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Lodewijck Huygens' *Spanish Journal*, 1660–1661: Perceptions of Spain and Confirmation of the Identity of the Dutch Republic*

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Travel narratives are a historical source full of pitfalls. Nevertheless, these stories do provide much historical information, not just about the country visited and its people, but about the traveller as well. Texts of this genre in particular tell us much about the traveller's perceptions of the other. At the same time, the self-image vis-à-vis the other will be reconsidered on the basis of the visit to the other's country, and will be adjusted or reconfirmed with old and new arguments. This rarely leads to a completely new image; rather, there will be adjustments within the framework of existing perceptions. All of this applies to Lodewijck Huygens (son of Constantijn) and his Spanish Journal (1660–1661), where the Spaniard gets a new position within the prevalent perceptions and opinions about relations between Spain and the Dutch Republic after the Eighty Years' War. The ordinary Spaniard is no longer perceived as the enemy; instead, like the Dutch in the sixteenth century, he, too, is a victim of Spanish tyranny and of the Roman Catholic Church. The author's self-image is also reconsidered; in this particular case it leads to a confirmation of his identity and a justification of the emancipation of his fatherland as an independent free nation because, if the Dutch Revolt had not succeeded, the Netherlanders might have been living in the same miserable conditions as the Spaniards.

KEYWORDS Lodewijck Huygens, travel narratives, Dutch republic, Spain.

*I have studied the subject in previous, experimental publications in Spanish. This article is a synthesis of these writings in the theoretical context of travel writing. I am greatly indebted to Margriet Lacy-Bruijn for patiently correcting this text.

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Introduction

On 22 October 1660, an extraordinary embassy of the young Dutch Republic of the United Provinces left the modest naval base of Hellevoetsluis near Rotterdam to set sail for the northern coast of Spain in a small fleet of men-of-war. Officially the *Hauts et Puissants Seigneurs* of the States-General sent the diplomatic mission to the Spanish Court to congratulate King Philip IV on the marriage of his daughter, the Infanta María Teresa, to the young king of France, Louis XIV. The Dutch ambassadors not only had the intention to offer their sincere best wishes but also wanted to seize the opportunity to discuss some urgent economic and political affairs with the Spanish authorities.[1]

This extraordinary embassy included three members: Johan van Merode, who presided over the delegation, Godard Adriaan van Reede van Amerongen, and Philip Aebinga van Humalda – all three deputies at the General Assembly of the Dutch Republic, where they represented their respective provinces of Holland, Utrecht, and Friesland. As usual, the Dutch envoys were allowed to be accompanied at their own discretion and at their own expense by as many young gentilshommes as they desired, as long as the latter's behaviour or actions did not discredit the delegation. For these privileged lads, sons of nobles and regents, the voyage was meant to broaden their horizons, to develop their cultural knowledge, and definitely to contribute to their understanding of politics, which might be useful in their future public career.[2]

Baron Van Reede van Amerongen offered Lodewijck Huygens the opportunity to make the trip to Spain and visit the Court of the Catholic King by inviting him to join his suite. Lodewijck was the third son of Susanna van Baerle and the famous Dutch poet Constantijn Huygens, who not only played a prominent role in the United Provinces' intellectual and artistic life, but also was an influential person in Dutch politics because of his position as private secretary, first to Stadtholder Frederick Henry of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and next to the latter's son, Prince William II. Moreover, some of Huygens' relatives occupied key positions in the administrative network of the Generality institutions.

During his journey and six-month stay in Spain Lodewijck Huygens kept a diary,[3] which is an extraordinary manuscript not just because of the testimony of the experiences of this scion of the Huygens family but in particular because it is one of only a few journals by seventeenth-century Dutch travellers to Spain that have come down to us.[4] Understandably, in the years prior to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, not many Dutchmen travelled to the Iberian Peninsula, territory of the archenemy, the king of Spain. After King Philip IV's recognition of the independence and sovereignty of the young Republic, Spain still was not a common destination for Dutch visitors due to the country's persistently unfavourable image in the Northern Netherlands.

Huygens' encounter with the former enemy turns the diary into an exceptional document. Lodewijck, who grew up during the Eighty Years' War in the intellectual and Protestant administrative circles of The Hague, finds himself face to face with the Spaniards whom he knew primarily from the patriotic stories told in his country. The diary does not give us merely an impression of what he observed and thought of the

Spaniards and of Spanish society, whether or not preconditioned by established cultural conventions, stereotypes, and *topoi*; it also reflects the ideas the traveller had about his own country and fellowmen in comparison with his hosts.[5]

In this essay I will analyse the views of Huygens and his Dutch travel companions on contemporary Spaniards, and compare them with the complex arsenal of negative ideas and images of Spain and its people that prevailed in the United Provinces in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But first I will provide some critical remarks on travel writing as a historical source, followed by a concise analysis of the social, intellectual, and religious background which defined Lodewijck's upbringing, education, and his social and political career.

Travel writing: the perception of the other and of the self (hetero- and auto-images)

Travel writing is a historical source that requires a great deal of caution because the narratives are in the first place a mixture of fact and fiction. That does not, however, make them useless to the historiographer. As long as the social context and the intentions of the author are carefully taken into account, it is certainly possible to obtain important historical information which provides a better understanding, on the one hand, of the country visited and, on the other, of the traveller.

Although Huygens' journal is not a fictitious story such as Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), Baltasar Gracián's *El criticón* (1651–1657), or Jonathan Swift's *Gullivers Travels* (1726), but a report, presented as a diary, of a journey with a mission, it is not limited to hard facts.[6] Travel journals are often read as reflections of reality, whereas the text, in one way or another, usually is a literary construct with or without a specific objective. In the Early Modern era the travel story became a literary genre with its own rules for its form and, to some extent, its content. More or less automatically, travellers filled their stories with epic elements, fabricated anecdotes, adventurous passages, and Arcadian descriptions to meet the readers' expectations. They were eager to depict matters in exaggerated terms and in a more exotic way than reality warranted in order to keep the audience's attention.[7]

Moreover, travellers usually composed their story on the basis of their notes after the journey was completed. Once the author was home again, the writing process most often took place in different stages during which the text was carefully edited and supplemented with information found elsewhere. Thus, the author distanced himself one or more steps from the immediate reality of his travel experiences and had time to reflect about them afterwards.[8] This was clearly the case in the *Spaans journaal*. During his time in Spain, Huygens jotted down notes which he used to draft texts, probably while he was still travelling.[9] Later, upon his return to the Netherlands, he developed these into a definitive version in French, replete with beautifully constructed sentences.[10]

In addition to literary considerations, personal reasons could disguise the facts as well. In many instances, travelling writers present their experiences as more beautiful or more sensational than they actually had been in order to enhance their public image.

Self-fashioning could take place, for example, by aggrandising one's role at times of danger, by overstating one's command of the language spoken in the foreign country, or by exaggerating one's knowledge of art. Young people on their Grand Tour had to demonstrate in their narratives that they had indeed learned a lot and had taken personal initiatives to broaden their knowledge, in order to convince their parents that the journey had served its purpose. Thus, providing a true account of reality was not the obvious thing to do, and there are numerous examples of distorted facts, fictitious visits to monuments, or meetings with important persons followed by so-called personal reflections which never took place.

Most travellers informed themselves about their destination prior to departure, and quite a few consulted travel guides or relied on journals or reports by earlier visitors. That way, travellers were strongly predisposed and saw especially what they had to see, without being open to other experiences. We know that many authors did not hesitate to paraphrase, or even plagiarise, their predecessors in order to do their cultural duty, which writing a travel journal amounted to for many.[11] In the Early Modern era these copying practices contributed to a standardisation of opinions and to a stereotyping of countries and peoples in Europe that inhibited personal and independent observations.

In general, the traveller's social and cultural background as well as his intellectual baggage determined to a great extent what he saw and observed, and what he decided to put down in writing. Travel writing tells us in fact more about the traveller than about the host country and its people. This makes the genre twice as interesting, precisely because it is a source which provides information about the country and people that have been visited and about the traveller himself. Furthermore, it reflects the process by which ideas and beliefs the traveller has about himself and the other, are reshaped under the influence of a direct confrontation with the other. A. Meier stated this concisely when he wrote:

> Travel writing often reveals much more about the traveller than about the depicted areas and people. They can be viewed as historical sources of a double, but uneven expressiveness: the information on the visited areas and peoples remains precarious; of far greater value (in terms of the history of mentality and imagology) is the fact that these accounts reflect the changes in the conditions influencing the perception of self and other.[12]

In many ways, Lodewijck Huygens' travel journal shows us the typical literary aspects of the genre, and he, too, is guilty of exaggeration, self-fashioning, and plagiarism. The reader is presented with a lot of scenic beauty, art, Spanish customs, and remarks about the national character, all of which quite frequently amounts to stereotyping. More interesting, however, are the notions that Huygens developed about the Spaniards and Spanish society during his visit and in the writing process after the journey. Apparently, what he saw did not necessarily agree with the ideas he had about Spaniards prior to his departure. He tried to adapt the latter to his actual experiences but clearly did so within the framework to which he had always been accustomed[13] and which had been strongly defined not only by his family's social and cultural background and by the education received under his father's tutelage, but also by the anti-Spanish sentiment that was directly linked to the traumatic years during the Revolt and the subsequent Eighty

Years' War. It was this heroic struggle that for a large part of the Republic's population constituted the basis of its identity, which was confirmed by the young nation's internationally admired successes, especially in the economic and artistic realms.[14]

Lodewijck Huygens: upbringing, education, social and political career

As mentioned, Lodewijck was the third son of the famous Dutch poet Constantijn Huygens, secretary to the princes of Orange, Frederick Henry and William II. The Huygens family belonged to a group of Protestant refugees from the Southern Netherlands. Constantijn's father, Christiaan, born near Breda, was secretary to William the Silent as of 1578, and after the latter's death became one of the four secretaries to the Council of State in exile in The Hague. Maurits, the oldest son of Christiaan, succeeded him in 1625 as secretary to the Council of State and, a year later, Constantijn became secretary to the prince of Orange, Frederick Henry, whom he accompanied several times on military campaigns against Spanish enemy forces. The Huygens family adhered to the orthodox Calvinist religion embraced by the House of Orange during the religious troubles at the time of the Twelve Years' Truce and supported anti-Spanish policies. Although his family could not directly participate in Holland politics because of their immigrant status, Constantijn had in addition to the prince of Orange important close political friends to compensate for this disadvantage. François van Aerssen, for example, an orthodox Calvinist and ardent supporter of anti-Spanish politics in the States of Holland, helped him develop his career. When in 1620 Van Aerssen left for Venice on a diplomatic mission of the States-General, he appointed Constantijn as secretary and he did the same on his embassies to England in 1622 and 1624.[15]

Family members were active in the important Protestant administrative circles of the Generality government and the princely court of the Orange-Nassau dynasty. Constantijn was a key figure in the Dutch Golden Age as he had an extensive network of relations with artists and patrons of the arts, in particular the princes of Orange.[16] Lodewijck was, after his younger brother Philip who died at the age of 24, the least known son of Constantijn Huygens senior. Constantijn junior, the oldest brother, became famous as an artist of magnificent drawings and as the secretary of Prince William III. Christiaan, the second son, was the greatest genius of the family. He became internationally recognised as one of the most famous scientists of his time, for his discovery among other things of the ring of the planet Saturn and its moon Titan, and for his invention of the pendulum clock. Although the two older brothers won praise for their artistic and scientific achievements, Lodewijck probably was socially more successful than his siblings because he was the only one in his family who managed, by marrying a daughter of a Delft urban elite family, to enter the inner circles of the Holland regents, the exclusive group of patricians who dominated Dutch politics.[17] In 1672, after William III had come to power, he even became bailiff of the city of Gorinchem and its surrounding judicial districts. In his later years he was appointed a member of the council of the Meuse Admiralty at Rotterdam. Lodewijck could have been his father's greatest pride and joy,

had he not damaged his reputation by abusing his important public offices so shamelessly for his own benefit and enrichment that he was forced to resign from his posts.[18]

The education of the four sons took place under strict supervision of the father, who had become a widower, and was of the highest standards and discipline. Initially the boys were instructed at home by private tutors and later Lodewijck studied at the Protestant Illustre School in Breda.[19] After finishing his law studies, also in Breda, he went to France with his brother Christiaan to obtain a J. D. degree at the Protestant Angers University. Although Lodewijck was not gifted with the exceptional intelligence of his older brothers, he certainly was blessed with outstanding intellectual talents. He seems to have been a natural linguist and to have had a great knowledge and command of languages. His father boasted about his son's capacity to learn several languages very fast and easily. In 1661 when Lodewijck had been in Spain for just a few months, Constantijn told his friends with pride that: 'J'en ay un en Espagne […] et vous prendriez plaisir à veoir comme il s'en demesle aggreablement en Latin, en François, en Anglais et despuis ces derniers mois en Espagnol avec une promptitude incroyable.'[20]

When Lodewijck travelled to Spain, he already was acquainted with other European societies. As mentioned, he had studied in France in the mid-1650s, and a few years earlier he had travelled to Germany and to the Southern Netherlands with his father. In 1651–1652 he had accompanied the Dutch ambassador Jacob Cats on a special mission to London. These travels were not only for pleasure but a kind of Grand Tour for learning through observation and study. Lodewijck had been instructed by his father to keep a diary in which he had to write about his experiences during these journeys. Three of these diaries have come down to us in manuscript form and have been published in the twentieth century.[21] His Spanish journal was recently published in a Dutch and Spanish edition.[22]

Despite his cosmopolitan education Lodewijck Huygens was not without anti-Spanish sentiments, because of the Protestant character of his direct environment and the presence of the war against the Spanish king during his youth. The recent suffering, sacrifices, struggle, and victory in the name of freedom and Protestantism were not forgotten. They were publicly remembered in stories, pamphlets, books, songs, and plays. In particular during the political crisis in the years of the Truce and during the deliberations for the Peace of Munster, Dutch belligerent politicians brought the memory of the Spanish tyranny to the fore to defend their cause.[23] It is hard to conceive that Lodewijck was not susceptible to these expressions of hispanophobia.

Spain in the eyes of the Dutch

In Early Modern times Spain did not enjoy great popularity among northern European travellers in general. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was a much less attractive destination than France or Italy. Summers are very hot in Spain and the high temperatures allegedly encouraged titillating and voluptuous behaviour. Winters tend to be bitterly cold, and food and accommodations were said to leave a lot to be desired. In addition, Spain was not as generously blessed with monuments of the classical age

as Italy. The Iberian people were believed to have pernicious customs and traditions and most objectionable qualities. This Early Modern characterisation of the Spaniards was consistent with contemporary medical and climatic theories and biblical explanations of the diversity of men. In the most current surveys of European nationalities of those days the controversy between northern and southern Europeans was clearly visible. The stereotypical view of the Spaniard was partially based on general southern characteristics that were supposedly more pronounced in the Spaniard than in other southern Europeans, as for example, arrogance, excessive pride, and sensuality, and on characteristics specifically Spanish: laziness, idleness, inertia, frugality, contempt for other nations, hypocrisy, and ambition.[24]

During the Dutch Revolt the rebels, not just the Protestants, added new hostile images of political and religious significance to this ensemble of stereotypes of the Spanish people. By doing so they contributed significantly to the formation of the complex of hispanophobic images and stereotypes known as the *leyenda negra*, a term coined in Julián Juderías' study *La leyenda negra y la verdad historica* (Madrid 1914). Spain's sinister reputation stemmed from the conflict of interests between Spain and the rebels in the Netherlands and various other European countries. Although there never was a concerted international anti-Spanish campaign, it is undeniable that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries various discursive traditions discredited and denigrated Spain and charged the Spanish monarchy with horrific crimes, not all of which were based on facts.[25]

There is little doubt, however, that the major contribution made by Spain's Netherlandish enemies to the concept of the *leyenda negra* was a deliberate and systematic form of anti-propaganda. No other European nation criticised the Spaniards with such venom and nastiness as the Dutch did in those days. The printing press produced an endless flood of pamphlets and allegories that accused the Spanish government of conceiving diabolic plans. Spain was the country of religious intolerance, of the satanic Inquisition, a despotic kingdom determined to dominate the world and to reach this goal through the merciless extermination of other civilisations. The Dutch, who also lived under the yoke of the innately cruel Spaniards, could suffer the same horrible fate that had afflicted the innocent Indians of the New World.[26]

The Dutch first created a hostile image and kept it alive by publishing small books like *Spieghel der Spaensche Tyrannye. Gheschiedt in Nederlandt onder Philippus, Coninck van Spaengien* (Mirror of the Spanish Tyranny in the Netherlands under Philip, king of Spain, 1621), which was a pendant and a continuation of *Spieghel der Spaensche Tyrannye. Gheschiet in West-Indien* (Mirror of the Spanish Tyranny in the West-Indies, 1596), a Dutch edition of Bartolomé de Las Casas' book *La brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1552) with illustrations that accentuated Spanish greed, disrespect for other nations, and cruelty. There was also *Spieghel der Ieught* (Mirror of Youth, 1614), which concisely summarised Spanish cruelties for a large public, and other propaganda material which incorporated Spanish sources that were totally distorted and used in an inappropriate context. In the heated discussions about an agreement with the enemy prior to, during, and at the conclusion of the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1621),

the Dutch created an image of their Spanish opponents for which they used elements of the Black Legend, while simultaneously creating a contrasting self-image. The Dutch desire to be free was strongly emphasised, against Spain's tyranny which continued to threaten the recently acquired political autonomy. That stereotype was supported by the attractive Batavian Myth. In his *Tractaet vande oudheyt vande Batavische nu Hollantsche Republique* (1610), Hugo de Groot argues that the reasons for which the Dutch had taken up arms against the Spanish king's oppressive rule were exactly the same as those that had prompted their ancestors, the Batavians, to rise against the Romans: they strongly believed that the supreme power was not vested in the ruler but in the people's representatives. This conviction, more than 1700 years old, had become an innate characteristic, so to speak.[27] Then there was also the patriotic image of the *Troon van Alva* (Alba's Throne), which especially towards the end of the Truce and thereafter was depicted in paintings to warn people about Spanish tyranny and its concomitant atrocities.[28] Moreover, Reformed Dutchmen considered themselves the defenders of the New Church and viewed the Catholic Spaniards as the intolerant, treacherous, and ruthless adversaries of the Protestant faith. The revolt against Spain was, to many a Protestant Dutchman, a war in defence of the true religion – a war which the Dutch had been fighting as God's chosen people, just like the Old-Testament Israelites. Thus, the Republic was a new Israel and had received God's blessing, and the young nation's successes and the subsequent positive ending of the Eighty Years' War were seen as confirmations of all of this.[29]

After the Peace of Munster the time was ripe for more positive images of the former enemy. There even were publications that served as tourist guides of sorts and that praised the Spanish and Spain.[30] In all fairness, alongside the aversion, there always had been – before, during, and after the Eighty Years' War – appreciation for Spanish culture, in particular among Dutch writers such as Jacob Cats, Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, and Theodoor Roodenburg. In 1672, Constantijn Huygens published a bilingual edition of 1309 refrains, which he himself had translated from the Spanish into Dutch, with the title *Spaensche Wijsheid* (Spanish Wisdom). Huygens remained lukewarm, though, about Spanish cultural achievements. In his opinion, the *coplas* he had translated did not reflect a high standard of poetic expression nor were they intellectually challenging, and Spanish music was performed at a deplorable level.[31] In his eyes, the Spaniards were unreliable people who invariably failed to meet their obligations and who drove his master, the prince of Orange, to despair. The king of Spain had repeatedly promised to compensate the prince for the loss of his Brabant domains but never honoured the agreements. To this long-standing and annoying situation Huygens even dedicated a few poetic lines in Latin in which he claimed that payment by the king would amount to another Wonder of the World.[32]

Despite changes in attitude towards the Spaniards after 1648, the patterns of hostile ideas and images remained very present in the minds of the Dutch. But the application or significance of the *leyenda negra* had changed and was adapted to the political and public situation following the conclusion of peace with Spain. Although Spain was no longer the enemy, the Dutch could not relegate to oblivion their heroic struggle against

the tyranny of the Catholic King in defence of the fatherland, the Calvinist religion, and political liberty. The collective memory of this war, which had been waged on the strongest power of Europe and was won by patriotic heroes, had to remain strong, without any compromise, and could not disappear. Yet, its function was not to arouse hostile sentiments anymore but, instead, to confirm the historical notion of the Dutch as fighters for freedom and defenders of the Protestant faith.[33]

Images of the Spaniards in Lodewijck Huygens' diary

The images of, and ideas about, the Spaniards in Huygens' diary are not uniform and are only in part consistent with the general characteristics which Europeans, and in particular the Dutch, used to attribute to the Spaniards. Huygens describes a diversified society with its different peoples, a variety of individuals and social groups. He does not offer his audience a homogeneous impression of the Spanish people but various differentiated images of common people, the nobility, courtiers, and clergymen, with all of whom he sometimes shares cordial feelings.

However, Huygens considers the Spaniards physically different from the northern Europeans. They rarely have the fairness of the northern skin and they tend to be smaller than his fellow Germanic Europeans, traits which he apparently interpreted in a negative way for the Spaniards. In one of the first lines he wrote after setting foot ashore on Spanish soil he tells us, furthermore, that he is not very impressed by the Iberian female's physical traits:

> Nous trouvasmes aussi que les femmes y sont fort laides et de toutes celles que nous vismes il n'ij en eust pas une qui fut un peu passable; toutes basanées et les cheveux noir et gras, et tout le reste du corps et des habits fort sale et en mauvais ordre. Je ne les puis mieux comparer qu'a ces bohemiennes qui *chez* nous disent la bonne aventure.[34]

The Spaniards suffer from uncontrolled passions, Huygens says; jealousy, in particular, causes them to commit murder. For example, after watching a play in the El Corral del Príncipe theatre in Madrid, he writes:

> We left the theatre before the end of the play because at night there are a lot of incidents. In two days there had been three killings in the neighbourhood of our inn. In these cases all victims were women. In addition, a few days ago, a valet of the king, jealous, assassinated his own wife at one stroke with his dagger, and he still walked around freely.[35]

Huygens also criticises – as do all visitors of Spain – the unwarranted pride of the Spaniards, which can definitely not be based on economic or other successes, but is the result of a misplaced sense of superiority. Don Gabriel Díaz de la Cuesta, who bore the ostentatious titles of corrigidor and gobernador militar de las Cuatro Villas de la Costa de la Mar de Castilla, left the following impression on Lodewijck:

> [Nous avions] pris plus de plaisir aux ombrages des orangers […] qu'a ce-luij d'une fort meschante maison ou estoit logé ce Don Diego avec tous ce beaux titres. On ne voijoit point de meubles en sa maison, que quelques meschante table sans tapis et 3 ou 4 vieilles chaises

à bras de cuir à moitié deschiré. Quant a luij meme, quoij qu'assez mal en ordre, il avoit pourtant quelque mine de personne de condition.[36]

Don Gabriel was the kind of picaresque person that Huygens describes in a lot of examples in very comical way. In Madrid they met important courtiers of higher status who were sharply criticised by the later Dutch ambassador Adriaen Paets because of their unwarranted pride: 'I hope one day these unbearable and swollen people will come to understand that the air of their arrogance is merely a hand full of stupid vanity only supported by their own pretentious ideas.'[37]

Although Huygens and his companions did not use this kind of disrespectful language, they were very annoyed by the laziness and slowness of the royal councillors who promised a lot but refused to comply or were just too lazy. Yet, Spanish laziness was not the only cause of the slow royal bureaucracy, according to the president of the extraordinary embassy, Johan van Merode. It was, in his opinion, also due to the complexity of the royal conciliar system that required the participation of numerous councils and committees in the decision-making process.[38]

The *Spanish Journal* is not devoid of anti-Catholic phraseology and Huygens takes time to ridicule the intemperance of Catholic monks, an old fixed theme in the Protestant satirical culture. With regard to this topic he is at his best when he describes the aftermath of a dinner on board of the ship of Ambassador Van Reede van Amerongen, who had invited a few Franciscan brothers to join him:

… nous revinsmes à bord ou nous trouvasmes 3 ou 4 moines que monsieur d'Amerongen avoit prié à disner le jour auparavant au cloistre. Ces bons freres, qui estoijent des carmes dechaussez ou de quelque ordre semblable, se traiterent si bien eux mesmes avec nostre vin, qu'ils beuvent comme de l'eau, que nous eusmes toute la peine du monde apres le repas à les pouvoir devaler dans leur esquif avec lequel ils devoijent retourner euxmesmes vers leur convent. Le bonheur pour eux fut que la marée les poussa de ce costé là, car si elle fut sortie du port comme elle y entra et qu'on les eust laissé aller il n'ij a aucun doubte ou bien ils fussent sortis quant et quant jusques dans la mer, car ils n'entendoijent plus ni rames ni timon, et s'ils travailloijent cela les empescha plus qu'il ne les aijda; à la fin estourdis par le travail qu'ils faisoijent et bien plus par le vin qu'ils avoijent beu ils commencerent peu à peu à tomber à la renverse dans l'esquif, jusques à ce qu' Il n'en demeura qu'un debout qui ne ramant plus, que d'une rame faisoit aller quelque temps l'esquif tout en rond jusques à tant qu'à la fin la marée le poussa contre terre bien loin encor du convent, dont luij ne s'estant point apperceu, ne cessa pour cela de ramer de toute sa force sans avancer toute fois d'un doigt.[39]

The Church of Rome was not criticised through satire alone. When visiting the Burgos cathedral the Dutch travellers were confronted with the evil works of the Spanish Inquisition. In one of the chapels of the magnificent gothic building they found a long, publicly displayed list of victims executed at the command of servants of the Holy Office. There were Lutherans among them but most were Jews, and a summary of everybody's life story had been added. Those who had returned to the bosom of the Church of Rome, *los reconciliados*, had an X after their names; those who had refused to do so had a serpent's head spitting fire.

Huygens does not refrain from criticising the wealth and opulence of church leaders, whose incomes and palaces he describes in some cases in detail. In fact, he accuses them of the abuses for which they were traditionally criticised by European Christians, Protestants and Catholics alike: simony (selling church offices and roles), pluralism (holding several church offices at the same time), absenteeism, clerical extravagance, and ostentation.

In Huygens' view, the majority of the Spaniards were utterly superstitious as they believed in saints and their miracles. He blatantly ridicules their veneration and belief in the miraculous spirit of the Virgin and the saints. The sanctuaries and places of pilgrimage they visit are in his descriptions compared with *les kermesses de village en Holande*. At certain moments Huygens is unable to resist the temptation to keep his criticisms of the Catholic Church and its doctrines to himself and starts a theological dispute. On his way to Burgos, for example, he meets two theology students from Salamanca and defeats them in a debate with phrases from the Old Testament unknown to his opponents. In short, the various experiences with the Spanish churchmen bring him to the conclusion that the Spanish Catholic clergy, in addition to the previously mentioned accusations, is ignorant and intends to keep the believers in the dark and exploit them.

Although Huygens did not develop very clear ideas about the characteristics of the Spanish people, he conceptualised more explicit views on Spanish society and the country's economic situation. In his observations Spain is a poor country tormented by economic decline and its inhabitants are trying to survive in the most dire circumstances. Huygens is a very alert and interested traveller who also pays attention to the conditions of the common people:

> Pendant que nous attendions *chez* le Boulanger mesme, nous examinasmes un peu le mesnage de ces pauvres gens là et entre autres une *olla* que estoit a costé du feu, ou ils nous montrerent qu'il n'ij avoit rien dedans, por 8 personnes, dont la famille consistoit, qu'une demij livre de chair de bœuf fort maigre, et un poignée de choux verde. Et c'estoit tous ce qu'ils devoijent manger de jour là.[40]

The Dutch ambassadors and most of the other members of the mission were astonished by the poverty and misery they saw on the Castilian plains and in the towns, on their way from Laredo to Madrid. It even was difficult to obtain food supplies for the ambassadors and their suite. Van Merode wrote to the States-General in November 1660:

> In some places we even could not get bread, salt and wine. To our amazement, we could observe that the people that live in the countryside between Burgos and Valladolid keep themselves alive with a piece of bread and water and they wear miserable clothes, although it is very cold out there and freezes practically every night.[41]

Such observations were similar to those of many foreigners who visited Spain in the seventeenth century. Modern historical investigations confirm that these impressions reflect the bitter truth of the profound and enduring economic and demographic crisis that hit Castile in the seventeenth century very hard and for a long time, harder and longer than almost any other European region.[42]

On some occasions Huygens and his fellow travellers wondered why the majority of Spaniards lived in such miserable conditions. In one of the explanations in his diary he holds that the Spanish society was an unjust society due to the unequal distribution of the country's riches. He criticises not only the Catholic Church for its wealth, opulence, and ostentation, but accuses various institutions, officials, magistrates, and governors as well of enriching themselves at the expense of the common people and of abusing their privileged position. On the social and economic conditions of a Cantabrian village he comments:

> Le village est environ de 150 maisons ou d'autant de *vecinos* ou bourgeois. Pour ce peu de monde il y avoit 6 *curas* ou curés qui tous avoijent leurs dixmes et y vivoijent à leur aijse la ou au contraire les pauvres villageois comme quasi par toute l'Espagne meurent quasi de faim. Il ij avoient aussi 3 *escrivanos* qui sont comme notaires ou procureurs, et qui achevent de les ruiner ne vivans que du sang de la pauvre populace qu'ils trompent par mille *enredos*.[43]

Despite these highly critical comments, Huygens also felt a great appreciation for Spain and its people, in particular for the artistic achievements and the excellent art collections he was able to visit. He is impressed by the royal collection in the Real Alcázar (Royal Palace) in Madrid and by the decorations of the interior of the Buen Retiro Palace on the outskirts of the city. After a tour through the Real Alcázar in the company of the Dutch ambassadors as private persons, Huygens, delighted with all the art treasures he just has been able to observe, writes with some disappointment:

> Enfin, toutes les chambres, salles et galeries que nous vismes, estayent toutes pleines de tableaux […] et [nous] passames aussy si viste par tout que je n'avais pas le loisir de considerer comme il fallait l'excellence des peintures.[44]

Philip IV was one of the greatest patrons and connoisseurs of the arts of his time and a passionate art collector, in particular of paintings. He expanded the royal collection during his reign with more than 2500 pieces, most of which were of excellent quality and painted by famous Italian, Spanish, French, and Flemish artists.[45] The king was a devoted admirer of Peter Paul Rubens, who lived and worked for nine months as diplomat and painter at the Royal Palace in Madrid and inspired Diego Velázquez, the official painter of the Spanish Court. It was no wonder that Lodewijck Huygens, well educated in the arts, was thrilled by the high-quality paintings by Titian, Reni, the Bassano brothers, Lorrain, Poussin, Bosch, Brueghel, Rubens, Teniers, Sneyders, DeVos, and the Dutch painters Both and Van Swanevelt, in addition to so many others, exhibited in the royal palaces in Madrid.

Although struck by the wonderful picture collection of the king, Huygens is very sceptical about life at the Spanish Court, in particular about its formal ceremonies and its extravagance. The king seemed to Huygens a mechanical dummy that hardly moves or speaks.[46] His detailed descriptions of the ladies-in-waiting, with their dresses, hairstyles, and makeup after the latest high fashion in Madrid, are rather derisive:

> The ladies stood there as before, but dressed in an even more bizarre way, wearing hooped petticoats that were some eight feet wide at the bottom, and awful headdresses. The hair was worn loose and was on each side extended as much as possible, and then tied together

> on the back of the head, without any curls. On both sides rosettes had been attached, made of wide satin ribbons in all kinds of colours, with silver lace and sequins, and there were rosettes as well in the cavity created in the back by these two winglike bunches of hair. But not all ladies adorned their hair this way, because some of them only had bows at the lower end of these clusters on both sides. Around the neck or shoulders some wear several layers of lace ribbons, others black lace, and yet others wear what look like small silver-coloured woolen balls. Almost each of these ladies wears something special. Their sleeves are slit and underneath there are other sleeves, which can be seen through the slits of these puffed upper sleeves made of coloured satin or silk. Their gowns are made of all kinds of fabric and come in many colours; some have been embellished with gold and silver lace, others cut out of woolen cloth or embroidered. All ladies use such heavy makeup that their skin has a white and red glow. Some looked adequate, none beautiful.[47]

As these few examples show, Huygens describes a diversified society and uses images that do not correspond to the stereotypes of the *leyenda negra*. He does not consider the Spaniards to be possessed by innate cruel passions or sentiments of injustice, nor in essence to be distinctly different from other Europeans. Huygens even praises the artistic talents of the Spaniards and their dedication to the arts as reflected in the abundance of great artistic works and the impressive collections of paintings.

But Huygens does not refrain from criticising the Spaniards with anti-Catholic rhetoric. His criticism is not of the usual kind although he refers to the traditional themes of the Protestant satiric culture and to the Spanish church leaders who live in luxury and suck the wealth and natural resources from the veins of the people and the country. Huygens does not reproach the common Spaniards for being Catholic but it is remarkable that he feels sorry for them because in his opinion they are the victims of the Church of Rome and its accomplices who keep the Spanish people imprisoned in ignorance and poverty. It seems that Huygens holds the Catholic clergy responsible for the miserable spiritual and economic situation in which the common people have to live. The Spaniards are being misled and cheated by servants of the Church, by superstitious ideas, and by greed.

Not only the Catholic Church is to be blamed, though. The ruling classes that exploit the common people, strip them of their income, keep them in poverty, and try to enrich themselves at the expense of the Spanish farmers, artisans, and labourers, are the cause of the country's decline as well. The bad and unjust rule by the lords and king has contributed to the demise of the Spanish Empire.

In Huygens' descriptions Spain is a country that suffers an economic recession and finds itself in a deep political crisis. In his personal perception, as in that of so many other visitors in the second half of the seventeenth century, Spain had become a marginal country in full decline, in the peripheral parts of Europe. It definitely did not reflect the world of his dreams, with its great expectations and illusions, nor did it captivate his imagination. In his opinion France, England, and, in fact, the Dutch Republic, his home country, constituted the centre of European political and cultural dynamism of his time. Lodewijck Huygens, intentionally or not, gives us a description of Spain in a deep crisis, totally different from his fatherland, which experienced economic success

without precedence and had a flourishing, dynamic cultural life as never before had been seen in the Northern Netherlands.

Notwithstanding the change in attitude towards the Spaniards since the conclusion of the Peace of Munster, the complex of hostile ideas and images persisted in the Dutch way of thinking, and in Lodewijck Huygens' mind as well. Yet in contrast to previous times, these ideas and images did not serve as anti-propaganda but helped preserve the collective memory of the heroic struggle against tyranny and the war in defence of the fatherland, the true faith, and liberty. Huygens' Spanish experience must have been a kind of confirmation and justification of the emancipation of his fatherland as an independent free nation, because of the staggering contrast he observed between Spain, the former oppressor, and the young Dutch Republic. The emancipation and the stunning economic success were realised thanks to the victorious struggle against the former archenemy, to the good, just, and free government of the Republic, and to the Calvinist religion. If the Dutch Revolt had not succeeded and if the Reformation had not brought the light of Calvinism, the Netherlanders might have been living in the same miserable conditions as the Spaniards, who themselves were the first victims of Roman Catholic deception and of bad government by their king, if we are to believe Huygens.

As noted above, travel narratives are a historical source full of pitfalls. Nevertheless, in spite of the numerous literary, compositional, and other restrictions inherent to the genre, these stories do provide much historical information, not just about the country visited and its people, but about the traveller as well. It is important to emphasise that a travel report such as Lodewijck Huygens' Spanish journal is not a fictitious story; it describes a journey that actually took place. Thus, the modern reader not only gets some impressions of the regions that were visited but also has an opportunity to be in closer and more direct contact, so to speak, with actual people of the past. In the first place, though, this type of writing constitutes a personal interpretation of the facts and situations that have drawn the traveller's attention during the journey. Inevitably his education, background, and social environment influence to a large extent what he observes and describes. Accordingly, the narrative gives us insights into his own world, his social and cultural background, his own identity. Texts of this genre in particular tell us – not surprisingly – much about the traveller's perceptions of the other but are equally important for what they tell us about his self-image. Influenced by direct confrontations, the traveller will adjust throughout his journey the image he may have had of the other prior to the visit. Especially travel journals initially based on notes taken during the journey, will at a later time, once the author is home again, be developed into a smooth narrative in which the image of the other is adjusted according to personal experiences and additional research material. At the same time, the self-image vis-à-vis the other will be reconsidered on the basis of the visit to the other's country, and will be adjusted or reconfirmed with old and new arguments. This rarely leads to a completely new image; rather, there will be adjustments within the framework of existing perceptions.

All of this applies to Lodewijck Huygens' journal, where the Spaniard gets a new position within the prevalent perceptions and opinions about relations between Spain and the Dutch Republic. The ordinary Spaniard is no longer the enemy; instead, he is a

victim of Spanish tyranny and of the Roman Catholic Church, a fate that almost befell the Dutch, too. The author's self-image is also reconsidered; in this particular case it leads to a confirmation of his identity that was based on the successful, heroic struggle against the king of Spain and the Roman Catholic faith.

Notes

1 M. A. Ebben, "'Een simple tractaet van commercie ende marine, sonder obligatie tot eenige defensie' Spaans-Nederlandse betrekkingen rond 1660," in *De Cirkel doorbroken. Met nieuwe ideeën terug naar de bronnen. Opstellen over de Republiek*, ed. M. A. Ebben and F. P. Wagenaar (Leiden, 2006), 47–73; N. Japikse, *Johan de Witt* (Amsterdam, 1915), 164; H. H. Rowen, *John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, 1625–1672* (Princeton, 1978), 252–6.

2 G. Verhoeven, *Anders reizen? Evoluties in vroegmoderne reiservaringen van Hollandse en Brabantse elites, 1600–1750* (Hilversum, 2009): 80–4; H. Bots and W. Frijhoff, "Academiereis of educatiereis? Noord-Brabantse studenten in het buitenland, 1550–1750," *Batavia Academica* 1 (1983): 13–30; A. Frank-Van Westrienen, *De Groote Tour. Tekening van de educatiereis der Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1983): 13–48; idem, "Stelling onder vuur," *Batavia Academica* 2 (1984): 12–14.

3 Lodewijck Huygens left The Hague on 18 October 1660, arrived in Madrid on 4 December, and stayed at the Spanish Court until his return on 19 May 1661. After travelling through northern Spain, France, and the Spanish Netherlands he reached The Hague on 2 August. The diary does not include the voyage back home.

4 R. Lindeman et al., ed., *Reisverslagen van Noord-Nederlanders uit de 16e tot begin 19e eeuw. Een chronologische lijst* (The Hague, 1994); P. Rietbergen, "España: ¿La gran desconocida? Los viajes y su importancia en relación con el problema de los contactos hispano-holandeses a partir de la sublevación de los Países Bajos," *Foro Hispánico* 3 (1992): 99–112.

5 J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650* (Cambridge 1970): 6, 1–25; H. Hendrix, "Vreemd volk in Holland. Xenofobie en xenofilie in historisch perspectief," in *Beeldvorming over buitenlanders in de vroegmoderne tijd*, ed. H. Hendrix and T. Hoenselaars (Utrecht 1998): 1–19, here 11.

6 K. Enenkel et al., ed., *Reizen en reizigers in de Renaissance. Eigen en vreemd in de oude en nieuwe werelden* (Amsterdam, 1998): 14–15, 173–219.

7 C. Thompson, *Travel Writing* (New York, 2011): 27–33, 40–52; Verhoeven, *Anders reizen?*, 27.

8 M. Mathijsen, *Naar de letter. Handboek editiewetenschap* (The Hague, 1997): 44–52, 386–8; Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 77; Verhoeven, *Anders reizen?*, 27–8.

9 Some of these notes have come down to us. National Library, The Hague, Manuscripts KA LVI fol. 1–70.

10 National Library, The Hague, Manuscripts, KA LVII fol. 1–63; *Spaans Journaal*, 56–7.

11 P. J. A. N. Rietbergen, "Beeld en zelfbeeld. 'Nederlandse identiteit' in politieke structuur en politieke cultuur tijdens de Republiek," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 107, no. 4 (1992): 636–7.

12 A Meier, "Travel Writing," in *Imagology. The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters*, ed. M. Bellers and J. Leerssen (Amsterdam, 2007), 446–50, here 446.

13 Elliott, *The Old World and the New*, 17–27; Enenkel et al., ed., *Reizen en reizigers*, 11–16.

14 W. Frijhoff, *Dynamisch erfgoed* (Amsterdam, 2007): 24–28, 45–53; W. Frijhoff and M. Spies, *1650 Bevochten eendracht* (The Hague, 1999): 37–50, 127–9; J. I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585–1740* (Oxford, 1989); J. L. Price, *Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London, 2011); J. Pollmann, *Het oorlogsverleden van de Gouden Eeuw* (Leiden, 2007): 8–14.

15 C. Huygens, *Journaal van de reis naar Venetië*, trans. and with an introduction F. R. E. Blom (Amsterdam, 2003): 20–2; H. A. Hofman, *Constantijn Huygens, 1596–1687. Een christelijk-humanistisch bourgeois-gentilhomme in dienst van het Oranjehuis* (Utrecht, 1983): 41–7, 61.

16 S. Groenveld, "Een heer van stand? Over de plaats van Constantijn Huygens in de zeventiende-eeuwse samenleving," *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden* 5 (1987–1988): 189–200; idem, "Een out ende getrouw dienaer, beyde van den staet ende welstant in t' huys van Oragnen" Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687), een hoog Haags ambtenaar," *Holland, regionaal-historisch tijdschrift* 20 (1988): 3–32. Constantijn Huygens used his key position and relations also to his financial advantage and became number one hundred forty-two on the list of the richest men of the Dutch Republic. K. Zandvliet, *De 250 rijksten van de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam, 2006): 252–5.

17 C. Schmidt, *Om de eer van de familie. Het geslacht Teding van Berkhout, 1500–1950; een sociologische benadering* (Amsterdam, 1986): 69–70.

18 J. J. Roorda, *Partij en factie. De oproeren van 1672 in de steden van Holland en Zeeland, een krachtmeting tussen partijen en facties* (Groningen, 1978): 28, 217–20, 246, 250; H. F. de Wit, *Gorcums heren. Regentenpolitiek, 1650–1750* (Gorinchem, 1981): 21–30.

19 The education of Constantijn Huygens' children has been studied extensively: P. Brachin, "Constantijn Huygens als huisvader," *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Letterkunde te Leiden* (1958–1959): 12–43; idem, "Christiaan Huygens en de invloed van het ouderlijk huis," *Spiegel Historiael* 14, no. 4 (1979): 201–9; R. Dekker, *Uit de schaduw in 't grote licht. Kinderen in ego-documenten van de Gouden Eeuw tot de Romantiek* (Amsterdam, 1995): 35–46; S. Groenveld, "'C'est le père qui parle'. Patronage bij Constantijn Huygens, 1596–1687," *Jaarboek Oranje-Nassau Museum* (1988): 52–107; A. R. E. de Heer and A. Eijffinger, "De jongelingsjaren van de kinderen van Christiaan en Constantijn Huygens," in *Huygens herdacht*, ed. A. Eijffinger (The Hague, 1987): 75–165; H. H. Kubbinga, "Christiaan Huygens' wetenschappelijke opleiding," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 3 (1987): 161–70; J. Smit, *De grootmeester van woord- en snarenspel. Het leven van Constantijn Huygens* (The Hague, 1980): 199–210; J. van der Velde, "Constantijn Huygens als opvoedeling en als opvoeder," *Paedagogische Studiën* 37 (1690): 222–38; J. A. Worp, "De jeugd van Christiaan Huygens, volgens een handschrift van zijn vader," *Oud-Holland* 31 (1913): 209–35.

20 *Oeuvres complètes* 1888–1950: III, 262.

21 *The French Journal* was published in: *Oeuvres Complètes de Christiaan Huygens*, vol. XXII (The Hague, 1950): 463–92. The diary of his English journey was published in 1982: A. G. H. Bachrach and R. G. Collmer, eds., *Lodewijck Huygens. The English Journal, 1651–1652* (Leiden, 1982).

22 L. Huygens, Lodewijck Huygens' *Spaans journaal*. Reis naar het hof van de koning van Spanje, 1660–1661. M. Ebben, translated, annotated, and with an introduction (Zutphen, 2005); M. Ebben, ed., *Un holandés en la España de Felipe IV. Diario del viaje de Lodewijck Huygens, 1660–1661* (Madrid, 2010).

23 G. de Bruin, "Het begrip 'vaderland' in de pamfletliteratuur ten tijde van de Republiek, 1600–1750," in *Vaderland Een geschiedenis vanaf de vijftiende eeuw tot 1940*, ed. N. C. F. van Sas (Amsterdam, 1999): 146–7; M. Długaiczyk, *Der Waffenstillstand (1609–1621) als Medienereignis. Politische Bildpropaganda in den Niederlanden* (Münster, 2005); E. K. Grootes, "Liedjes over de Tachtigjarige Oorlog in andere bundels dan het Geuzenliedboek," in *1648 De Vrede van Munster*, ed. H. de Schepper et al. (Hilversum, 1997): 173–81; S. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York, 1987): 80–103; J. van der Steen, *Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566–1700* (Leiden, 2014).

24 M. Meijer Drees, *Andere landen, andere mensen. De beeldvorming van Holland* versus *Spanje en Engeland omstreeks 1650* (The Hague, 1997): 7–24, 79–98; J. Leerssen, *Nationaal denken in Europa. Een cultuurhistorische schets* (Amsterdam, 1999): 26–42.

25 Several scholars have written on the 'Black Legend': S. Arnoldsson, *La leyenda negra. Estudios sobre sus orígenes* (Göteburg, 1960); P. Chaunu, "La légende noire antihispanique. Des marranes aux Lumières. De la Méditerranée à l'Amerique. Contribution à une psychologie régressive des peuples," *Revue de Psychologie des Peuples* 19 (1964): 188–223; R. García Cárcel, *La leyenda negra. Historia y opinión* (Madrid, 1992); Ch. Gibson, ed., *The Black Legend. Anti-Spanish Attitude in the Old World and the New* (New York, 1971); W. S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England* (Durham, 1971). On the Black Legend in the Americas: M. Molina Martínez, *La leyenda negra* (Madrid, 1991); B. Schmidt, "Tyranny abroad: The Dutch Revolt and the Invention of America," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 11 (1995): 161–74.

26 G. J. Geers, *De Zwarte Legende van Spanje* (Groningen, 1947); H. Henrichs, "Johan Brouwer en de Zwarte Legende. Spanje en de Nederlanden in het licht van de historiografie der twee Spanjes," *Theoretische Geschiedenis* 11 (1984): 359–80; D. R. Horst, *De Opstand in zwart-wit. Propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse Opstand, 1566–1584* (Zutphen, 2003); H. de Schepper, "La 'Guerra de Flandes'. Una sinopsis de su Leyenda Negra, 1550–1650," *Foro Hispánico* 3 (1992): 67–86; I. Schulze Schneider, *La leyenda negra de España; propaganda en la Guerra de Flandes, 1566–1584* (Madrid, 2008); K. Swart, "The Black Legend during the Eighty Years' War," in *Britain and the Netherlands*, ed. J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann, vol. V, *Some Politcal Mythologies* (The Hague, 1975): 36–57; W. Thomas, "1492–1992: heropleving van de 'Zwarte Legende'?," *Onze Alma Mater. Leuvense Perspectieven* 46 (1992): 394–414; G. Versteegen, "Bewondering, verwondering en verachting. De beeldvorming omtrent Spanje en de Zwarte Legende," *Theoretische Geschiedenis* 24 (1997): 260–78.

27 The term *Bataafse Mythe* (Batavian Myth) was first used in 1975 by I. Schöffer. I. Schöffer, "The Batavian Myth during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," in *Britain and the Netherlands*, ed. J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann, vol. V, *Some Political Mythologies* (The Hague, 1975): 76–101; H. Teitler, *De Opstand der Batavieren* (Hilversum, 1998): 50–1.

28 C. Fontcuberta, "La iconografía contra el III duque de Alba. Sobre usos y recursos de las imágenes de oposición en la época moderna," in *La Historia Imaginanda. Construcciones visuales del pasado en la Edad Moderna*, ed. J. Lluís Palos and D. Carrió-Invernizzi (Barcelona, 2008): 207–34; A. Sawyer, "The Tyranny of Alva: The Creation and Development of a Dutch Patriotic Image," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 19, no. 2 (2003): 181–211; J. Tanis and D. Horst, *Images*

of Discord: A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eight Years' War (Bryn Mawr, 1993).

29 Ph. S. Gorski, "The Mosaic Moment: An Early Modernist Critique of Modernist Theories of Nationalism," *American Journal of Sociology* 105, no. 5 (2000): 1428–68; D. Haks, *Vaderland en vrede, 1672–1700. Publiciteit over de Nederlandse Republiek in oorlog* (Hilversum, 2013): 96–7; Frijhoff and Spies, *1650*, 37–50, 127–9; P. Ihalainen, *Protestant Nations Redefined. Changing Perceptions of National Identity in the Rhetoric of the English, Dutch and Swedish Public Churches, 1685–1772* (Leiden, 2005): 121–4, 209–24; Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches,* 103–33.

30 M. Zeiller, *Itinerarium Hispaniae, vervattende een reys-beschrijvinghe door de koninckrijcken van Spanien, Portugal, …* (Amsterdam, 1659).

31 R. A. Rasch, "Music in Spain in the 1670s through the Eyes of Sébastien Chièze and Constantijn Huygens," *Anuario Musical* 62 (2008): 97–123; J. A. Worp, ed., *De gedichten van Constantijn Huygens* (Groningen, 1896).

32 AD P. HUMALDAM LEGATUM AD REGEM HISPANIAE / Ergone post septem Terrae miracula, structor/Octavi, vel te teste, Philippus erat? / Esto, vir excellens; nec enim quod idoneus autor /Asseris ambiguam fas sit habere fidem. / At si quis Batavis pleno candore faventes /Viderit er raptae Belgidos immemores, /Si quis item persolventes, vel in aere, Philippos /Auriaco dudum debita jure meo, /Plus erit octavo nobis quod Iberia jactet, /Ille puta nonum viderit, hic decimum./10 maart 1661. J. A. Worp, ed., *De gedichten van Constantijn Huygens IV* (Groningen, 1896): 309.

33 Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, 1672–1700, 58 ff., 82 ff., 130–7.

34 *Spaans Journaal*, 108–9.

35 The original text of this quotation is in Dutch. *Spaans Journaal*, 228–9.

36 *Spaans Journaal*, 110–3.

37 F. L. J. Krämer, *Nederlandsch-Spaansche diplomatie vóór den Vrede van Nijmegen* (Utrecht, 1892): 45.

38 Tresoar, Leeuwarden, Archive of the Eysinga-Vegelin van Claerbergen, 595, f. 183, Madrid, March 10, 1661.

39 *Spaans Journaal*, 114–7.

40 *Spaans Journaal*, 204–5.

41 The original text of this quotation is in Dutch. Archive of Gelderland, Arnhem (the Netherlands), Archive of the Houses of Waardenburg and Neerijnen, B. Clingelenborch at Neerijnen, V. Van Merode, 782 II Valladolid, 26 November 1660, Van Merode to the States-General.

42 The Spanish economic decline and its causes have been studied extensively. See for example: I. A. A. Thompson et al., ed. *The Castilian Crisis of the Seventeenth Century. New Perspectives on the Economic and Social History of Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge, 1994); B. Yun Casalilla, "Las raíces del atraso económico español: crisis y decadencia, 1590–1714," in *Historia económica de Espana, siglos* X–XX, ed. F. Comín et al. (Barcelona, 2002): 85–120.

43 *Spaans Journaal*, 104–5.

44 *Spaans Journaal*, 268.

45 J. Brown, *Painting in Spain, 1500–1700* (New Haven, CT, 1998): 164–73; J. Brown and J. H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King. The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven, CT, 2003): 118; M. B. Burke and P. Cherry, *Collections of Paintings in Madrid, 1601–1755: Spanish Inventories*, I Documents for the History of Collecting, 2 vols. (Los Angeles, 1997) I: 11–18; J. Portús, "Artistes et courtisans: peindre à la cour de Philippe IV," in *Velázquez*, ed. G. Kientz (Paris, 2015): 70–9.

46 *Spaans Journaal*, 220–1.

47 The original text of this quotation is in Dutch. *Spaans Journaal*, 234–6. In the phrase 'en geblancket altemael dat sy blincken van wit en rood' it is not clear whether 'sy' (they) refers to 'de tabbers' or 'de dames'. From a grammatical point of view, it should be 'de tabbers', but it seems illogical that gowns of all kinds of colours would have been bleached.

Notes on contributor

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