

Literary Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia  
in Britain and the Low Countries (1550-1850)

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# Literary Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia in Britain and the Low Countries (1550-1850)

*Edited by*  
*Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez*

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# Introduction: On Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia across Time and Space

*Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez*

## Abstract

This introductory chapter puts the case studies presented in this edited volume into a broader historical and theoretical context. It exposes the triangular literary, cultural and political relationship between Britain, the Low Countries and Spain in two very different – though strongly interconnected – historical periods, the early modern period and the nineteenth century. It contends that to fully understand how cultural representations of Spain and its cultural legacy have been forged, it is essential to expose the intricate historical dynamics of Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia. Furthermore, it exposes and problematizes certain historiographical biases regarding the cultural role of Spain and the historical asymmetry in the representation of Spain.

**Keywords:** Hispanophilia/Hispanophobia, Black Legend, national images, Anglo-Dutch-Spanish relations, early modern period, nineteenth century

Spain has been a fruitful locus for European imagination for centuries, having been mostly perceived in black-and-white oppositions, either as the tyrannical and fanatical force behind an empire in search of universal dominance in the early modern period or as an imaginary geography of a ‘Romantic’ Spain, veiled in a haze of exotic and appealing authenticity. Although the Napoleonic wars certainly played a role in a new and internationally widespread positive appreciation of Spain, the idea that this change at the turn of the nineteenth century represented a paradigm shift should be nuanced. The image of Spain, its culture and its inhabitants did not evolve inexorably from negative to positive, from a Black Legend of Spanish tyranny to a rosy myth of Romantic Spain. It historically responded from

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the early modern period onwards to an ambiguous matrix of conflicting Hispanophobic and Hispanophilic representations. Just as in the nineteenth century lingering or latent negative stereotypes continued to resurface even in the Romantic heyday, in the early modern period appreciation for Spain was equally undeniable. When Spain was a political and military superpower, it also enjoyed cultural hegemony with a literary Golden Age producing internationally hailed masterpieces. Spanish works were translated, imitated and emulated, sometimes harnessed with a discrediting propagandistic agenda but also out of sheer admiration and as creative inspiration.

This book explores the protracted interest in Spain and its culture, and it exposes the co-existent ambiguity between scorn and praise that characterizes its Western historical perceptions, in particular in Britain and the Low Countries, two geographical spaces with a shared sense of historical connectedness and an overlapping history regarding Spain.<sup>1</sup> It is the contention of the volume that from the early modern period onwards Hispanophobic and Hispanophilic narratives co-existed in a continuous interplay and that to fully understand how cultural representations of Spain and its cultural legacy have been forged, it is essential to expose the intricate historical dynamics of Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia. Furthermore, recognizing the dual role of Spain as a mighty cultural model and political rival is essential to understanding the Low Countries' and Britain's cultural and political self-definition, since anti-Hispanism can be considered central to the process of European proto-national development.<sup>2</sup>

Although the title of this volume uses as its geographical delimitation the terms 'Low Countries' and 'Britain' (with related adjectives such as Dutch, Netherlandic, English and British), it must be stated that it mainly focuses on Anglo-Dutch relations with Spain. Terminological accuracy when defining states whose borders have evolved over time requires the use of these broader terms to avoid anachronisms. For the early modern period the adjective 'Netherlandic'/'Netherlandish' will also be employed when references imply the whole conglomerate of territories. For the British case, (Great) Britain is the overarching term employed since the 1707 Act of Union, whereas England/English was the dominant geographical definition in earlier days. For most national historians during the nineteenth century,

1 See Haley, *The British and the Dutch*; Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt*; Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*.

2 Schmidt, *Spanische Universalmonarchie*, p. 446.

England and Britain were synonymous, and these terms will alternate accordingly.<sup>3</sup>

To engage in this diachronic study, the structure of the volume revolves around two closely related temporal axes: the early modern period and the nineteenth century, when national identities and literary canons consolidated the Golden Age as the key period in the national-historical consciousness. The idea of a 'Golden Age' played an essential role in the construction of British and Dutch (and Belgian) national historical and literary canons, and in both cases this Golden period coincided with a past shared with the Spanish, as enemies and as source of inspiration. Following Barbara Fuchs's notion of 'occlusion of influence',<sup>4</sup> by which English authors in the early modern time would have 'piratized' and absorbed into their works Spanish materials while occluding their origin, this book extends this line of thought temporally and geographically into the nineteenth century and the Netherlandic context, to trace how this possible 'denial' or 'alteration' of influence can be observed and how it overlaps in different historical, literary and political discourses.

The volume explores thus the triangular literary, cultural and political relationship between Britain, the Low Countries and Spain in two very different – though strongly interconnected – historical periods. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, arch-enemy Spain politically and culturally held centre stage in Europe. Maybe one of the most intense moments of intersection between these territories was in the 1550s, when young Philip II arrived in the north, as heir to the realms of his father Charles V in the Low Countries and as the new husband of Mary Tudor, queen of England. This close encounter was of brief duration, leaving in the end these territories to confront the Spanish monarchs. Furthermore, both England and the Dutch Republic were to experience a process of self-definition by enmity, which heavily leaned on the Hispanophobic Black Legend. In the words of John Elliott, the Black Legend 'etched itself into the English national consciousness'.<sup>5</sup> This remark holds even truer for the Low Countries, especially for the

3 Wintle, 'Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands', p. 9. For the difficulties regarding this nomenclature, its 'natural confusion' and ideas of the 'Ethnic English as the core nation of the British Isles', see Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*, pp. 1-17.

4 Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy*, pp. 57-78.

5 Elliott, *Spain, Europe and the Wider World*, p. 27. For the Black Legend, see the classical studies: Maltby, *The Black Legend in England*; Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War'; García Cárcel, *La Leyenda Negra* and 'Reflexiones sobre la Leyenda Negra'; Thomas, 'De heropleving van de "Zwarte Legende"'; Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*. For the shaping of anti-Hispanic views during Mary Tudor's time and its continuation across time until the nineteenth century, see Samson, 'A vueltas con los orígenes de la Leyenda Negra'.

Dutch Republic, where Hispanophobia figures prominently in the narrative of national identity.<sup>6</sup> As a result of the Dutch Revolt and its continuation in the Eighty Years' War against King Philip II of Spain, the legitimate overlord of these territories, the modern states of the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg would emerge. The conflict with the Spanish monarchy was to be instrumental in the definition of the (proto-)national identity of these provinces. The Dutch Revolt was presented from within as an example of heroic rebellion against a 'foreign' oppressor, as the struggle for liberty and freedom of religion of a 'united' population.<sup>7</sup>

This constructed image of unity and inspiring resistance was deployed by rebel (mostly Protestant) partisans with the assistance of a highly effective propaganda machine, and it would become over time the founding myth of the Dutch nation. In England, the revolt in the Low Countries was closely followed and eventually supported by Queen Elizabeth. War with Spain prompted, just as it did on the other side of the North Sea, a spate of national narratives, theatrical pieces and intense circulation of pamphlets. The heroic Armada victory of 1588 against Spain has resounded through the centuries up to the present day, becoming one of the most defining historical episodes for the development of English identity.<sup>8</sup> Religion was also to play a palpable role in the development of both northern nations, who branded themselves as 'Protestant' versus a 'Popist' Spain, crusading for Catholicism. Admiration for the Dutch struggle against 'Spanish tyranny' was widely expressed in early modern Europe, especially by those who viewed Spain as a threatening force attempting to achieve a *Monarquia Universalis* or by those sympathetic to Protestant inclinations or republican models of political organization.<sup>9</sup>

The historical context and relation to Spain strongly varied in the Dutch Republic and what came to be defined as the 'Southern Netherlands' (and would become the nucleus of current Belgium). The southern territories were to encounter an eventful future, first under Habsburg rule with the

6 As Lenarduzzi remarks, anti-Hispanism constitutes 'the backbone of the Dutch Revolt canon' ("De oude geusen teghen de nieuwe geusen", p. 68). The terms 'Dutch Republic' or 'United Provinces' are often used interchangeably.

7 Pollmann, 'Eine natürliche Feindschaft', pp. 73-93. To bridge religious differences, a trope of 'secular martyrdom' was deployed, by which the people of the Low Countries were presented as victims of 'Spanish tyranny' rather than of Catholic oppression. See Pollmann, 'The Cult and Memory of War', p. 90.

8 Other canonical moments were for instance the Battle of Hastings (1066), the Battle of Agincourt (1415), and the Battle of Waterloo (1815).

9 For the intertwining between Dutch and English monarchical and republican discourses, see Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*.

Archdukes Isabella and Albrecht as the Catholic 'Spanish Netherlands' and later on as the 'Austrian Netherlands'. Napoleon's interventions in the geopolitical sphere would bend the history of the Low Countries in a new direction, since they became reunited into a single polity between 1814 and 1830 as the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. In 1830, after the Belgian Revolution and consequent independence, the three modern states as we know them today came into existence.<sup>10</sup> The centrality of the revolt against Spain and the rise of the Dutch Republic continued to stimulate the imagination of historians in the nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup> In the case of the Low Countries, this historical episode became a favourite among Dutch intellectuals with a nationalist agenda. Belgian historians and writers would prioritize other episodes of their medieval past as well, like the Burgundian period, or the Battle of the Golden Spurs in 1302 against the French. 'Shared' figures of the Netherlandic past like the counts of Egmont and Horne, who were executed in 1568, will be placed on different pedestals: whereas William of Orange was clearly the Dutch founding father, Egmont as a political hero of freedom will be forged into one of the founding figures of the young Belgian nation.<sup>12</sup> Obviously, the existence of different political ideologies and separate spheres in Britain (socialist, imperialist) and in the 'pillarized' Dutch society (Calvinist, Catholic, liberal, socialist) determined a different use of the past in certain national discourses.<sup>13</sup>

The history of all these nations is, as in the case of their European counterparts, one of constant shuffle and re-shuffle of alliances and enmities, by which the rhetoric of 'natural alliances' and 'natural oppositions' was dusted off or stowed away depending on the circumstances. During the first phase of the Dutch Revolt, for instance, William of Orange and his partisans stressed the idea of an inborn 'natural opposition' with Spain, whereas the Spanish discourse strongly emphasized the historical

10 The case of Luxembourg is more complicated, but we will not dwell on that in the present context.

11 Ingelbien and Waelkens, 'A Twice-told Tale', p. 56. In 1856 John Lothrop Motley published his influential and anti-Hispanic *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*.

12 By around 1810 Egmont had evolved from representing the ideal of inner freedom to becoming a traditional political hero of freedom (Rittersma, *Mytho-poetics at Work*, p. 332). The clear historical and historiographical differences within the Low Countries at the beginning of the nineteenth century come to the fore with King William I of the Netherlands' invitation to historians in 1826 to produce a new, 'unifying' history of the Northern and Southern Netherlands that linked and legitimized the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. The history was never realized (Ingelbien and Waelkens, 'A Twice-told Tale', p. 39).

13 Wintle, 'Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands', p. 14.

and dynastic natural connection between the two territories.<sup>14</sup> In this way, the English and the Dutch were in the early modern period much attuned in their positions against Spain, building on a 'tradition of hostility to Spain'.<sup>15</sup> However, they were also each other's opponents during four Anglo-Dutch wars, the first starting in 1652, the fourth ending in 1784. During these moments of mutual hostility the triangular relation with Spain obviously altered, also because of Spain's decline in geopolitical influence and Anglo-Dutch rivalries in Atlantic waters. In the nineteenth century a remarkable change took place when Spain itself became a theatre of war as a result of the Peninsular War (1808-1814), or 'La Guerra de la Independencia', to use the Spanish name. Spanish resistance against French occupation and the defence of liberal values would contribute to a new perspective towards Spain, prompting a strong revival of interest in things Spanish, especially in Britain.

The war created a 'new mythology of Spain' turning the country into a 'crucible of liberty' that provided an inspiring example for further liberation struggles like those of Greece and Italy.<sup>16</sup> Thousands of British soldiers fought in the peninsula between 1807 and 1813, and the effect on Britain's culture and politics was significant. The *Annual Registers* for 1808 evinces Iberia's topicality: '[I]n the history of 1808, the great object of attention is Spain. Spain is the centre around which we arrange all other countries in Europe and we take more or less interest in them, according to the relation in which they stand to the theatre, on which the contest between liberty and tyranny is to be determined.'<sup>17</sup> For their part, the Low Countries, occupied by Napoleon, had to cope with a new invasion and wave of resistance against an external oppressor, re-evaluating the old enemy image of the Spaniard in different ways, as we shall later see. As subjects of the emperor, the Dutch had to participate in Napoleon's army's battles in Spain, which positioned them as enemies of the English, and, of course, the Spanish again. It is an almost forgotten episode in Dutch history that the 'Hollandse Brigade' fought during 1808-1813 with 3000 men in Spain. No wonder that the excruciating circumstances in the guerrilla war made many a Dutch soldier speak of

14 Rodríguez Pérez, 'The Pelican', p. 289. For the 'special relationship' or 'most natural alliance' between Britain and the United Kingdom of the Netherlands during the period from 1813 to 1831, see Van Sas, *Onze Natuurlijkste Bondgenoot*. For an analysis of Anglo-Dutch and Dutch-Spanish representations around 1650, see Meijer Drees, *Andere landen*.

15 Haley, *The British and the Dutch*, p. 49.

16 Saglia and Haywood, 'Introduction', pp. 2-9.

17 The yearly published *Annual Registers* record and analyse the year's major events (Saglia, *Poetic Castles in Spain*, p. 33).

Spain in rather unromantic terms as '*vervloekt*', an accursed land.<sup>18</sup> When the United Kingdom of the Netherlands was created after the fall of Napoleon, the old neighbour became again a key ally in Britain's European policy.<sup>19</sup>

## Historiographical biases

One of the main objectives of this volume is to expose and problematize certain historiographical biases. Although Anglo-Saxon scholars have in recent years argued that, despite anti-Hispanic sentiments in early modern England, there existed a sustained cultural interest in and enduring fascination about Spanish literary production,<sup>20</sup> the ramifications and nuances of this influence are not yet fully underscored or charted. Furthermore, in the Dutch context the entrenched assumption that historical enemy Spain was only negatively perceived in the early modern period and therefore culturally or literarily irrelevant has started to be contested only very recently.<sup>21</sup> This literary exclusion/occlusion/downplaying was also partly motivated by the enthronement of France as *the* beacon for European literature in the seventeenth century. It is undeniable that by the 1640s France would play the leading literary role in Europe, especially regarding drama, but before that time, Spanish drama had already achieved 'global' fame and had influenced the shaping of early modern theatre, not to speak of its pioneering contribution to other genres like chivalric novels, picaresque narratives, and the modern novel through *Don Quixote*. The fact that many models of Spanish literature spread over Europe through French translations and adaptations has further effaced the Spanish origin of these works distorting the true

18 De Moor and Vogel, *Duizend miljoen maal vervloekt land*.

19 Ingelbien and Waelkens, 'A Twice-told Tale', p. 39.

20 See Dadson, 'La imagen de España'; Fuchs and Lockey, *The Spanish Connection*; Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy*; Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama*; Samson, *The Spanish Match*; Samson, 'Last Thought upon a Windmill'. For the Spanish cultural sway in the rest of Europe, see Smith, *Polyglot Poetics*, and note 37.

21 Simon Vosters's seminal work *Spanje in de Nederlandse literatuur* (1955), like Van Praag's pioneering study *La comedia espagnole aux Pays-Bas* (1922), never permeated Dutch scholarly discourse. This rationale lies at the heart of the research project that informs the basis of this volume: 'Mixed Feelings: Literary Hispanophilia and Hispanophobia in England and the Netherlands in the Early Modern Period and in the Nineteenth Century', funded by NWO (Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research). Instrumental in unearthing the essential role of Spanish drama in seventeenth-century Amsterdam has been Frans Blom's and Olga van Marion's research; see their 'Lope the Vega and the Conquest of Spanish Theatre'; see also Rodríguez Pérez, "Neem liever een Spaans spel" and Frans Blom's chapter in this volume.

extent of Spanish influence. The diachronical approach of this volume is of further significance in this context, since many of these historical and literary biases find their origin in nineteenth-century scholarship, whose role was paramount in forging historical and literary national interpretations of the past that have remained ingrained in our minds until the present. Connecting the early modern period with the nineteenth century helps us to better understand how certain unbending and resistant stereotypes and interpretations originated and persisted over time.

Another historiographical bias we should take into account concerns the role of Spain in nineteenth-century culture. One example is the idea that Spain ceased to be culturally important after the Peninsular War. As Saglia and Haywood have convincingly argued, this was not the case. Not only was interest in Spanish matters strong in the 1820s in Britain, but Spain also played a more significant role within Romanticism than so far assumed.<sup>22</sup> Interestingly, Britain and the Low Countries, especially the Dutch portion, differ strongly in their relationship to Romanticism as a cultural movement. Whereas in Germany and England the first Romantic expressions are to be perceived from the 1790s onwards, the movement never gained a strong foothold in the Netherlands. Dutch scholars still debate whether certain Romantic traces can be detected in different genres such as literature or painting, expanding and reshaping the boundaries of its definition. However, the most dominant historiographical trend underscores its marginal role. Despite interest in German and English literary production, the Romantic flame never really blazed in the Netherlands as it did in those nations.<sup>23</sup> Loyalty to their own national forms of expression, after French foreign domination and the lack of a sounding board for what was perceived as a display of un-Dutch extremism, contributed to the underrepresentation of Romanticism.<sup>24</sup> If, and how, Spain was nonetheless filtered through the Romantic sift of other European countries is a topic that will be further scrutinized in future publications. Despite this Dutch Romantic marginality, some literary authors engaged in literary Romantic figurations of Spain, like the well-regarded Nicolas Beets, who wrote a Byronic romance titled *José, a Spanish Story* (1834), where the unmistakable words come to the

22 Saglia and Haywood, 'Introduction', pp. 9-10. Continental European traditions, past and present, including Spanish, were in close dialogue with what has been so far interpreted as rather an insular British Romanticism. See Saglia, *European Literature*.

23 Klok and Mijndhardt, 1800, pp. 499-502.

24 A much repeated argument at the time was that Romanticism was kept at arms' length as 'the follies and extravagances of an inflated imagination'. Krul, 'Het raadsel van de Nederlandse Romantiek', pp. 185-201, p. 195.

fore: 'O Spain, Spain, beautiful Romantic land! / Thou most fertile place of the sultry and lovely South.'<sup>25</sup> Although this verse does not do justice to Beets's abilities as a writer, what matters is that it evinces a negotiation of received ideas of Spain.<sup>26</sup>

The aforementioned reassessment of Spain in the Romantic context links with another well-known narrative regarding Spain's imaginary: that of Spain as an 'authentic', thus anti-modern nation. Although we shall not dive into this historiographical debate, its inherent exclusionary perspective does relate to the dynamics of Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia and to the historical asymmetry in the representation of Spain. As Michael Iarocci has stated, Spanish culture was systematically purged from a master narrative of European modernity.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, Spanish culture tended to circulate primarily by means of the representation of others, becoming an object rather than a subject of representation. In this way, for instance, Spain itself could not be considered as a producer of Romantic literature, since the country itself *was* Romantic. Over time, based on the conception that modernity only radiated outward from northern Europe and that only Protestant countries could achieve (economic) progress, Catholic Spain was pushed into a marginal position, like other southern countries.<sup>28</sup> Attitudes towards Spain intersect here with broader nineteenth-century European discourses, like that of North-South polarities. In the process of cultural nation-building in Europe the North-South opposition played a more comprehensive and formative role.<sup>29</sup>

Spain, viewed as a 'Southern', 'Oriental' and 'racialized' 'Other' through the Romantic lens, was thus to be placed in a 'subaltern' position typical of exoticist discourse. Representations of an authentic, Oriental, and exotic Spain are subsequently tinged with other connotations. Beneath these 'positive' interpretations of Spain lies a negative undercurrent, since authentic

25 Vosters, *Spanje in de Nederlandse literatuur*, pp. 57-58: 'O Spanje! Spanje! Schoon Romantisch land! / Gy vruchtbaarste oord van 't zwoel en minzaam zuiden!' The poem is reminiscent of the first canto of Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*: 'Oh, lovely Spain! renowned, romantic land!'

26 In a genre such as travel writing, the Romantic gaze can be clearly perceived (Coenen, *The Image of Spain in Dutch Travel Writing*).

27 Iarocci, *Properties of Modernity*, pp. 103, 204. We can also note that Spanish 'agency' seems to have been reduced. As stated by Torrecilla, the images that constitute the idea of 'Romantic Spain' were actually forged by the Spaniards themselves, but integrated and instrumentalized by the Romantics outside Spain (*España Romántica*, p. 180).

28 Think of Max Weber's theory as explicated in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905). Dainotto speaks of the South as a 'defective bottom' (*Europe (in Theory)*, p. 114). Eurocentric processes thus take place also within Europe itself, with a South 'Other' in its midst.

29 Arndt, 'North/South', p. 388.

implicitly means anti-modern (linking it in some ways with despotism and religious intransigence). In comparison to the plethora of negative Black Legend images, like cruelty, bloodthirstiness, fanaticism, religious bigotry, greed, pride, and untrustworthiness, this Romantic turn could be considered positively at first glance. However, closer analysis reveals that it cannot be simply considered as an example of pure Hispanophilia, since this image re-evaluation also contains implicitly, if not always explicitly, strongly negative perceptions, and condescending and patronizing views of Spain and its culture, as argued in this volume. From a historical perspective, it is important to note that the perception of Spain as an exotic or Oriental nation, or as 'a space marked by Moorishness' within Europe, was not an invention of the Romantics, but was already unmistakably present in the early modern period.<sup>30</sup> What is of paramount relevance is the strategic characterization of Spain as Moorish 'at a time of striking political and religious upheaval'.<sup>31</sup> This orientalizing discourse clearly animates the Black Legend.

To fully gauge and deconstruct the arsenal of images, tropes and narratives about Spain it is necessary to scrutinize the malleable interplay between Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia over time at a meta-level as well. This implies exposing the frequent separation of the two narratives, which constitutes another historiographical bias. The well-trodden ground of Black Legend scholarship has received in the past, and in recent years, considerable attention, with a wide range of publications that continue to shed new light on the topic, exposing the ideological utility for other European powers of this legend.<sup>32</sup> Entrenched images about Spain's arrogant silence or inactivity in its own defence have also been recently contested, evincing that Spaniards also went on the offensive, in historical and literary contexts.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, fascination about Spanish

30 See Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, p. 4. The author explores the paradoxical uses of 'Moorishness' in early modern constructions of Spanish national identity, by Spaniards themselves and by others in Europe. Both have to cope with the tension regarding Spain's cultural debt to Al-Andalus. The concept of 'literary maurophilia' has been inspiring for this volume's outset.

31 Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, p. 10.

32 Greer, Mignolo and Quilligan, *Rereading the Black Legend*; Villanueva, *Leyenda Negra*; Villaverde Rico and Castilla Urbano, *La sombra de la Leyenda Negra*; García Cárcel, *El demonio del Sur*; Martínez Luna, *Een ondraaglijk juk*.

33 Rodríguez Pérez, Sánchez Jiménez and Den Boer, *España ante sus críticos*; Rodríguez Pérez and Sánchez Jiménez, *La Leyenda Negra en el crisol de la comedia*; Sánchez Jiménez, *Leyenda Negra*. In the nineteenth century, Spanish authors were also aware of foreign Romantic images of their country, accepting, contesting and renegotiating them, especially on the literary field. See Andreu Miralles, *El descubrimiento de España*.

culture and materials has been also the object of recent illuminating research.<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, the two strands do not tend to be interwoven, nor connected in a wider chronological span. Positive and negative representations about Spain (or for that matter about all nations and ethnotypes) are obviously not contained in sealed vessels, but in porous ones that form together a broad reservoir of generalized images and prejudices about the other. Therefore, representations can sink or re-emerge at particular moments in time. According to imagologist Joep Leerssen, 'latency is always a default state for ethnotypes and prejudices'.<sup>35</sup> This accounts for the 'rebooting' of certain representations over time. Figurations of Spain thus fluctuate within a broad spectrum of phobia and philia. The position within the spectrum is obviously dependent on the genre, the historical period, the author, ideological or commercial agendas etc. Moreover, the two narratives can coalesce in the same work, as well as in one and the same author, as we shall see further on in the case of Lord Carteret, or Thomas Scott. It goes without saying, but it may be mentioned for the sake of clarity, that cautiousness is required when analysing representations of Spain and its culture in individual authors and works. They cannot simply be equated with *the* Dutch or *the* English outlooks since they all embody complex identities. Nonetheless, a multilayered mosaic of images comes to the fore through the combination of a variegated selection of authors, works and genres that coincide and differ in their appraisal. Of course, the reservoir of Hispanophobic or Hispanophilic images of both nations would be shaped over time into different 'cultural grammars', that nonetheless are deeply historically entangled, as this volume aims to expose.<sup>36</sup> Future research will further elucidate how the Dutch and the British influenced each other in their Spanish perceptions and how they instrumentalized Spanish tropes.<sup>37</sup>

34 See note 20.

35 Leerssen, 'Imagology', p. 25. Leerssen uses the formulation 'dormant frames'. The term employed within imagology (the discursive study of ethnotypes or stereotypical attributions of national character) for an image in all its implicit, compounded polarities, is *imageme* (Leerssen, 'Image', p. 344).

36 I borrow the term from Raphaël Ingelbien's contribution in this volume.

37 See, for instance, Fagel, 'Gascoigne's *The Spoyle of Antwerpen*'. In *Polyglot Poetics*, Nigel Smith embarks on a transnational history of early modern European literature, away from the lens of nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century nationalism. Smith stresses the need of a broad picture of how different vernacular literatures influenced each other, for example, in the case of the little-known field of Anglo-Dutch literary relations. As a result of the research project 'Mixed Feelings' two comparative PhD dissertations on the early modern period by Rena Bood and Sabine Waasdrorp will be defended at the University of Amsterdam in 2020.

Equally important for understanding the dynamics of representations of Spain is the malleability offered by the prime example of Hispanophobia: the Spanish Black Legend. The Low Countries, as a nodal point in the transmission of culture in the early modern period, also became a major European hub in the making and circulation of political propagandistic texts that were frequently translated and experienced a second printing life abroad. The role of these territories in the forging and spreading of the Black Legend was instrumental.<sup>38</sup> Regarding one of the most effective Hispanophobic tropes, Spanish actions in America, the New World would offer an extremely profitable historical model for the Dutch. In an exercise of 'Americanization of the revolt', the Indians, as innocent victims of the bloodthirsty and cruel Spaniards, mirrored future harrowing scenarios for the people of the Low Countries.<sup>39</sup> Bartolomé de las Casas's defence of the rights of the Indian population in America, *Brevíssima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1552), was not only successfully published in Dutch translation in 1578 (the first vernacular translation, before the well-known 1579 French translation), but also reworked for a younger target group from 1614 onwards in *Mirror for the Young, or Spanish Tyranny* (*Spiegel der Jeught, of Spaansche tyrannye*).<sup>40</sup> These books would be published until well into the eighteenth century. This highly effective template of 'the' Spanish enemy will be fruitfully recycled and instrumentalized in the Dutch Republic for later enemies: against the French in pamphlets like the *New Mirror of Youth or French Tyranny* in 1674, reminiscent of the popular translations of Las Casas's *The Mirror of Spanish Tyranny* (1578), and in 1781, during the fourth Anglo-Dutch war against the English (*English Tyranny*). In this anti-English adaptation of the original *Spanish Tyranny*, King William IV was even presented as a new King Philip II.<sup>41</sup> Conversely, the English were also aware of this useful enemy model, inverting the Spanish Black Legend into a 'Dutch Black Legend' articulated this time by an undercurrent of 'Hollandophobia'.<sup>42</sup> Last but not least, all these discursive and visual perceptions of Spain arose and took shape

38 See the canonical work by Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War'. For a remarkable example of how the Black Legend moved from the Low Countries to England (the illustrated anti-Hispanic broadsheet *Aerdt ende eygenschapen van Seignor van Spangien* [*Nature and Qualities of the Signior of Spaine*, 1598]), see Rodríguez Pérez, "The Spanish Signior".

39 Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*, p. 111.

40 Veldhuyzen-Brouwer, *La Brevíssima relación*, pp. 1-14.

41 Pamphlets published in 1781 alluded to the Dutch *Acte van verlatenhe* (1581) that is considered as 'the act of independence' of the Dutch Republic against Philip II, for instance, in the canonical pamphlet *Aan het volk van Nederland* (To the people of the Netherlands). See Leemans and Johannes, *Worm en donder*, p. 679.

42 Nocentelli, 'The Dutch Black Legend'.

in a transnational context both in the early modern period and beyond and spread over Europe in a fruitful process of cross-fertilization, also dependent on neighbouring and influential visions from France and the German territories.

## A chronological remark

The chronology employed in this book requires further clarification. The reader may wonder why the eighteenth century has been ignored in our diachronical survey. Indeed, reflections on Hispanophobia cannot overlook the strong anti-Hispanic discourse of the French Enlightenment *philosophes* and encyclopedists. Had not Voltaire and Masson de Morvilliers dismissed the role and importance of Spain and its culture in the development of European civilization? Was Spain in that sense not a 'nation of pygmies', in words of the latter? Had Spanish literature not contaminated good taste in Europe?<sup>43</sup> Recent scholarship has contested the deep-rooted vision of eighteenth-century intellectual France as exclusively a bulwark of anti-Hispanic prejudices. According to Checa Beltrán, Spanish cultural legacy was not only underestimated, since many instances of curiosity and positive evaluation are to be found in a variegated array of sources like travelogues, letters, encyclopaedias, geographical or scientific treaties etc.<sup>44</sup> Even Montaigne's and Voltaire's critical utterances on Spain, which were to become so canonical, can be nuanced if more broadly contextualized and examined against the light of their whole oeuvre.<sup>45</sup> However, the anti-Hispanic French

43 This unfavourable opinion of Spanish culture was also present in the sixteenth century. In 1588, Marc Antoine Muret had blamed the Hispano-Latin writers Seneca, Lucan and Martial for the corruption of Latin letters (Dainotto, *Europe (in Theory)*, pp. 113–114). In the eighteenth century, Italian literary polemicists also put the blame on Spain for the deplorable Baroque taste that spread across Europe. It is particularly interesting that Italian critics negatively link Spanish literary influence with Spain's military occupation of Italy. See Profetti, 'Para la fortuna de Lope en el siglo XVIII', pp. 728–741. Furthermore, the hegemony of the French discourse had helped Italian intellectuals to blame Spanish influence for their own faults. See Dainotto, *Europe (in Theory)*, p. 114.

44 Checa Beltrán, *Lecturas del legado español*, pp. 9, 105.

45 As Françoise Étienvre has argued, the anti-Hispanic discourse in Voltaire and Montesquieu has to be placed in a broader political and economical context where criticism of Spain is sometimes deployed as a point of departure for a rhetorical ploy where all nations are attacked. In his historical works Voltaire's stance regarding Spain is well-informed and impartial, in contrast to the most-well known entries of the *Encyclopédie*. The same holds for Montesquieu's caustic letter LXXVIII in *Lettres persanes*, which provoked furious Spanish replies (Étienvre, 'Montesquieu y Voltaire', pp. 67–101).

discourse is the one that became dominant and canonical in Enlightenment historiography and on discourses on modernity. The proposed nuance for the eighteenth-century French context by Checa Beltrán coincides with our contention of a wide spectrum of co-existent Hispanophobic and Hispanophilic discourses.<sup>46</sup>

Also for eighteenth-century England it is undeniable that a clearly positive appreciation of Spain can be traced in various genres before the Romantic turn. Such is the case for early English travel writers visiting the Iberian Peninsula in the second half of the century, who already anticipated Romantic figurations of Spain.<sup>47</sup> Think of politician and writer Sir John Talbott Dillon (1739-1805) and poet William Hayley (1745-1820) who can be considered pioneers in the study of Spanish literature, preceding Southey, the renowned Hispanophile and expert on Lope de Vega.<sup>48</sup> But still, Spain remained largely unknown and ignored until around 1800.<sup>49</sup> Regarding the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic, hardly any research has been undertaken so far to chart a panorama of Hispano-Dutch literary relations.<sup>50</sup> We know that drama was, numerically speaking, the most influential genre in the eighteenth century, and at the beginning of the century there still existed a '*Spaansche Schouwburg*', a Spanish playhouse, in Amsterdam, where once a week Portuguese Jews performed a Spanish play.<sup>51</sup> Spanish plays and anti-Spanish historical plays continued to be performed throughout the century.<sup>52</sup> In the historiographical context, for instance, regarding literary histories, it is undeniable that certain processes of assessment and evaluation of the Spanish literary legacy had already started to take shape in England. Although no studies exclusively dedicated to Spanish letters had been produced, early examples of English literary history (such as Thomas Wharton's *History of English Poetry* [1774]) display a comparative character and include reflections on Spain.<sup>53</sup> In the Netherlands, the first reflections on a national literary canon are also to

46 Also relevant in this context is Checa Beltrán, *La cultura española en la Europa Romántica*.

47 Peers, *A History of the Romantic Movement*, vol. 2, pp. 390-391. Interestingly, English authors will positively influence German perceptions on Spain that eventually will enter the German Romantic mould (see Hönsch, *Wege des Spanienbildes*).

48 Comellas and Sánchez Jiménez, 'El Lopismo Inglés del siglo XVIII', pp. 247-285. The first comments on Spanish drama are to be found in Edward Clarke's *Letters* (1763), p. 249.

49 Howarth, *Invention of Spain*; Saglia, *Poetic Castles in Spain*, p. 18.

50 Vosters, *Spanje in de Nederlandse literatuur*, pp. 43-48.

51 Leemans and Johannes, *Worm en donder*, p. 270.

52 See the digital repertoire of Amsterdam Schouwburg in *ONSTAGE*.

53 In the preface Wharton claims to present 'a comparative survey of the poetry of other nations'.

be discerned in this century,<sup>54</sup> but histories of Dutch literature started to be programmatically written only after 1800.<sup>55</sup> Interest in Spanish materials has to be traced indirectly through comparative utterances regarding national literary production that start to get off the ground in the nineteenth century. From a broader European perspective, these trajectories fit in with the increased interest in philology, history writing and historical literature that developed between 1780 and 1840, and in the surge of literary historicism in general. Gradually, with the rise of the discipline of comparative literature with its reaction against 'the false isolation of national literary histories', a new way of considering (world) literature will emerge.<sup>56</sup>

There are thus also examples of coalescing Hispanophilia and Hispanophobia in the eighteenth century and of expressions of national thinking. The idea of a national literary canon was also budding in this century, but it is in the nineteenth century when literary history truly 'expanded range and connected to national enterprises'.<sup>57</sup> It is this very national dimension that informs the focus in this volume on the early modern period and the nineteenth century as a dyptic, interlocked by their parallels regarding the forging of (proto-)national identities and of a national past against the backdrop of old enemy Spain. Not for nothing has the nineteenth century been described as 'the age of history' when all nation states were framing and defining their national master narratives. The past thus became a point of identification, and progressively also part 'of the growing sense of nationality as the premier organizing criterion of the European landscape'.<sup>58</sup> In the Netherlands, the seventeenth-century Golden Age became nostalgically the 'touchstone of national pride'.<sup>59</sup> The same holds for England, where the

54 According to Leemans and Johannes, 'eighteenth-century authors themselves are responsible for the "invention" of national literary histories' ('Gnawing Worms and Rolling Thunder', p. 24). An extraordinary example of one of the first examples of national canon formation in 'material' form is the 'Panoëticon Batavûm', an eighteenth-century cabinet that housed the portraits of over 300 Dutch writers, the first portraits date from around 1700 (Van Deinen, *Litteraire erflaters*). For an explanation of the cabinet in English, see Leemans and Johannes, 'Gnawing Worms and Rolling Thunder', pp. 21-24.

55 Kloeke and Mijndhardt, 1800, p. 492. For the development of Dutch literary history in the context of the cultivation of culture, the institutional rise of Dutch Studies (*Neerlandistiek*) and the main historical actors involved, see Honings, Rutten and Van Kalmthout, *Language, Literature*.

56 Weliek, 'The Crisis of Comparative Literature', pp. 282-283. See Leerssen, *Comparative Literature*.

57 Gies, 'The Funes Effect', p. 7.

58 Leerssen, 'Introduction', p. xvii.

59 Van Sas, 'From Waterloo Field to Bruges-la-Morte', pp. 19, 35.

heroic past of Elizabeth I was viewed as an inspiring age of exploration and expansion when, to top it off, literature had flowered in a glorious manner with Shakespeare as, not only England's, but Europe's creative pinnacle. The comparison between Elizabeth I's era and Victoria's was also duly exploited.<sup>60</sup> Of course, Napoleon and the Peninsular War had reshuffled national rivalries in Europe, which meant that not only the past, but also the present, the 'new order of things in Spain'<sup>61</sup> was instrumental for the definition of each country's national character and of 'Spanishness'.

One exception has been made regarding engagement with the eighteenth century. Since Cervantes's *Don Quixote* was already by then considered as one of the two centrepieces of the Spanish literary canon, the second being Spanish Golden Age drama, it is impossible not to refer to the particular branding of the work and its author in the pre-Romantic first half of the century, especially on English soil. Lord Carteret's 1738 luxury edition of *Don Quijote* is probably the most well-known example of a positive appraisal of Spanish literature in general, and of *Don Quixote* in particular, before Romantic interpretations started to shed new light on Spain's literary legacy. As we shall see, in Carteret's enterprise, we can detect both Hispanophilic and Hispanophobic tendencies, which render his figure and political agenda particularly illuminating. Illustrative for the relevance of Cervantes's masterwork in the Dutch Republic is the fact that although not much is known about Spanish influence in the eighteenth century, *Don Quixote*'s peregrinations also reached Dutch territories. Two editions of the 1657 translation by Lambert van den Bos were published in 1707 and 1732 (the sixth and seventh, respectively). Van den Bosch's translation was the first complete Dutch translation of the novel, and, more importantly, the first illustrated edition of the book. In this way, the Dutch significantly contributed with their 'iconographic model' to the visual imagination of *Don Quixote* in Europe.<sup>62</sup> This fact has not frequently been acknowledged in European literary history and underlines once more the constant cross-fertilization in the Republic of Letters and the

60 Valladares, *Staging the Peninsular War*, p. 104. 'The age of Elizabeth saw England overcome the Spanish Armada and establish itself against the competing claims of Spanish imperialism. The call to arms in 1803 [...] resulted in a propaganda effort that united Sheridan's broadsheet with imprints of Queen Elizabeth's speech to the troops at Tilbury [...]. [showing the] topical pertinence of the Elizabethan plays staged between 1808 and 1814.' We will not delve into it, but empire-building processes were obviously instrumental to define the nation in the nineteenth century.

61 See Valladares's chapter in this volume.

62 Lucía Megías, *Leer el Quijote en imágenes*, p. 194.

fluid way in which national representations spread. Probably influenced by Lord Carteret's edition, Jacob Campo Weyerman published in 1746 a new free translation or adaptation, richly illustrated, also including for the first time in Dutch translation Mayans's life of Cervantes from the 1738 English edition.<sup>63</sup> The exceptional role of *Don Quixote* is also strongly present in the realm of Dutch (political) imagination as references to his figure re-emerge in the midst of political polemics between Orangists and Patriots at the end of the century, by which the former accuse their opponents of unworldliness (and thus, political quixotism).<sup>64</sup> Undoubtedly, Cervantes is an exceptional case when it comes to foreign reflections on Spanish national literature and *Volksgeist*, since in the nineteenth century he was declared to be *the* Spanish novelist par excellence, but also a universal genius.<sup>65</sup> The process of renegotiation and appropriation of Cervantes's novel in the British context is something that renders this work exceptional in comparison to the rest of Spain's cultural legacy. The unique way in which *Don Quixote* was paired with Spain, and at the same time dissociated from it, informs our decision to give thought to the moulding of its perception in the eighteenth century.<sup>66</sup>

## Genres and topics

Against the background of the cross-cultural interactions between Spain, Britain and the Low Countries an attempt will be made to offer a kaleidoscopic range of chapters on the multifarious figurations of Spain and its discursive presence in two historical moments when this malleable matrix of national representations was also relevant for British/Netherlandic national development. The focus of the volume is, as the title testifies, literary. While pamphlets and political treatises in the early modern period show a predominantly anti-Hispanic image,<sup>67</sup> literature, as an alternative

63 These were the sixth and seventh editions. Van den Bosch's edition was the first (Arents, *Cervantes in het Nederlands*, pp. 11-15, 33).

64 Arents, *Cervantes in het Nederlands*; Rodríguez Pérez, 'Un Don Quijote anabaptista'. It would be interesting to chart examples of 'political quixotism' and its transnational ramifications in Europe. See Javier Pardo's chapter in this volume.

65 Pérez Isasi, 'The Limits of "Spanishness"', p. 183.

66 In the 1770s, Lope de Vega had been acknowledged in England as a dramatical genius comparable to Shakespeare (Comellas and Sánchez Jiménez, 'El Lopismo Inglés del siglo XVIII', p. 252). Nonetheless, his international reputation did not match that of Cervantes, certainly not in the Dutch Republic.

67 Maltby, *The Black Legend in England*; Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture*.

vehicle for contemporary perceptions, preoccupations and national images,<sup>68</sup> subtly evinces ambiguity towards Spain. Furthermore, literature is an important means for the cultural retrieval, appropriation and transmission of the past by a contemporary audience.<sup>69</sup> Historical novels and drama are some of the most pregnant examples of this category. Both are central to the construction of national identities, of the self and the other. Nonetheless, due to the juxtaposition of the political and the literary, some political texts like pamphlets will be included in our case studies. Pamphlets were instrumental in the dissemination of prejudices and criticism of political rivals. On closer scrutiny they can also reveal an admixture of conflicting representations and can reflect telling intersections with the literary sphere.

In order to illustrate the dynamics and rhetorical strategies of Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia, a selection of different genres has been made: mirrors for princes, pamphlets, reviews, poetry, novels, drama and literary histories. Some essays concentrate on a discrete cultural moment, whereas others span a broader period, ranging from micro-history to case studies. It is, of course, impossible to encompass the full range of possible literary genres that mirror Spain and its culture. This implies that some relevant genres that employ literary techniques, such as travelogues or egodocuments, are not included in this book. However, attention will be paid to other genres that are not literary in essence but engage with literary representation and prejudices, like reviews and literary histories, considered as two of the most powerful media for shaping opinion in the nineteenth century.<sup>70</sup>

Because of its relevance both in the early modern period and the nineteenth century, drama is the most represented genre in this volume. Spanish Golden Age theatre was considered as the 'mother lode' of European drama by many European dramaturgs and literary historians, but it was also contested and downplayed on different grounds. The dramatical continuity in the nineteenth century of certain stock plays with a Spanish theme or stereotypical Spanish characters reveal the close interplay and negotiation of Golden Age topoi. Think of the *dons* or the *duennas* that populate English drama at the turn of the nineteenth century.<sup>71</sup> To fully understand the evolution of certain

68 Bloemendal, Dixhoorn and Strietman, *Literary Cultures and Public Opinion*; Mathijssen, *De mythe terug*.

69 Leerssen, 'Retro-fitting the Past', p. 128.

70 London, *Literary History Writing*, pp. 6, 11. Literary history as a discipline at the service of national unity was further perceived to have potential to enact political change and to offer alternatives to national decadence (Leemans and Johannes, *Worm en donder*, p. 42).

71 For Dutch plays with historical themes regarding Spain (1800-1850), see Jensen, *De verheerlijking van het verleden*, pp. 219-221.

plays that were to become main 'national dramatical pieces' like *Pizarro* by Richard Brinsley Sheridan about the Spanish conquest in Peru (1799), the plays have to be contextualized synchronically and diachronically.<sup>72</sup>

In what follows an attempt will be made to highlight and tie together some of the more salient points emerging from the various chapters in relation to the central theme of this volume. The book is divided into two sections, one dealing with the early modern period, the other the modern era. The first part of the volume opens with Alexander Samson's chapter 'Being Spanish in the Early Modern World', which reflects on the elasticity of the term 'Spanish', both as understood and constructed within the Habsburg Empire and as seen from the outside by enemies and allies. Differing visions of legitimacy and belonging over time caused alterations in what was perceived as 'Spanishness'. Samson reminds us of the elastic self-fashioning of rulers in the early modern period, such as Charles V and Philip II, who engaged in a well-thought-out process of 'multivocal' self-fashioning to persuade subjects to identify with the ruler's interests. In this way, Philip II consciously attempted to cultivate his 'English' persona while married to Mary Tudor (or to strengthen the close bonds with his Netherlandic subjects through presenting himself as their natural overlord). The flexibility of such practices was considerable and, of course, is true for other nations as well. From an outward perspective, a progressive Hispanization of the Habsburg monarchy took place, and a progressive conflation of Castile with Spain. In the end it was empire that came to define the nation, an observation that also obviously applies to the English/British case. This imperial enterprise was connected from the outside with the alleged universal intentions of the Spanish monarchy and was further indelibly linked to a limited and caricatured view of religion. Catholicism became a defining aspect of Spanishness. Against the backdrop of this terminological question and its implications, essential for this volume, Samson also contends that from a cultural and literary perspective phobias can in fact be philias in disguise.

The following chapter, 'Spanish Exemplary Rulership? Antonio de Guevara's *Relox de Príncipes* (1529) in English (1557) and Dutch (1578) Translation' by Sabine Waasdorp, engages with the field of historical translation studies and offers a Dutch-English comparative case study. Thanks to Peter Burke and others, it has become obvious that translations are constitutive of cultures and that studying the life of texts in translation can illuminate

72 Valladares, *Staging the Peninsular War*, pp. 15-16. The aim of Valladares's book is to elucidate how the Peninsular War related to the longer history of the representation of Spain in English theatres, stressing in this way the importance of diachronical analysis.

the history of interaction and transmission of cultures.<sup>73</sup> The Spanish empire made use of translations as an imperial instrument to propagate official political and religious ideologies in its territories.<sup>74</sup> The propaganda machinery of their Dutch and English adversaries functioned likewise. In the context of this volume we could state that translation can be employed for 'philic' or 'phobic' purposes: as a sign of interest and acknowledgement of the work in question, but also as an instrument of a 'conspiracy of translation', to use Peter Burke's words: to support ideas, assumptions or prejudices already present in the culture.<sup>75</sup> Waasdorp focuses on translations of Antonio de Guevara's European bestseller *Relox de príncipes* (1527) in England and the Low Countries. Guevara's 'mirror for princes' aimed to highlight the exemplarity of the princes of Spain, particularly that of Charles V, an 'Hispanophilic' message difficult to digest in certain historical moments. Waasdorp analyses the negotiation of 'Spanishness' and most particularly 'exemplary Spanishness' in both English and Dutch translations/adaptations, scrutinizing the different translation strategies deployed to transform the original narrative. In order to match the expectations and/or ideological agendas of the different recipient cultures, strategies will lean sometimes towards universalizing the *Relox*, whereas at other times they will turn the new target text into an effective vehicle for Hispanophobic propaganda.

Ernesto E. Oyarbide Magaña focuses in 'Between Love and Hate: Thomas Scott's Puritan Propaganda and His Interest in Spanish Culture' on the interplay between the political and the literary and in particular on the Protestant preacher Thomas Scott, an active writer of anti-Spanish propaganda. Scott aptly embodies the closeness of the English-Netherlandish-Spanish connection in the early modern period, since he also lived in the Low Countries and partook in the intense traffic of translated pamphlets between the Low Countries and England.<sup>76</sup> Scott is the author of the popular anti-Hispanic

73 Burke and Po-chia Hsia, *Cultural Translation*; Hermans, *The Manipulation of Literature*; Hermans, 'Sprekend 'n vertaling'; Schmidt, *Elizabethan Translation*. In the early modern period, the import/export translation ratio strongly differed between Spanish, Dutch and English. Most works were translated from Spanish, few into Spanish. Before 1650-1700 translations from English were very scarce, but remarkably enough 50 per cent of the export in this period was translated into Dutch (see Burke, *Ik vertaal, dus ik ben*, pp. 27-28).

74 Gruzinski, 'Babel en el siglo XVI'.

75 Burke and Po-chia Hsia, *Cultural Translation*; pp. 17-20. For the co-existence of Hispanophilic/phobic strands in one and the same translator, see for the Dutch case: Rodríguez Pérez, 'The Adventures of a *Spanish Amsterdammer*'.

76 In the decade 1622-1632, between 60 and 70 per cent of the news materials in the English periodical press originated from the Low Countries, mainly Amsterdam (Hayley, *The British and the Dutch*, p. 48).

*Vox Populi, or Newes from Spain* (1620). This pamphlet decisively interacted with the literary sphere, strongly influencing the image of Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, first count of Gondomar, Spanish ambassador to London from 1613 to 1622. The *Vox* was used by Thomas Middleton in his satirical blockbuster *A Game at Chess*, staged in London in 1624 in the wake of the troublesome negotiations around the 'Spanish Match' between Prince Charles and the Infanta María. Gondomar would become a sort of 'mythical' fictional Spaniard, almost as famous as Hyeronimo from Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1582), the most popular play of the English Renaissance. Despite the connection between Scott and such an Hispanophobic canonical play as *A Game at Chess*, Oyarbide Magaña contends that behind Scott's animosity towards Spain and Gondomar, his thorough argumentation and knowledge of Spain evinces an almost 'obsessive' form of interest in Spanish culture and hegemony, and in things Spanish.

In 'Enemy Treasures: The Making and Marketing of Spanish *Comedia* in the Amsterdam Schouwburg', Frans Blom debunks the long-existing historiographical bias that Spanish cultural capital played little role of relevance in the Republic during the early modern period, due to the pervasiveness of the Hispanophobic Black Legend narrative. Exploring what he defines as the 'paradox of Spain's triumph in the heart of Dutch culture', he shows that despite the protracted war with Spain, Spanish theatre revealed itself as a 'powerhouse' for thrilling plots and characters at a moment when the Amsterdam Schouwburg (city theatre), founded in 1638, was in great need of successful theatrical material. Blom not only charts the first budding interest in Spanish drama at the beginning of the century through cultural agents such as Theodore Rodenburgh (who also lived in England and translated and imported English works), but he also traces the transfer route of Spanish materials from the Southern Netherlands to the Dutch Republic, highlighting the instrumental role of the Brussels contact zone and that of the Amsterdam Sephardic community in the whole literary process of acquisition, transfer and adaptation. Blom's analysis also attests to the cultural interconnectedness among all territories in the Low Countries during the war and bears witness to the transnational character of literary exchange in the early modern period. Particularly revealing is the way in which in this 'Hispanophilic turn' the Spanishness of the plays and authors like star playwright Lope de Vega is negotiated over time, ranging from a process of looting or plundering, in line with what Barbara Fuchs observed for the English Renaissance stage, to a trademark of artistic device and appealing drama for the Amsterdam theatre crowds.

Continuing with the dramatic setting, in “‘The Barke Is Bad, but the Tree Good’: Hispanophilia, Hispanophobia and Spanish Honour in English and Dutch Plays (c. 1630-1670)’, Rena Bood engages with the way figurations of Spain and its inhabitants were employed, reworked and negotiated on stage in the seventeenth century, but she does it in a comparative framework, in both the Dutch Republic and England. Her essay seeks to renegotiate the way in which the term ‘honour’ and the cultural stereotype of the ‘Spaniard’ are linked on stage, proposing that it is to be understood not only as an exponent of a vengeful nature. Through the analysis of paratextual material and text analysis the existence of gradations in the qualification of Spanish characters can be exposed. Particularly interesting is the fact that her corpus is formed by the same original Spanish play translated and adapted in both England and the Dutch Republic: the internationally successful *The Cid* (c. 1600) by Guillén de Castro. In this way she focuses on Joseph Rutter’s *The Valiant Cid* (1637), and Johan van Heemskerck’s *De verduytsste Cid* (The Dutchified Cid, 1641). Remarkably enough, in the Dutch Republic the Cid is harnessed to the cause of their liberation struggle against Spain. Her chapter also provokes an interesting question regarding the dynamics of selection when comparing cultural exchange in the early modern period. Sometimes different countries display overlap when it comes to certain international bestsellers, but they mostly reveal different selection patterns.<sup>77</sup>

The first part on early modern discourses closes with Antonio Cortijo Ocaña’s ‘James Salgado: Anti-Spanish Sentiment and the Popish Plot’, where the author engages with the close relationship between politics and religion through the works of James Salgado, a purportedly Spanish convert to Protestantism who produced several works of anti-Catholic (and/or anti-Jesuit) propaganda in England in the 1670s-1680s. Anti-Catholicism and anti-Hispanism are sometimes overlapping discourses in the early modern period and beyond. As in the case of Thomas Scott, Salgado also stayed in the Low Countries, making tangible the Anglo-Dutch-Spanish triangulation. However, Salgado’s Spanish identity is not to be taken at face value, but as a *nom de plume*. Cortijo questions his autobiographical works and interprets them as a literary game with the genre of the ‘convert’. This genre, together

77 For the Dutch and English context there is not much overlap in the Spanish plays that were translated for both stages. Choices are sometimes eyebrow-raising. Rena Bood looks into this issue in her PhD thesis. This selection difference can also be detected in the translation of prose, as in the case of Cervantes’s *Novelas Ejemplares* (1613) in Dutch and English. Although in both contexts six novels were translated, there is only one case of overlap: *El celoso extremeño*. Further research can be done to try to ascertain the possible selection criteria behind these corpora.

with that of the 'critical Spaniard' who attests to the cruelty and wrongdoings of his own nation, are well-known and effective rhetorical procedés within the Black Legend narrative. Canonical examples of the instrumentalization of this narrative are Bartolomé de las Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1552), respectfully addressed to King Philip II, but turned into a denunciation of Spain, or Antonio Pérez's *Relaciones* (1591), Philip II's (in)famous secretary whose works would also become instrumental in the discourse of Spanish criticism 'from within'. Although Salgado's works relate to a long-existing tradition of Hispanophobic polemics connected to the Protestant faction at Elizabeth's court, there is an obvious tension between Salgado's negative perception of everything Catholic and his opinion of Spain, Spaniards and Spanish manners and customs. This can be observed in some of his unpolemical works, such as *An Impartial and Brief Description of the Plaza* (1683), where the Oriental dimension of Spain comes to the fore, or in *The manners and customs of the principal nations of Europe* (1684) a thrilling example of an early taxonomy of European nations, like the *Völkertafel* (1720-1730) or *Table of nations*, that will later link this anthropological content to visual representations.

Part two, on modern discourses of Spain, opens up with the eighteenth century and *Don Quixote*, as mentioned above. The chapter functions as a temporal hinge between the two parts of the volume. Pedro Javier Pardo's analysis in 'From Hispanophobia to Quixotophilia: The Politics of Quixotism in the British Long Eighteenth Century' scrutinizes the fluctuations in the dynamics of Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia regarding this emblematic Spanish work that came to be inextricably paired with Spain, contributing to further reflection on the boundaries of these concepts. Pardo ascertains a 'Cervantine/philoquixotic turn' in the appreciation of the classic and his author in Britain and examines the conflicting strands of literary admiration and political antagonism, ranging from dissociation and association with Spain to the full naturalization of the novel in the Victorian age. His wide chronological scope, from the seventeenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth century, exposes the alternation in perception from an Hispanophobic classic in the seventeenth century (and recurrent until the first half of the eighteenth century), to a later extremely favourable perception of *Don Quixote*, perfectly in tune with the future figuration of Romantic Spain. This evolution from Hispanophobic to Hispanophilic does not underscore a predictable black-and-white interpretation in accordance with a nineteenth-century paradigm shift, since Pardo exposes a curious paradox: 'the political denigration of Spain goes hand in hand with the literary exaltation of Cervantes and his work'. The simultaneity of praise

and scorn illustrates the possible interplay between Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia in different and similar contexts, and also in one and the same individual. This paradox is embodied in Sir William Temple's and Lord Carteret's double identities as men of letters and politicians. Temple was campaigning for war against Spain, and Lord Carteret, despite his key role in the canonization of *Don Quixote*, represented the most antagonistic position against Spain in contemporary English politics.

The following essay, 'Spanish Politicking in British Periodical Reviews, 1808-1814' by Susan Valladares, illustrates the importance of Spain in British nineteenth-century culture. Valladares delves into the genre of periodical reviews, exposing the interplay between the political and the literary. She embarks on an analysis of a genre that has received less attention than other literary media, but proves equally fruitful for the cultural projection of ideas on Spain. The essay examines the role of reviews in both prophesizing and memorializing Britain's military interventions in Spain, focusing on two politically opposed reviews: the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*. As a result of the Peninsular War, the vision of Spain had undergone a considerable change, turning not only into a synonym of freedom and reform but also into an inspiring example for Europe at large. These ideologically rival reviews reflected and manipulated British public opinion about Spain, negotiating between inherited and newly forged narratives of Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia for their own political ends. The influential position of reviews in the framing of the unstable discourse of Anglo-Spanish prejudices and sympathies advanced during the Peninsular War, and posed questions about the responsibilities of periodical reviewers. Reactions were also forged in literary form. Indeed, poet laureate and the most prominent Hispanist of his age, Robert Southey will launch his most forceful attack on the *Edinburgh's* appropriation of Spanish politics from the paratexts of his laureate ode *Carmen Triumphale* (1814). As Valladares sharply concludes, '[i]n the heady world of early-nineteenth-century print culture, Spain was not only a political, but also an aesthetic and ideological, battlefield'.

The next chapter, 'Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia in the Netherlands: Continuities and Ruptures in the Nineteenth Century' by Lotte Jensen, relates early modern perceptions of Spain to the nineteenth century and the rise of Dutch nationalism, distinguishing two ruptures in the dominating Hispanophobic Dutch narrative: the Napoleonic era and the Catholic emancipation from the 1840s. Debates and promises of emancipation for Catholic subjects also played a role in Britain from the beginning of the century. Dutch Catholics advocated for a national historiography of the Dutch Revolt where Protestant interpretations were not the 'default' discourse. Both ruptures

contributed to a sometimes cumbersome renegotiation of anti-Spanish stereotypes and canonical episodes and heroes of national history. Although there was a dominant discourse in which Spanish evilness was instrumental in shaping a positive Dutch self-image, counter-narratives, in the shape of positive images and alternative representations of Spain, circulated as well. Both literary and historiographical sources attest to these shifts. In Dutch resistance literature a narrative of a 'united Dutch people' was deployed, as in the early modern period, but this time with a French enemy, which implied adaptations in the 'Spanish' enemy template that remind us of early modern renegotiations. Poems like Helmers's canonical *De Hollandsche natie* (1812) or the historical play *Montigni* (1821) by the Amsterdam poet H.H. Klijn, based on the Netherlandish nobleman executed in Philip II's time, reveal the way authors moulded the past and Spanish historical antagonists according to their own political needs. For their part, Catholic intellectuals criticized the one-sidedness of Dutch historiography with regard to the Eighty Years' War and offered their own versions of Dutch literary history and with it created new Catholic heroes, seeking their roots in a different part of Dutch history, the Middle Ages.

Fernando Durán López's contribution, 'From *Azoteas* to Dungeons: Spain as Archaeology of the Despotism in Alexander Dallas's Novel *Vargas* (1822)', links to some of the thematic threads exposed in this volume, namely the interconnection between the literary and the religious. Interestingly, this novel had been long attributed to the Anglicized Spanish exile Joseph Blanco White, positioning this work into the dialectic of a Spanish Catholic who had converted to Protestantism. As in the case of James Salgado, Alexander Dallas's attitude towards things Spanish is determined by the entrenched religious rivalry between Protestantism and Catholicism. However, Dallas's (literary) career is not consistently Hispanophobic. As one of the first soldiers fighting in Spain, he was widely acquainted with Spanish culture and manners, and in his novels he displayed Hispanophilic visions of Spain. His later conversion to Anglicanism will make him connect Catholic Spain with superstition, bigotry, despotism and, in a word, with the Inquisition. Nonetheless, the transition is not clear-cut, and a complex dialogue between Hispanophilia and -phobia is latent in his last novel, *Vargas, a Tale of Spain* (1822), published anonymously. To analyse Dallas's articulation of Spain in *Vargas*, Durán places the novel against the backdrop of Walter Scott's historical-novel model, foregrounding the pioneering role of *Vargas* as first Spanish historical novel. While in previous novels like *Felix Alvarez* Dallas expanded with fascination on the peculiarities of Spanish life, landscape and manners, in *Vargas* he limits himself to a small number of scarce and

contained mentions of Spanish culture, favouring the old Hispanophobia inherited and rooted in discriminatory national and religious identities. The epitome of his Hispanophobic turn is the assimilation of the main Spanish character Bartolomé Vargas to the sixteenth-century Protestant 'martyrs' who fought for the Reformation. With this intervention, Vargas actually becomes the literary embodiment of those Spaniards critical of Spain 'from within' we have referred to previously, in accordance with the Black Legend narrative.

Diego Saglia's chapter 'Discordant Visions: Spain and the Stages of London in 1823' concentrates on the stage as a major site for the production and dissemination of Romantic-era constructions of Spain as a conflicted cultural geography, oscillating between fascination and attraction, anxiety and hostility. Through a prismatic focus on a discrete cultural moment, 1823, the year of the fall of the liberal regime in Madrid, Saglia interconnects not only the substantial number of 'Spanish' works performed in the London patent theatres, but also images of Spain in parliamentary debates and the 'Spanish Fete' at Covent Garden (July 1823). Interestingly enough, all of the Spanish-themed plays performed in 1822-1823 were tried and tested favourites that confirmed the long-term hold over British audiences of repertoire drawn from Spanish imagination, such as Thomas Otway's *Venice Preserv'd* (1682), Richard Brinsley Sheridan's *Pizarro* (1799) or George Colman's *The Mountaineers* (1795). Although there were only two original Spanish-themed productions of that year, *Cortez; or, The Conquest of Mexico* and *Spanish Bonds; or, Wars in Wedlock*, Saglia makes tangible the way in which they engage with and respond to conflicting political and cultural questions relevant to British, European, and more global contexts. With his attention for these transatlantic offshoots, Saglia evinces a continuous fascination not only for Spain, but also for its former American colonies, interesting geographies for Britain and its European competitors. In this way, *Cortez*, a reworking of John Dryden's 1665 *The Indian Emperour*, plays repeatedly with ambivalences, conjuring up a peculiarly distinct figuration of empire. The Black Legend and Hispanophobia are present in it, but also kept in check. This variety of theatrical forms and spectacular modes exposes an admixture of dissonant representations and uses of Spain, marked by continuity and discontinuity, by Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia.

Raphaël Ingelbien's chapter 'Historical Fiction, Cultural Transfer and the Recycling of the Black Legend between the Low Countries and Britain: A Nineteenth-Century Case Study' gauges the different priorities of British and Netherlandic novelists who recycled the Black Legend in the 1820s, evincing

the selective character of its revival and the interplay with the era's political reconfigurations. Ingelbien compares two historical novels set during the Dutch Revolt: *The Heiress of Bruges: A Tale of the Year Sixteen Hundred* (1830) by Anglo-Irish writer Thomas Colley Grattan, who settled in Brussels and became a resident British expert on the Low Countries, and his possible source of inspiration: *Le Gueux de Mer* (1827), a pioneering 'Belgian' historical novel by Henri Moke. Ingelbien engages in an imagological survey of the portrayal of Spanish character and an analysis of the recurrence or absence in the novels of various motifs central to the Black Legend: Catholicism and the Inquisition, Spanish colonial abuses in the New World, and the Spaniards' miscegenated African or Moorish origin, source of historical disparagement for English and Dutch authors. Both Moke and Grattan are cautious not to use the legend to denounce Catholicism as a whole, which can be explained by their Belgian and Irish origins and the complexity of the Catholic question in both united kingdoms in the early nineteenth century. Furthermore, the influence of Romantic Orientalism also create nuances in their portrayal of Spanish and Moorish characters. Ingelbien demonstrates that nations like England and the Low Countries that had jointly forged anti-Spanish images in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries followed asymmetrical trajectories on opposite sides of the North Sea, but could also coincide in nuancing Hispanophobia.

The last chapter, "Covering the Skeletons with Flesh and Blood": Spanish Golden Age Drama in English and Dutch Nineteenth-Century Literary Histories' by Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, reconstructs perceptions of Spain and its cultural legacy through the prism of literary histories. The renewed interest in Spain at the turn of the nineteenth century was further stimulated by the philological boom and the consolidation of the discipline of literary history as a key agent in the forging of narratives of nationhood and national canons. Writing literary canons implied charting and evaluating different literary traditions, national and foreign. In the particular case of such a landmark genre as national drama, British and Dutch literary historians had to reflect and renegotiate Spanish influences. How could Golden Age Spanish literature have influenced them at the time when their own budding national literatures were at their zenith? How is it possible to acknowledge influence and appreciate cultural legacy in a period when Spain was the arch-enemy, tainted by such a negative reputation? Literary histories reveal distinctly the ambivalent, Hispanophobic/philic attitudes towards the legacy of Spanish drama and, indirectly, towards Spanishness. The author offers a comparative analysis of four literary histories/treatises composed between 1800 and 1846 by Charles Dibdin, Abraham Louis Barbaz,

Willem de Clercq and George Henry Lewes. Although it is obvious that both British and Dutch authors regarded literary canons from a rather ethnocentric perspective, they display both similarities and differences regarding perceptions towards Spain, sometimes through occlusion or downplaying, but mainly evinced through a rhetoric of literary or historical opposition.

*Literary Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia in Britain and the Low Countries (1550-1850)* contends that to gauge and fully understand the discursive presence and literary functionality of Spain in Britain and the Low Countries Hispanophobic and Hispanophilic narratives have to be considered in interplay. From their position as 'special friends' across history, the British and the Dutch have not always related in similar ways to Spain while forging their own national identities. Reconstructing their attitudes to Spain over time reveals certain peaks and troughs in their cultural exchange, and both entrenched and new figurations of Spain can be better interpreted in their historical (dis)continuity. In the middle of the nineteenth century the Spaniard may no longer be the bugbear of anybody's imagination, but, under new transgender reconfigurations like *Carmen*, dark and dangerous depths kept simmering.

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