific masculine values'.³¹ This 'honour' could be acquired or won, but above all, it needed to be recognized by those superior in the social hierarchy. On the other hand, there is the concept of *honor*, which revolves around the honourableness of one's heart, soul, and mind. Essentially, *honor* cannot be acquired for it is present in the inherent goodness of a person. Although this might sound like a more 'noble' form of honour, it directly relates to fame and reputation and it thus requires outward recognition of the goodness of character. However, because the terms were used synonymously, it allowed playwrights to sometimes create 'twists' in their works which had

29 See Van Lennep, *The London Stage*.

30 See *ONSTAGE*.

31 Lauer, 'Honor/Honra Revisited', p. 79.

'to do with the ambiguity in the use of the terms'.³² This is likewise the case in *The Cid* where Roderigo's acquisition of *honra* on the battlefield ensures that the king will forgive his 'honour debt' to Cimená, and thus delivers a happy ending.

In the original Spanish *Cid*, the distinction between *honor* and *honra* is particularly relevant because even though Roderigo is already in possession of *honor*, it is the additionally won *honra* which saves his life and love in the end. But unlike Spanish, both English and Dutch only have one word to describe 'great respect, esteem, or reverence received, gained, or enjoyed by a person or thing; glory, renown, fame; reputation' namely: 'honour' or 'eer'.³³ One question that arises, then, is whether or not the English and Dutch playwrights were aware of these two different types of Spanish honour. As I argue elsewhere, in early modern English plays, the double meaning of Spanish honour is at times used to contrast Spanish characters as well as to create intrigue. In Dutch plays, however, the meaning of Spanish honour remains primarily lodged in the realm of the physical world, thus embodying the meaning of *honra*.³⁴ In the light of the historical circumstances, it is plausible that Spanish characters could with difficulty be perceived as in possession of inherent, positive *honor*, but more in connection with *honra*, which implied in some cases the deployment of strategies involving vengeance.

However, though the Dutch theatrical traditions tend to perceive Spanish honour as *honra*, the concept of *honor* is still present in the play. *The Cid* has a couple of built-in moments in which there is a reflection upon this inherent honour. For example, in Rutter's edition, Roderigo is introduced to us by Cimená's father as follows³⁵:

But above all, in Roderigo's face
There's not a line which speaks not a brave man;

32 Ibid., p. 86.

33 *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 'Honour'

34 See Chapter 3 of my doctoral thesis: 'Between Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia: The Spanish Fascination in 17th-century English and Dutch Literature' (University of Amsterdam, 2020). In John Fletcher's *The Chances* (1613), for example, Don John represents *honra* (his focus is on obtaining honour) whereas his cousin Don Frederick represents *honor* (he consistently shows a preoccupation with his inherent honour). In the Dutch plays this contrast is not present, but rather Spanish honour is embodied by the acquisition or rectification of personal and family honour through physical means (like battle, duels, or the possession of wealth).

35 Corneille, *Le Cid*, Act 1, Scene 1, ll. 14-22. 'Dom Rodrigue sur tout n'a trait en son visage, / Qui d'un homme de Coeur ne soit la haute image, / Et sort d'une maison si seconde en guerriers, / Qu'ils y prennent naissance au milieu des lauriers. / La valeur de son pere, en son temps sans pareille, / [...] / ie promets du fils ce que l'ay vue du pere.'

His family has been fruitfull still in souldiers,
 As if they had beene borne ith' midst of lawrels.
 His fathers valour, in his time, unequall'd,
 [...]
 And Roderigo's person seemes to promise
 The vertues of his father.³⁶

And in the Dutch translation as:

Roderigo above all has no line in his face which does not uncover his
 courage
 and that does not show the knightly deeds
 of his house's lineage, overladen with laurels
 His father's bravery was without equal
 [...]
 His son promises no less.³⁷

Here, the emphasis is on Roderigo's inherent qualities such as bravery, courage and virtue. Because these qualities stem from his lineage and Roderigo himself has not yet done anything to enhance them (though he is expected to do so in the future), the honourable reputation here described is part of Roderigo's *honor*. It is, in fact, his *honor* which causes the initial conflict in the play as Roderigo challenges Cimenas father to a duel for having offended his family's honour. In the duel, Roderigo kills Cimenas father. Cimenas then (in keeping with custom) seeks justice for the loss of her family's honour, a loss which may be rectified only by blood.³⁸ However, as Roderigo acquires *honra* in battle, the king forgives this 'honour debt' in order to find a 'temperate way' to resolve the conflict.³⁹ As a captain in the army, Roderigo devises a plan to derail the Moors' surprise attack. In his capacity as soldier, Roderigo shows exemplary skill, talent and bravery. This is recognized first by the Moors, who hail him as 'the Cid' (or, 'the Lord'), and it is then acknowledged by the king

36 Rutter, *The Valiant Cid*, Act 1, Scene 1, ll. 17-23.

37 Van Heemskerk, *De verduytse Cid*, Act 1, Scene 1, ll. 1-71. 'Roderigo boven al en heeft niet eenen treck / in 't aensicht, die sijn moet ten vollen niet ondeckt / En die niet uyt en beelt de Ridderlijcke daden / Van sijn manhafte huys, met Lauwer overladen. / Sijn Vaders dapperheyt was sonder weder-paer, [...] Zijn Zoon belooft niet min.'

38 This is made explicit in Rutter's *The Valiant Cid*, Act 3, Scene 5, and Van Heemskerk *De verduytste Cid*, Act 3, Scene 6, ll. 1-64.

39 Lauer, 'Honor/Honra Revisited', p. 86.

which allows the honour gained on the battlefield to add to his honour as a nobleman⁴⁰:

But the two captiv'd Kings which thou hast taken,
 Shall give thee thy reward, they both have nam'd thee
 Their CID before me; which in their tongue sounds
 As much as Lord in ours, and this faire title
 I will not envy thee; from henceforth be
 Their CID, that at thy name the Moores may tremble.
 And that my Subjects hearing it may know
 Thy value, and how much to thee I owe.⁴¹

And in Van Heemskerk's edition it reads:

Two kings, whom you have brought me here yourself, captured
 They will give you the reward for this service:
 They have called you their CID, that is their lord,
 And I do not begrudge you that high name of honour.
 Be from now on the CID for whom all must make way
 Who brings fright and fear to the Moorish kingdoms
 And that by this name my whole country knows
 What you are worth to me, and what I owe you.⁴²

As Lauer argued, *honra* had to be recognized by a superior, and in plays this was often the king. Without this recognition, none of Roderigo's military honours would enhance his status at court. But in the passage above, spoken by the king, he clearly intends for the honorary title 'the Cid' to be used in reference to Roderigo throughout Spain. Roderigo's honourable behaviour is not limited to the battlefield, for despite all the extra *honra* gained by his

40 Rutter, *The Valiant Cid*, Act 4, Scene 3, ll. 9-16. In Corneille's edition, from which both Rutter and van Heemskerk translate their plays, this passage reads: 'Mais deux Roys, tes captifs, feront ta recompense, / Jls t'ont nommé tous deux leur Cid en ma presence, / Puis que Cid en leur langue est autant que Seigneur, / Je ne t'enuieray pas ce beau tiltre d'honneur. / Sois de sormais le Cid, qu'à ce grand nom tout cede, / Qu'il devienne l'effroy de grenade & Toledé, / Et qu'il marque a tous ceux qui vivent sous mes loix / Et ce que tu me vaux & ce que ie te dois.'

41 Rutter, *The Valiant Cid*, Act 4, Scene 3, ll. 13-20.

42 Van Heemskerk, *De verduypte Cid*, Act 4, Scene 3: 'Twee Koningen, die ghy my selfs hier brought gevangen / Die sullen u doen 't loon van desen dienst ontfangen: / Sy hebben u ghenemt haer CID, dat is haer Heer, / En ick misgun u niet dees hoogen naem van eer. / Segt nu voortaan DE CID, voor wien het al moet wijcken, / Die schrik en anghst brought aen de Moorsee Coninghrijcken, / En dat by desen naem mijn gatsche landt beken / Wat ghy my waerdigh zijt, en ick u schuldigh ben.'

victory over the Moors, he would end his life if his love Cimená demanded it (to restore her family's honour). This conflict is typical for honour *comedias* of the Spanish Golden Age, and such conflicts may be resolved only by 'the arbitration of a king'. In *The Cid*, this is exactly what happens as the king forgives Roderigo's 'honour debt' to Cimená's family in the end, not because of Roderigo's inherent *honor* but because of his acquired *honra*.⁴³ The *Cid*, who acquires personal honour through defending his country against the Moors, likely resonated with the Dutch audience on two levels: the plot firstly recalled their own fight against a 'foreign oppressor', and secondly, the hero was endowed with a highly inspiring sense of noble 'honour'. An English audience, however, would not have experienced a kinship with the hero fighting against oppression. The different contexts in which the play appeared may therefore account for the discrepancy between the reception the play received in the Dutch Republic and how audiences responded in England.

Don Louis, the avenging Spaniard

Adhering more closely to the genre of the revenge tragedy is *Don Louis de Vargas, of Edelmoedige wraek* (1668) by Dirck Pieterszoon Heynck. It is a complicated play, with a quickly developing plot, whose 142 performances proved to be very popular. It is a translation from the Spanish *El tejedor de Segovia* (1619) by Juan Ruiz Alarcón y Mendoza, which was first performed in 1668, generating €24,583 in revenue for eight performances in its first year.⁴⁴ It became a stock play for the Amsterdam Municipal Theatre, being performed regularly up until 1788. Like a typical revenge tragedy, the play emphasizes honour and vengeance and, being a tragedy, it is not afraid to show the audience the bloody results. Don Louis's father, accused of treason, is innocently executed, jump-starting a chain of events which leads Don Louis to seek revenge on the two conspirators who provided the king with false information upon which he based his judgement. Julian and Suërto, the guilty

43 Lauer argues that 'honour *comedias* of the Spanish Golden Age are capable of stirring emotions not because they deal with something familiar but, on the contrary, precisely because they do not. [...] Some of these twists have to do with the ambiguity in the use of the terms *honor/honra*. [...] Other turns have to do with the irresolvable clash between these two concepts. [...] Other developments deal with the resolution of honourable conflicts in a temperate way.' This last resolution is exemplified in *The Cid* (Lauer, 'Honor/Honra Revisited', p. 86).

44 See Blom's contribution in this volume and the *ONSTAGE* online database for original revenue in gilders, which I converted to today's currency using the tools provided by the International Institute of Social History, 'Value of the Guilder/Euro' (<http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/calculate.php>).

parties in question, conspire with the Moors to assassinate the king, a plot which is revealed to the king by Don Louis as he finally exacts his revenge.

When we look at *Don Louis de Vargas*, for example, the focus is decidedly on *honra*.⁴⁵ As such, the king says, 'And we, according to your services, raise you up with honour, rise, Count, we make you Stadholder in Madrid.'⁴⁶ By bestowing a new title upon the count, the king increases the *honra* the count already possesses. That ownership is a constant theme in relation to honour in the play becomes equally clear when, after their father is tried and executed for treason of which he is innocent, Louis has the following conversation with his sister:

- Louis: You will have to miss me, if you want to find me again,
 Otherwise your honour as well as mine would both be spilt.
- Lizandra: What do you want me to miss, to then win you again,
 I pray you, brother, say?
- Louis: You life, I my senses.
- Lizandra: Life!
- Louis: Yes, our honour is worth that much to us.
- Lizandra: And who will take it from me?
- Louis: Even the honour, now so unearthed.
- Lizandra: The executer, who will it be?
- Louis: Me.
- Lizandra: You, how would it concern you?
- Louis: Me myself, I have full power, it is my own business.
 [...]
- Louis: You must permit the punishment.
- Lizandra: Why?
 [...]
- Louis: The Count, who does not shy away from evil nor horrors,
 Wants to enjoy your chastity, either voluntarily given or
 by force taken.⁴⁷

45 Sullivan notes that, although the play was initially believed to be originally by Calderón, it was actually a source text by Juan Ruiz de Alarcón (*El tejedor de Segovia*), which inspired Dirck Pieterszoon Heynck. Furthermore, 'in the original, the hero is named Don Fernando Ramírez and his father's and sister's names are also different, but Heynck's translation otherwise conveys the pruned Spanish text with uncanny accuracy' (*Calderón in the German Lands*, p. 55).

46 Heynck, *Don Louis*, Act 2, Scene 9, ll. 85-110: 'En wy na diensten u met eer verheffen mogen / Rijst Graef, wy maken u Stehouder in Madrid'. In the Spanish text, this reward with a title does not occur as he is already a count at the onset of the play.

47 Heynck, *Don Louis*, Act 5, Scene 8, ll. 38-39: Louis: 'Gy moet my missen, so gy my weer vinden wilt, / Of anders werd u eer, en mijne, bey gespilt.' Lizandra: 'Wat wilt gy dat ik mis, om u dan weer te winnen, / Ik bid u broeder, zegt?' Louis: 'Gy 't leven, ik mijn zinnen' Lizandra: 'Het leven!'

As the last remaining male of the family, Louis assumes 'ownership' of his sister and demands her death in order to preserve the family honour they have left. Her chastity still belongs to the family, but as Louis points out, the count wants it, either voluntarily or by force. Legally, Louis's statement, 'I have full power, it is my own business', holds true. His judgement – that her life is worth less than their honour – therefore becomes Lizandra's death sentence.

Don Louis is the avenger in this play, but this is not shown in a negative light. Rather, Louis's justification as expressed by his fellows on stage inspires the audience to root for him. 'Your deeds / O brave Don Louis deserve our mercy',⁴⁸ says the king, and even Julian, who is on the receiving end of the vengeance exclaims as he is dying, 'O heaven! I have suffered my righteous punishment. [...] I pray, forgive me',⁴⁹ just as Suërto's dying words are 'now be satisfied / O Vargas! Because you have taken your desired revenge. [...] I Pray, forgive me, like / I forgive you for my death.'⁵⁰ All surviving characters agree that the course of action Louis followed was not only justifiable; it was the *right* thing to do. Besides, Louis takes no pleasure in seeking revenge. In fact he notes, 'I then sadly fulfil (though by necessity) this'.⁵¹ Even though Don Louis exists for the sole purpose of avenging his family – appearing on stage at the onset of the revenge with the play concluding immediately after this revenge is satisfied – he is not the Black Legend 'avenging Spaniard' since the play goes out of its way to convince the audience of the righteousness of his pursuit. From the king to those whose blood satisfies his revenge, Louis is acknowledged to be in his full right, his family's honour once again restored, by the highest authority in the play: the king.

Louis: 'Ja, ons eer is ons wel zo veel waerd' Lizandra: 'En wie beneemt het my?' Louis: 'Zelf d'eer, nu zo ontaerd' Lizandra: 'D'uitvoerder, wie zal 't zijn?' Louis: 'Ik' Lizandra: 'Gy, wat kan 't uw raken?' Louis: 'Ik zelf, 'k heb volle macht, het zijn mijn eigen zaken' [...] Louis: 'Gy moet de straf gedogen' Lizandra: 'Waerom?' [...] Louis: 'Den Graef, die hem in quat noch guw'len niet en swicht, / Wil uwe kuisheidt noch met wil of dwang genieten.' There is no Spanish equivalent to this conversation, as in *El tejedor de Segovia*, the sister is already supposedly dead (though, like in the Dutch edition, she turns out to be alive).

48 Heynck, *Don Louis*, Act 5, Scene 5, ll. 178-183: 'Uw daden / O dapp'ren Don Louis verdienen ons genaden.' The Spanish original is lengthier but conceptually similar: 'Fernando, á vuestro valor / Y al de vuestra gente, debo / La vitoria, que hoy alcanzo; / Y cuando fueran los vuestros / Delitos, y no venganzas / Tan justas, les diera, en premio / De hazaña tan valerosa, / En mi gracia.'

49 Heynck, *Don Louis*, Act 5, Scene 8, ll. 42-43: 'O hemel! 'k heb mijn straf regtvaerdig hier geleden, [...] 'k bidt, wilt het my vergeven.' Original Spanish: '¡Muerto soy! ¡Cielo! Justo es el castigo / De mis culpas, escucha, ya que muero.'

50 Heynck, *Don Louis*, Act 1, Scene 15, ll. 121: 'Weest nu te vreên, [...] Ik u mijn doot vergeef.' The Spanish original differs slightly: 'Muerto soy, tente, Fernando / Y pues ya muero, confieso / Que á tí y a tu noble padre / La vida y honor os debo.'

51 Heynck, *Don Louis*, Act 5: 'Volvoer dan (doch uit noot) dit Treurspel al te droef.'

Don Louis's character is all the more remarkable when we consider other tragedies where Spanish honour plays a part. One of the best-known and most popular tragedies showing the cruelty and extreme vengeance that the Spaniards are capable of is undoubtedly *Don Jeronimo, Maerschalk van Spanjen* (Don Hieronimo, marshal of Spain, 1621) by Adriaen van den Bergh, freely translated from Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (1592). In Van den Bergh's play there is no room for a nuanced approach to vengeance. Jeronimo, like Don Louis, is the avenger, and though somewhat justified, he famously pushes his vengeance too far and turns it into one of the bloodiest spectacles displayed on the early modern stage. Although this very popular play is a translation from an English play, and not an original Spanish work, *The Spanish Tragedy* was seminal in the forging of vengeful Spanish characters, sometimes driven by honour, on the Dutch stage.⁵² Employed very differently, yet presented as one of the reasons for trying, judging, and executing the main characters, is 'honour' in *De dood van de graaven Egmont en Hoorne* (1685).⁵³ In this historical play it is suggested that the Dutch in their revolt, where the Count of Egmont and the Count of Horne played a key part, dishonoured Governor General Margaret of Parma, and thus 'it is the right of the king's honour' to persecute and execute the two noblemen.⁵⁴ Though only one of the motivations in the play, the injury to the Spanish king's honour, is consistently alluded to. The president of the Blood Council declares, for example, 'Teach them to hold their tongue, these reproaches, if allowed to continue, hurt us, and injure the king's honour.'⁵⁵ However, unlike in *Don Louis*, the vengeance needed to restore the injured honour is presented to the audience as completely unjustified and is definitely not celebrated. Thus, the character of Don Louis offers us a unique though clearly popular take on Spanish honour, one which is justified and not taken to the extremes.

To conclude, though 'honour' and 'Spain' are closely linked, and frequently connected in a negative manner in early modern drama, the representation of Spanish honour on the Dutch and English stages takes on different forms. In *The Cid*, an original Spanish play, the Spanish concepts of *honor* and *honra* are used to create the tension in the plot, and though neither Rutter nor Van

52 See Hoenselaars and Helmers, '*The Spanish Tragedy*'.

53 The play was performed 122 times and was thus a hit on the Amsterdam stage. Considering it conveys the story of two heroic Dutch counts who died as martyrs for the Dutch Revolt, this popularity is perhaps not surprising.

54 Asselijn, *De dood van de graaven Egmont en Hoorne*, Act 2, Scene 2, l. 86: 'Dit 's recht des Konings eer.'

55 Ibid., Act 2, Scene 3, ll. 72-74: 'Men leerd hun eens de tong te snoeren / Al deez' verwytingen, indien men verder ga, / Die kwetzen ons, en gaan des konings eer te na.'

Heemskerk explicitly names the two distinct concepts, their faithful rendition of them into English and Dutch exposed their respective audiences to them, making them aware of the Cid's virtues. Equally closely associated are the concepts of 'revenge' and 'Spaniard', which we find in relation to 'honour' in *Don Louis de Vargas*. Don Louis's loss of *honra* (for it is the honour of worldly goods, such as titles and status, which is lost) drives him to exact his justified revenge. Because of its association with revenge, 'honour' is placed in a more negative light in this particular case. The success of *The Cid* in the Dutch Republic as opposed to its tepid reception in England shows us that, as mentioned by Van Heemskerk in the preface, the play resonated with the Dutch struggle for liberation. The main liberator in the play is the Spanish Roderigo, his character exemplifies honour – both as inherent goodness and as a justified reward. What is more, the Dutch could mirror themselves in this brave and exemplary hero who could have very well had a Dutch heart.

This chapter has shown that honour, though closely linked to Spain, was not necessarily presented as a negative attribute and that 'shades of grey' are to be traced within the Black Legend narrative. Furthermore, it is remarkable that the Dutch *Cid* enjoyed the success that it did as it was performed at the same time as famous Hispanophobic plays like *Beleg ende Ontset der Stadt Leyden* (The siege and liberation of the city of Leiden, 1644) by Reinier Bontius, featuring the extreme cruelty of the Spanish army in the Low Countries. This play, performed 304 times between 1645 and 1766, employs the Black Legend narrative to its full – or 'darkest' – extent whilst the *Cid* offers audiences a more positive – or 'gradated' – counterpart.⁵⁶ It seems that the Dutch public did not have any problems watching Spaniards on stage embodying such different roles, some encouraging Hispanophobia, others inviting admiration for their Spanish traits.

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⁵⁶ ONSTAGE.

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