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The theatre of emotions: the success of Spanish drama in the Low Countries (1617-1672)

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The Theatre of Emotions

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The Success of Spanish Drama in the Low Countries (1617–1672)

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For my mother and my aunt, the 'Tweeling van Blok'

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Introduction

Comedia Nueva: *A Warm Welcome*

'Welcome! Take a seat and enjoy the show.' When the usher speaks these words, they are not meant merely as a formality. Whether it concerns a cabaret, a ballet, a comedy, or even a tragedy, producers and theatre-makers hope to treat spectators to a pleasurable performance for aesthetic and financial reasons alike. This is as true today as it was in the seventeenth century. In the Dutch Republic, the level of entertainment was the most important indicator of the popularity and quality of a play in the *Amsterdamse Schouwburg* (Amsterdam Public Theatre): unpopular plays were quickly removed from the repertoire as the spectators simply exerted their influence by showing up to, or staying away from, the performance of a certain play.[1] In the interplay of actors and spectators, the performance becomes a powerful event that can emotionally and psychologically change spectators, who are, then, empowered to immediately respond with admiration or distaste by laughing, cheering, sighing, groaning, sobbing, applauding, yelling either 'bravo' or 'da capo', or whistling and booing.[2]

Locally, the Dutch playwrights Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679), Pieter Cornelisz Hooft (1581–1647), Samuel Coster (1579–1665), and Gerbrand Adriaensz Bredero (1585–1618) had ushered in a 'Golden Age' of Dutch literature from around 1600 onwards; and in the Habsburg Netherlands, the Antwerp playwright Guilliam van Nieuwelandt (1584–1635) applied the same poetical precepts as his Northern colleagues. Their dramas especially have been regarded as influential in Dutch literary history and it is generally held that these playwrights left indelible marks on Dutch society; Vondel's *Gysbreght van Aemstel* (1637), for example, is well-known as one of the apexes of Dutch seventeenth-century literature.[3]

Yet in recent years, the research of Frans Blom and Olga van Marion has shown that the 'home-grown' plays of these local playwrights were not the perennial favourites—or at least not the only favourites—of the average seventeenth-century theatre visitor. They uncovered that it was not the tragedies by Vondel, but rather the Dutch adapta-

1 Oomen-Delhaye 2019, 145. This was, however, not exclusive to the Low Countries; see also Ravel 1999, 214–215; Blanning 2002, 106–109.

2 Fischer-Lichte 2014, 19.

3 See, e.g., Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 215–228, and elsewhere.

tions of *comedias* by the Spanish playwright Félix Lope de Vega y Carpio (1562–1635) that were performed more frequently in the Amsterdam Public Theatre.[4] The popularity of Lope de Vega was for a long time unmatched in the Amsterdam Public Theatre and arguably in the Low Countries at large. And alongside the *comedias* of Lope de Vega, those by Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681), Antonio Mira de Amescua (1577–1636), Guillén de Castro y Bellvís (1569–1631), and Juan Pérez de Montalbán (1602–1638) were also on average more popular than the 'home-grown' repertoire of the Dutch playwrights.[5] The Spanish *comedia nueva* was a dramatic genre that the Dutch and Flemish[6] spectators kept returning for; the romantic plots of *comedia nueva* apparently delighted them enormously in its popular adaptations for the stages of Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Brussels. That is, the plays written by the important Dutch and Flemish authors were diminished in popularity in favour of international theatre of which the Spanish *comedias* formed the majority. In this study, therefore, I look for several explanations as to why specifically the Spanish *comedias* entertained Dutch and Flemish spectators as much as they did, and sometimes even more than many 'home-grown' plays. What, for Dutch and Flemish spectators, was the appeal of international theatre, and more specifically of the Spanish *comedia nueva*?

Comedia Nueva on Tour in Europe

The Spanish *comedia nueva* is as a genre already extraordinary in itself: Lope's *comedias*, for example, are characterised by high-tempo action, romantic plots, deception, and disguise. Their extraordinary nature became only more obvious when Lope's plays were transferred and translated to other contexts and started to uniquely interact with the cultural artefacts of the new context, whether this was the improvisation theatre of the *commedia dell'arte* in Italy, the institutionalised *Comédie-Française* in France, William Shakespeare's popular theatre in England, or the neostoic Senecan-Scaligerian tragedies in the Low Countries.[7] The *comedias* were adapted, admired,

4 Jautze, Álvarez Francés, and Blom 2016, 16; Van Marion and Vergeer 2016, 41–43; Blom and Van Marion 2017, 158–159, and 2021, 7–8; Blom 2021a, 9–10.

5 Jautze, Álvarez Francés, and Blom 2016, 16.

6 I use 'Flemish' here in its modern conception as comprising the whole of the Dutch-speaking community of Belgium in the demographic region of Flanders. When speaking of 'Flemish' this is, therefore, rather a linguistic reference that includes the historic Duchy of Brabant (Brussels and Antwerp) and the County of Flanders.

7 For the influence of *comedia nueva* on the literatures of Italy, France, England, and the Low Countries,

appropriated, and scrutinised in ways that are common among all forms of cultural transfer.[8] Therefore, acts of cultural transfer have the power to shift boundaries in the cultural system of the receiving culture, such as the creators of this analytic model, Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, explain.[9] Cultural transfer originates from the understanding that the transfer of cultural products is mostly a reconstruction of the receiving culture, which by importing foreign ideas responds to a specific native situation or to current trends (*Konjunktur*).[10]

The transfer and exchange of cultural products, such as the *comedia nueva* shows, is a process that has shaped and reshaped European literatures in the early modern period and can be understood as a 'transcultural history of Europe and ultimately as Europeanization.'[11] For the Low Countries, the Spanish *comedia nueva* was, apart from the French tragedies, English revenge tragedies, and Italian pastoral plays, of great importance for the establishment of an internationally focused theatre culture in Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Brussels. Blom describes its role in Amsterdam particularly in his book *Podium van Europa* (2021, 'The Stage of Europe'). In his study on Amsterdam's theatre, Blom takes an international perspective, while including in his narrative *all* influences from abroad and at home that contributed to the development of Dutch theatre life in the early modern period. He demonstrates that the *comedia nueva* was but one of many different forms of international theatre besides English revenge tragedies and French classicistic drama. Nevertheless, the *comedia nueva* was among the most influential genres to shape Dutch theatre life.[12]

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see D'Antuono 1999, 2–3; Cioranescu 1999, esp. 49–52; Loftis 1999, 102–103, 110; Walthaus 1999, 155–156; Dumas 2008, 3–6, 21, 29–30, and 2017, esp. 108–110.

8 The theory of cultural transfer, transmission, and exchange, and *histoire croisée/Verflechtungsgeschichte* is discussed by Espagne and Werner 1985 and 1988; Werner and Zimmermann 2006; Schmale 2012; De Clippel and Vermeylen 2015.

9 Espagne and Werner 1985, 508. Slightly different from cultural transfer is the idea of *histoire croisée*. Werner and the sociologist Bénédicte Zimmermann argue that *histoire croisée* can explain how, when two cultures or entities meet, a cross-section emerges and both entities are affected (Werner and Zimmermann 2006, 30–50). Following Álvarez Francés, I argue that *histoire croisée* lacks applicability to 'cases of cultural transfers in one direction,' which does not make it a better alternative to the cultural transfer method within exchange relations, 'but [rather] an answer for a different set of circumstances' (2013b, 12).

10 Espagne and Werner 1985, 505.

11 Schmale 2012.

12 Blom and Van Marion 2017 and 2021, 69; Blom 2020 and 2021a, 9–11, 426–428.

A New Art of Writing Plays

In its original Spanish context, the *comedia nueva* was already extraordinary and reflected a changing Spanish society. This led members of the *Academia de Madrid* to scrutinise the genre as a reaction to shifting boundaries in Spain's cultural system, much in the same way that critics in France and the Low Countries would do when the *comedia nueva* was adapted there. They believed that watching such a play, or listening to poetry in general, might negatively influence public morality. In Madrid, however, the critique proved unsuccessful. Following the dramatic tradition of Aristotle's *Poetica* and Horace's *Ars Poetica*, playwrights and dramaturgs such as Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Thomas Wilson in England, Pierre de Ronsard and Pierre Corneille in France, and Theodore Rodenburgh and Joost van den Vondel in the Dutch Republic composed their own poetic treatises to silence these critics. Likewise, Lope de Vega composed his poetical defence *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (1609, 'The New Art of Writing *Comedias* in This Time'), writing that the audience would enjoy plays best if playwrights complied with the audiences' tastes rather than strictly obeying the rules of poetry:

> And I write in accordance with the art, which those people
> Invented who strive for the vulgar applause [vulgar aplauso],
> Because, since the people pay for the *comedias*, it is just
> To speak foolishly to them to satisfy their taste.[13]

With these words, Lope de Vega set the tone: he devised comedies that satisfied the taste of his audiences. This meant that he did not adhere to any dramaturgy as prescribed by classical playwrights or his contemporaries. One such major difference from classical dramaturgy was that all *comedias* were essentially tragicomedies, which Lope described as a 'Minotaur of Pasiphae,' or Terence mixed with Seneca.[14] To this end, he said that he banned both Terence and Plautus from his study and created a new form of theatre which was neither a true comedy nor a true tragedy. Through

13 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 45–48. All translations of these and other passages from the *Arte nuevo* are my own, but for a full understanding of what Lope means I have also consulted the Dutch translation of Erik Coenen. The original Spanish text of the *Arte nuevo* reads: 'y escribo por el arte que inventaron / los que el vulgar aplauso pretendieron, / porque, como las paga el vulgo, es justo / hablarle en necio para darle gusto.'

14 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 174–180.

this variety the genre not only resembled nature, but was also beautiful and delighted its audiences. Lope de Vega is therefore celebrated as the father of the Spanish *comedia nueva*, a form of theatre that catered to the wishes and expectations of the spectator rather than to the learned ideas of humanists and dramaturgs about what tragedy and comedy ought to be. In Spain, Lope is reputed as 'el fénix de los ingenios' ('the phoenix among poets/geniuses').

Spanish playwrights who followed Lope's example—and perfected his dramatic model—included Antonio Mira de Amescua, Tirso de Molina, Cristóbal de Monroy y Silva, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza, Juan Pérez de Montalván, Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, Diego Jiménez de Enciso, and Guillén de Castro y Bellvís, to name but a few playwrights of the *Siglo de Oro*—the Spanish Golden Age. Notably, the most important Spanish playwright of the generation after Lope's was Calderón, who built on Lope's work but changed the genre according to his own vision as well. Lope and the playwrights of his 'school,' like Calderón all achieved many box-office successes in the *corrales de comedias* of Madrid, Alcalá de Henares, Seville, Valencia, and Barcelona, and throughout Spain's American colonies.[15]

The Transfer of Comedia Nueva to the Low Countries

Before long, the *comedias* were introduced to the theatres of Paris, London, Brussels, Antwerp, and Amsterdam, sometimes in their original language, but more often in a translated or adapted version. Yet, first the texts of the *comedias* had to be available in the Low Countries, especially the anthologies (*partes*) of the most popular plays. These *partes* were transferred to the Low Countries because middlemen, such as booksellers and literati, recognised the commercial potential of these Spanish plays. Therefore, they took on 'the impediments caused by borders and barriers, obstacles such as transaction and opportunity costs including tariffs, guild regulations' and geo-political factors, such as the ongoing armed conflicts between Spain and the Dutch Republic.[16]

In Antwerp, Lope's first two *partes de las comedias* were printed in 1607 and 1611 in the original language for the exiled Sephardic-Jewish community in Northern Europe.[17] For the first time, Spanish plays were available in the Low Countries and these anthologies formed the basis for the genre's success in this region. After these

15 See, e.g., De Armas 2004; Thacker 2007.

16 De Clippel and Vermeylen 2015, 7; see also Henke 2008, 6–8.

17 These *partes* are Lope de Vega, *Las comedias del famoso poeta Lope de Vega Carpio* (Antwerp: Martinus Nucius, 1607) and *Segvnda parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio* (Antwerp: Andreas Bacx, 1611b).

anthologies reached Amsterdam—a city with a large Sephardic population—this city functioned as a hub from where the *comedia nueva* could spread further northeast to Baltic cities, notably Copenhagen, Stockholm, Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, and Danzig, but also further inland to the rest of the Holy Roman Empire as far as Munich and Vienna.[18] The same applied to the first two *partes* of Calderón's *comedias*, which were also sold in the Habsburg Netherlands.[19] Translators, such as the Sephardic Jew Jacob Baroces who lived and worked in Amsterdam, used these *partes* by Lope de Vega and Calderón to make prose Dutch translations, which playwrights then used in turn for their rhymed adaptations. Alternatively, some playwrights, such as Claude de Grieck, used the *partes* as direct sources for their own plays.[20]

Otherwise, the Brussels court accommodated a large Spanish entourage of diplomats, administrators, and military officers before whom the troupe of Spanish actor Francisco Lopez performed the *comedias*, far from home yet in their original language, as early as 1615 or 1616.[21] As such, Brussels functioned as a culture centre wherein foreign arts filtered through elite circles to reach the local Dutch-speaking audience as Blom and Van Marion make clear.[22] After the Dutch-speaking population of Brussels was introduced to the *comedia nueva*, adaptations made by Brussels playwrights were also staged in the Amsterdam Public Theatre and vice versa.

Yet other playwrights used an intermediate text in French for their adaptations, such as Johan van Heemskerck did for his *De verduytste Cid* (1641, 'The "Dutchified" Cid'), which is a translation of Pierre Corneille's *Le Cid* (1637). In turn, Corneille's play is an adaptation of Guillén de Castro y Bellvís' *Las mocedades del Cid* (1605–1615, 'The Younger Years of the Cid'). The database ONSTAGE, which brings together an overview of all performances and revenues of the Amsterdam Public Theatre from its establishment in 1638 until 1940, shows that among all genres, the Spanish *comedia nueva* became most popular.[23] Among the Spanish plays, those of the 'Madritsche Apoll' ('Apollo of Madrid', as Lope was known in Dutch) were the particularly well-liked.[24]

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18 De Keyser 1925, 22; De Baere 1945, *passim*; Jautze, Álvarez Francés, and Blom 2016; Blom 2021a, 190–191, 275, 2021b and 2021c.

19 Vergeer 2020a and 2020b.

20 Jautze, Álvarez Francés, and Blom 2016, 32–35; Vergeer 2020c, 322.

21 De Keyser 1925, 22.

22 Blom and Van Marion 2021, 33–34.

23 For a discussion of the possible uses of ONSTAGE, see Blom, Nijboer, and Van der Zalm 2020; see also ONSTAGE 2015, Analysis/Popularity charts.

24 Jautze, Álvarez Francés, and Blom 2016, 14–16; Álvarez Francés 2013a, 24–26, and 2014, 4–6.

Comedia Nueva within a Nationalist Discourse

As popular as *comedia nueva* was in the seventeenth century, it is virtually unknown today. Next to none of these plays are present in the literary canon of the Low Countries despite their cultural significance. For a long time, these plays of Spanish origin seem to have simply been forgotten. This was in part because of nationalistic tendencies in the nineteenth century, and in part because of a deeply ingrained Hispanophobia in Dutch culture, which was fed by the Spanish Black Legend (*leyenda negra*)—the theorised historical discourse consisting of anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic propaganda dating back to the 16th century—as demonstrated by Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez' discussion on the influence of Spanish drama in the Low Countries.[25]

This is not to say that this bellicose discourse has never been challenged. In the first issue of *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* ('Journal of Dutch Language and Literature') in 1881, literary historian Jan te Winkel wrote that he found it puzzling that the influence of Spanish literature on Dutch literature was only sporadically discussed although, as he perceived it, it had been at least three times as influential as Italian or English literature.[26] The theatre and literary historian Jacob Adolf Worp also addressed the Spanish *comedia nueva* in his *Geschiedenis van het drama en van het tooneel in Nederland* (1907, 'History of the Drama and Theatre in the Netherlands'). He mentioned the appeal of *comedia nueva*, saying that in particular 'the romantic plots, the unexpected turns of events, the big vicissitudes, the stage effects, and the fantastic events in Spanish drama pleased the spectators.' In short, Worp posited that 'the non-classical tragedy and the "plays with a happy ending" ['bly-eynded-spel'] had always fascinated theatre visitors more than the dramas with a more stringent artform and little action.' Worp acknowledged that masterpieces of *comedia nueva*, which were of better quality than the Dutch 'home-grown' plays of the first half of the seventeenth century, were admirable, even though the *comedias* had suffered through the translation process. In his opinion, their long-standing popularity was unsurprising.[27]

Apart from Te Winkel and Worp, attention to the influence of Spanish *comedia nueva* on Dutch literature has appeared few and far between. In 1922, Jan van Praag

25 Rodríguez Pérez 2016, 2–3;see also her VIDI project on literary Hispanophilia and Hispanophobia in the Dutch Republic and England (2016–2020). In the context of this project, she has published various articles and an edited volume.

26 Te Winkel 1881, esp. 61–62.

27 Worp 1907, 396–397.

offered an exhaustive overview of all the *comedias* translated to Dutch, as did Simon Vosters in 1955.[28] Despite their efforts, however, most literary and theatre histories published in the Low Countries thereafter exclude or trivialise the influence of *comedia nueva* in the Northern Netherlands. Karel Porteman and Mieke B. Smits-Veldt do discuss *comedias* in their 2008 history of Dutch literature, and they acknowledge that about half of the sixty new plays introduced in the Amsterdam Public Theatre between 1638 and 1650 were either 'translations and adaptations from French' that were 'often inspired by Spanish matter,' or translations and adaptations directly from Spanish. Yet, this acknowledgement was not followed with an extensive discussion of these plays in the following pages. Instead, Porteman and Smits-Veldt focus on the 'home-grown' Dutch authors of original plays with a particular attention to Vondel.[29]

The influence of *comedia nueva* in the Habsburg Netherlands is, however, discussed more extensively by Porteman and Smits-Veldt, but it seems sometimes to be framed as a failure of Flemish playwrights to produce their own original repertoire; they are referred to as 'productive playwrights in rhetoricians' chambers in decline.'[30] In other cases, Porteman and Smits-Veldt overlook the Spanish origins of several adaptations, noting that plays such as Van Heemskerck's *De verduytste Cid*, Van Germez' *Vervolgde Laura* (1645, 'Persecuted Laura'), and De Grieck's *Den grooten Bellizarius* (1654, 'The Great Belisarius') are adaptations from original French plays by Corneille and Rotrou, missing the Spanish connection.[31] For the period between 1650 and 1672, Porteman and Smits-Veldt continue to describe the influence of the Spanish *comedia* on the Dutch repertoire, but claim that after 1665 the French plays with their sterner structures began to increasingly dominate the repertoire in the Amsterdam Public Theatre.[32] By this, they tend to underestimate the importance of the Spanish *comedia* and overestimate the dominating role of French literature. This interpretation does, however, draw upon a common historiographical theme: France has always been enthroned as *the* beacon for European literature, especially where it concerns drama, while the 'global' fame of Spain's literature is still often excluded and downplayed.[33]

28 Van Praag 1922; Vosters 1955.
29 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 377, 379–386, 530–545.
30 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 444–454.
31 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 389, 553, 730.
32 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 524–527.
33 As is also identified by Rodríguez Pérez 2020, 17.

In other overview works, *comedia nueva* is not discussed at all, such as in *Een theatergeschiedenis der Nederlanden* (1996, 'A Theatre History of the Low Countries') edited by Erenstein et al., nor in the *In reprise* (2020) collection of essays on Dutch and Flemish theatre edited by Rob van der Zalm et al. Histories of Dutch literature and theatre generally suggest that playwrights in the Northern Netherlands gradually moved from rhetorician drama towards a strict classicism culminating in the work of the literary reformers of the Amsterdam society 'Nil Volentibus Arduum.' Long-lasting 'baroque' traditions in literature have often been ignored, since they could easily destabilise the teleological narrative of how classicistic discourses began to dominate Dutch theatre life during the seventeenth century. This paradigm of Dutch scholarship has been recently changing, however.[34]

All in all, publications that specifically deal with Spanish drama in the Low Countries have remained few: in the 1980s and 1990s, Spanish drama has been mainly discussed in light of the place it takes in the oeuvre of early modern Dutch authors, such as Marijke Meijer Drees' study on Thomas Asselijn, and Wouter Abrahamse's study on Theodore Rodenburgh.[35] Anna de Haas has examined Spanish plays in the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, when French-Classicistic literature was in fashion in the Dutch Republic.[36] Internationally, Henry Sullivan and Rina Walthaus in particular have discussed Spanish theatre in the Low Countries.[37] For a long time, Walthaus was the last to have published research on the influence of the Spanish *comedia* on Dutch theatre.

The Spanish Turn in Dutch Literary Studies

When ONSTAGE uncovered that not Vondel and Hooft, but rather Lope de Vega was the most popular playwright in seventeenth-century Amsterdam, Blom and Van Marion had opportunity to once again draw attention to the influence of *comedia nueva* in the Low Countries, this time supported by quantitative data. Some of their publications about the influence of Lope de Vega and Calderón on Dutch theatre include their shared publication 'Lope de Vega and the Conquest of Spanish Theater

34 A counter-perspective is offered by Frans-Willem Korsten in his *A Dutch Republican Baroque* (2017, *passim*), and by Stijn Bussels in his contribution 'Dutch Classicism in Europe' to *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age* (2018, 311–313).

35 Meijer Drees 1989, 36–44; Abrahamse 1997, 83–107.

36 De Haas 1996b, 251–252, and 1997, 131–133, 135–136.

37 Sullivan 1980, 1983, and 2002; Walthaus 1999.

in the Netherlands' in *Anuario Lope de Vega* (2017) and in their Dutch *Spaans toneel voor Nederlands publiek* (2021, 'Spanish Theatre for a Dutch Audience'). As mentioned above, Blom had previously discussed the influence of Spanish *comedia* in his *Podium van Europa*, stating that among the various international forms of seventeenth-century theatre, *comedia nueva* was one of the most popular genres staged in the Amsterdam Public Theatre.[38]

Working together with a team of students and PhD candidates (including myself), Blom and Van Marion discovered that the Spanish *comedias* enjoyed revivals almost every season.[39] Van Marion and I have, furthermore, argued that the abundant display of emotions in the Spanish adaptations excited the audiences time and again.[40] Moreover, Álvarez Francés has demonstrated how printers added Lope's name to the titlepages of the plays' printed texts as a marketing strategy, even when he was not the original author of the adaptation; his name alone would help these plays sell.[41] My study is part of this 'Spanish turn' in Dutch scholarship of early modern literature. However, instead of focusing on the artistic and cultural industry as Blom and Van Marion have done, I specialise in the emotional effects of the adaptations of the Spanish *comedia nueva*.

Blom and Van Marion conducted their research in the same period that Rodríguez Pérez led a project on literary Hispanophilia and Hispanophobia in the Dutch Republic and England. Her research likewise points to the major role of *comedia nueva* in Dutch theatre life and she urges for new research, arguing that most existing studies are outdated and provide hardly any analysis of the repertoire and its reception in the Low Countries.[42] The research of Rodríguez Pérez, Rena Bood, and Sabine Waasdorp lays bare processes that create hostile images of Spain in England and the Netherlands, but also stresses that figurations of Spain 'fluctuate within a broad spectrum of phobia and philia.'[43] My study is clearly situated on the philia side of the spectrum. Nevertheless, even in the adaptations of *comedias*, which can be counted among the examples of Hispanophilia, there exist traces of Hispanophobic narratives as both Blom and Bood have discussed.[44] As such, we can never fully ignore the debates around the *leyenda negra* when we discuss Spain or Spanish culture from a Dutch (or English) perspective.

38 Blom and Van Marion 2017 and 2021, 8–13; Blom 2020 and 2021a, 10–11.
39 Jautze, Álvarez Francés, and Blom 2016.
40 Van Marion and Vergeer 2016, 49–52, and 2021.
41 Álvarez Francés 2014, esp. 9–13.
42 See e.g., Rodríguez Pérez 2016, 4–5, and 2020, 11–12, 17–18, 20–23.
43 Rodríguez Pérez 2020, 21.
44 Blom 2020, 131–134; Bood 2020b, 149–152.

And yet, I choose to leave the Hispanophobic remarks that Dutch playwrights made largely for what they are. While this study certainly deals with an aspect of Hispanophilia, the spectrum between philia and phobia does not form the leading framework. I do not look at the popularity of the plays on the basis of the Flemish and Dutch fascination with Spain despite the difficult and complex stance towards that country—that is, the thing which is supposed to be bad can also fascinate—but rather on the basis of the *comedias*' merits and their ability to fascinate and move audiences. In fact, the Spanish sources of the Dutch adaptations were not always mentioned by the translator/adaptor or the publisher; it also remains unknown whether the spectators always knew that they were watching a Spanish play.[45]

The Aim and Scope of This Study

In this study I primarily build upon the aesthetic presumptions that Worp made in 1907 about *comedias* in saying that the romantic plots, unexpected turns of events, big vicissitudes, stage effects, and fantastic events in these Spanish plays pleased their spectators.[46] I use Worp's claims as a starting point for my discussion of how and why *comedia nueva* became the most popular genre in the theatres of Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Brussels during the seventeenth century. For this, I look at many different aspects that continuously return in the Dutch adaptations of *comedias*. At the same time, I look for the changes that the Dutch adaptors made to better cater the Spanish plays to their Dutch and Flemish audiences. As Van Marion and I have argued, the playwright Rodenburgh combined elements from *comedias* with traditional theatrical techniques used by rhetoricians in the Low Countries. Thus, he reinvented 'Dutch theatre by combining old and new poetics': he expressly focused on the inner agitations of the characters in the Spanish originals, inserted love songs in his plays, and used various verse forms resembling the erudite language of Lope's originals, while also depending on the spectacular power of *tableaux vivants*.[47] Otherwise, to ask the question of why *comedia nueva* became such a popular genre, and even more popular than most other theatre genres for that matter, is in fact to also ask how *comedia nueva* differs from Dutch 'home-grown' plays. In other words: this study deals with the aspects of

45 Van Marion and Vergeer 2016, 41.
46 Worp 1907, 396–397.
47 Van Marion and Vergeer 2016, 43.

comedia nueva that are the same and different from what Dutch audiences knew from Vondel's oeuvre, the Senecan-Scaligerian plays, the horror and spectacle plays, or the plays written by Nil Volentibus Arduum. This study aims to sufficiently account for *comedia nueva*'s popularity in the Low Countries.

This popularity can possibly be explained by the emotional matter of these plays and by the emotional effects that *comedias* may have had on the spectators. The Hispanist Melveena McKendrick argued in her book *Theatre in Spain 1490–1700* (1989) that emotions are especially intense—even exaggerated—in *comedia nueva* and that 'love and honour are the two overriding matters of immediate concern.' She writes that this offered a formula, made necessary by market forces, which represents 'in its detail as well an adjustment to the preferences of audiences and the circumstances of the contemporary theatre.' Furthermore, *comedias* met the 'desire of the public for a theatre of escapism which would lead them out of the world of everyday reality into a world of romance.'[48] This was confirmed by Van Marion's and my study of the emotional effects of Rodenburgh's adaptations, in which plays 'woelingen'—meaning the infinite stirring of bodily and mental sensations, otherwise called inner agitations—take centre stage.[49] Therefore, I posit here that Spanish drama had the ability to also attract Dutch audiences through its primary focus on, and display of, emotions. This emotional focus kept the spectators coming back for more.

Further, emotions are perhaps more important in *comedias* than in Dutch 'home-grown' plays, if we are to believe one of the foremen of the literary society Nil Volentibus Arduum: the Dutch playwright Andries Pels argued in 1681 that moral instruction always prevailed above emotional effect. In his opinion, a play that moved the spectators but did not admonish them, missed the aim of all plays ('het wit van alle Spélen').[50] The emphasis placed on the passions in *comedias* suggests that emotions had a more positive influence on the lives of the characters, and by extension on the lives of the spectators, than the 'home-grown' texts generally claim. McKendrick argues that *comedia nueva* responded to 'particular psycho-social circumstances' and allowed the Spaniard through images of heroism, epic achievements, and individual self-assertion 'to burnish his self-image and go away reassured.' The romantic plot of Spanish drama 'typically depicts protagonists who are able eventually to impose themselves upon the obstacles or difficulties which threaten their well-being and to

48 McKendrick 1989, 74.

49 Van Marion and Vergeer 2016, 49–52, and 2021.

50 Pels 1681, vv. 1138–1149; see also Konst 1996, 144.

win through to some satisfactory solution.'[51] To the contrary, it has been repeatedly argued that the Dutch 'home-grown' plays promote emotional restraint and emotional moderation in spectators as well as an emotional acceptance of one's fate such as literary historian Jan Konst has famously argued for Dutch Renaissance tragedy: Dutch drama primarily seems to stress the dangers of unbridled emotions for people's mental and physical health within a neostoic frame.[52] While both Spanish and Dutch 'home-grown' drama aimed to reassure its audiences, the ways that emotional peace was obtained for the characters and spectators differed.

This view has been challenged for the Dutch context by Freya Sierhuis, who argues that Dutch literature (including theatre) from the early modern period is anything but restrictive with regards to emotional expression. Having studied a diverse range of texts from the early modern period including political pamphlets, libel verse, and plays, she contends that Dutch and Flemish people in the early modern period used emotions to contrast their experiences with the emotional styles that the culture's norms imposed on them:

> The availability of authoritative intertextual and cultural models of emotional expression [...] allowed for a mediated expression of agency and subjectivity that stand in marked tension with the dominant culture's norms, or perhaps, register the divergent energies generated by the co-existence, within the literary work and within the culture at large, of contradictory impulses. It was this element of contradiction and ambivalence in early modern thinking about the passions that allowed for individuals to interpret their affective experiences against the grain and in ways that often ran counter to culturally scripted or gendered norms.[53]

Using Sierhuis' insights, this study tests the assumption that the popularity of *comedia nueva* in the theatres of the Low Countries can be explained as a reaction to the neostoic morale of 'home-grown' drama. *Comedia nueva* seems to have been more successful in its objectives by offering spectators an abundant display of emotions.

51 McKendrick 1989, 74.
52 Konst 1993, 22–46, and 2003, 27–119.
53 Sierhuis 2016, 361.

Periodization of This Study

To analyse how *comedia nueva* came to be so successful, I have chosen 1617–1672 as the period of study for both the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands. I have selected this time period of fifty-five years for several reasons. First, the lion's share of Spanish *comedias* adaptations, sixty-two plays (of which I discuss more than half), were produced and published between 1617 and 1672, both in the Northern and Southern Low Countries: forty-five in the Dutch Republic and seventeen in the Habsburg Netherlands.[54] In the Dutch Republic, *comedias* were primarily translated, adapted and presented to spectators in two stages: the first phase between 1617 and 1619, initiated by the playwright-diplomat Rodenburgh as chairman ('factor') of the rhetoricians' chamber De Eglentier ('The Eglantine'); and the second phase between 1641 and 1672, with playwright-glazier Jan Vos as director at the helm of the Amsterdam Public Theatre for an exceptionally long period of nineteen years between 1647 and 1667.

In the Habsburg Netherlands, these phases are limited to the second period. In Brussels, the success of Spanish plays extend to the period between c. 1645 and 1668, with De Grieck as its most productive agent.[55] It is true, however, that the poetical model of *comedia nueva* was already picked up in Antwerp by the Hispanophile playwright Cornelio de Conincq in the 1630s, when he wrote three plays inspired by Lope's poetics, but the heyday of *comedias* in the Antwerp area lasted from 1659 to 1672.[56] The playwright Antonio Francisco Wouthers was the foremost author in Antwerp and the rhetorician Cornelis de Bie in the nearby town of Lier. After 1672, the enormous production of new adaptations of Spanish *comedias* diminishes significantly in both the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands, after which the repertoire is more or less consolidated.

While playwrights were most productive at adapting *comedia nueva* between 1617 and 1672, there are additional reasons to limit research to this period specifically and to not go beyond the year 1672. In the Dutch Republic, 1672 marks the closing of the Amsterdam Public Theatre for a period of five years until 1677, after which the poetics

54 See Alblas 1894, 67; Van Praag 1922, *passim*; Te Winkel 1924, 55–58; Jautze, Álvarez Francés, and Blom 2016, *passim*; Van Marion and Vergeer 2016, 41; Blom and Van Marion 2017 and 2021, 70–79; ONSTAGE 2015. After 1672, another twenty-three *comedias* were adapted in Dutch; see Van Praag 1922, *passim*; ONSTAGE 2015.

55 De Keyser 1925, 21; De Baere 1945, *passim*.

56 See Ferket 2016, 64–65.

of the board of directors changed significantly.[57] The year 1672 equally marks the end of the production and adaptation of *comedia nueva* in the Habsburg Netherlands with the last print issue of a newly devised *comedia* that is known to us today.[58]

Choosing 1672 as the end date of my study has several implications. I will not discuss the changes that the Amsterdam society of poets, Nil Volentibus Arduum, made to several *comedias* in their own poetical vision, and yet, I will still use Nil Volentibus Arduum's critiques from time to time for the insights these texts can offer into the nature of the Dutch adaptation of *comedia nueva* before Nil Volentibus Arduum handled them. Moreover, Nil Volentibus Arduum propagated the French-Classicistic tragedy and sometimes even removed Spanish plays from their repertoire: the heyday of the Spanish *comedias* were consequently over.[59] Neither is the continued interest for Spanish plays in eighteenth-century Antwerp and Brussels discussed. In Antwerp, the weight shifts towards the Italian opera after 1682. Meanwhile, Brussels' theatre companies began to stage a miscellany of different plays: passion and resurrection plays, spectacles, French plays, original comedies, and of course *comedias* of which De Grieck's *Samson, oft edel-moedighen Nazareen* (1660, 'Samson, or Magnanimous Nazarene') remained the most beloved.[60]

Corpus

When deciding which plays to discuss from the period 1617–1672, I take into account that not all adaptations from Spanish were actually successful. For *comedias* staged at

57 In 1672 (the Disaster Year), the Amsterdam Public Theatre closed its doors because of the war with France, Cologne, Münster (the Franco-Dutch War), and England (the Third Anglo-Dutch War). When the Amsterdam Public Theatre reopened in 1677, the new board of directors included members of the classicistic society of poets Nil Volentibus Arduum.

58 The *comedia* is Cornelis de Bie's *Den groote Hertoghe van Moskovien*. It was performed in Lier, but printed in Antwerp in 1672. Strictly speaking, one play was printed even later. De Bie's *Alphonsus en Thebasile* was printed in Antwerp in 1673, but it had already been performed in Lier in 1659, as the title page clearly states. In 1673, the play was likely first printed, but the *comedia* was adapted thirteen years earlier. I choose to let the premiere date of a play—if available—be leading.

59 De Haas 1996b, esp. 253; De Haas 1997, 131–133; Hogendoorn 2012, 24. In the following, I add nuance to this, however.

60 For Amsterdam, see ONSTAGE 2015; e.g., Willem Godschalk van Focquenbroch's *Min in't lazarushuys* (1683)—an adaptation of Lope de Vega's *Los locos de Valencia*—was performed until 1818; after 1760, especially in October. For Brussels, see De Baere 1945, *passim*. De Baere notes 1802 as latest date for a performance of De Grieck's *Samson, oft edel-moedighen Nazareen* (c. 1660), an adaptation of Juan Pérez de Montalván's *El valiente Nazareno*. For more on Antwerp, see De Paepe 2008a, 237–240, and 2008b, 28–29.

the Amsterdam Public Theatre, I used the database ONSTAGE to determine whether a play was successful. The database measures a play's success according to play revenues and whether the plays were reprogrammed over the course of several years. Furthermore, this study only focuses on the translations and adaptations of originally Spanish *comedias*: plays that were translated with the use of an intermediate text in French are included in the corpus, but those based on the model of *comedia nueva*, but which are in fact Dutch originals, are not. This means, for example, that Corneille's *Le Cid* as an adaptation of De Castro y Bellvís' *Las mocedades del Cid* is included in the corpus, but De Conincq's three plays inspired by Lope's poetics are not.

In this study thirty-six plays are discussed in total: twenty-four from the Dutch Republic and twelve from the Habsburg Netherlands. Where it concerns the plays published and performed in the Dutch Republic, I have taken into account, as much as possible, their popularity as indicated in ONSTAGE's popularity charts. Yet, I have also included plays which I found particularly interesting because they coincided with an important event in the Amsterdam Public Theatre, such as the festive reopening in 1665 after the theatre was remodelled. Catharina Questiers, the only female adaptor of *comedias* in the Dutch Republic, delivered the opening play for this event; several of her works are included in my corpus, as are four plays by the pioneer Rodenburgh.[61] Additionally, when consulting the popularity charts in ONSTAGE, I used relative selection criteria to decide which plays to include in my discussion: I asked ONSTAGE to not list the most popular plays for the period 1617–1672, but rather to list them according to the premiere date of every *comedia*. This is to account for the fact that the earlier adaptations, such as Rodenburgh's plays, had a longer run than the newer adaptations, which did not have the same opportunity to be staged as often.

For the Habsburg Netherlands, on the other hand, I selected almost all extant *comedias* available to have a large enough corpus to test my hypothesis that Spanish drama had the ability to attract Dutch and Flemish audiences through its primary focus on and display of emotions.

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61 See also Alblas 1894, 67. Apart from Rodenburgh's four adaptations *Casandra Hertoginne van Borgonie, en Karel Baldeus* (1617, translation of Lope's *El perseguido*, 1590), *Hertoginne Celia en Grave Prospero* (1617, translation of Lope's *El molino*, 1593), *Ialourscheſtudenten* (1617, translation of Lope's *La escolástica celosa*, 1596–1602), and *'t Quaedt syn meester loondt* (1618, translation of Aguilar's *La venganza honrosa*, 1616), Alblas mentions that the theme of *Hoecx en Cabeliaus* (1628) is largely the same as in Lope de Vega's *La llave de la honra* (1614–1619) and his *El mayor alcalde, el rey* (1620–1623). *Keyser Otto den derden en Galdrada* (1616–1617) has largely the same plot as Lope's *La mayor victoria* (1615–1624; likely 1620–1622). It is as of yet not verified that these plays by Rodenburgh are actually adaptations or translations of Lope's plays.

The thirty-six plays—of which I give an overview momentarily—belong to three major subgroups of *comedias* as commonly used in scholarship on Spanish theatre. From time to time I use this taxonomy to differentiate between the various sorts of plots available in the Low Countries, and to discuss finer nuances between the plays. I follow the critical reflection and taxonomy of Jonathan Thacker as he used it in his *A Companion to Golden Age Theatre* (2007).[62] Thacker differentiates between three major groups of Spanish plays: comedies, serious plays, and religious plays.[63]

In Thacker's taxonomy, there is a large variety of serious drama, which revolves around themes such as honour and vengeance, or regarding the lives of kings and history. The former are *dramas de honor* and the latter *dramas históricos*, which can be either complete dramatisations of history or merely contain subtle references to events from the past.[64] For the Dutch corpus, I consider these together because of their similar conflicts between love and honour. In this category of *dramas*, the mythological plays (*comedias mitólogicas*) are also included: as the plots often derive from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, these plays often deal with serious matter and were especially popular spectacles in the court of Felipe IV.[65]

Then, there are *comedias de capa y espada* (cloak and dagger plays). As a genre, these are known to generally have a happy ending, often staging a marriage as the festive dénouement. This category includes two types of *comedia*. The first is *comedia urbana*, the city play, which is 'set in towns and cities of Spain (most frequently Madrid) and in a notional present day.' The second is *comedia palatina*, the palace play, which can also 'be located in other lands, in a courtly setting and [is] peopled with characters of a higher social class: dukes, countesses and marquises.' Thacker explains, however, that both kinds of *comedias* may be typed as *comedias de capa y espada* for their similar content and trajectories. *Comedia de capa y espada* was also the most commonly adapted subgenre in the Low Countries.[66]

The third major group, religious plays, were less popular in the Low Countries and mostly adapted in Flanders. Many of these plays, generally called *comedias de santos y bandoleros*, do not have poetically just endings, but 'the positive associations of martyrdom allowed the discrepancy' from the just endings typical of *comedias de capa*

62 Thacker 2007, 143–146.
63 Thacker 2007, 146.
64 Thacker 2007, 148–149.
65 Thacker 2007, 149.
66 Thacker 2007, 150.

y espada and *dramas*.[67] One example from the group of religious plays is the adaptation of Calderón's *La devoción de la cruz*, *De devotie van Eusebius tot het H. Kruys* (1665) by Wouthers. Two other Dutch religious plays in my corpus were inspired by the Bible: De Grieck's *Samson* and Serwouters' *Hester* (1659). Finally, De Grieck's adaptation *Den grooten Bellizarius* belongs to a group that reflects church teachings in a sustained way (*dramas religiosas*).[68] I will not, however, analyse the religious content of these plays in this study.[69]

Other groups mentioned by Thacker are *comedias pastorales* (pastoral plays), *comedias de figurón* (a scoundrel or fool's play; comparable to the Dutch genre *schelmenroman*), and *comedias burlescas* (burlesque; Shrove Tuesday plays, or farces). Examples of the two former categories do not exist in the Dutch language area, at least for the period 1617–1672, while there is only one example of the last category in the time period I am discussing: De Grieck's *Don Japhet van Armenien* (1657), which is an adaptation of Alonso de Castillo Solórzano's *El marqués del Cigarral* (1634). The play mocks the romantic plots of *comedia de capa y espada* and the honour motives of the protagonists, which makes it an interesting case study in itself but it was a highly unpopular play with a mere six performances in the Amsterdam Public Theatre, which makes it unfit for my inquiries into the popularity of *comedia nueva* in the Low Countries.[70] In summary, different types of Dutch-language *comedia nueva* can be distinguished as follows:

1. *Dramas*:
   a. *dramas de honor* (honour plays);
   b. *dramas históricos* (history plays);
   c. *comedias mitólogicas* (mythological plays);
2. *Comedias de capa y espada* (cloak and dagger plays):
   a. *comedias palatinas* (palace plays);
   b. *comedias urbanas* (city plays);
3. *Comedias de tema religioso* (religious plays):
   a. *comedias de santos y bandoleros* (saints and brigands plays);
   b. *comedias bíblicas* (biblical plays);
   c. *dramas religiosas* (religious drama).

Following Thacker's taxonomy of the Spanish originals, and while keeping the Dutch context in mind, I have categorised the Dutch *comedias* in my corpus according to three

67 Thacker 2007, 147.
68 Thacker 2007, 147.
69 I will instead address the religious content in a separate publication.
70 See ONSTAGE 2015.

TABLE 0.1 Categorisation of *comedias* in the Habsburg Netherlands according to taxonomy

1. Dramas	2. Comedias de capa y espada	3. Comedias de tema religioso
Vrye Lief-hebbers der Rymer-Konste, *Het leven is maer droom* (1647)	Cornelis de Bie, *Alphonsus en Thebasile, oft her-stelde onnoosel-heydt* (1659)	Claude de Grieck, *Den grooten Bellizarius* (1654)
Antonio Francisco Wouthers, *De verliefde stiefmoeder oft de gestrafte bloetschandt* (1665)	E.D.S.M., *Spaensche comedie De mislukte liefde, en trouw van Rugero prins van Navarren* (c. 1661)	Claude de Grieck, *Samson, oft edel-moedighen Nazareen* (1660)
Claude de Grieck, *Cenobia, Met de Doodt van Kaizer Aureliaen* (1667)	Antonio Francisco Wouthers, *Den volmaekten ridder* (c. 1665)	Antonio Francisco Wouthers, *De devotie van Eusebius* (1665)
Claude de Grieck, *Ulysses in't eylandt van Circe, oft geen grooter Toovery als Liefde* (1668)	Cornelis de Bie, *Armoede vanden graeve Florellus, oft lyden sonder wraeck* (1671)	
Cornelis de Bie, *Gheweldighe Heer-spchappye Vanden onrechtveerdighen Boris Ghedempt ende gehstraft door den jonghen Prince Demetrius Als eenighen en rechten Erfgenaem van het groot Hertoghdom van Moskovien* (c. 1672)		

main groups as outlined in Table 0.1 for the Habsburg Netherlands, and Table 0.2 for the Dutch Republic. Since few of the Spanish originals of the Dutch adaptations have been extensively researched in Spanish scholarship (Spanish scholarship has primarily focused on other better known plays by Lope and Calderón), the taxonomy of my corpus is based on my own findings and interpretations. I have supplemented these with Abrahamse's qualification of Rodenburgh's plays.[71]

The above classification of Dutch-language *comedias* already illustrates the preferences of Dutch adaptors and audiences. It seems, by sheer number, that *comedias de capa y espada* were particularly popular among Dutch spectators, with their abundant acts of disguise, cross-dressing, song, farcical intrigue, and concluding marriages, although the *dramas de honor* were no less popular in the Dutch Republic in my study period (1617–1672). In the Habsburg Netherlands preferences were more diverse, but *comedia de capa y espada* and *drama de honor* were also important genres there.

71 Abrahamse 1997, 83–107.

TABLE 0.2 Categorisation of *comedias* in the Dutch Republic according to taxonomy

1. Dramas	2. Comedias de capa y espada	3. Comedias de tema religoso
Theodore Rodenburgh, *Casandra Hertoginne van Borgonie, en Karel Baldevs* (1617)	Theodore Rodenburgh, *Ialourscbe studenten* (1617)	Johannes Serwouters, *Hester, oft verlossing der jooden* (1659)
Theodore Rodenburgh, *'t Quaedt syn meester loondt* (1618)	Theodore Rodenburgh, *Hertoginne Celia en grave Prospero* (1617)	
Johan van Heemskerck, *De verduytste Cid* (1641)	Adam Karelsz van Germez, *Vervolgde Laura* (1645)	
Joan Dullaart, *Alexander de Medicis, of 't bedrooge betrouwen* (1653)	Isaac Vos, *Gedwongen vrient* (1646)	
Vrye Lief-hebbers der Rymer-Konste, *Sigismundus, prinçe van Poolen* (1654) [same as: *Het leven is maer droom* in Table 0.1]	Leon de Fuyter, *Verwarde hof* (1647)	
Catharina Questiers, *Casimier of gedempte hoogmoed* (1656)	Isaac Vos, *De beklaagelycke dwangh* (1648)	
Johannes Serwouters, *Den grooten Tamerlan, met de doodt van Bayaset de I, Turks Keizer* (1657)	Jan Zoet, *Zabynaja, of vermomde loosheid* (1648)	
Dirck Pietersz Heynck, *Don Louis de Vargas, of edelmoedige wraek* (1668)	Joris de Wijse, *Voorzigtige dolheit* (1650)	
Adriaen Bastiaensz de Leeuw, *De toveres Circe* (1670)	Catharina Questiers, *Den geheymen minnaar* (1655)	
Hendrick de Graef, *Den dullen ammirael* (1670)	Dirck Pietersz Heynck, *Veranderlyk geval, of Stantvastige liefde* (1663)	
	Hendrick de Graef, *Joanna Koningin van Napels of Den trotzen dwinger* (1664)	
	David Lingelbach, *De spookende minnaar* (1664)	
	Catharina Questiers, *D'ondanckbare Fulvius en getrouwe Octavia* (1665)	
	Joan Blasius, *De malle wedding* (1671)	

Methodology: The History of Emotions

My hypothesis makes clear that the display of emotions in *comedias*, and the emotional effects these plays had on the spectators, form the central focus of my study. Scholarship on the history of emotions teaches us that emotions should be regarded as a historical category, meaning that the way that people express their inner feelings differs from place to place, and from time to time. Even the words to describe what an emotion is can differ, including the word 'emotion' itself, which is an eighteenth-century neologism: in the period central to my study, words used to refer to the concept of 'emotion' were diverse. They include the Latin words of *passio* (passion), *affectus* (affect), or *motus* (mood), which all indicate something like a movement or an affliction of the heart. Therefore, Dutch intellectuals in the seventeenth century also used the term *hartstocht*, which in Dutch literally means an inclination of the heart, as an equivalent for these Latin terms.[72]

Because there are many different 'emotion words,' it is unsurprising that there has been much discussion about which overarching concept to use when describing expressions of an emotional nature. The emotion historian Jan Plamper decides in his *The History of Emotions* (2015) to rather use our anachronistic term 'emotion' to denote the entire topic, as many if not most concepts of emotion are etymologically connected.[73] I will follow his example, both to avoid confusion and to remain closer to everyday usage of *emotion* in modern English, as well as in modern Dutch (*emotie*). The variety of 'emotion words' also demonstrates that every (historical) society has its *modus operandi* in response to their environment in a way that makes sense to them.

How, then, can a theory of emotions explain the popularity and success of *comedia nueva* in the Low Countries? As I argue, emotional life in the Low Countries existed around the axes of emotional control and emotional licentiousness. Historians of emotions have multiple times discussed the navigation that this requires of people by looking at how societies think about and handle emotions in different ways. Konst's work on the *hartstochten* in Dutch Renaissance tragedy has been influential in this regard for scholarship of the early modern period, and to this day is the most elaborate study on the passions in early modern Dutch tragedy. Through a rhetorical-emotional analysis, he opened up Dutch Renaissance tragedy for questions about emotions. The two strongest points of Konst's analysis are the introduction of the 'passion monologue' and his intertextual approach: Konst traces all viewpoints on emotions in these

72 Konst 1993, 1–2.

73 Plamper 2015, 11–12.

plays to philosophical, intellectual, and medical texts current to the seventeenth century. Konst identified an emotional intertextuality in Dutch tragedy by demonstrating how in the tragedies of Vondel, Hooft, Coster, and Bredero the ideas of Justus Lipsius, Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert, Johan van Beverwijck, and Jacob Cats are iterated, while these Dutch intellectuals in turn revert back to Greco-Roman philosophy and medicine texts.

Since Konst's research on the seventeenth-century Dutch tragedy, research on the history of emotions has evolved. Barbara H. Rosenwein suggests in her influential 2002 article 'Worrying about Emotions in History' that emotions should not be seen as forces striving for release, something that Konst was at the time still arguing. She describes how after the 1960s, cognitive psychologists see emotions not as irrational, but as part of a process of perception and appraisal. In the 1970s, social constructionism posited that emotions 'are constructed, that is, formed and shaped, by the society in which they operate.' In this view, the expression of emotions depends on language, cultural practices, expectations, and moral beliefs, while the display of emotions is bent, shaped, encouraged, or discouraged by society. According to Rosenwein, '[t]his means that *every* culture has its rules for feelings and behavior; *every* culture thus exerts certain restraints while favoring certain forms of expressivity.'[74] For the study of *comedia nueva* in the Low Countries, this insight shows how the originally Spanish genre was introduced as a reaction to the rules around feelings and behaviour. Moreover, it accounts for the fact that emotions operate in an environment that is continuously monitored and scrutinised.

Emotives

While my inquiries are indebted to Konst's pioneering work and I also often rely on his research, I would contend that Konst tried to explain the emotions of characters in various seventeenth-century Dutch tragedies primarily through the lens of a cultural, neostoic model in which emotions were positioned as potentially dangerous and needed to be controlled. Since Sierhuis, much like Rosenwein, has shown that there was not just one emotional model that governed how seventeenth-century people dealt with emotions, I rather adopt the concept of *emotives* as developed by William M. Reddy to analyse the emotions in *comedia nueva* and account for the variety of emotional models available in the early modern period.

74 Rosenwein 2002, 836–837.

Reddy fully developed his concept of the *emotive* in his seminal work *The Navigation of Feeling* (2001) in which he based his concept on social constructionist insights. The *emotive* is a linguistic concept, a neologism formed out of 'emotion' and 'motive', that is 'a type of speech act different from both performative and constative utterances, which both describes (like constative utterances) and changes (like performatives) the world, because emotional expression has an exploratory and self-altering effect on the activated thought material of emotion.'[75] By this Reddy means that emotions tell something about one's emotional state but also have a communicative value when the emotion is shared with someone else, such as the other characters on stage or the spectators gathered in the theatre.

In *The Navigation of Feeling*, Reddy's main assumption is that emotions are by definition a public affair and are instrumental to our physical and mental health, and are therefore dependent on the goals we set in life to maintain that health and obtain happiness. Throughout his work, Reddy thus primarily distinguishes between emotions that are expressed and feelings that are inward. Reddy goes as far as to say that an emotion can only be considered to be an emotion insofar that it is expressed. Then, the emotion utterance can change the social reality of the person who first expressed the emotion, because the conversation partner can react, in turn affecting their relationship.[76]

The *emotive* has conceptual utility for the analysis of *comedia nueva* (and other forms of theatre) in that it stresses the communicative aspects of emotions and draws attention to the emotion of the individual—as it is shaped by and constructed in opposition to cultural norms (the context)—rather than that it explains emotions within a specific cultural frame. For Reddy, emotions are a form of communication which combines the inward and personal aspects of emotions with the public expression of those emotions in language.[77] Since in drama everything is made explicit through language and gestures, the *emotive* can be effectively used to dissect emotions constructed in written source material by means of language. Then, we see how emotions can be part of a character's goal system and drive forth the plots in *comedias*. In Reddy's model, emotions are part of a continuous negotiation between people, and a navigation of individuals' goals. In this perspective, the theory of *emotives* adds to Konst's historiographical discussion of the *hartstochten* (passions) in seventeenth-century Dutch tragedy. The *emotive* further facilitates discussion of emotions that

75 Reddy 2001, 128.
76 Reddy 2001, 93–94.
77 Reddy 2001, 25–31, 40–45.

deviate from cultural norms (the dominant discourse) which Konst solely characterises as negative *exempla* for the stage.

I already mentioned that the *emotive* is a type of speech act. For this, Reddy builds on J.L. Austin's *speech act* theory as laid out in his work *How to Do Things with Words* (1962). While Reddy considers that emotions are inherently performative, Austin's foremost contribution to linguistics was the insight that not all statements are descriptive. As is well known, Austin distinguished two types of utterances: descriptive or *constative* utterances, and *performative* utterances that are used to accomplish something, as opposed to describing something. According to Austin, speech acts can either be successful or fail depending on context, which allow for certain types of speech acts, such as the 'I do' during a wedding ceremony. However, Austin did not recognise utterances about one's emotions as either being constative or performative. He dismissed them as being 'merely reports.'[78] Stepping into this lacuna, Reddy introduced the *emotive*, describing it as a *first-person, present tense emotion claim*. Reddy says of these emotion claims that they 'have (1) a descriptive appearance; (2) a relational intent; and (3) a self-exploring or self-altering effect.'[79]

The 'descriptive appearance' of first person, present tense emotion claims signals that emotives use emotion words as predicates to describe a personal state. Although emotion claims, such as 'I am sad,' appear to be semantically similar to constatives such as 'I have red hair,' one cannot derive from independent verification whether the emotion claim is *accurate*. In order to do this, one must recognise the coherence between the statement and other emotionally expressive utterances, gestures, and/or acts, which usually cannot be seen, heard, or sensed.[80] For the analysis of *comedia nueva* this enables me to categorically identify those sentences in which a character expresses an emotion claim. It is, in this sense, advantageous that early modern drama is very explicit where it concerns the expression of emotion words.

Returning to the above quotation, Reddy also argues that emotives have a 'relational intent,' since statements about emotions are generally part of (or designate) specific scenarios, relationships, or action orientations. 'To speak about how one feels', Reddy posits, 'is, very often, to make an implicit offer or gift, to negotiate, to refuse, to initiate a plan or terminate it, to establish a tie or alter it. To say "I am afraid of you" may be a way of refusing to cooperate with someone or a request for change in

78 Austin 1962, 78–79.
79 Reddy 2001, 100.
80 Reddy 2001, 100.

the relationship.'[81] For the analysis of *comedia nueva*, the relational intent of emotives provides for me an analytical framework through which to identify how characters come to a decision, or understand why they act the way they do. When a character's honour is hurt, the following murder of a rival can be related to those emotions originating from the dishonour, and can thus be understood by a (historical) audience, and myself as the interpreter of the text, as a 'valid' motivation to respond with violence.

Finally, emotives are self-exploring or have a self-altering effect on the speaker. While psychologists agree that emotions involve widespread activations of thought materials, which for Reddy include any mental activations such as feelings and thoughts, translating these thought materials into words exceeds one's available attention capacity, so any attempt to summarise or characterise feelings will always fail. Straightforward emotion labels, such as 'I am happy,' are oversimplifications. Instead, the attempt to characterise an emotion in a few brief sentences is an endeavour affecting the activated thought material itself, but also endangering very important relationships, goals, intentions, and practices of the individual. Therefore, such an attempt may activate or alter yet other thought material.[82] In *comedia nueva*, the self-exploring or self-altering effects of emotives become most transparent when characters take centre stage singing emotional songs, or when they reflect on their feelings in their monologues, which Konst calls 'passion monologues.'[83] Then, it becomes clear that the collective of thoughts and feelings reflected upon in these emotional *intermezzi* help characters set goals, maintain goals, or to alter them altogether.

In short, Reddy explains that emotives have the capacity to both describe our state of mind and transform it, both on a communal and individual basis. According to Reddy, it is less important that we actually *feel* the emotions, but rather whether we *express* the emotions that we claim to have.[84] Then, both the actions of virtuous characters and those of the power-hungry and abusive characters who appear in *comedia nueva* can be assessed according to their good or bad intentions, independent of any preconceived ideas about the value and expression of emotions in early modern Dutch and Flemish society.

81 Reddy 2001, 100–101.
82 Reddy 2001, 101–102.
83 Konst 1993, 74–75.
84 Reddy 2001, 118–121.

Emotional Regimes and Emotional Refuges

I use Reddy's emotive to also expose a process in which characters in *comedia nueva*, and likewise their spectators, either conform to emotional and social norms or deviate from them depending on their goals. As noted by Reddy, the emotive can be used to describe emotions that are uttered in an extensive process of 'hundreds of past volitions and motivations' and are related to individual goals and desires.[85]

With this, Reddy lays the foundation for a re-conception of the relationship between the individual and the collective: individuals utter their emotives under differing circumstances and under differing political regimes. For the individual it is imperative to protect oneself from oppression, because of which one will already self-regulate their expression of emotions. Reddy gives the individual, who must successfully manoeuvre within this restrictive context, the agency to manage their own behaviour and emotional expression.

I use these insights to argue that the characters in *comedia nueva* must navigate and manage their emotions despite expectations and limitations put on them: a prince whose father wants him to marry a princess although he loves a common girl; a daughter whose father demands she marry the suitor that he has selected for her, although she loves another man; or a man who has to defend his honour against a power-hungry rival and therefore must scheme to survive. These situations can be explained by a set of concepts that Reddy introduced alongside his concept of the emotive, and by which he describes the social reality and circumstances under which people live and must manage their emotions. They are *emotional suffering*, *emotional liberty*, *emotional regime*, and *emotional refuge*.

Reddy places emotives in a constant dialogue with the normative style of emotional management established by political regimes, which themselves require those styles to survive; otherwise leaders risk scrutiny, marginalisation, or sanction. When the feelings of individuals do not correspond with the normative styles established by the regime, there exists a goal conflict, and the individual suffers while trying to conform their own goals with those of the regime. Reddy calls this *emotional suffering* and defines it as an acute form of goal conflict, by which the frames of conflict presented in *comedias* can be analysed: where the regime is represented by an authority figure, such as a parent or a king, the romantic lovers must suffer under the social norms that these authority figures impose on them.

85 Reddy 2001, 118–120.

The opposite of emotional suffering occurs when one experiences *emotional liberty*, which entails 'the freedom to change goals in response to bewildering, ambivalent thought activations that exceed the capacity of attention and challenge the reign of high-level goals currently guiding emotional management.'[86] As opposed to the freedom to make rational choices, Reddy identifies this as the freedom to undergo 'conversion experiences' and 'life-course changes' which involve numerous contrasting, often incommensurate factors. That liberty is what is on the line in *comedias*: it is what protagonists must fight for, as it is never simply given. Therefore, the concept of emotional liberty typifies that which protagonists must struggle for against the authorities—the *emotional regime*—to establish their social freedom.

Reddy defines an *emotional regime* as the result of a community's struggle for emotional equilibrium.[87] Because the community prioritises emotions, the collective is forced to do the same. Any political regime, then, needs to establish a normative order for emotions—that is, an emotional regime—if they desire to stay in power. The emotional regime is a means to establish a social hierarchy that governs rules for interaction and co-existence. It is only natural that the individual's emotional goals will conflict with the normative set of emotions at least once during their lifetime. Thus, such emotional regimes do not only exist in dictatorships.[88] It also is possible that an emotional regime only allows for a limited number of emotives, which are modelled through ceremony and official art forms—Reddy discusses the example of Louis XIV's austere court rituals and the royal supervision of the *Comédie-Française* in eighteenth-century France, but social expectations exist in every society. In such regimes:

> individuals have to utter these emotives in appropriate circumstances, in the expectation that normative emotions will be enhanced and habituated. Those who refuse to make the normative utterances [...] are faced with the prospect of severe penalties. Those who make the required utterances and gestures, but for whom the appropriate emotions are not enhanced or habituated, may seek to conceal their lack of zeal. If they are unsuccessful, they, too, face penalties.[89]

86 Reddy 2001, 122–123.
87 Reddy 2001, 55.
88 Reddy 2001, 108–110.
89 Reddy 2001, 125.

One may even seek self-deception, which is not insincere per se, but which is needed for the individual to meet society's norms. On the other side of the spectrum, there are regimes that are more lenient toward emotional navigation and only use strict emotional discipline in certain institutions (including the army, schools, priesthoods, government, et cetera). Many times, a society employs neither one nor the other, but finds a middle ground on the spectrum between a strict and lenient emotional regime, allowing for organised group-forming.[90] Such complex social orders can permit or tolerate the creation of relationships or localised organisations that provide a group of individuals with an *emotional refuge* as described by Ruddy:

> In these contexts norms are relaxed or even reversed; mental control efforts may be temporarily set aside. Affective connections, otherwise illicit, may be established, even celebrated. Such emotional refuges may take a great variety of forms, from private understandings, to informal sociability, to Carnival-type ritual, to international secret brotherhoods.[91]

This can even include the theatre as an institution, which for my discussion of *comedia nueva* can be understood as a reaction to the stricter emotional models propagated in 'home-grown' drama, especially in the tragedies of Hooft, Vondel, and Coster. Reddy argues that such emotional refuges may make the prevailing emotional order more liveable for some people, some of the time. At other times, they may still be the cradle of discord, contestation, conflict, and transformation.

In Western society, there indeed seems to be a 'grand narrative' of emotional restraint, wherein reason must contain uncontrolled passions. It seems that 'reason' or one of its many manifestations (such as knowledge) should regulate our natural impulses. In Reddy's framework, I regard this as an emotional regime. When Konst thus discussed the Dutch Renaissance tragedy and found that most playwrights propagated emotional self-control, this reflected a 'neostoic' emotional regime, as I discussed earlier. As Sierhuis argues, that there existed many different emotional styles and models alongside one another in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, despite popular belief, I regard the alternative emotional narratives as emotional refuges. I argue that *comedia nueva*, then, represented such an emotional refuge in

90 Reddy 2001, 125–126.
91 Reddy 2001, 128.

the theatre, which is to be regarded as a counter reaction to the austere form of contemporary literature. In my discussion, I do not regard every emotional regime to be political in the narrow sense, although Reddy's own discussion positions it that way through his contextualising it within political regimes. In the context of my study, however, an emotional regime *can* be political (as pertaining to the state), but this does *not* quintessentially have to be the case. By adapting Reddy's concepts within the context of my analysis, I can thus account for the fact that acts of cultural transfer have the potential to shift boundaries in the cultural system of the receiving culture, which by importing foreign ideas (here: *comedia nueva*) responds to a specific native situation and can offer its participants an emotional refuge.[92]

Emotional Practices

Although emotives have an explicit performative and communicative aim, they are also primarily constructed by means of language. By building on the work of Austin, Reddy looks at written emotions when speaking about emotions in history. The downside of such an approach of theatre is that the focus is redirected to the scripts, which were often sold as keepsakes, as programme leaflets, or as texts to be read.[93] Naturally, the texts that I analyse are crippled texts in that the scripts themselves offer only limited information about the actual historical performances that I am interested in. On stage, the actor brings movement to expressed emotions in a way that a script alone, in its written form, cannot deliver. Yet, the problem we face is that there are hardly any reviews or reader responses of the historical performances in the seventeenth century.

Therefore, I rely for this specifically on the concept of *emotional practices* introduced by cultural anthropologist Monique Scheer who explains that 'it is generally agreed that emotions are something people experience *and* something they do. We *have* emotions and we *manifest* emotions.'[94] Historians such as Reddy have often drawn on a cognitive approach, which implies that feelings, like thoughts, can be considered as a historical category, and are subject to change through the forces of society and culture. They tend to focus on emotions as a medium for communication. Thus, emotions 'appeared to be more or less determined by language.'[95] For

92 Espagne and Werner 1985, 505, 508.
93 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 377–378.
94 Scheer 2012, 195.
95 Scheer 2012, 196.

the performance aspect of my analysis I follow Scheer, who argues that thinking is not only achieved conceptually but also in the body's sensorimotor systems, 'so that things like bodily posture and gestures matter';[96] the body thinks along with the brain. Scheer draws on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, which considers that the 'body is not a static, timeless, universal foundation that produces ahistorical emotional arousal, but is itself socially situated, adaptive, trained, plastic, and thus historical.'[97]

The existence of a socially situated and historical body is, for example, apparent in the persistent medical paradigm of Galenic humourism, which held that the four bodily humours or fluids—blood, yellow bile (choler), black bile (melancholy), and phlegm—which were affected by a person's sex, age, social class, surrounding climate, and physical environment, must be kept in balance for a healthy body and mind.[98] Sierhuis acknowledged that contemporary belief in Galenism underlined the fully embodied perception of early modern emotions.[99] In this understanding of the body's workings in the early modern period, one is in imminent danger when this balance is out of tune, and the adding or removal of certain fluids or elements, physically or via the senses, was a necessary remedy. Within this paradigm, theatre could be either a poison or an antidote. Playwrights inspired by Lipsius' Neostoicism, such as Hooft, Coster, and Vondel, have especially propagated that emotions should be handled with care for their bodily effects.[100]

Scheer articulates that '[d]epending on where and when we live, we learn to keep our thoughts and feelings to ourselves (or not), to listen to our hearts (or our heads), to be "true to ourselves" and to know what we want.'[101] Much like Reddy argued, we are trained—conditioned even—to feel and express emotions in a way that is permissible within our specific culture: we navigate our feelings to cope with social expectations and stay in line with the dominant emotional regime (or place ourselves in opposition to it).[102] By drawing on Scheer's work to consider the bodily aspect of theatre, and by

96 Scheer 2012, 197.

97 Scheer 2012, 194.

98 See, e.g. Paster 2004, 4–5; Roodenburg and Santing 2014, 8–9.

99 Sierhuis 2016, 335. At the same time, Sierhuis adds a caveat when Galenic humourism is interpreted as a form of materialism, a 'humoral determinism.' Then, our embodied interpretation of emotions can come 'at the expense of losing sight of the complex relationship between body and soul, passion and cognition and between physical, mental and rational phenomena, such as pneuma.'

100 Konst 1993, 21, 23–25.

101 Scheer 2012, 200.

102 Reddy 2001, 118–122, 125–126.

following Erika Fischer-Lichte's considerations of theatre as a performative medium, I focus on theatre as an embodied medium.[103]

Emotional Responses of Spectators

As my inquiries are furthermore related to spectators' responses to *comedia nueva*, I also need a framework within which to discuss how the emotives and embodied emotions of characters (and their actors) are transferred and communicated beyond the stage. When focusing on the emotions of spectators, these concepts are in themselves insufficient. Therefore, I finally turn to the work of Dutch psychologist Nico Frijda, who introduced in *The Emotions* (1986) a useful distinction between two different sorts of emotions that are evoked by art: he spoke of *complementing emotions* to discuss emotions that are evoked by the *nature* of the artwork, such as sadness, happiness, joy, and suspense. Spectators experience these emotions because the theme or plot of an artwork stimulates them.

When discussing the emotions that are evoked by the *quality* of an artwork, Frijda used the term *responding emotions*, which include fascination, pleasure, wonder, and admiration. Responding emotions—or opinions—are experienced by spectators in reaction to the aesthetics of an artwork. For example, spectators may feel sad about Oedipus' fate, while they recognise the tragic quality of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* (c. 429 BCE). Both complementing and responding emotions, therefore, can be used to describe the nature of the emotions that an audience experiences.[104] Moreover, we should not forget about the passions of fear (*phobos*) and compassion (*eleos*) that Aristotle discussed in his *Poetics* as two paramount emotions that tragedy should stimulate through its characters, who are neither completely evil nor entirely good, but in-between, such as Oedipus.[105] Aristotle's emotional poetics were still leading in early modern Europe and should, therefore, not be disregarded.

To then make the step from the emotives that characters utter in a play to the emotions that are experienced by the spectators, I rely on Daniel Heinsius, who wrote in his *De tragoediae constitutione liber* (1611, 'On the Constitution of Tragedy') that people who regularly watch sorrow, have compassion 'in the right way and as it is proper.' Moreover, those who often watch something that elicits fear, are in the long run less fearful. Heinsius therefore calls the theatre 'a practice school of our emotions, which,

103 See Fischer-Lichte 2000, 2014, 18–46; Ramakers 2004, esp. 127–128.
104 Frijda 1986, 355–359.
105 Aristotle 1995, 46–47, 68–79.

because they are not only useful but indispensable in real life, have to be introduced there and elicited.'[106] From this, I also take that complementing emotions as they are represented by actors in *comedias* evoked in audiences the same emotions: the successful representation of fear should equally elicit fear in the spectator, whereas responding emotions, such as admiration and wonder, are either created by the structure of these plays or the *mise-en-scène* and the scenography. Therefore, the emotional effects of these plays must have been dependent upon the presence of specific emotions in the dialogue, the convincing representation of those emotions on stage, and the use of wondrous staging techniques and plot developments.

Approach and Structure of This Study

In this study I adopt a plural model of analysis, which is based on the work of theatre scholar Thomas Postlewait. I focus in the analysis on the four factors that Postlewait identifies as having contributed to the historical performance:

1. the agents (producers, actors, managers, set designers, et cetera);
2. the artistic heritage (the productions staged before and aesthetic traditions);
3. the reception (conditions of perception and evaluation by various people, such as critics, reviewers, and spectators); and
4. the world (the various contexts in which the theatrical production is inserted).

In turn, the theatrical event itself similarly affects these four contributing factors and is in tension with each of them, 'a series of dialogues and exchanges that the historian may chart.'[107]

Additionally, Postlewait proposes that the four factors also interact with each other and meet at the theatrical event. Likewise, there exists a historical influence in both directions between the event and the world, between the world and the reception of the play, between the artistic heritage and the event, between the artistic heritage and the reception, between the agents and the event, between the agents and the artistic heritage, and so forth. It is a break with what Postlewait sees as the

106 Heinsius 1611, 12–13: 'Ita qui miserias frequenter spectat, recte miseratur, & quemadmodum oportet. qui frequenter ea quae horrorem movent, intuetur; minus tandem horret, & ut decet. Quo & referenda sunt, quae in theatro exhibentur. quod affectuum nostrorum quaedam quasi est palaestra qui, cum non modo utiles in vita, verum etiam sint necessarii, praeparari ibi & oportet, & absolvi.' With thanks to Ton Harmsen for the translation.

107 Postlewait 2009, 9.

too limiting two-way division between text/event and context, and the opposition between documentary scholarship and cultural history.[108]

This approach is also based on the fact that *comedias* were first and foremost performed, as the texts only appeared in book-form simultaneously with or after the premiere of every *comedia*. Therefore, I start in Chapter 1 at the door of the Amsterdam Public Theatre, followed by the doors of the theatres of Antwerp and Brussels. I walk together with the spectators into the auditorium, reimagining their first impressions, combining information about the architecture of the respective buildings and the available and traditional staging techniques current in the Low Countries, while I describe how Dutch theatre-makers constructed a illusionary world through the staging of *comedias*. Subsequently, Chapter 2 discusses spectacle as a way of moving and fascinating the audience. The chapter continues with an overview of the developments in theatre architecture and the contemporary use of stage machinery, looking into the technical solutions and possibilities at the disposal of Dutch playwrights. Using the concept of *imagineering*, I account for the combination in spectacle of the viewer's imagination and the engineering of different stage effects by the aforementioned means of stage machinery, *tableaux vivants*, and stage props.

Chapter 3 moves to the construction of textual emotions. Here, I consider which emotions are more frequent in *comedias* than in canonical plays by, for instance, Vondel or Hooft. This chapter therefore uses quantitative data and techniques from digital humanities to discover where differences between specific plays can be found. Using this information about the frequency of emotions in *comedia nueva* as compared to canonical plays, Chapters 4, 5, and 6 are thematically based on and discuss three popular emotional motifs and several generic plots in *comedias* that were adapted in Dutch. In Chapter 4, I look at the Dutch and Flemish adaptations of *comedias de capa y espada*, *comedias urbanas*, and *comedias palatinas*, arguing that the plots of these plays became so popular because they were recognisable to the spectator: I identify five plot variations according to which all Dutch adaptations can be classified. In all cases, however, the honour-love theme proves to be predominant.

The Dutch and Flemish adaptations of *dramas de honor* are the subject of Chapter 5. There, I discuss the honour-vengeance motif in these plays as a counter-reaction to the popular idea that the desire for revenge should be suppressed, and passions controlled, as formulated in many canonical Dutch plays. I descend further into the texts

108 Postlewait 2009, esp. 9–19.

in Chapter 6, when I explore protagonists' subversive acts designed to change their social status and the hierarchy that limits their social emancipation. While introducing a new concept of *emotional rebellion*, I both expand and specify Reddy's framework for literary texts to highlight how certain social agents can change the emotional norms established by an authoritative voice. This chapter specifically addresses female emancipation by accounting for gender fluidity in the original Spanish *comedias* and the way this fluidity is restructured in the Dutch and Flemish adaptations.

Finally, in Chapter 7 I end my discussion on the stage again. I identify and describe the *embodied emotions* expressed by characters in *comedias*. By investigating the emotional practices that actors employed, I argue that actors could rely on commonly accepted gestures and facial expressions found in different sources, such as books of rhetoric and instruction manuals for painters, to enact the grand emotions of *comedia nueva*. Through this, the emotional conflicts of *comedias* could be successfully communicated beyond the stage.

CHAPTER 1

The Wondrous World of the *Comedia*

Theatrical Illusions & Worldbuilding in Dutch Comedias

> But is not the life of man a mere dream??
> The outcome, does it not teach that everyone dreams
> their life, and that which they are, and what fortune gives
> them, until they finally awaken in death?
> [...]
> Alas! What is life?
> A shadow, a semblance: because they who rise high,
> See in the final hour that they have dreamed most of it.[1]

With these words, Prince Sigismundus of Poland reflects on his life and on the apparent dream he had when he was allowed to rule for one day. The prince's words are part of a philosophical monologue at the end of the second act of *Sigismundus, prinçe van Poolen* (1654), an adaptation of Calderón's famous *La vida es sueño* (1635, 'Life is dream'). King Basilius of Poland was an astrologer and he had seen at the birth of his son that Sigismundus would one day bring chaos to his kingdom. To prevent this turn of events, the king had imprisoned him since infancy in a secluded tower. When many years later Basilius still needed an heir, he brought Sigismundus to court, first drugging him so he would believe that it was a dream in case the prince actually became the feared tyrant and needed to be returned to his tower.

During his one-day rule, Sigismundus became frenzied when he learned that his reign had been a test devised by his father to see if Sigismundus would rule as a tyrant, or if he would instead become the wise king that Basilius hoped him to be. Yet, his distress having proved his father's prophesy true, Sigismundus was re-drugged and

1 Vrye Lief-hebbers der Rymer-Konste binnen Brussel 1654, vv. 1360–1363, 1382b–1384: 'Maar 't leven van den mensch is dat niet enkkel droom? / De uit-komst, leert die niet dat ieder een zijn leven, / En 't geene dat hy is, en 't luk hem komt te geven, / Droomt, tot dat in de doodt ten laatsten hy ontwaakt? [...] eilaas! wat is het leven? / Een schaduw', eenen schijn: want die op 't hoogste koomt, / Ziet in de laatste uur dat hy meest heeft gedroomt.'

returned to his tower. Now having awakened and realising that everything might have been a mere dream, Sigismundus despairingly asks himself if this short reign was real or an illusion: '¿Qué es la vida? Una ilusión, / una sombra, una ficción.' The iconic words of the Spanish original make clear that life is a dream, and that dreams are but dreams: 'que toda la vida es sueño, / y los sueños, sueños son.'[2] Likewise, the message to spectators, both Spanish and Dutch, is that nothing lasts in this life and everything that we see is false.[3]

The average seventeenth-century Dutch theatre-goer was well aware of the meaning of Sigismundus' words, and knew that theatre itself played with illusion and reality. Dutch men, women, and children were alerted to this every time they visited the Amsterdam Public Theatre by one distinct architectural feature of the playhouse. Before entering, the theatre-goer first had to enter through a gate bearing a verse written around 1638 by the Dutch 'Prince of Poets' Joost van den Vondel:

> De weereld is een speeltooneel,
> Elck speelt zyn rol en kryght zyn deel.[4]
>
> *The world is a stage,*
> *Everyone plays their part and receives their share.*

Although now a faint reminder of the building that was located there in the seventeenth century, the inscription on the gate at Keizersgracht 384 in Amsterdam still demonstrates that this gate signalled to visitors that they immersed themselves into another world by means of their own imagination. And so the gate's quote, like Sigismundus' philosophical reflection, invokes the famous *theatrum mundi* metaphor that was current in Renaissance literature: before Vondel, celebrated playwrights including William Shakespeare in his *As You Like It* (1599), Calderón in his *El gran teatro del mundo* (c. 1634, 'The Grand Theatre of the World'), and Pierre Corneille in *Le Grand Théâtre du monde* (1655)—a translation of Calderón's play—remarked how 'all the world's a stage' according to the dramatic practices of their time and place. In a way, 'life itself was theatrical in a sense more mundane than the *theatrum mundi* metaphor of Calderón's *El gran teatro del mundo* would suggest,' as Thacker pointed out for the *Siglo de Oro*: the Spanish Golden Age.[5]

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2 Calderón de la Barca 1640b, fol. 18r.

3 Blom and Van Marion 2021, 17; Blom 2021a, 292–293.

4 As found inscribed on the gate of The Dylan Hotel (formerly the Amsterdam Public Theatre).

5 Thacker 2002, 1.

In this same vein, René van Stipriaan writes that the paradox of a tragic play gives rise to the feeling that there exists tension at the intersection of tragic gravity and theatrical playfulness. It is inherently connected to an early modern view of the world which explicitly expresses 'the omnipresence of the *theatrum mundi* metaphor. The world is a theatre, life means playing a role. And vice versa: the theatre can also be a representation of the world, and an actor can act out a life.'[6] In theatre, the metaphor also expresses that the world is deceptive, changeable, and volatile. And in this world, the individual plays his own masquerade.[7] In the baroque tradition, the theatre is a space of illusion, where the boundaries of what is real are discovered, tested, and traversed. Spanish *comedia nueva* used the full potential that these illusions could offer, as the example of Calderón's *La vida es sueño* shows. Not only did the theatrical[8] illusions appeal to a shared view of life in early modern Europe, they also offered the human senses a pleasurable deception of the eyes, which continually surprised the spectators. As I argue in this chapter, the *game* of illusion in these plays was one of the reasons why the genre was so successful in the Low Countries.

The seduction of the senses and the pleasurable deception of the eyes are, therefore, the central themes in this chapter. Beginning with Calderón's court spectacle E*l mayor encanto, amor* (1635, 'Love, the Greatest Charm'), I discuss how the Spanish playwright built an illusionistic world for his spectators, and how the Netherlandish adaptors of this *comedia mitológica*, a subgenre of *drama* in Thacker's taxonomy, subsequently reinvented Calderón's game of illusion in its new local contexts. Then, I consider how these illusions were shaped by the architecture and *mise-en-scène* of theatres in Amsterdam and Brussels, theorising about how the eyes are seduced by the immersive environment.

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6 Bernheimer 1956, esp. 240–245; Van Stipriaan 1999, 13; Fischer-Lichte 2002, 80–83.

7 Van Stipriaan 1999, 14.

8 My application of the concept theatricality in this study is based on the understanding that theatricality is a diffuse term that on one side of its semantic spectrum refers simply 'to anything pertaining to the theatre, from props to the script,' while at the other extreme is a heavy-laden ethical and political term. I follow Caroline van Eck and Stijn Bussels in their application of the term to art and architecture, wherein the 'theatricality of art, we might say, resides in the implications of its use of theatrical elements' (2010, 214). Yet, I want to emphasise that in my review of theatrical illusions in *comedia nueva* I also discuss theatricality as theatre's pleasurable distortion of reality and as the exaggeration and affectation attributed to the theatre by premodern thinkers. I do so without passing judgement on any of these views of theatricality, be they neutral, positive, or negative (see Fischer-Lichte 1995, 86–88; Van Eck and Bussels 2010, 212–214). To me, theatricality also refers to its etymological roots as the act of seeing something which is a representation, and also the act of seeing someone who plays a (social) role (Van Eck and Bussels 2010, 212). In this regard, I pay specific attention to the playmaking and playfulness in theatre.

Further, in the context of the early modern notions of *vraisemblance* (verisimilitude) and *bienséance* (decorum), I examine the presence of the unity of place and time in other adaptations from Spanish; the absence of this unity formed an important point of critique on the quality of the Spanish *comedia nueva*. I ask how the unity of place and time influenced the spectators' experience. Lastly, I consider how the illusion created by the *mise-en-scène* contributed to a sense of emotional 'distance from' or 'nearness to' the plays. In other words, I argue in this chapter that the eyes are first and foremost captured by the way that Spanish drama structures space, and how it draws spectators into imagined or other-worldly spaces by offering them an immersive experience. The human imagination summons a three-dimensional world that challenges the boundaries between what is real and fictional, what is here and elsewhere, and what is in the present and in a historical timeline; meanwhile, the spectators are emotionally affected as they relate the dramatic representation before them to their own lives.

The Theatrical Illusions of Circe

In Calderón's 'fiesta' El *mayor encanto, amor*, real-world places represent parts of the fictional world of the Greek King Ulysses and the Sicilian Sorceress-Queen Circe. The play dramatises the one-year period in which Odysseus stayed at Circe's court before resuming his journey, as told in Books X and XII of Homer's *Odyssey*. Upon landing on Circe's island, she magically changed his crew into pigs; during his stay, Ulysses must convince her to change them back into men. Calderón used this enchanted setting for his play to let his spectators be absorbed into another, imaginary world.[9] This spectator immersion was in part achieved through the location of El *mayor encanto, amor*'s performance. The Italian engineer, scenographer, and producer of the play, Cosimo Lotti, had chosen the Estanque Grande (large pond) in the Buen Retiro Palace gardens on the eastern side of Madrid. In the middle of this pond was an artificial island. The palace, its gardens, and the Estanque Grande can be seen on the right hand side of Pedro Teixeira's 1656 map of Madrid (Fig. 1.1; compare its present-day appearance at ground level in Fig. 1.2 below). During the play's performance, this island functioned as Circe's island Trinacria (traditionally believed to be Sicily).[10]

9 Thacker 2007, 129. Although these were initially staged for royalty, Thacker points out that the spectacles were also accessible to the general public after the court had seen them.

10 Eversmann 1996, 136–137; Vergeer 2020b, esp. 324–327, and 2020c, 97–100.

FIG. 1.1 Pedro Teixeira Albernaz and Salomon Savery, *Topographia de la Ville de Madrid*, 1656, 178 cm x 286 cm, engraving in 20 folios. On the right hand side the Buen Retiro Palace and royal gardens with the Estanque Grande.
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The Estanque Grande as a Found Environment

In 1981, theatre scholar Arnold Aronson termed extraordinary performance settings, like the Estanque Grande, as *found environments*: they are performance spaces not originally intended as such and thus do not feature designated stage or audience areas.[11] Found environments can be chosen for a variety of reasons, but are usually used to emphasise the reality of the play or make the fictional worlds of fairy tales, myths, and science fiction seem more real.[12] In the performance of El *mayor encanto, amor*, the illusion of an island is made explicit through the 'found environment.' The play's island setting was actualised by the physical environment in a way not possible in a brick-and-mortar theatre: King Felipe IV (1605–1665) and his entourage viewed the performance from gondolas afloat in the Estanque Grande.[13] Similar examples of court spectacles that used a 'found environment' as stage include operas about the sorceress Alcina from Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1516), which were performed at the Villa Imperiale near Florence in 1625, Modena in 1626, Venice in 1650, and in the

11 Aronson 1981, 164–166.
12 Eversmann 1996, 22–23, 155–159.
13 McKendrick 1989, 218–220.

FIG. 1.2 The Estanque Grande in Parque del Buen Retiro, Madrid, May 2019
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

garden of Versailles in 1664. Likewise, drama's about the sorceresses Medea and Circe were performed at Munich's court in 1662, and Vienna's in 1700 respectively.[14]

El mayor encanto, amor has been called one of Calderón's most attractive *comedias*, and is variously termed a *comedia mitólogica* (a mythical play) or a *comedia de tramoya* (a spectacle play).[15] Denise M. DiPuccio has notably discussed the magical wonders in Calderón's play as enigmas that envelope the characters in 'an atmosphere of visual and linguistic ambiguity.' She describes how its spectators' senses are continuously challenged to provoke the thought that the real world is as mysterious as that of the dramatised myth:

> From the moment that the curtain rises on *El mayor encanto, amor* the characters and audience witness numerous events that suspend intellectual logic and challenge sensorial perceptions. [...] After the viewer witnesses the creation of numerous magical and intellectual

14 Hedman 2019, 72–74, 77, 79–81.
15 Neumeister 2013, 807.

> enchantments, he may sense that his own world is as enigmatic as that of his mythical counterparts. Trying to determine what is and is not "enchanting" results in unsettling uncertainty about the spectator's own reality.[16]

The enchantments in this *comedia* spin a web of phenomena around Ulysses' crew, and as a result around the spectators as well. The magical landscape not only forms the setting for the events, but also emphasises the uncanniness of the situation. This is made clear by the *gracioso* Clarín, who as a stock character is ruled by his cowardliness and his ultimate longing for safety and a full belly:[17]

> CLARÍN. Companions of Ulysses,
> Who walk through the barbarous Lands
> Of this enchanted mountain,
> Leave its barbarous horizon.[18]

As mentioned above, this magical landscape was actualised by the performance setting at the Buen Retiro Palace: the park 'alternated paths, lakes, hermitages, grottoes, salons, and small outhouses, each containing a few animals,' report Eric Baratay and Elisabeth Hardouin-Fugier. The presence of live animals also heavily contributed to the realistic feel of *El mayor encanto, amor*, although we cannot be sure that the lions, tigers, and bears were also kept at Buen Retiro. However, we do know that King Felipe IV at least kept lions, tigers, and bears at his Casa de Campo, the royal hunting estate on the western side of Madrid.[19] The lions, tigers, and bears—used to represent the animal transformations of Ulysses' crewmembers in this play—were possibly too dangerous to bring onstage. Therefore, the animals were likely kept in their cages during the performance of *El mayor encanto, amor*, where their presence could be seen and felt nevertheless.[20] And yet, it has been plausibly suggested that some theatre companies in Spain had a tame lion at their disposal, meaning that there exists the possibility that a tame lion was also used in the production of Calderón's *El mayor*

16 DiPuccio 1987, 731.

17 Gómez 2006, 14, 19–26, 74; Hernández Araico 2002, 160–162.

18 Calderón de la Barca 1641, fol. 3r: 'CLARÍN. Compañeros de Ulises, / que discurris los barbaros Paises / deste encantado monte, / desamparad su barbaro Orizonte.'

19 Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier 2002, 20, 47, 50.

20 Vergeer 2020d, 100.

encanto, amor at Buen Retiro. This lion, then, contributed to the play's verisimilitude and supported once more the theatrical illusion.[21]

A Natural Environment in Brussels

When Calderon's E*l mayor encanto, amor* was adapted for the Brussels stage, it was not performed at court. *Ulysses in't eylandt van Circe* (1668, 'Ulysses on Circe's Island') by Claude de Grieck was adapted for performance at the Brussels Public Theatre ('Brusselsche Thoonneelburgh').[22] Despite the obvious challenges in staging such a magnificent play in a roofed theatre, we realise that De Grieck kept the enchanting setting of Calderón's original when the Flemish Clarín describes Circe's island in words comparable to those of his Spanish counterpart, thus alluding to a similar illusion in the Flemish adaptation as was in the Spanish original:

> CLARÍN. Compatriots of Ulysses, who scout this raw land,
> And the enchanted peak of this mountain range, flee
> From this Horizon; if you hold your life dear,
> Then return to sea. Please believe these animals:
> Their signals reveal that this is in our own interest.[23]

In 1668, the setting of the Brussels Public Theatre was obviously different from the island setting at the Madrid court in 1635. What effect did this have on the way the adaptation was staged? De Grieck did not likely have any records of how Lotti had staged E*l mayor encanto, amor* in Madrid, and the original play was not performed in Brussels, as far as we know.[24] How, then, was the adaptation staged?

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21 See Wilder 1953, 19–26; Leavitt 1961, 272–276. Cf. Vergeer 2020d, 100. In this article, I did not yet take this into account, although I hypothesised that domestic animals, such as the swine that Circe traditionally transformed Ulysses' crew into, were in fact alive and were brought onstage with the actors.

22 Nowhere does the text say that the play was performed at the 'Brusselsche Toonneel-burg/ Thoonneelburgh.' However, De Grieck's play *Samson* was performed there around 1660 as per the titlepage: 'Verthoont op de Brusselsche Toonneel-burg.' Wouther's *Den volmaeckten ridder* was also performed there around 1665 according to the titlepage ('Verthoont op de Brusselsche Toonneel-burg').

23 De Grieck 1668, 6: 'CLARIN. Maets van Ulysses, die dit rouwe landt door-siet, / En het betoovert spits van dit gebergte, vliedt / Van desen Horizon, bemint gy noch het leven, / Keert zee-waerts, wilt geloof' aen dese dieren geven, / Hun teekens wysen uyt dat ons dit noodig is.'

24 Vergeer 2020b.

I discovered that De Grieck based the scenography and worldbuilding of his adaptation on the Italian semi-opera *Ulisse all'isola di Circe* (1650, 'Ulysses on Circe's Island') by the composer Gioseffo Zamponi and librettist Ascanio Amalteo. This opera was, in fact, staged at the Brussels court, and did not have access to a 'natural' environment to enforce the illusion of another fantastical world. Instead, the opera was staged in the Sala Regia of Coudenberg Palace, for which architect Giovanni Battista Angelini built a temporary theatre informed by the newest developments in Italian stage design.[25] The layout of this theatre preferred a frontal view of the spectators, and made room for a proscenium arch, coulisse décor, and a deep stage. Specifically, the proscenium arch accentuated the impression that the world beyond is separate from our own (illusion of the fourth wall). The proscenium arch functions as the frame of a painting by marking a physical border, which also delineates that the space within the frame is different from the space outside of the frame, enforcing the perception that there exists a 'distance' between the spectators' world and the fictional world.[26]

How do we know, though, that De Grieck also saw a performance of *Ulisse all'isola di Circe* and consequently based the scenography for his adaptation on that of this opera if it was only performed at court? As in Madrid for Calderón's *El mayor encanto, amor*, the citizens of Brussels were allowed to attend the reprise of Zamponi's opera when it was performed at the palace four more times in 1655. By way of encore, Juan Pérez de Montalbán's original play *El valiente Nazareno* (c. 1638, 'The Valiant Nazarene') was performed by Spanish military officers directly after *Ulisse all'isola di Circe*.[27] De Grieck also adapted this play as *Samson, oft edel-moedighen Nazareen* (1660, 'Samson, or Magnanimous Nazarene') for the Brussels stage, which suggests that he had attended both performances. Thus, the influence of the performances at the Brussels court can be felt in these adaptations by De Grieck.

He implemented, for instance, scenographic elements from *Ulisse all'isola di Circe*, including Circe's 'giardino delitioso,' which De Grieck incorporated into the third act of his adaptation when the *gracioso* Clarín is looking for the giant Brutamonte. He interpreted the garden as a 'wildlife park with cypresses,' or a *locus amoenus*, a conception that had been completely absent in Calderón's *El mayor encanto, amor*.[28]

25 Vergeer 2020c, 320–322.

26 Eversmann 1996, 19, 136–137.

27 Langvik-Johannessen and Porteman 1996, 284; Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 452; De Paepe 2015, 147.

28 Vergeer 2020c, 326–327. See also De Grieck 1668, 37: 'Het Thooneel verbeeldt een' warande van Cypresseboomen'. Calderón de la Barca 1641, fol. 13r.

With the wildlife park De Grieck actually did try to incorporate a 'found environment' into his play, albeit not to the same effect. The Dutch word 'warande' that he used to describe the wildlife park could refer to the Warande in Brussels, a historical hunting area near Coudenberg Palace, which is today the Warandepark (Parc de Bruxelles). Thus, De Grieck connects the play's fictional space to a real location familiar to his Brussels audience: theatrical space and non-fictional place fuse together as one.[29]

These scenographic similarities and the direct relationship between original *comedias* staged at court and their adaptations staged at the Brussels Public Theatre demonstrate that the same Italian layout must have been adopted for the city's public theatre.[30] During the fifth act of De Grieck's adaptation, the text's stage directions indicate that the décor is to be changed through a so-called *changement à vue*. As such, the eruption of Mount Etna (called 'berg Gibel' in the text) and the destruction of Circe's island Trinacria in the final scenes were made possible by improvements in stage design. These technical improvements meant that the animal transformations could happen for the first time before the spectators' eyes, although *vraisemblance* demanded that they were often redirected to the coulisses.[31] We may expect that the aim of these illusions was to capture the spectators' eyes and to evoke their admiration and fascination for that which was represented before them.[32]

Animals in Amsterdam

In the parallel adaptation *De toveres Circe* (1670, 'The Sorceress Circe') by De Leeuw, which was staged in the Amsterdam Public Theatre for a remarkably long period, from 1670 until 1765, the magical world of Circe's island was conjured not so much by appealing to real places, such as the Warande in Brussels, but by the characters: the Dutch Clarín likewise stresses that Ulysses and his crew arrived in a magical land. This time however, it is an enchanted forest, invoking the familiar yet mysterious enchanted forest of fairy tales, folklore, and pieces of Renaissance literature such as Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595–1596) where, coincidentally, the protagonists are also metamorphosed. As De Leeuw's Clarín says:[33]

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29 Vergeer 2020b, esp. 324–327, and 2020c, 97–100. I did not yet hypothesise this in these articles, but the implications are far-reaching for the audience's perception of time, space, and place, and the idea of *vraisemblance* central to the articles.

30 De Paepe 2011, 247–248, and 2015, 148.

31 Vergeer 2020b, 322–329, and 2020c, 103–104, 111.

32 Castillo Pascual 2015, 85–87.

33 Frye 2000, 182.

> Hear me, compatriots of Ulysses, who now walk
> Boldly and bravely through this enchanted forest,
> Leave this horrid region, and wild and savage places,
> Return quickly to the ship: Ulysses wants to depart.[34]

However, the 'magical' illusions were likely also supported by the structural alterations that the Amsterdam Public Theatre underwent in 1665 to enable larger productions with more 'kunst en vliegwerk' (i.e., spectacle; see Chapter 2). The stage size was doubled (becoming deeper) and coulisse décor added to allow quick stage resetting between scenes (see Fig. 1.3 and Fig. 1.4, following pages). The new structural design, however, also suggested that there exists a separate world beyond the borders of the stage; this same effect was discussed above with respect to Brussels Public Theatre's proscenium arch.[35] De Leeuw clearly played to this theatrical redevelopment and its new possibilities for baroque illusions. On the titlepage of the printed edition, the new stage features were presented as clear selling points: the titlepage states that the play is performed 'With Artifice and Animals' ('Met Konstwerken en Gedierten').[36]

The auditorium also underwent heavy changes. From then on until the destructive fire of 1772, the parterre had been changed. The architect Philips Vingboons added benches before the stage, creating more seating for the middle class here, and moving the cheaper standing room to the back of the auditorium. The benches provided a frontal view of the stage, the orchestra was moved directly between the stage and front row, and a new proscenium arch was added to more distinctly separate audience and stage.

The audience's frontal view of the stage also helped to generate more spectator attention and further immersed them in the performance. Theatre makers throughout Europe wanted to control the crowds, as demonstrated by Paul Menzer's article on the subject of crowd control in early modern England specifically.

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34 De Leeuw 1670, 4: 'Hoort Medebroeders van Ulysses, die nu stout / En moedig henen loopt door dit getovert woudt, / Verlaat dit naar gewest, en wilde en woeste plekken, / Koomt weder ras te scheep, Ulysses wil vertrekken.' It is important to note that the choice to translate 'getovered' here as 'enchanted' only expresses the effect of magic, whereas the original Dutch word indicates that Circe has conjured the forest as in an illusion. However, Clarín cannot yet know within the plot that the forest has been conjured. The translation 'enchanted' seems, therefore, closer to the horrid ('naar') feeling he has, perhaps a result of the magic he senses around him.

35 Vanhaesebrouck 2015, 125; Oomen-Delhaye 2019, 145–151.

36 De Leeuw 1670, fol. *1r.

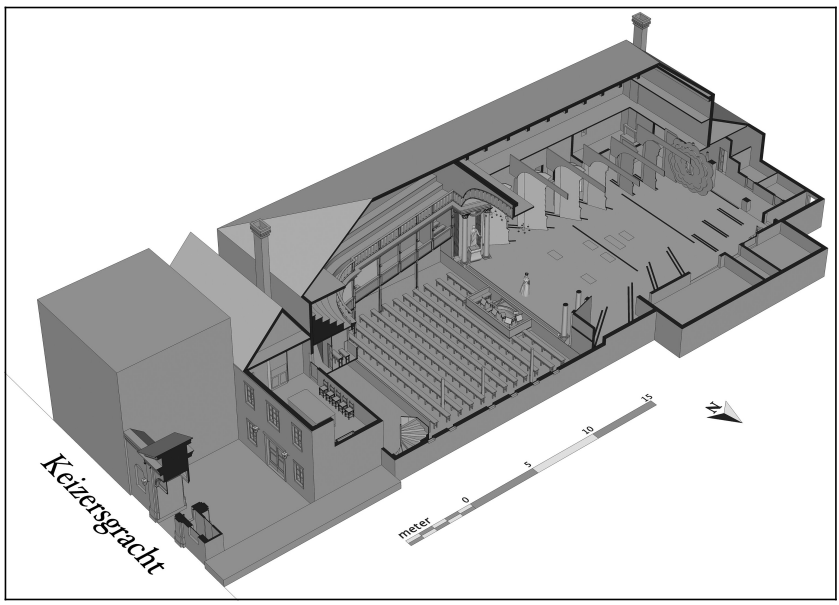

FIG. 1.3 Cross-section (computer visualisation) of the Amsterdam Public Theatre, 1665–1772 COURTESY OF TIMOTHY DE PAEPE (3DTHEATER.WORDPRESS.COM).

He showed that London's theatre industry endeavoured to domesticate spectators by gathering bodies in one place and creating space among them, 'sanitizing the crowd of its violent potentialities and rendering them habitually complacent.'[37] The addition of benches to the parterre in the eighteenth century was employed in France to regulate the crowd by preventing them from walking around. Amber Oomen-Delhaye asserts however that the Amsterdam Public Theatre was a century earlier with this measure when Vingboons added benches to the parterre in 1665.[38] This effectively turned the audiences across Europe into an *audience*, 'a collective entity that is brought into existence by the theatrical venue itself', which 'dramatists might know and appeal to (and even create) as a group.'[39] Consequently, this concept of the audience as a collective entity also favours the performative authority of the play. With this organising structure in place, the baroque illusion had the greatest possible effect on spectators, who were then suitably corralled to focus on the onstage action rather than that of their neighbours.

37 Menzer 2011, 24.
38 Oomen-Delhaye 2019, 151.
39 Myhill and Low 2011, 2.

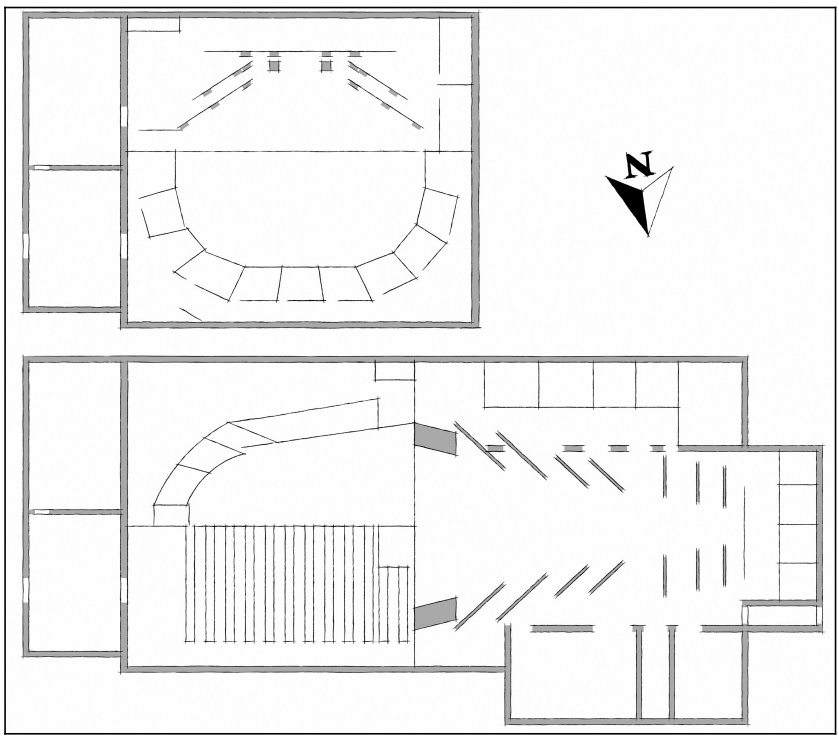

FIG. 1.4 Ground plan of the Amsterdam Public Theatre in 1638 (above) and 1665 (below) COURTESY OF TIMOTHY DE PAEPE (3DTHEATER.WORDPRESS.COM).

In De Leeuw's Amsterdam adaptation, costumes played an especially important role in the presentation of baroque illusions: they were part of the 'artifice and animals' credited on the text's titlepage.[40] Although the play's artifice also clearly referred to the newly installed coulisse décor and stage machinery, I have considered elsewhere whether the information 'With [...] Animals' meant that live pigs were used during the Amsterdam performance to represent the crew Circe metamorphosed into pigs.[41] This would have surely elicited a comical reaction from the spectators, especially if the pigs ran around the stage, getting in the way of the actors, and perhaps eating their costumes. Instead, the use of animal costumes made of real animal skin and taxidermy mounts may have created enough of a lifelike

40 De Leeuw 1670, fol. *1r.

41 De Paepe 2015, 148; Vergeer 2020d, 104.

effect, alongside the advantage that the actors would be better able to represent the magical liminality between human and animal of the transformed characters.[42]

The surviving records of the Amsterdam Public Theatre show that it possessed animal costumes of a monkey and a dolphin, animal hides of bears and lions, as well as several undesignated furs, taxidermy mounts of two horses, a peacock, an elephant, a camel, a large eagle, two pairs of swans, an owl, and a dragon. These were likely all used in the productions of De Leeuw's *De toveres Circe* to represent its animals.[43] Through this, De Leeuw must have shown the spectators how Circe seemed to magically command everything around her with so much conviction that it was impossible to not be in wonder. Fellow playwright Johannes Serwouters credits De Leeuw with as much:

> In this way, De Leeuw closely follows
> The Ancients, now that he makes Circe
> Shake and thunder in the Theatre,
> That everyone has to be in *wonder*:
> Because the earth shakes on her command:
> What is alive is with a swerve
> Reshaped by her magical powers:
> The animals change their genus.[44]

By qualifying spectators' experiences of seeing Circe's magic as manifestations of wonder, Serwouters calls onto Greco-Roman and Christian traditions that connect wonder to the divine. In the seventeenth century, wonder must be understood as a form of *sacer horror* (divine horror), which as Bussels, Van Eck, and Van Oostveldt point out indicates 'the religious consternation in which admiration goes together with complete astonishment and fear caused by the belief that the gods or cosmic powers are near, but that contact is at the same time presented as a sanctifying gift.'[45] Otherwise, a Calvinist

42 Vergeer 2020d, 105–110.

43 In a transcript of the theatre's complete inventory of 1688, we find an overview of the taxations on different animal costumes and taxidermy mounts. See Huydecoper c. 1730, inv.nr. 315. See also Vergeer 2020d, 104.

44 Serwouters 1670, fol. *4r: 'Op deze wijz' volgt Leeuw den voet / Der Ouden, nu hy Circe doet / Ter Schouwburg daveren en donderen, / Dat zich een yder moet *verwonderen*. / Want d'aarde siddert op haar wenk: / Wat wezen heeft, word met een' zwenk / Herschapen, door haar toverkrachten: / De dieren wislen van geslachten' (italics mine).

45 Bussels, Van Eck, and Van Oostveldt 2021, 15.

minister, such as Petrus Wittewrongel (1609–1662) regarded wonder to be more than mere anxiety. Wonder was a sensation that was a contrasted combination of anxiety and awe, of delight and consternation.[46] In case of Circe's enchantments represented in *De toveres Circe*, the divine definition of wonder is clearly foregrounded. Yet, Bussels, Van Eck, and Van Oostveldt show in their discussion of Amsterdam's City Hall built between 1648 and 1700 that the definition of wonder as a *sacer horror* was used in many secular texts to describe the new building. In those cases, they said wonder was more closely connected to sublime experiences: a 'total shock as well as pure admiration going far beyond everyday experiences,' that are mainly associated 'with powerful, but human, means of persuasion.'[47] In this sense, *admiratio* or wonder is what Stephen Greenblatt has described for the early modern period as 'an instinctive recognition of difference, the sign of heightened attention.' He calls it a sudden surprise of the soul in the face of the new, iterating Descartes.[48] I think that both the religious and secular applications of the concept work very well to understand how *comedia* transported the spectators by means of theatrical illusions and spectacle (see Chapter 2).

However, in studying Dutch adaptations of *comedia nueva* we encounter here a problem: the grand spectacle and magical illusions of *El mayor encanto, amor*, such as those described above, are examples of technical advancements made in baroque theatre during the seventeenth century, both in Spain and the rest of Europe, while most of the *comedias* studied here were performed in the theatres of the Low Countries before they were remodelled in the 1660s. Like in the *corrales* of Madrid, there was no physical barrier between stage and auditorium in these theatres. Nor was there coulisse décor, but rather a thrust-stage platform with a discovery space and two tiring houses on both sides; Lope wrote his *comedias* specifically with this performance situation in mind: the *mise-en-espace* had to be "painted" through clear and minimal use of symbols.[49] In the Low Countries, the rhetoricians used similar stages until the 1660s with two side compartments and a central discovery compartment (see Chapter 2).[50] Thus, most of the *comedias* that were adapted in Dutch and regularly performed in the Amsterdam Public Theatre, the Brussels Public Theatre, or the theatres in Antwerp and Lier were already fit for the Dutch and Flemish stages, which did not have coulisse décor and a proscenium arch.

46 Bussels, Van Eck, and Van Oostveldt 2021, 16.
47 Bussels, Van Eck, and Van Oostveldt 2021, 17.
48 Greenblatt 1991, 20.
49 Thacker 2002, 5–6; 2007, 125–126; Ruano de la Haza 2008, 41–45; Kaufmant 2010, 11.
50 De Paepe 2011, 115–125.

The Amsterdam Public Theatre was notably remodelled in 1665 after the so-called *théâtres a l'italienne*, whereas most adaptations appeared in Amsterdam before that time.[51] How then did these *comedias* create similar illusions to those found in the adaptations of *El mayor encanto, amor*? According to DiPuccio and Pepa Castillo Pascual, these illusions and enchantments were in keeping with the baroque *mise-en-scène* and they surely aroused the *admiratio* of all spectators for Calderón and his *comedia de tramoya*.[52] In the absence of the same extensive stage machinery and décor in the Amsterdam Public Theatre before 1665, we also must ask what made the spectators of other, less-elaborate *comedias* marvel in the same way they marvelled at the enchantments in *El mayor encanto, amor*.

Deception of the Eyes?

As the examples of *Ulysses in't eylandt van Circe* and *De toveres Circe* demonstrate, the spectators entered an environment that meant to present a world that was fictional, but nevertheless created the illusion that the events in the play *could* be real, or even *were* real, when they attended the performance of a *comedia* in one of the theatres of Amsterdam, Antwerp, or Brussels. However, the theatrical illusions did not stand alone, but rather reflected a broader baroque understanding of the world as expressed by the *theatrum mundi* metaphor.

In the *paragone* of poetry and painting ('ut pictura poesis'), seventeenth-century intellectuals considered the arts of music, painting, poetry, and ultimately also theatre, to be related, although there was a hierarchy, which differed depending on the artist defending his specific art. Nevertheless, it was often argued and acknowledged that painting and theatre in particular aimed for the same thing; according to Van Eck and Bussels, 'the theatre, just as the visual arts, pretends something natural and therefore infects the true and natural by lies and deceit.'[53] With respect to painting, art historian Eric Jan Sluijter asserts that people were acutely aware that art could conquer and capture the eyes of the onlooker by means of the power of what is *seemingly* real. Sluijter writes that the Dutch painter Adriaen van de Venne thought that

51 Amir 1996, 258–259. Europe's *théâtres à l'italienne* were based on the baroque theatres of Italy as regards their layout, architecture, and the way that stage machinery and spectacle were used to entertain spectators.

52 DiPuccio 1987, 732; Castillo Pascual 2015, 85.

53 Van Eck and Bussels 2010, 213.

painting aroused an intense longing 'precisely because the image seems almost real, yet is nothing more than a semblance created out of nothing—presenting our eyes with enticements that do not really exist.' Hence, great importance was ascribed to the persuasive '"visual deception" (oogbedrog), a "semblance without being" (schijn sonder sijn).'[54]

In the same context, Sluijter discusses how Dutch intellectual and philosopher Jan de Brune de Jonge writes in his *Wetsteen der vernuften* (1644, 'Whetstone of Ingenuity') that we as humans in fact enjoy seeing things that do not really exist. About theatre specifically, De Brune de Jonge writes that we enjoy seeing acted sorrow, whereas the real thing is unbearable. Following the stoic idea that the heart is the seat of the mind and processes information received from the bodily senses, De Brune de Jonge supposes that the joy we receive from watching a play is primarily emotional, as it originates in the heart. When the heart is fed with reason, we start to truly enjoy what we behold:

> [...] to gape at things that do not exist as though they actually do exist, and to be influenced by them to such an extent that we—of our own accord—harmlessly make believe they exist; how can that not give us pleasure? Certainly it gives great joy when one is deceived by a false likeness of things. [...] *we do not receive pleasure through the naked vision and hearing; and therefore, we listen to the feigned weeping with a curious desire, while we often detest the candid wailing* [...] since the joy, which we receive from plays, music, and similar things, solely originates in the heart, which when fed with reason adores and is astonished by something in which art and pleasantness is mixed.[55]

54 Sluijter 2000, 13.

55 De Brune de Jonge 1644, 343–345. This translation is based on Sluijter 2000, 13 and expanded on by myself. The original reads: '[...] aan dingen, die niet en zijn zich zoo te vergapen, als ofze waren, en daar zoo van geleit te worden dat wy ons zelven, zonder schade, diets te maken datze zijn; hoe kan dat tot de verlusting onze gemoederen niet dienstigh wezen? Zeker, het vervroolikt yemand buiten maat, wanneer hy door een valsche gelikenis der dingen wort bedrogen. [...] *ons, door't bloote gezicht en gehoor, geen genucht wort toegebracht; en daarom is het dat wy't gemaakt geween met een zonderlinge lust aanhooren, daar wy nochtans van't ongeveinzde gekrijt een afkeer hebben* [...] het vermaak, 't geen wy uit schouwspeelen, musijk, en diergelike dingen meer, ontfangen, enkelik uit het gemoed hervoortkomt, dat met reden begaaft, yetwes daar konst, en aardicheid, mee vermengt is, bemint en verwondert.'

From this, Sluijter concludes that if the attempt to achieve a lifelike effect ('als 't leven') is successful, and if this closely corresponds with the viewer's experienced or imagined world, they will be more convinced by the image, becoming involved or immersed into that imagined world.[56] Sluijter's assertions also apply to theatre: De Brune de Jonge explicitly discusses painting and theatre in conjunction, which is fitting, given that painters were involved in stage design, creating entire worlds from cardboard that were persuasive visual deceptions.[57] As such, theatre reflected the idea that spectators lived in a world in which they were confronted with deception and illusion on a daily basis, says Van Stipriaan.[58] Karel Vanhaesebrouck agrees with this, noting that early modern baroque theatre capitalises the gaze of the viewer. Baroque is in this regard a visual culture aimed towards the viewer's experience, 'a paradoxical experience, which both tries to immerse the spectator in an experience and to play with the rules of its own system of representation.' This kind of art 'experiments with the porous distinction between reality and fiction, between theatre stage and the world *out there*'; what happens on the stage relates to the spectators' social and physical world, and vice versa.[59]

With its origins in imagination, *comedia* existed in a fictional realm that appealed to the imaginative powers of the human mind in a way unparalleled in other drama: as Lope wrote, 'the plot of tragedy comes from history and that of comedy from the imagination.'[60] With regard to *vraisemblance*, which underpins much of Lope's *Arte nuevo*, the playwright 'merely wants to ensure that the audience is not alienated' by 'disqualifying impossible events from the stage.'[61] When playwrights began adapting *comedia nueva* in the Low Countries, the critiques from classicistic dramatists, who held a more stringent interpretation of the principle of *vraisemblance*, likewise began, and would grow in intensity as it neared the fourth quarter of the seventeenth century.[62]

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56 Sluijter 2000, 13. Kwak argued the same for the kitchen still-life in the North-Netherlandish art of the late sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century. He also emphasised the comic and farcical elements in these Dutch paintings: the illusions and the deception had to offer pleasure and were elements of play (2014, esp. 34–39, 210–212).

57 Gibson 1981, esp. 432; Bruijnen 2003, esp. 250; Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 31–32, 411, 561–562; Bussels 2010, *passim*.

58 Van Stipriaan 1996, 10.

59 Vanhaesebrouck 2015, 121, 124–125.

60 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 111–112. The translation is by Thacker (2008, 112); the original reads: 'por argumento la tragedia tiene / la historia, y la comedia el fingimiento.'

61 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 284–285, cited in Thacker 2008, 116.

62 See esp. Nil Volentibus Arduum [c. 1678] 1989, 177–180.

Theatre Architecture and the Influence on the Eyes

As discussed above, verisimilitude was an important topic in the seventeenth century. With the desire for grander spectacle, more elaborate installations, and the continued interest in the idea of *theatrum mundi*, the Amsterdam Public Theatre was refurbished in the season 1664/1665. This theatre was, however, not the theatre at which most of the *comedias* studied here premiered, nor was it the theatre for which Vondel originally invoked the *theatrum mundi* metaphor. In 1638, the original Amsterdam theatre was built after a design of the architect Jacob van Campen. His theatre had been relatively mindful of the lower and middle classes with its big parterre, although it was still surrounded by loges that could be closed off with curtains (see Fig. 1.5, Fig. 1.6, and Fig. 1.7 below). As a result, between 1638 and 1664 the cheapest places were directly in front of the stage, although Amsterdam's gentry and urban elite could still physically distance themselves from the populace. Furthermore, Van Campen designed a *scaenae frons* (stage wall), which he had seen at several locations during his travels in Italy, such as at the *Teatro Olimpico* built by Andrea Palladio in Vicenza in 1585 (cf. Fig. 1.8).[63] Van Campen's design for the *scaenae frons* is, however, a reflection of local rhetoricians' practices, although like Palladio's *scaenae frons* it gave the impression of a Roman palace. This lack of a frame to separate the fictional world of the play from reality, means that there is no defined border between auditorium and stage; the illusion of the fourth wall does not apply.[64] This also means that on such a baroque stage, different places and times can exist side by side, sometimes within the same physical space, while spectators are invited to see what cannot be seen and use their imagination.[65] I argue in the following sections that Van Campen's theatre was, in fact, the perfect space to stage the Spanish *comedias*, especially those which were adapted in Dutch before the mid-seventeenth century. On such a stage, the many changes of locations and even locations that are separated by hundreds of kilometres, such as they occur in *comedia nueva*, could easily be represented.

63 Weissman 1911, 461; Hunningher 1958, 112–114; Hummelen 1967, 3–5. Hunningher demonstrated that Van Campen was not directly influenced by Palladio's *Teatro Olimpico* for his own theatre, although the use of a *scaenae frons* does vaguely remind us of the theatres that Van Campen saw during his Italian travels, including Palladio's theatre in Vicenza. Hummelen says that at least the possibility to use the stage in the Amsterdam Public Theatre as a monotopic stage, such as the one in the *Teatro Olimpico*, is a demonstration of Van Campen's experiences in Italy.

64 Vanhaesebrouck 2015, 125. This was especially the case in France. During performances at the *Hôtel de Bourgogne*, spectators were seated on the stage; see Hunningher 1958, 145.

65 Vanhaesebrouck 2015, 125–127.

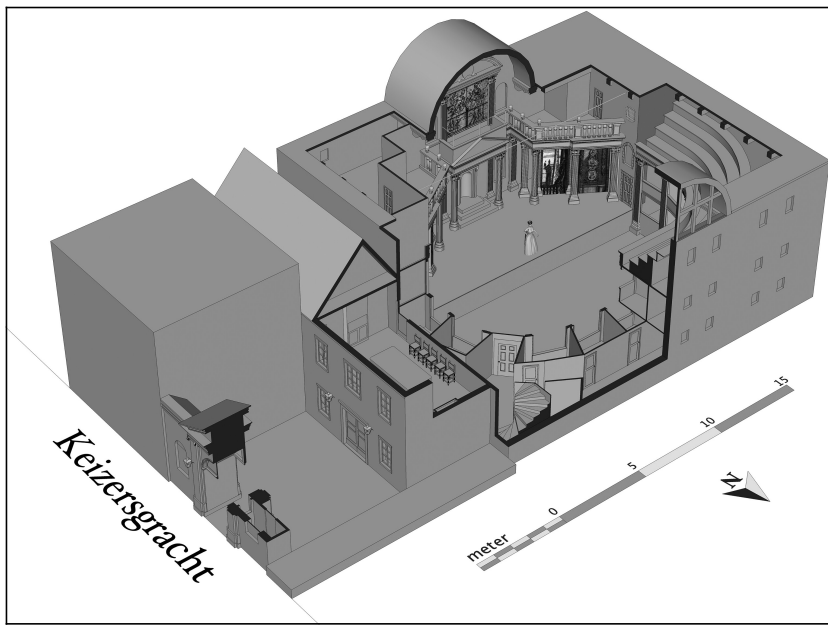

FIG. 1.5 Cross-section (computer visualisation) of the Amsterdam Public Theatre, 1638–1664
COURTESY OF TIMOTHY DE PAEPE (3DTHEATER.WORDPRESS.COM)

FIG. 1.6 Computer visualisation of the Amsterdam Public Theatre's auditorium, 1638–1664
COURTESY OF TIMOTHY DE PAEPE (3DTHEATER.WORDPRESS.COM)

FIG. 1.7 Computer visualisation of the Amsterdam Public Theatre, 1638–1664. View of the stage
COURTESY OF TIMOTHY DE PAEPE (3DTHEATER.WORDPRESS.COM)

FIG. 1.8 Interior of Teatro Olimpico (Vicenza), stage wall (*scaenae frons*) and stage
PHOTO BY DIDIER DESCOUENS 2016 (CC BY-SA 4.0)

The design of Van Campen's theatre also invited theatre visitors to interact with each other. Contrary to Menzer's description of theatre features designed for crowd control, the venue simultaneously allows for audiences of 'individuals who never cease to function distinctly and who never leave behind the particularities that will shape their responses as much as anything they see on the stage.' Furthermore, it allows spectators to interact with what is represented on stage in different ways on the basis of their past experiences and the personal viewing practices that they brought to the early modern theatre.[66] Endeavouring to restructure the theatrical space, the venue also becomes a hierarchical space as the audience is divided between the groundlings, who are perceived as uncontrolled, untrained audiences, and those who could afford seats in the loges, who are effectively the restrained or intended audience of the play. This is, however, not true of *comedia nueva*, which relied on public approval and therefore appealed to more common tastes.[67] The design of Van Campen's theatre with its big parterre likewise appealed directly to these common tastes.

This does not mean that this style of theatre design was not called into question. In France, for example, the 'Querelle du *Cid*' drew attention to whether common audience members should influence the repertoire and could evaluate the quality of a play. Critics thought that the audiences should be "domesticated" as would later be the trend. The quarrel concerned Corneille's *Le Cid* (1635), an adaptation of the Spanish play *Las mocedades del Cid* (1605–1615, 'The Younger Years of the Cid'), written by Valencian playwright Guillén de Castro y Bellvís in two parts, of which the first part served as the source for *Le Cid*. The French discussion also affected Dutch theatre life. Corneille's adaptation would in turn serve as the source of Johan van Heemskerck's *De verduytste Cid* (1641, 'The "Dutchified" Cid'), which meant that the text was subject to changes made by Corneille following French dramatic practices.

For my discussion of the Dutch *comedias* as they were adapted, partly on the basis of French poetics, I rely mostly on what Clotilde Thouret argued for the 'Querelle du *Cid*.' She stated that in the 'Querelle du *Cid*,' the viewer's gaze was brought into concordance with the architecture of the theatre space: as your social station ruled your place in the theatre, what you could see depended on whether you had to stand in the main court or whether you could comfortably enjoy the play from one of the few loges while seated. Your place in the theatre ruled, therefore, not only your visual perception of *Le Cid*, but your aesthetic perception as well. According to Georges de

66 Myhill and Low 2011, 2.

67 McKendrick 1989, 74.

Scudéry (1601–1667), from the loges the upper classes could take some reflective (and reasonable) distance from the play and see it with all its poetical faults, while the populace could not. The critics believed that proximity to the theatrical performance made it impossible for the spectators to recognise that their eyes deceived them and, thus, they could not distance themselves from the spectacular event, nor reasonably reflect on it.[68]

This was perhaps one of the reasons that Johan van Heemskerck never intended for his translation of Corneille's play to be performed or published. However, the publisher Nicolaes van Ravesteyn (according to his own words) convinced Van Heemskerck to publish his own version, after a pirated edition of Van Heemskerck's autograph was published and the play was made public for it to be performed.[69] Once *De verduytste Cid* was performed in the Amsterdam Public Theatre, it quickly grew in popularity to become the venue's most successful *comedia*, and the third most popular play overall behind Vondel's *Gysbreght van Aemstel* (1638) and Vos' *Aran en Titus* (1641), an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* (1589–1592).[70]

The 'Querelle du Cid' lays, however, bare one of the features of *comedia nueva*: it is visual drama that relies on the spectators' willingness to be immersed in a fictional world. Then, the spectators' experience becomes more important than an aesthetic reflection. Corneille's attackers clearly had a problem with the spectators' response to the play and tried to domesticate the crowd. They claimed that the enthusiasm of the audience was so great that their applause disturbed the perception of people who were, in fact, capable of aesthetic judgement. Their criticism reflects ideas of the crowd as having a '"group mind" whose working does not echo that of the individual.'[71] In 1605, Francis Bacon had already hinted at this when he observed that 'the minds of men in company are more open to affection and impression than when alone.'[72] Early modern commentators and civic officials were both impressed and concerned by 'the melting into collective consciousness of individual subjectivity.'[73] The packing together of men, women, and children into a theatre's designated space—or alternatively, in a circle around a stage in the market square—establishes a group identity; it was therefore the aim of early modern civic officials and dramatists to

68 Thouret 2013, 100–101.
69 Van Ravesteyn 1641, fol. A2r.
70 ONSTAGE 2015, Analysis/Popularity charts.
71 Menzer 2011, 23.
72 Bacon [1605] 1926, 116.
73 Menzer 2011, 23.

'turn a collective into a collective noun': to turn individual audience members into a singular audience, which could be successfully instructed, despite the impossibility to actually fully monitor the audience's behaviour or response as the 'Querelle du *Cid*' demonstrates.[74]

Appealing to Dutch Eyes in the Early 17th Century

The discrepancy between the desire to create "an audience" and the existence of a plurality of "audiences" can also demonstrate how the Amsterdam Public Theatre functioned before and after Vingboons implemented his structural alterations. It can also signal an effort of Amsterdam Public Theatre's directors to domesticate the audience. In this section, I demonstrate that this domestication is deeply rooted in early modern ideas of how spectators can be most effectively seduced. To do so, I discuss Theodore Rodenburgh's poetic treatise *Eglentiers Poëtens Borst-weringh* (1619, 'The Eglantine's Defence of Poets'), in which he was the first in the Low Countries to vocalise that an audience should be entertained both through the eyes and the ears. As the first adaptor of *comedia nueva* in the Dutch language area, we may assume that these poetic thoughts, which underpin Rodenburgh's complete dramatic oeuvre,[75] also formed the basis for Rodenburgh's adaptations of Lope's three *comedias*, *El perseguido* (1590, 'The Persecuted'), *El Molino* (before 1593, 'The Miller'), and *La escolástica celosa* (1596–1602, 'The Jealous Student Body'), and of *La venganza honrosa* (1616, 'The Honourable Vengeance') by Gaspar Aguilar. Almost fifty years later, theatre director Jan Vos would write something similar in the preface to his play *Medea* (1667). While at the helm of the Amsterdam Public Theatre, Vos was responsible for, or at least involved in, the materialisation of many adaptations of Spanish *comedias*.

Rodenburgh was the first Dutch adaptor of the Spanish *comedia* to implement Lope's advice from the *Arte nuevo* to cater towards the audiences' tastes. Rodenburgh addresses in his work that there indeed exists a friction between the plurality of "audiences" and the collective "audience" and he relates this to the act of spectating a play. In his *Eglentiers Poëtens Borst-weringh*, he places great emphasis on the role of the eyes in the immersive experience of a play. He distinguishes between a play's ultimate goal of delightful instruction (Horace's principle of *utile dulci*) aimed at the auditor ('aenhoorder') and the poet's task to move the spectator ('aenschouwer' or 'aenziender'). Rodenburgh utilises two different approaches to the *general* auditors

74 Menzer 2011, 23.

75 Abrahamse 1997, esp. 19–30.

('ghemeene aenhoorders'), that is 'spectating auditors,' who want to be seduced first through the eyes, before they can be affected through the ears.[76] Rodenburgh's aim as a playwright is, therefore, not in the first place to stimulate aesthetical judgement in spectators, but rather to encourage moral judgement, which must be brought about by pleasant and visual stimuli.

The friction that Rodenburgh discusses here is typical of this period and demonstrates how an author had to manoeuvre between poetic ideals and the desire for commercial success. This dilemma is also addressed by Nicolas Cronk while discussing the concept of reader response. Cronk made clear that in the early modern period, Horace's principle of *utile dulci*, which he considered in his influential *Ars poetica*, recurs often in the early modern period in, for example, the writings of Scaliger, Sir Philip Sidney, and Molière.[77] Yet, this principle of delightful instruction implies a rather passive role for the spectators; it reduces theatrical performance to delightful instruction which is, in a sense, a one-way street.[78] This is confirmed by Horace's dismissal of readers with the remark that 'the ranks of elder citizens chase things off the stage if there's no good meat in them, and the high-spirited youngsters won't vote for dry poetry.'[79] Subsequently, we see how influential Horace's neglect of the reader has been, as this is echoed in Rodenburgh's evaluation of the taste of youngsters in his own time: 'Not withholding that the randy youngsters sometimes take more delight in seeing something sloppy, than to hear something dignified.'[80]

For the early modern period, however, it would be misleading to take at face value this apparent neglect of the reader. With regard to reader response, Cronk points out that literary critics of the Renaissance and seventeenth century built on the 'rhetorical inheritance' of Horace, Aristotle, and Longinus to address the subject of reader-response.[81] This may foster a view of the early modern reader or spectator as the object of the text's or play's 'affective impact', but I follow Cronk in his argument that there existed a fine awareness of 'reader-competence', taste, and emotive impact among readers, spectators, and theorists.[82]

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76 Rodenburgh clearly links the idea of *utile dulci* to the ears, while his idea of 'movere' is expressly linked to the eyes. See, e.g., Rodenburgh 1619, 29, 50–51, 212.

77 Cronk 1999, 199–200.

78 Cronk 1999, 200.

79 Horace 1972, vv. 341–342; see also Cronk 1999, 199.

80 Rodenburgh 1619, 189: 'Niet tegenstaende dat de geyle jeucht zomwylen meer behaghen raepen yets slordichs te zien, als yets deftichs te hooren'.

81 Cronk 1999, 199.

82 Cronk 1999, 204.

This notion can also be witnessed in Rodenburgh's own theoretical work. The playwright argued that the spectator should be moved ('movere' in Latin, 'beweghen' in Dutch) for a play to have any effect at all. Thus, he asserts that 'moving is as much appreciated as instruction, because who can learn something, if he is not moved with the will for instruction?'[83] Here, he reiterates Sidney's words from *The Defence of Poesy* (1595), where the Englishman writes 'that moving is of a higher degree than teaching [...] For who will be taught, if he be not moved with desire to be taught?'[84] In this regard, theatre was an excellent medium. These playwrights demonstrated this by means of the same example of the Greek tyrant Alexander of Pherae, who was moved by the fiction of the theatre, although he remained unmoved by his own cruelty.[85]

By this, Rodenburgh (and Sidney) hold that theatrical illusions can affect—move—spectators, after which they can also be instructed. Sidney wrote, furthermore, that 'with stirring the affects of admiration and commiseration,' spectators are taught about 'the uncertainty of this world, and upon how weak foundations gilden roofs are builded.'[86] Meanwhile, without making explicit which passions must be evoked for instruction to occur, Rodenburgh seemingly communicates that the heart should be moved by all emotions to this aim.[87]

It may be clear that Rodenburgh expressly focused on the active engagement of spectators through their eyes. Whether a play should primarily focus on the senses or the mind was grounds for debate, however. And in the debate of active emotional participation versus delightful but passive instruction, the critics stressed the deception of the eyes, while spectators underline their passionate and attentive engagement.[88] Responding to that debate, Rodenburgh wrote that 'some' poets—perhaps even including Lope de Vega—make never-ending concessions to common audiences: 'It is true that some [poets] give in to strange ways regarding their plays, as long as the common auditor jubilates and laughs.'[89] However, Rodenburgh thinks

83 Rodenburgh 1619, 22: 'bewegingh is zo hoog te achten, als leering, want wien kan yets leeren, zo hy niet beweeght is tot de leering?'

84 Sidney [1595] 2002, 94. See also Witstein 1964, 229–247. Sonja Witstein showed that Rodenburgh's treatise is an adaptation of Sidney's *The Defence of Poesy* (1595) and Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553).

85 Rodenburgh 1619, 134.

86 Sidney [1595] 2002, 98.

87 Rodenburgh 1619, 28.

88 Thouret 2013, 104.

89 Rodenburgh 1619, 189: ''t Is waer dat zommighen niet ontzien op hun toonelen aen te rechten vreemde grillen, als zy daer door de ghemeene aenhoorders maer kunnen doen juyghen en schat'ren.'

it is more laudable when eyes are filled with tears from sad examples, and when the hearts are moved by moralising acts. Meanwhile, one should shy away from employing a certain way of speaking, which is better not repeated for its shameful character.[90]

Appealing to Dutch Eyes in the Second Half of the 17th Century

Fifty years later (in 1667), Vos put an even heavier emphasis on the eyes than did Rodenburgh. The structural changes to the Amsterdam Public Theatre that Vingboons implemented were instigated by Vos and were meant to improve the immersive experience of spectators.[91] Vos showed what he envisioned for the new theatre with *Inwyding van de Schouburg t'Amsterdam* (1665, 'Inauguration of the Amsterdam Theatre') and notably with the abovementioned *Medea*, in which he used stage machinery to let Medea fly through the air, creating the illusion that Medea actually used magic. Vos did not conform to any of the stringent prescriptions of contemporary theatre, for which his critics considered him to be a *poeta vulgaris*: a poet who aims to please the rabble ('grauw' in Dutch) by vulgar means. Many also found Vos conceited, because he thought to know better than the Greco-Roman poets.[92] And indeed, Vos did not think that the classical poets should be given authority without question, for which reason he repeats a Roman saying in his *Medea* that 'He who is in Rome has to comply with Roman customs; and thus if you are elsewhere, then comply with the customs of the place where you are.'[93] He then concludes that Dutch people, who have a different disposition than the Romans, live in a different place, which justifies that as a playwright he complies with the tastes of the people among whom he lives.[94] Lope and Vos both approached their audience in a similar fashion by catering to its tastes, believing that a play should fit its environment. This consequently meant that *comedias*, when translated in Dutch, were often changed as well to fit the Dutch tastes, for Amsterdam is no Rome, but also no Madrid.

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90 Rodenburgh 1619, 189.

91 Strictly speaking, it was Jan Baptist van Fornenbergh who, as prospective executive director, proposed the Amsterdam Public Theatre's redesign to the regents of the city's orphanage and the old men's retirement home. After intervening, Jan Vos had the opportunity to redesign the theatre himself. See Blom 2021a, 348–354.

92 Schenkeveld-van der Dussen 1978, 17.

93 Vos 1667, fol. *4r: '*Wie te Roomen is moet zich na de Roomsche zeeden voegen: zoo gy elders zijt, zoo voeg u na de plaats daar gy zijt.*'

94 Vos 1667, fol. *4r.

As director of the Amsterdam Public Theatre, Vos' adage was 'het zien gaat voor 't zeggen' ('seeing precedes speaking'),[95] which vividly captures the essence of Vos' perspective on theatre-making. He writes: 'for I believe that the mimetic homicide (when violently represented) can move the tempers of the people by seeing it.'[96] He continues that 'hearing about something moves the temper less, than the things one has seen with one's eyes and have been taken in by the beholder.' He illustrates this by mentioning Coster's play *Polyxena* (1619). He recounts how spectators 'wept no less than the amount of artificial blood one could see running down the stage.'[97] Moreover, Vos argued that 'he who wants to keep the people coming to the Public Theatre, must bind their eyes to the stage by the means of appropriate and enchanting strings.'[98] Vos was thus a man of spectacle, fancying himself a manipulator of the eyes.

To stage such vivid scenes more convincingly through new theatre techniques and technologies, Vos instigated the refurbishment of the Amsterdam Public Theatre. This also enabled the performance of several highly visual *comedias*, such as De Leeuw's *De toveres Circe*. Although this play had already been translated by Jacob Baroces in 1664, it seems likely that it could not be staged in the old Amsterdam Public Theatre of 1638 due to its heavy reliance on stage machinery, as can be read in the preface of the play's text.[99] Furthermore, Vos' planned refurbishments sought to make the plays that were already staged on a regular basis (that is to say, the repertoire plays), more enjoyable.[100]

Similarly to Vos, another playwright, Dirck Pietersz Heynck, expressed in his preface to *Don Louis de Vargas* (1668), an adaptation of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza's *El tejedor de Segovia* (1619) , that he had tried to 'comply as best as possible with our drama [i.e., drama as customary in the 1660s], as to pleasure the eyes of spectators by the characters' action, and their transformations in passions.'[101] Heynck explains

95 Vos 1667, fol. *2v.

96 Vos 1667, fols. *2v–*3r: '[...] want ik geloof dat de naagebootse menschemoordt, alsze stark uitgebeeldt wordt, de gemoederen van het volk door het zien kan beweegen.'

97 Vos 1667, fol. *3r: '[...] het gehoorde raakt min het gemoedt, dan 't gene men met zijn oogen gezien heeft, en van den ziender zelf ingenoomen wordt. [...] men zagh de traanen niet min uit d'oogen dan het nagebootste bloedt langs het Tooneel vloeien.'

98 Vos 1667, fol. *4r: 'Wie het volk in de Schouwburg wil houden, moet hun oogen met de koorden van gevoege-lijke bekoorelijkheeden aan het Tooneel binden.'

99 De Leeuw 1670, fols. *3r–*3v.

100 Nevertheless, we must remind ourselves that Vingboons' redesign was also aimed at crowd control, at the same time that Vos and the other *comedia* playwrights tried to please spectators.

101 Heynck 1668, fols. *2r–*2v: 'voor my ik trachte maer het op't beste mogelijk na ons Toneel te voe-

that he has in no way followed the urgent necessity (*necessitas urgens*; 'nootdwang') of the theatre laws which classical authors had devised, because they also followed the customs of their time:

> I have not bound myself to any theatre law;
> The Ancients did it like they understood it then:
> I do not follow their urgent necessity, but I conform to the current time,
> Which, after the demand of the case, does not suffer stipulations.
> One ought to caress the eye and the ears together through play,
> Or else reading brings equal pleasure as the performance.[102]

Heynck makes clear that the aim of theatre should be to captivate the eyes and not to stage a perfectly devised text, because theatre is not comparable to the reading of a book. The theatre laws devised by the classical authors are primarily literary laws of quality, and are completely unsuited for the emotional transformations that an author, such as Heynck, strived for.

In Brussels, the 'Vrye Liefhebbers der Rijmer-konste,' a theatre group established in the 1650s, held a similar position on their theatre as Vos, Rodenburgh, and Heynck. One of its members writes in the preface to Wouthers' *Den volmaekten ridder* (c. 1665, 'The Perfect Knight'), an adaptation of Castro y Bellvís' *El perfecto caballero*, that he thinks that 'the common people are difficult and impossible to appease and to please; it seems to me that they first and foremost should be satisfied.'[103] Furthermore, the anonymous editor writes that all the peculiarities ('vreemdigheden') that he introduced into the play only reaffirm his belief: 'to please the rabble is, however, to displease the learned.'[104] Indeed, the unreasonableness of the people is so great that a play is only pleasurable in their eyes either when it is very bad, or when it is

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gen, om d'oogen der aenschouwers door de werking der Bedrijvers, en hunne veranderingen in hartstoghten, te verlustigen.'

102 Heynck 1668, fol. *2v: ''k Heb my aen tijt noch aen Toneelwet niet gebonden, / D'Aelouden deden het gelijk zy't toen verstonden: / Ik volg hun nootdwang niet, maer voeg my na den tijt, / Die, na den eisch der zaek, meest geen bepaling lijdt. / Men moet door Spel het oog, en d'ooren t'zamen strelen, / Of't lezen brengt zoo veel vermaek aen als het spelen.'

103 'Aen de Wel-edel, achtbare, ende konstlievende Heeren' c. 1665, fol. *3r: 'het gemeyne volck, is moeyelijck en onmogelijck om gepaeyt, en vernoeght te worden, het schiet my toe dat het 't eerst, en voor al dient behaeght te zijn.'

104 'Aen de Wel-edel, achtbare, ende konstlievende Heeren' c. 1665, fol. *3v: 'het grou te vernoeghen is dogh de geletterde misnoeghen.'

exceptionally good: 'Very bad, because this corresponds with their nature and uncivilised people gape at crude painting ['Kladt-schildery'], very good, because even the blind will be aware of the shimmers of the Sun.'[105] However, this author neither writes very bad nor very good plays, but rather appeals to those of the audience who are satisfied with a play of medium quality.[106] The negative tone of this member of the 'Vrye Liefhebbers' is notable particularly in regard to the average theatre visitor of the Brussels Public Theatre where D*en volmaeckten ridder* was also performed. In this, he echoes Lope's rhetoric in the *Arte nuevo*, where the Spanish playwright states that he strives for vulgar applause ('vulgar aplauso') and that he thinks it is fair to speak foolishly ('en necio') to spectators to satisfy their taste because, after all, they pay for the *comedias*.[107] In this context, both in the Habsburg Netherlands and the Dutch Republic, theatre makers used *comedia nueva* as a means to bring a current repertoire based on the newest theatrical insights which would appeal to a large audience.

Dismissing the Eyes?

The goal of *comedia nueva* to establish pleasure by titillating the eyes is made apparent again in the way that the Amsterdam society of poets Nil Volentibus Arduum responded to the genre. The society was established in 1669 and rose to an influential position in Amsterdam's theatre life, with two of its members becoming directors of the Amsterdam Public Theatre when it reopened in 1677, after it had been closed for the Disaster Year of 1672, when war broke out with France, Cologne, Münster, and England. Before the society obtained this coveted position, they had reacted against most Spanish plays from 1670 onwards by publishing their own approved adaptations of *comedia*, such as *Het spookend weeuwtje* (1670, 'The Haunting Widow').[108] This play was, furthermore, published with the remark that it was 'Never shown at the Amsterdam Public Theatre' ('Nooit op de Amsterdamsche Schouwburgh vertoont'), expressing that it should not be confused with the version by Adriaen Peys' D*e nacht-*

105 'Aen de Wel-edel, achtbare, ende konstlievende Heeren' c. 1665, fol. *3^{v}: 'Heel slecht, om dat sulcx met sijnen aerdt over een komt, en het lompe volck sich aen Kladt-schildery vergaept, heel goedt, om dat de blinde self oock van de Sonne eenighe schemeringhen ghewaer worden.'

106 'Aen de Wel-edel, achtbare, ende konstlievende Heeren,' c. 1665, fol. *4^{r}.

107 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 45–48. About the negative tone in Lope's *Arte nuevo* and how the playwright turns the negative perception of the people into a positive one, see Thacker 2008, 112–113.

108 Transl. of Calderón, *La dama duende* (1629), after the intermediate text l'*Esprit follet* (1641) by Antoine Le Métel d'Ouville.

spookende joffer (1670, 'The Nightly Haunting Widow'). According to Nil Volentibus Arduum, that unapproved staging had only been performed because of a lack of any *good* plays, for which reason they felt that they had to interfere by publishing their own version.[109] In the dedication, the society expressively vocalised their disapproval of Peys' adaptation for the way that the art of poetry, including the unities of time and place, was mishandled, although this had also been the case in the French intermediate text. In their view, a visit to the Amsterdam Public Theatre had become a vulgar activity demonstrating a certain lack in taste ('smaakeloos') to 'people of knowledge and judgement' ('Lieden van kennis ende oordeel'); naturally, they altogether ignored—even rejected—any value in the judgement of the average theatre visitor from among the populace.[110] They express in their foreword of *Het spookend weeuwtje* their disbelief that the directors of the Amsterdam Public Theatre preferred to stage plays that could hardly be considered masterpieces:

> We think it is very strange that they remain so uncompromising at the Amsterdam Public Theatre, where they know that they can get something good [i.e., plays], if they are willing to ask; and that rather than doing this, they exhibit publicly to all the World their poverty. [...] We cannot suffer that they erect a tyranny over there regarding the judgements of the enthusiasts and connoisseurs, and that they serve spectators much rubbish not worth seeing as if it is something excellent and splendid, making spectators believe that these are the masterpieces the Dutch Art of Poetry is capable of producing.[111]

To what, precisely, did Nil Volentibus Arduum object? And what can this new movement in the 1670s tell us about the nature and the development of *comedia nueva* in the Low Countries up until this point?

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109 See Nil Volentibus Arduum 1670, fols. *1r, *2v–*3r.

110 Nil Volentibus Arduum 1670, fol. *6v.

111 Nil Volentibus Arduum 1670, fols. *6r–*6v: 'Zeer vreemdt dunkt het ons allen, dat men op de Schouwburgh, daar men weet, dat men wat goedts kan krijgen, als men'er slechts om spreeken wil, zo halssterk blijft; en liever, dan dat te doen, zijne armoede opentlijk aan al de Weereldt ten toon wil stellen, [...] wy konnen niet lijden, dat men daar een dwinglandy zal oprechten over de oordeelen van de Liefhebbers en Konstkenners, en een hoop niet beziens waerde vodden, voor wat treffelijks en fraays den aanschouweren opdisschen, daar door doende gelooven, dat dat de meesterstukken zijn, die de Neederlandsche Dichtkunst maghtigh is voort te brengen.'

One of their many objections was vocalised in the farce *De gelukte list, óf Bedrooge Mof* (first performed in 1682, printed in 1689, 'The Succeeded Scheme, or Deceived Kraut') by the society's most productive member, Andries Pels. Pels criticises the Spanish vogue by means of the character Herman. In the play, Herman responds in a satirical tone towards Eelhart for his desire to only see plays that "tumble much about." If Eelhart wants to be moved, then he should go and see a Spanish play:

> [...] Then rather take a Spanish play,
> Those tumble about naturally, and please the people much.[112]

In the original Dutch, Herman says that these Spanish plays 'woelen uit de natuur,' which is apparently very pleasing to the audience. A derivation of 'woelen,' 'gewoel' means according to the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (Dictionary of the Dutch Language, abbreviated as 'WNT') as much as 'the agitated and fierce tumbling of thoughts, [and] emotions in people,' that is, inner agitations.[113] Rather than watch this 'gewoel,' Herman says that he likes French plays; that is, plays written according to the dramatic rules of French classicism. Those French plays are neat and follow the aesthetic rules of poetry:

> I rather praise the French plays above any other plays,
> Because they divide their work very neatly and naturally;
> Although they do not tumble about in the eyes, they affect our soul.[114]

Herman makes clear that French plays do not 'tumble about as much in the eyes' ('woeld het niet in 't oog'), meaning that their emotional effect is not rendered through the eyes, such as the *comedias* of Spanish origin. As the newly refurbished theatre of 1665 favoured the eyes over the mind as per Jan Vos' adage, the space in which these *comedias* were staged was likewise faulty.

Nil Volentibus Arduum's critique does not stand alone, but repeats the criticism of the Académie Française about the visual deception of Corneille's *Le Cid*. Thouret argued that at the heart of the 'Querelle du Cid' there was essentially one subject:

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112 Pels [1682] 1689, 16: '[...] neem dan liever een Spaans Spél, / Die woelen uit de natuur, én gevallen het vólk wél.'

113 See the WNT: '[h]et onrustig, hevig woelen van gedachten, [en] emoties in den mensch.'

114 Pels [1682] 1689, 16: 'Ik voor my prys de Fransche boven alle andere Speelen; / Om dat ze hun wérk zo nét én natuurlyk verdeelen, / Al woeld het niet in 't oog, het raakt ons aan de ziel.'

the gaze. According to Thouret, 'the gaze is always, explicitly or not, articulated in relation to the question of judgement, and thereby touches on a major question that underlies and explains the quarrel,' namely, who was qualified to pass aesthetic judgement? Common spectators, who only use their eyes, or the learned few, who have access to knowledge and reason? And it is also the gaze and the question of aesthetic judgement that becomes the subject of scrutiny by Nil Volentibus Arduum in the late seventeenth century.[115]

The gaze is both in the French and Dutch contexts a hot topic. It is up for debate whether theatre directors should accept the gaze as a valid way to judge a performance and whether they should allow the staging of such genres, like *comedia nueva*, that specifically appeal to that gaze. In her analysis of the 'Querelle du *Cid*,' Thouret notes that there is a mediation between the eyes and judgement, which resides in emotions, by which the relationship between the spectator and the characters is established.[116] One concept is continuously emphasised, says Thouret:

> All the events in the play are diffracted by the prism of emotions: they function as the touchstone of the value of the work, as faithful and true signs of the merit of the favour that *Le Cid* has received from the public. But it is the visual perception that gives rise to fear, trouble, pity, attention.[117]

She continues that in the quarrel the often-used verb 'to see,' which describes how the populace perceived *Le Cid*, refers very directly to the verdict that the people bear 'judgement in their eyes.' However, their eyes do not deceive them as Scudéry argued; rather, the eyes connect the spectator with the action onstage. Sight is the sense that intervenes in the formation of affects, which rests both on pleasure and judgement, towards the characters as well as the play as a whole: 'it is the sensitive way through which the interaction of the soul with the world (here, the spectacle) passes,' as Thouret concludes.[118]

Apart from Nil Volentibus Arduum, the criticism of the French academicians is, furthermore, echoed in the words of another critic. Vondel's first biographer, Geeraerdt Brandt, mentions Spanish plays in his 1681 biography of Vondel. Trying

115 Thouret 2013, 100. Translation my own, as elsewhere.
116 Thouret 2013, 103.
117 Thouret 2013, 105.
118 Thouret 2013, 105.

to explain why Vondel's plays were not performed anymore, Brandt explains that they were disparaged in the second half of the seventeenth century, since Spanish plays were more popular. The turbulent nature of the *comedias* and the various transformations in them exhilarated the spectators, although they were malformed in comparison to Vondel's plays. In his judgement, Brandt emphasises the act of gazing. In Dutch, the specific word that is used, 'vergapen,' conveys here the negative connotation of having no understanding of the thing that is looked at, but can also mean that the spectator, in his inability to rightly judge what he sees, is falsely impressed by it, and thus is deceived. While De Brune de Jonge considered this form of visual deception to be a pleasurable trait of theatre, in the context of *comedias*, Brandt found it horrible:

> [...] that in the course of time, other plays, mostly translated from Spanish, were imported. These pleased the big crowd so much (*gawping* at the vain chitchat and activity) because of the *inner agitations* and the multifarious changes—although sometimes they lacked art and order—that the public praised copper over gold and, thus, Vondel's tragedies were stowed behind the counter.[119]

The 'gewoel' in particular and the 'multifarious transformations' ('veelerley verandering') seemed to bother Brandt, as they were not appropriately contained by conventions of 'art and order.' Brandt's criticism specifically aligns with the rhetoric used in dramatist Jean Mairet's pamphlet *Épître familière du sieur Mairet au sieur Corneille sur la tragi-cómedie du Cid*, in which he brought forward that *Le Cid* held apparent and fantastic beauties and a false (or deceptive) brilliance. He likewise compared the play to scrap metal alongside the gold of traditional French classicist drama.[120] This shared analogy stems from alchemy: for millennia, practitioners sought to turn baser metals into gold. The outcome was, however, a mere illusion.[121]

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119 Brandt 1682, 68: '[...] dat men met der tijdt andere speelen, meest uit het Spaensch vertaelt, invoerde, die door 't *gewoel* en veelerley verandering, hoewel'er somtydts weinigh kunst en orde in was, den grooten hoop, (zich aan 't ydel gezwets en den poppentoestel *vergaapende*) zoo behaagden, dat men kooper boven goudt schatte, en Vondels treurspeelen achter de bank wierp' (italics added).

120 Thouret 2013, 101.

121 This transmutation was called 'chrysopoeia,' Greek for 'gold-making'; see, e.g., Principe 2013, 13, 170.

The Designation of Dramatic Space

What did these theoretical debates mean for how *comedia nueva* was staged? This becomes apparent in Rodenburgh's way of working. One of the reasons that Rodenburgh selected *comedia nueva*, I argue, was that as a genre it fit very well within Amsterdam's contemporary theatre practices, which ultimately influenced how the audiences watched these Spanish plays. When Rodenburgh was *factor* (chairman) of the rhetoricians' chamber The Eglantine, their in-house stage was still designed in a way that it could simultaneously represent two locations that were apart in space and time. These spaces were then used to narrate the separate stories of individual characters, before the characters residing in those different places would come together for the dénouement. This type of stage on which the rhetoricians played was called a polytopic stage. This practice remained until 1664. On such a stage, the many changes of locations and even locations that are separated by hundreds of kilometres could easily be represented side by side. This was essential for the staging of the Dutch adaptations of *comedia nueva*.

Rodenburgh's Handling of Travel and Time in Lope's Comedias

Rodenburgh discussed how he dealt with space in his plays in the abovementioned *Eglentiers Poëtens Borst-weringh*. He wrote that there were enough playwrights who incorporated a multiplicity of locations in their plays but that everyone had to decide for themselves what they liked better: a play set in one single location or in multiple locations. By this, he deferred from the otherwise concise imitation of Sidney's *Defence of Poesy*. Reiterating Sidney's satirical stance towards the polytopic stage, Rodenburgh relates that characters must often announce to their spectators where precisely they are located, but he immediately adds a commentary that tones down Sidney's beliefs. He quotes Lope de Vega, who in his *Arte nuevo* points out that he purposely ignores poetical laws:

> In addition, poets differ in their treatment of their tragedies and comedies: while the stage should only represent one place, and all the action should come to pass in one day (in imitation of Aristotle), often many special places are used on the stage, and additionally many days and a long time passes. One can behold on the one side of the stage Asia, while the other side represents Africa; yes, totally different kingdoms, so the actor himself has to explain where he is, otherwise the

> spectators become confused by the [actor's] entry. With some reason, one can admonish this practice, when one binds oneself by Terence and Plautus. The outstanding poet Lope de Vega Carpio says, however, (in his booklet titled: *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo*) that he bans Terence and *Plautus* from his thoughts, when he sets himself to write verses; appending that he is not bound by any timespan, however, dividing his acts cautiously—frequently choosing history for his subject—arguing that it is more appealing to the spectators when the events are told from beginning to end.[122]

This form of simultaneous setting (*décor simultané* in French) was a vestige of medieval theatre, which the Dutch rhetoricians used from their first establishment until well into the seventeenth century.[123] For Rodenburgh, the polytopic stage offered an easy way to represent the many places found in Lope's oeuvre: different places could be represented either simultaneously or in succession without needing to change the décor.

The whole concept of the unity of place was, therefore, non-existent in the early adaptations of Spanish *comedias*. It also allowed spectators to creatively participate in the playmaking by imagining the many places represented, as Hunningher argued for the rhetoricians' stage in the Low Countries.[124] These plays present vast worlds that are shaped by uncertainty of location. As such, the stage could potentially overpower

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122 Rodenburgh 1619, 47–48: 'Daer beneven, verschelen de Poëten inde wijze van handelinghe van hun Truer en Bly-spelen, want waer het toonneel behoordt maer een plaets af te beelden, en oock alle hun bedrijven (na *Aristoteles* leere) te gheschieden in een dachswerck, zo werdender vaecken gebruyckt op het Toonneel veel bezondere plaetzen, en daer beneven veel daghen en langhe tijdt. Men ziet dat het toonneels eene zyde afbeelt *Asia*, en d'ander zyde *Africa*, jae ander Coninghrijcken, zo dat de Toonneel-speelder zelven moet zeggen waer hy is, of d'aenzienders verwerren in d'uytkomste. Met redenen machmen dit berispen, zomen zich bindt aen *Terens* en *Plaut*. Den treffelijcken Poët *Lope de Vega Carpio*, (in zijn boecxken, ghenaemt: *Arte nueuo de hazer comedias en este tiempo*) zeyt: dat hy *Terens* en *Plaut* uyt zijn ghedachten stelt, als hy zijn voorgenomen wercken wil rijmen: daer by voegende, dat hy zich aen geen tijdt bindt, maer voorzichtelijck zijn bedrijven verdeeldt, en meest handelende yets 't geen Historiael is, oordelende dat het bevallycker voor de aenschouwers is, het begin en 't eyndt van alle de ghevallen af te beelden.'

123 In this staging technique, all scenes were simultaneously in view, the various locales being represented by small booths known as *mansions*, or houses, arranged around an unlocalised, neutral acting area of the stage (the *platea*). See Hunningher 1958, 113–114, 147; Hummelen 1967, 5; Albach 1970, 105; Vanhaesebrouck 2015, 125–127.

124 Hunningher 1958, 140.

the viewer.[125] This can be explained by example of Shakespeare's *King Lear* (1606). Reiterating A.C. Bradley's analysis of this play, theatre scholar Henry Turner argues that the vagueness in the sense of locality gives spectators the feeling that they are watching an immense and vast world, not a particular place; or, more accurately, spectators see a particular place that is also another world.[126] While the play features, for instance, an Earl of Gloucester, Earl of Kent, Duke of Cornwall, Duke of Albany, King of France, and Duke of Burgundy, these obvious references to the 'real' world suggest a locality and topicality which is not articulated as such by Shakespeare beyond their referential ability of naming. Although Lear is King of Britannia, locating the action on that island in an ancient time past, it is almost never explicated where exactly the characters actually are, but simply that they are at a hovel, or at one of the many palaces of the various earls and dukes.

Turner asserts that theatre can both represent an immense scope and huge action, and simultaneously hold a vagueness of scene. The stage as the most fully spatialised mode of representation, can only obscure the play's total achievement, as Turner argued: 'To presume location at all points [...] is to take as self-evident a set of logical, imaginative, and mimetic relationships' that plays, such as *King Lear*, seek 'to examine in all their complexity and to hold in tension, rather than to resolve—relationships that lay at the core of the spatial arts and their distinctive epistemology during the [early modern] period.'[127] Imagination overturns reality and the particular has to make way for the general.[128]

How does this apply to the adaptations made by Rodenburgh? Although the Dutch playwright does not seem to choose either Sidney or Lope, he demonstrated that he followed Lope in his own work when different places are represented in one play. In Rodenburgh's *Ialoersche studenten* (1617, 'Jealous Students')—a play about love, jealousy, hidden desires, and deception—its students travel from the Dutch university town Leiden to The Hague during the third act, according to the stage direction in the front matter: 'The Stage is Leiden; though in the last act The Hague.'[129] However, the student Cardenio already appears in The Hague in the last scene of the second

125 Turner 2006, 161.

126 Turner 2006, 159–160. Turner makes clear that Bradley preferred a reception of *King Lear* by a reader rather than a spectator. Bradley argued that this was necessary to fully comprehend the play: '*King Lear*, as a whole, is imperfectly dramatic, and there is something in its very essence which is at war with the senses, and demands a purely imaginative realisation' (as quoted in Turner 2006, 160).

127 Turner 2006, 161.

128 Turner 2006, 160.

129 Rodenburgh 1617d, fol. *4^{v}: 'Het Toonneel is Leyden: doch in't latest bedrijf's Gravenhaghe.'

act after saying goodbye to his friends in Leiden. We only know that he is actually in The Hague because his conversation partner Fabricio inquires after a lady living in Leiden, recognising that Cardenio is from there.[130]

At the beginning of the third act, we are back in Leiden, where Celia decides to follow Cardenio to fight for his heart. They leave the stage, *en route* to The Hague.[131] In the next scene, the spectators see Cardenio dressed as a farmer while walking in The Hague, which is also made explicit in a stage direction: 'Cardenio being in The Hague, in farmer's dress.'[132] To avoid continuous changes of décor, Rodenburgh represented everything in a simultaneous setting. Exactly as in Rodenburgh's adaptation, Lope's Cardenio goes to Alcalá de Henares in *La escolástica celosa*, where he meets Fabricio who inquires instead about a lady in Toledo. Subsequently, the third *jornada* begins again in Toledo with Celia, who decides to travel to Alcalá de Henares. Some scenes later, Cardenio—who is still in Alcalá de Henares—laments about his lost love. Here, Lope had also switched the stage setting from Toledo to Alcalá de Henares and back.[133] Thus, with his simultaneous setting, Rodenburgh followed Lope.

Lope wrote, in fact, in his *Arte nuevo* with regards to the stage setting of his plays that the playwright should use the interspaces ('distancias') between the acts if he wanted to let characters travel or if several years had to pass:

> [...] when the poet writes history
> In which several years must pass,
> He can relegate them to the *interspaces*
> Of two acts, or, if it were necessary,
> A character can make some journey,
> A thing that greatly offends whoever grasps it,
> But he who is offended must *not go see* it.[134]

130 Rodenburgh 1617c, fol. $E4^{v}$: 'Vermits ick sie dat ghy van Leyden zijt gekomen / Ick weet niet of ghy kent een Jouffrou wel befaemt.'

131 Rodenburgh 1617c, fols. $F2^{v}$–$F3^{v}$.

132 Rodenburgh 1617c, fol. $F3^{v}$: 'Cardenio wesende in den Haghe, in Boere kleren.'

133 Lope de Vega 1604d, fols. 92^{r}, 94^{v}, 96^{r}–96^{v}.

134 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 194–200: '[...] cuando el poeta escriba historia / en que hayan de pasar algunos años, / que éstos podrá poner en las *distancias* / de los dos actos, o, si fuere fuerza, / hacer algún camino una figura, / cosa que tanto ofende a quien lo entiende, / pero *no vaya a verlas* quien se ofende' (italics added).

This is supported by the designation of the separate acts in the Spanish plays as *jornada* (working day): every act should be conceived of as a separate day, each with its own setting. Lope's use of the word 'distancia' ('distance', 'interval', 'range', or 'spacing') for that moment between the acts when the stage is empty. This suggests that there exists a spatiality that can be witnessed or seen by the spectators. As *comedia nueva* depends on multifarious action, Lope discusses that this space should preferably never be left empty: 'Hardly ever should the stage remain without a speaking character, because the people grow restless during these *interspaces* and the story becomes soon longwinded; for, except it being a great defect, continuing without silence increases grace and artifice.'[135] Lope was an expert at preventing onstage lacunae, 'in particular through use of the set-piece sonnet to summarise a situation, as well as through the counter-point of the *gracioso*'s comedy' as per Thacker.[136] Turner writes about witnessable spatiality that:

> [...] the genuinely *spatial* capacity of the platform stage is apprehensible only momentarily—at the instant the performance begins or ends, or in the slight break between scenes, if at all—since these fleeting appearances are simultaneously converted into the specific 'places' of the fiction that the performance brings to life.[137]

These spaces can, therefore, hardly be considered empty. In Dutch tragedy, the space between acts was almost always filled by the 'rei' (chorus), which remained an important structuring device in the 'home-grown' plays of the early seventeenth century. As explained by Lia van Gemert, the 'rei' could be used to mask jumps in time and space, or to fill breaks in the text in front of the spectator's eyes in an excusable way.[138] Turner also discusses how the chorus structures space within a play, by urging the audience to fill the space 'with a dazzling sequence of fictional *places*.'[139] In Spanish drama, the chorus disappeared from the first moment that early playwrights devised a successful formula, until Lope finally announced in the *Arte nuevo* that the chorus is

135 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 240–245: 'Quede muy pocas veces el teatro / sin persona que hable, porque el vulgo / en aquellas *distancias* se inquïeta / y gran rato la fábula se alarga, / que, fuera de ser esto un grande vicio, / aumenta mayor gracia y artificio' (italics added).

136 Thacker 2008, 115.

137 Turner 2006, 175.

138 Van Gemert 1990, 83–86.

139 Turner 2006, 175.

a tedious classicising element, for which reason even the Greek playwright Menander, following Terence, omitted them.[140] Therefore, the chorus is also absent in the Dutch adaptations by Rodenburgh and others.

This did not mean that Lope did not use musical *intermezzi* to mask jumps in space or time. The Spanish stage song often fulfilled the same function as the chorus in Dutch drama. As in the Low Countries, the traditional Spanish practice to establish location was by means of song or spoken word, especially in productions that could not rely on heavy stage design and machinery. Even then, song remained a popular medium to describe locations.[141] In his adaptation *Celia en Prospero* (1617, an adaptation of Lope's *El molino*), Rodenburgh had to deal with the fact that the play is both set in a particular place (Florence) and an imaginative, non-specific, pastoral space (Arcadia).[142] In the middle of the first act, Count Prospero is banished from the Florentine court by Duchess Celia's suitor Aristippus, the Prince of Spain, and Prospero's nemesis. He seeks refuge in the countryside (in Arcadia), where the miller's daughter Laura and his servant Molimpo live. Prospero appears in farmer's clothes and sings a song. This song both offers an insight into Prospero's emotional state, another common purpose of song in both Spanish and Dutch drama,[143] and also tells the spectator that he is walking in a grassland, having fled court:

> In solitude by himself
> You let your slave walk
> In these forgotten pastures
> [...]
> Alas! When I see
> That I must flee court
> [...]
> I lose courage, and strength.[144]

After Prospero has finished and fallen asleep under a tree, Laura enters while throwing flour at Molimpo. In the case of *Celia en Prospero*, Rodenburgh could have inserted

140 De Armas 2014, 35; Lope de Vega 1609, vv. 102–105.

141 Umpierre 1975, 93–94.

142 Rodenburgh 1617b, fol. *4v: 'Het Toonneel is Florença en Arcadia.'

143 Umpierre 1975, 21–28, 59–74; Veldhorst 2004, 20–24.

144 Rodenburgh 1617b, fol. B2v: 'In eenigheid alleen / Laet ghy uw slave treen / In dees vergheten Bemden [...] Helacy! als ik zie / Dat ik het Hof afvlie [...] Verlies ick moed, en kracht.'

the song to mask the jump in time and space, while either the stage setting was changed to reflect the countryside or alternatively to trigger the imagination of the spectator while Prospero mentions that he is now in the countryside. Sidney detested this practice, but Rodenburgh had clearly taken a lenient approach.[145]

With the less stringent stance towards travel in Spanish plays and by using a polytopic stage, there was no need to heed that other unity: the unity of time. Lope writes in his *Arte nuevo* that critics complained that playwrights let years pass in their plays, although Horace and Aristotle had set the limit for a play as a supposedly natural day (described by Lope as a mathematical day). Lope obviously found this absurd:

> Oh, how many become today wretched
> When seeing that years have passed in an affair
> which had to end in twelve hours,
> because they would not even allow a mathematical day![146]

Lope suggested that the play's plot should unfold in as little time as possible ('pase en el menos tiempo que ser pueda').[147] At the same time, Lope was aware that his audiences preferred that the playwright told longer histories of days, months, or even years, rather than that all events are condensed within a twenty-four-hour period:

> But considering that the choleric temperament
> Of a seated Spaniard does not restrain itself
> If not in two hours is shown to him
> Everything from *Genesis* to the Final Judgement,
> I think that it is most fitting,
> If one is to give pleasure, that he follows this.[148]

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145 Lope de Vega 1604c, fol. 143r. On the basis of Lope's first *Parte*, *Las comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio*, I could not corroborate whether the Spanish Prospero also sings in this passage. It is entirely possible that this was so and that Rodenburgh visited a performance of Lope's *El molino* during his diplomatic mission to Madrid, for which reason Rodenburgh may have likewise staged a song here.

146 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 201–204: '¡Oh, cuántos de este tiempo se hacen cruces / de ver que han de pasar años en cosa / que un día artificial tuvo de término, / que aun no quisieron darle el matemático!'

147 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, v. 193.

148 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 205–210: 'Porque considerando que la cólera / de un español sentado no se templa / si no le representan en dos horas / hasta el Final Juïcio desde el *Génesis*, / yo hallo que, si allí se ha de dar gusto, / con lo que se consigue es lo más justo.'

This advice is also understandable from a dramatic perspective, for the conflicts presented in Spanish drama need time to be settled. If a relationship between the protagonists should fully develop with its ups and downs, it should be suggested that enough time has passed. Did this, however, also apply to the Dutch adaptations?

Representing Travel and Time on Stage in Van Campen's Theatre

The more professional theatre in Amsterdam became, the more the stage developed from a polytopic stage into a monotopic stage. This development, however, took decades and knew a period in which the old and new ways of stage setting were both used, as Van Campen's theatre of 1638 demonstrates: it was customary that, exactly as on the old rhetoricians' stages, the actors stepped onto the middle of the stage, which then represented the same place as the compartment of entrance. Hunnigher asserts that the 'hegemony of realism' had not yet begun and spectators thus still had a creative part in the performance, because they were encouraged to give rise to their own imaginations.[149] Such was also the case in Madrid's *corrales de comedias*, the *Corral del Príncipe* and the *Corral de la Cruz*.[150] The unity of place was absent on the Amsterdam stage, but this did not mean that the design of the stage was not a coherent unity. In fact, the diverse places were held together by a symmetrical arrangement (see Fig. 1.7 above).[151] Still, Van Campen was influenced by Italian stage design. The architect had designed a double usage of the stage as either a monotopic or polytopic stage for his theatre: 'unity or multiplicity of place as desired.'[152] Therefore Hummelen concludes that Van Campen maintained the old system of the rhetoricians in his stage design for the Amsterdam Public Theatre, but that he also created the possibility to use the new system he saw on his travels in Italy.[153]

Van Campen's stage design was also informed by playwrights, dramaturgs, and theoretists, who—although they knew about the requirement of unity of place—generally agreed that a unity of region was sufficient for the time being, meaning that there was no reason to break with the 'beloved tradition.'[154] This left much occasion for variation, which becomes apparent in many printed editions of the Dutch adaptations. These scripts almost always state under the list of *dramatis personae* that

149 Hunningher 1958, 140.
150 Hunningher 1958, 147; Thacker 2007, 125–126; Ruano de la Haza 2008, 41–45.
151 Hunningher 1958, 140.
152 Hunningher 1958, 147.
153 Hummelen 1967, 5.
154 Hunningher 1958, 145–147.

the plot unfolds in a specific place and its direct surroundings. This can be seen in Adam Karelsz. van Germez' *Vervolgde Laura* (1645, 'Persecuted Laura').[155] The preface states that the play is set at the Hungarian court in Buda and Laura's townhouse in the same city, and what is more, the whole action only lasts twenty-four hours.[156]

Although this could potentially become difficult, the polytopic stage in Van Campen's theatre offered enough possibility that one side of the stage represented the court, while the other side represented Laura's home.

The unity of region aside, topical references in other Dutch adaptations seem to be purposely kept as vague as possible, perhaps also to keep with the original vague setting of the Spanish plays, of which the printed editions almost never mention the events' location. At the same time, this practice seems to reflect the influence of the 'Querelle du *Cid*' on Dutch theatrical life, resulting in a compromise between the requirement for the unity of place and time, and the desire to represent a variety of places found in the Spanish originals. Thus, the playwrights might have purposely concealed the information entirely or presented the stage setting in line with classicistic demands, although in fact more than one place is represented on stage. Heynck does this, for instance, in his *Veranderlyk geval, of stantvastige liefde* (Amsterdam 1663, 'Changeable Fortune, or Consistent Love').[157] He says that the play is set in and around Naples.[158] In the first scene of this play, the stage likely depicted the Neapolitan court, where the King relates the history behind the upcoming action and tells his courtiers that he is looking for his heir, whom he entrusted to the care of a shepherd. The second scene is set at the farm of this shepherd and depicts the two lovers Karel and Margareta about whom the *comedia* concerns; one of them is the lost heir.

Similarly, the duration of the plot of *Veranderlyk geval* is kept silent. Yet, slowly it becomes clear that more time than twenty-four hours should have passed, especially in the middle of the third act, when the female protagonist Margareta comes out onto the stage during the night between the first day and the second day. This is demarcated by a song added by Heynck to his adaptation, which was sung by Margareta to lament her separation from her fiancé who is the previously lost Prince of Naples, but the song also functions for Margareta as a way to obtain a new-found independence

155 *Vervolgde Laura* is a translation of Jean Rotrou's *Laure persecutée* (1639), which, in turn, was an adaptation of Lope's *Laura perseguida* (c. 1614).

156 Van Germez 1645, fol. *8v: 'Het Tooneel is't Hof te Bude in Hongarijen, en voor / en in het huis van Laura in de zelve stadt. / Het spel begint in de morgen, en eindigt den andre / dach op een zelven tijt.' For the structuring of space in Rotrou's *Laure persecutée*, see Birkemeier 2007, 165–166.

157 Transl. of Cristóbal de Monroy y Silva, *Mudanzas de la fortuna y firmezas del amor* (c. 1649).

158 Heynck 1663, fol. A4v: 'Het Tooneel is in en omtrent Napels.'

and agency as a woman.[159] This song not only likely delighted the audience, but also construed time and space in a crux wherein time behaves differently and becomes a subversive force in the play (as discussed further in Chapter 6). Later in the play, Karel is deprived of his princely status and after a lamentable conversation with his servant Mengo, leaves for the village of his foster father. This event marks the end of the fourth act. The fifth act begins an undetermined amount of time later, when we find Karel in the village singing a song about all that he has lost. Like in Rodenburgh's *Celia en Prospero*, the song is used to mask the jump in time and space.[160]

In another play, Isaak Vos stated that his *Gedwongen vrient* (1646, 'Forced Friend') 'Plays on the Hungarian and Bohemian Borders,' thus meeting the unity of region, but during the play three of the protagonists go on a rescue mission to break the fourth from prison.[161] This prison's location is not made explicit, but it was likely located at the Bohemian court and not on the border as the preliminary pages suggest. As this imprisoned protagonist is a suspect of murder, it seems unlikely—not in line with the *vraisemblance*—that he was imprisoned on the border of the country to which he fled. Furthermore, the first act of the play is set at the court of the Hungarian king, and the rescue party also returns to the Hungarian court.

Often, the Dutch adaptors ignored the unities in more subtle ways, such as Johannes Serwouters did in his *Den grooten Tamerlan* (Amsterdam 1657, 'The Great Tamerlane'), a *comedia* about Timur, the founder of the Timurid Empire, his conquests of Anatolia, and his capture of the Turkish Sultan Bayaset.[162] The play is set both in and outside of Constantinople, according to the text.[163] Textual analysis makes clear, however, that the performed space stretches from Constantinople to the whole of Wallachia.[164] 'Outside Constantinople' ('buyten Constantinopolen') should not be regarded here as directly outside of the city walls of Constantinople, but rather as any space in a reasonable vicinity of that city. The *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* confirms that this reading of 'buyten' is, in fact, possible. Once again, this play likewise includes a more general unity of region rather than a strict unity of place: the first two scenes are set at court in Constantinople, whereas the third scene is in

159 Heynck 1663, 32–33.

160 Heynck 1663, 55–56.

161 Vos 1646, fol. A1^{v}: 'Speelt op d'Ongaarze en Boheemze Grenzen.'

162 Transl. of Luis Vélez de Guevara, *La nueva era de Dios y Tamerlán de Persia* (1635).

163 Serwouters 1657, fol. A3^{v}: 'Het Tooneel is in en buyten Constantinopolen.'

164 The play dramatises the Battle of Ankara (1402), fought between the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I and the Mongol Khan Timur Lang, founder of the Timurid Empire. For some unexplainable reason, Anatolia (where Ankara is located) was confused with Wallachia in this play.

a valley in Wallachia. Because of these place settings, it remains vague in the printed editions of these *comedias* whether or not the unities were ignored.

A wholly different approach is seen in Joan Dullaart's *Alexander de Medicis* (1653) about the historical ruler Alessandro de' Medici and his assassination.[165] Although the stage setting is as vague as that in *Den grooten Tamerlan*, this play clearly sins against the unity of time when we read in the preface that 'The stage is within and outside Florence. The tragedy starts at midnight, and ends on the fourth morning.'[166] The unity of place is again a unity of region, but the timespan of Dullaart's adaptation does not at all meet the unity of time. In fact, it equals more or less four days. This is unique among Dutch-language plays as there are, to my knowledge, no other examples in which it is stated so explicitly that the play's timespan is longer than a day.

The Move to a New Staging Technique

The staging technique discussed above united very easily the goal of realism and symbolic representation, which was grounded in an emblematic tradition: in other words, spectators could easily interpret the *mise-en-espace* that was created by clear and minimal use of symbols. Thus it was maintained for a long period in the seventeenth century, until reasonability and reality (*vraisemblance* and *bienséance*) became the leading criteria by which a play and its performance were measured. This was a consequence of the logical interpretation of classical writings and the enforcement of the unities.[167] At the same time, we must realise that one of the new possibilities of the Amsterdam Public Theatre after the 1665 structural alterations was *changements à vue*. These enabled theatre makers and playwrights to quickly change the décor and the whole scene setting in just a matter of seconds. From that moment onwards, playwrights could more easily deal with travel, and they could suggest that larger amounts of time had passed in the meantime.

This advance was specifically disliked by Nil Volentibus Arduum. The society recognised that spectators enjoyed the changes of décor and place, and even advised that playwrights included several different locations in their plays, but still warned that they should heed that the *space* between different places represented could be

165 Transl. of Diego Jiménez de Enciso, *Los Medicis de Florencia* (before 1634).

166 Dullaart 1653, 6: 'Het Tooneel is binnen en buiten Florence. Het Treurspel begint te middernacht, en eindigt op den vierden Morgenstont.'

167 Hunningher 1958, 137.

realistically traversed within the twenty-four-hours' time frame of the play. According to them, the Spanish plays were especially lacking in this regard. Their objection to travel was mainly of the following nature: when the limit of a play is always twenty-four hours, a character cannot appear in Paris if he was in London in the previous act, because this would not be believable on the basis of a strict interpretation of *vraisemblance*. Moreover, Nil Volentibus Arduum objected to the fact that many of the Dutch adaptations switched the stage setting between scenes in one and the same act. In their *Onderwys in de tooneel-poëzy* (Amsterdam c. 1678, 'Education in dramatic poetry')—a manuscript that was edited and published by Ton Harmsen in 1989—they write as such:

> Regarding the place in a play, that should always be a fixed and one place, either in a palace, room, garden, etc.; but while many or the majority of spectators take pleasure from seeing a variety of décors, and while sometimes the subject matter which one wants to deal with demands that a distinct décor is depicted in every act, one should beware that the different places which are chosen in every act are not located too far from each other, and that one act depicts London, the other Paris, the third Amsterdam, etc.; but that the places are so succinctly taken together that if the character appears from one act in the second, which depicts another place, the spectator can easily imagine that he can arrive there in the time which passes in between the acts, such as: in case one depicts in one and the same city a royal palace, complete with a majestic pleasure garden, then one may represent the first act in front of the palace, the second in a specific hall, the third in the pleasure garden, the fourth in the courtyard, the fifth in front of the king's throne, etc.; especially making sure that one does not change the place within an act. The authors of the Spanish plays sin against this, as well as in our language the authors of *Lizander en Caliste*, *Ariane*, and the like.[168]

168 Nil Volentibus Arduum [c. 1678] 1989, 245: 'Wat de Plaats in een Tooneelspel aangaat, die behoorde altyd vast en op een plaats te zyn, 't zy in een Palais, Kamer, Tuin enz. maar dewijl veele of de meeste toezienders behaagen scheppen in verscheidene Tooneelen, en dat somtyts de stof, die men verhandelen wil vereischt datmen in ieder bedrijf een byzonder Tooneel vertoont, zoo behoorde men te letten, dat de verscheidene plaatzen die men in ieder bedrijf verkiest, niet al te wydt van malkanderen geleegen zyn, en dat niet het eene bedrijf Londen, het ander Parys, het darde Amsterdam enz. verbeeldt; maar dat de plaats zoo beknopt by malkander is gevat, dat als de Tooneellist

The Spanish dramatic practice was clearly different and this is also visible in the Dutch adaptations of *Ialoersche studenten*, *Celia en Prospero*, *Vervolgde Laura*, *Veranderlyk geval*, *Gedwongen vrient*, *Den grooten Tamerlan*, and *Alexander de Medicis*, which have already been discussed here.

Yet, there were other plays that were, according to Pels, even more lacking in this regard: in addition to *Veranderlyk geval*, Leonard de Fuyter's *Verwarde hof* (1647, 'Confused Court'), Joris de Wijse's *Voorzigtige dolheit* (1650, 'Cautious Madness'), and Heynck's *Don Louis de Vargas* (1668) also had to endure Pels' critique. He argued that the disposition of these plays was out of place, although they—one can presume much to his dissatisfaction—brought the spectator pleasure:

> And what would be wrong with many fine Spanish and
> English plays, if people would only stop dividing them
> Into such plots and dénouements, that only one does
> Not see them as gladly as French ones, or only a little
> More so because of their multiplicity of incidents
> And fullness of inventions? Behold *De Verwarde hof*, *de Dolheid*,[169]
> *Lowies de Vargas*, *Het Veranderlijk Geval*;
> They are wild in arrangement, place and time; but all
> The world commends their substance, both learned and unlearned.[170]

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van't eene bedrijf in't tweede dat een andre plaats verbeelt, te voorschyn komt, den toeziender sich gemakkelijk inbeelden kan, dat hy inde tyd, die tusschen de bedryven verloopt, daar kan koomen. als by voorbeeldt: Indien men sich verbeeld in eene zelve Stadt, een kooninglijk Palais, voorzien met een heerlijk lusthof, zo zouwmen moogen neemen het eerste bedrijf voor het Palais, het tweede in een byzondre zaal, het darde inden Lusthof, het vierde in't Hof, het vijfde voor des koonings troon enz. voor al toeziende datmen in een bedrijf geen verandering van plaats brengt. Hier teegens zondigen de maakers van de Spaansche Speelen, gelijk ook in onze taal de Autheuren van *Lizander en Caliste*, *Ariane* en diergelijke.'

169 As editor of Pels' *Gebruik én misbruik des tooneels*, Schenkeveld-van der Dussen (1681, 76) thinks that *de Dolheid* is a reference to Gillis van Staveren's *De dolheyt om de eer* (1661). That play—although it is originally Spanish, after Lope de Vega's *La locura por la honra* (1611)—had only been performed a total of five times in 1661–1662. Therefore, I rather assume that Pels means Joris de Wijse's *Voorzigtige dolheit*, which was performed 52 times between 1649 (premiere of *Voorzigtige dolheit*) and 1681 (publication of *Gebruik én misbruik des tooneels*).

170 Pels [1681] 1978, vv. 1061–1069. The translation is by Sullivan 1983, 55: 'Want wat zal schorten aan veel' fraaije Spaansche Spélen, / En Engelsche, als men wél wil létten op 't verdeelen / In Handelingen, én Uitkomsten, dat men die / Zo lief niet, als de Fransche, óf lichtlyk liever zie / Om hunne veelheid van voorvallen, én hunn' volheid / Van vindingen? Aanschouw 't Verwarde Hóf, de Dolheid, /

Pels' criticism did not matter: spectators hardly cared about the unities of time and place or the disposition of these plays. Their topics pleased both the learned and laymen.

The Representation of Domestic versus Exotic Spaces

Theatrical illusions can, thus, please spectators immensely, while their imaginations are triggered by the specific design of the stage, whether polytopic or a stage with coulisse décor and a proscenium arch. Apart from the illusionistic experience and the pleasurable 'oogbedrog' (visual deception) that this brings, playwrights also used the possibilities of the stage to enforce a moral and emotional experience through the representation of various places in the *comedia*, which I argue is typical for *comedia nueva* in the Low Countries. The so-called *comedias palatinas* in particular kept their original settings, making them on par with the moral world of the tragedy, while also offering a form of escapism also present in chivalric romances and the pastoral *novelle* of Bandello and Boccaccio.

Tragicomic Distance

When Turner writes that the stage represents 'a particular place which is also a world,'[171] we realise that the events in these *comedias* also take place in spaces that seem familiar at first, but which are nonetheless fictional or exist outside of our own spatial-temporal reality. The distant places that are represented in Dutch *comedias*, such as Constantinople in *Den grooten Tamerlan* and Florence in *Alexander de Medicis*, emphasise this idea. When *comedias* are, furthermore, also set in mythical or pastoral spaces, such as Arcadia in *Celia en Prospero*, we might even get the impression that all *comedias* are set in their own exotic world. Alberto Gutiérrez Gil suggests that especially for the subgenre of *comedia palatina*, the representation of these distant spaces is requisite:

> One of the indispensable requirements to ascribe a *comedia* to the genre of the *comedia palatina* is the spatial distance of the action from the

Lowies de Vargas, het Veranderlyk Geval; / Van schikking zyn zy wild in plaats, én tyd; maar all' / De waereld pryst de stóf, Geleerde, én Ongeleerde.'

171 Turner 2006, 160.

> reality of the viewer. The territories outside Castile became the scene of the most surprising stories. Naples, England, Poland, Hungary, France, and also Portugal, Catalonia, Aragon, Navarra or Galicia gave shelter to characters and situations that, little by little, began to be common on the stages.
>
> This distancing from the here (and also from the now) involves an exotic component that traps the viewer in the development of the action, at the same time that it gives the playwright the freedom to deal with topics and situations that would otherwise have raised suspicions among the upper classes (we must remember that the characters' high social stratus—royalty and nobility—is another of the basic pillars of the genre).[172]

As Gutiérrez Gil says, the distance from the 'now' is likewise necessary and emphasises the exotic feel of the *comedias*. The distant geographical framework acts as an evocative filter necessary to separate viewers from the reality that they are contemplating. The real environment of the frame is seldom used: 'the idiosyncrasy of its inhabitants is not painted, nor the singularity of its landscapes.'[173] This also means that these geographic settings remain ductile, and that similar histories can be reworked in different spaces. Thus, the places represented in *comedia nueva* include places in a classical-mythical time, in the Middle Ages, the early Renaissance, or in a semi-pastoral or novelistic landscape (without a clear demarcation of historical time). Therefore, *comedias* can spread geographically and temporally from biblical Israel or mythical Greece, to medieval Spain or pastoral Italy.

Frida Weber de Kurlat remarked that the non-Spanish locations made it possible to safely represent 'betrayals, deceptions, false accusations, death threats, deaths decreed by an arbitrary prince who later repents, loves that imply wide social inequality and that end in happy marriage, etc., etc.' onstage.[174] Of these represented places, one location was the absolute favourite of Spanish *comedia* authors: Hungary. Gutiérrez Gil asserted that Hungary in particular evoked conflict, violence, and conspiracies in the seventeenth century; and this is the hallmark that, in a certain way, distinguishes these Hungarian-themed *comedias palatinas* from other geographical settings.[175]

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172 Translation of Gutiérrez Gil 2013, 217–218.

173 Translation of Gutiérrez Gil 2013, 220.

174 Translation of Weber de Kurlat 1977, 871.

175 Gutiérrez Gil 2013, 220.

Gutiérrez Gil and Adrián J. Sáez asserted that in the Hungarian *comedias* of Lope de Vega, Mira de Amescua, and Rojas Zorilla, Hungary functioned as a mythical space in which the exotic stands out. Specifically, according to Sáez, the spectator's imagination assumes control to configure an autonomous and quasi-fantastic world in these *comedias*, which are then ordered by poetic rules rather than a faithful representation of truth: the plays are dramatised according to the rules of *vraisemblance* and not of reality. *Comedias* take advantage of the exoticism of a country that is geographically far away, but at the same time politically close, as a result of relations of the Austrian branch of the House of Habsburg with the Kingdom of Hungary: the setting of these plays becomes the backdrop of a universe of power and politics, which can be contemplated more freely from this remote and somewhat reimagined vantage point.[176] In other words, this setting established wonder (*admiratio*) about a world that is unfamiliar and an undying fascination for that which is different, including the desire to experience it for one's own.[177] According to Blom, this literary process explains much of the ongoing popularity of the *Odyssey* and of medieval quests and travel literature in the seventeenth century.[178]

I argue that similar processes shaped the popularity of *comedias palatinas* in the Low Countries. Although the plays set in Hungary are also present in the Dutch adaptations, it is not the only part of the world that is dramatised, nor is it the most important. I argue that the setting for the Dutch-language *comedias* can actually be divided into five more-or-less equally important categories, which both represent distant places and distant historical time periods, because Spanish playwrights, such as Lope, recognised the enormous potential of history as a source for their *comedias*.[179] Time and space are, therefore, two aspects of the representational illusion that are related and cannot be separated. The five categories thus concern *comedias* that are set in:

1. Eastern Europe (either Russia, Poland, Hungary, or the Balkans);
2. A mythical time or Biblical past;
3. A romanticised moment of profane history;
4. A fictionalised past; or
5. A primarily novelistic or pastoral-bucolic landscape (see Table 1.1, following page).

176 Gutiérrez Gil 2013, 218; Sáez 2015b, 294–296.

177 Blom 2014, 8–9.

178 Blom 2014, 7–8.

179 Coates 2008, 132–135, 145–146.

TABLE 1.1 Overview of the Dutch-language *comedias* in the corpus grouped according to their place of representation

1. Eastern Europe	2. Mythical time or religious past	3. Romanticised moment of profane history	4. Fictionalised past	5. Novelistic or pastoral-bucolic landscape
Den groote Hertoghe van Moscovien (Grand Duchy of Moscow)	*Ulysses in't eylandt van Circe* (mythical Trinacria/Sicily)	*Cenobia* (third-century Euphrates/Palmyra/Rome)	*Armoede vanden graeve Florellus* (Carolingian France)	*Casandra en Karel Baldeus* (novelistic Burgundy)
Het leven is maer droom (Kingdom of Poland)	*De toveres Circe* (mythical Trinacria/Sicily)	*Den grooten Bellizarius* (sixth-century Constantinople)	*De beklaagelycke dwangh* (medieval England)	*Celia en Prospero* (Tuscan Arcadia)
Sigismundus (Kingdom of Poland)	*Samson* (biblical Israel/Abskalon)	*De verduytste Cid* (eleventh-century Sevilla)	*Verwarde hof* (medieval Sicily)	*'t Quaedt syn meester loondt* (pastoral Milan, Ferrara, Mantua)
Vervolgde Laura (Buda, Hungary)	*Hester* (biblical Susa)	*Den grooten Tamerlan* (early-fifteenth-century Wallachia/Anatolia and Constantinople)	*Don Louis de Vargas* (medieval Spain)	*Veranderlyk geval* (pastoral-bucolic Naples)
Gedwongen vrient (Hungary/Bohemia)		*Joanna, Koningin van Napels* (fourteenth-century Naples)		*De verliefde stiefmoeder* (novelistic Mantua)
Voorzigtige dolheit (Albanian court)		*Alexander de Medicis* (sixteenth-century Tuscany)		*Den volmaeckten ridder* (pastoral-bucolic Naples)
Casimier (Poland/Hungary)				*De mislukte liefde* (pastoral-bucolic Barcelona)
				De devotie van Eusebius (undetermined pastoral landscape)
				Alphonsus en Thebasile (pastoral landscape representing Barcelona, England & Bohemia)

The first group of plays shares characteristics with those set in Hungary identified by Gil and Sáez. For the Low Countries, I propose that the Hungarian plays be included in a larger group of *comedias* set in countries and regions such as Russia, Poland, and the Balkans: these seem to have shared the same traits as Hungary when represented in Dutch *comedias*.

This is rooted in a wider phenomenon of literature about the East, including travel literature, which was popular in the Dutch Republic. Blom reports that Amsterdam was an information hub for intelligence or the soft merchandise of worlds far away. The 'creative industry' as Blom calls the collective of merchants and artists that were able to capitalise this intelligence, did the rest, publishing maps, drawings, letters, descriptions, ship logs, *et cetera*.[180] This merchandise could potentially also bring about a cultural shift in the receiving culture. Russia especially seems to have triggered the Dutch imagination. Dutch adaptations of Spanish *comedias* contributed to this wonder: *comedias* set at Eastern-European courts seemed far enough away that they could be considered exotic, but also close enough to be familiar because of the trade relations and geopolitical interests of the Dutch Republic in the Baltic Sea. Dutch traders mainly travelled and traded along the coast, however, while the inland of the Muscovite Empire was primarily *terra incognita*, ready to be discovered for economic entrepreneurship.[181] Therefore, any description, map, or logbook dealing with Russia was popular among the Dutch public.[182] The representation of Russia and Poland on the Dutch stage is, as such, comprehensible as these places are mythical lands about which the Dutch were in wonder, but about which they were also eager to learn for future enterprise.

The second group appeals to the spectator's imagination with narratives from Greek and Roman mythology or tales from the Bible. The third group dramatises the stories of important historical characters collectively known by all Europeans. The first, fourth, and fifth group largely overlap, but the groups are distinctive in their relative appeal to historicity: the Eastern-European setting is the most exotic.

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180 Blom 2014, 7–8.

181 Blom 2014, 23–28.

182 During the seventeenth century there appeared, for example, three adaptations of Lope's *El gran duque de Moscovia* (1617): Wouthers, *Den Moscoïtschen Knets, dat is, Den grooten hertog van Moscoviën* (c. 1665, Antwerp); Cornelis de Bie, *Den groote Hertoghe van Moskovien* (1672, Lier); and N.N., *De gewaende Demetrius, grootvorst van Moscoviën* (1680, Amsterdam). Furthermore, Calderón's Polish play *La vida es sueño* was immensely popular with the Brussels translation *Het leven is maer droom* (1647) which was also published and performed in Amsterdam after 1654; see Blom and Van Marion 2021.

Meanwhile, the plays in the fourth group are stories that are inserted into a historical setting, but unlike the plays in the third group, are dramatisations in the margins of history.

The fifth group is most diverse as it includes dramatisations of Bandello's *Novelle*, but at the same time its plays are predominantly set at European courts that at a certain moment make way for pastoral or bucolic landscapes (villages, the countryside, but also Arcadia itself), where the decaying effects of time, urban corruption, and political immoralities do not exist. This was a popular Renaissance theme in Dutch literature and on the Dutch stage of the early seventeenth century which was imported from Italy and France, but which was originally inspired by classical texts such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Vergil's *Bucolica* and *Eclogae*.[183] The green worlds in these plays function in opposition to the 'normal' urban world, offering pastoral ethics and a mirror of idealised behaviour in the process: the protagonists move to the green world to find refuge. There, they undergo a conversion or a metamorphosis in which the comic resolution is achieved, and finally they return to the normal world, stronger and more confident than before (see Chapter 6).[184] Apart from *comedias* set in pastoral-bucolic landscapes, the green world also appears in mythical *comedias* (such as in the parallel adaptations *Ulysses in't eylandt van Circe* and *De toveres Circe*), in which the imaginary landscape becomes an extraordinary world, existing beyond the daily reality of the urban world.

The plays in these five categories not only served to create or reinforce a theatrical illusion onto themselves, but through their distant locations the spectators could establish a very specific emotional relationship to the plays. When these *comedias* successfully established the illusion of a different fictional space before the spectators' eyes, the illusion puts the sense of a fictional and realistic space very explicitly in opposition to each other. This results in a liminal (transitory) experience which can create, somewhat paradoxically, an attentive distance between stage and auditorium.[185] Eversmann argues that the explicit 'distance' between stage and auditorium that is created in frontal theatre can have the reverse effect that the audience is absorbed into the performance. Immersive theatre can alternatively expose that the fictional world is very different from reality. Therefore, we are in some ways always aware that we are watching a performance; there exists a double awareness that

183 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 220–222.

184 Frye 2000, 182; Kaufmant 2010, 1–3, 39–45; Gutiérrez Gil 2013, 222.

185 For studies on liminality, see notably Turner 1969, esp. 80–81, 156; Thomassen 2009, esp. 16–18; Fischer-Lichte 2002, 3–4; Szakolczai 2009, esp. 142.

enables spectators to experience and recode emotions if necessary, or stimulate an emotional detachment.[186]

In Dutch scholarship, there has been the understanding that there exists 'distance' in comic theatre between the stereotypes represented before the audience and the audience itself, which had to evoke ridicule and repulse, or express through negative self-identification the own superior moral code. The created 'distance' is on the one hand socio-economic where it concerns nobles or rich city dwellers watching a play about farmers and on the other hand cultural, when the play thematises a savage way of living as opposed to the cultivated lifestyles of the spectators. In his analysis of seventeenth-century Dutch comic theatre, Van Stipriaan argued, however, that these plays rather create a *comic distance*: he saw this as a social and moral 'distance'—the prevention of identification with the comical, but common characters—which could open up a domain, where various subjects could be discussed in a comical or farcical way without there being the necessity to reconcile what is shown with the dominant morale.[187]

Van Stipriaan goes as far as to suggest that 'the prevention of ethical identification with the comical, common characters offers the opportunity to focus on the literary game that the author plays with the reader or spectator.'[188] Spectators should not aim to recognise the obvious stereotypes, but the enigmas, reversals, parallels, and associations instead, which they must discern and resolve into meaningful interpretations. With this, the ethical and societal 'distance' gains significance as it fosters intellectual reflection and pleasure.[189] Van Stipriaan's reflections do not take the adaptations of *comedias* into account, which as a genre are different from both classical tragedies and comedies. There exists the potential that the exotic staging of various *comedias* offered a 'relief' or a relaxation, and different from the staging in more traditional Dutch comedies and tragedies, the exotic also offered a distance.

While the stage setting in most *comedias* resembles a foreign court peopled by nobles who often have questionable morals, in many ways comparable to those in the courtly settings of classical tragedies, *comedias* treat similar subjects of deceit and deception as seen in many other Dutch comedies. Therefore, I reinterpret Van Stipriaan's *comic distance* as a *tragicomic distance*. A tragicomic distance is understood here as a conceptual distance that is created in relation to the geographical location

186 Eversmann 1996, 163–166.
187 Van Stipriaan 1996, 161.
188 Van Stipriaan 1996, 161.
189 Van Stipriaan 1996, 161–162.

represented on stage and the extravagant lifestyle of the noble characters, but which also incorporates Van Stipriaan's reflections that spectators must dissect the enigmas, reversals, parallels, and associations that are presented. While spectators watch Van Germez' *Vervolgde Laura*, for instance, they witness a story that is unfolding in Budapest, although their bodies are still in Amsterdam; simultaneously, spectators witness a story of deception, jealousy, and trickery, which must be recognised and understood before they can take pleasure from watching this play.

The effects of this distance can also be regarded as a form of dis*place*ment more common in literature. Displacement is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) in many ways, but here two definitions are especially relevant. In the first, displacement can be considered geographically as the 'removal of a thing from its place; putting out of place; shifting, dislocation,' where it concerns the representation of another space on stage, furthering the emotions of pleasure and astonishment. Theatrical performance is, of course, more effective in this regard than a reading of the same play, since the performance brings these places to 'life' in a pleasurable form of 'oogbedrog' (deception of the eyes), although playwrights were aware that a similar process shapes a literary text.

This is attested by Heynck, who by means of a reference to several popular prose novels in his adaptation *Veranderlyk geval* offers an emotional refuge or a relief from reality. The so-called 'book scene' is not present in the original Spanish play *Mudanzas de la fortuna y firmezas del amor* (c. 1649, 'Changes of Fortune and Steadfastness of Love') by De Monroy y Silva. Heynck added it to cater to a Dutch audience. When the protagonist Karel is revealed not to be a shepherd's son but in fact a prince, the *gracioso* Mengo is the only one surprised at Karel having obtained the title of prince, drawing attention to the dis*place*ment of Karel and subsequently of spectators. Karel asks why the ever-talkative Mengo has fallen silent. The *gracioso* replies that he is wonder-stricken, tongue-tied, and that he stands completely amazed, vocalising much of the spectators' reaction:

MENGO. Yes, I can believe that, I stared my eyes out;
You becoming prince, prince! That seems rather strange to me.
I bet that Klarette also beholds it for a wonder.[190]

190 Heynck 1663, vv. 522–524: 'MENGO. Dat loof ik wel, ik heb myn oogen uitgekeeken; / Gy Prins te worden, Prins! dat dunkt my al wat vreemt. / 'k Wet dat het onze Klaar ook voor een wonder neemt.'

The *graciosa* Klarette (Mengo's sister) is less impressed by the peculiar situation. She says that she has read such things before. Baffled at such idiocy, Mengo says that Klarette is a stupid girl for saying such things, and compares the current events to well-known examples from literature:

MENGO. Read? Here you are fool! Well, where would I then be?
I know of Amadís, and of Esplandián,
Of Ourson, Valentine, the Swan Knight,
Of Don Quixote, and more; yes, I sometimes came as far as
In *L'Astrée* itself: there, a prince easily becomes a shepherd,
A shepherd a prince again, a shepherdess a princess;
They play fast and loose with the facts.
I saw in Ovid also many metamorphoses;
But I never heard of such strange things,
That Karel, raised in a village near Naples,
So swiftly became prince when a king went hunting,
Such as is *seen* here; those are *wondrous* affairs.[191]

Mengo lists several medieval chivalric romances which were in popular demand in the Low Countries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo's *Amadís de Gaula* (c. 1500, but with 62 reprints in Dutch between 1546 and 1628),[192] his *Las Sergas de Esplandián* (c. 1496), *Valentin et Ourson* (written in the fourteenth century, but with various prints in Dutch from the early sixteenth century onwards),[193] the three branches dealing with the Swan Knight in the *Cycle de la Croisade* (1100–1300, printed in Dutch in c. 1547, 1593, 1631, and 1651),[194] and Miguel

191 Heynck 1663, vv. 526–537: 'MENGO. Geleezen, hier malloot! wel waar zou ik dan weezen? / Ik weet Amadis, en van Esplandiaan, / Van Ourzon, Valentyn, de Ridder met de Zwaan, / Van Don Guichot, en meer, ja quam zomtyts noch varder / Tot zelver in d'Astré, daar wort een Prins licht Harder, / Een Harder weder Prins, een Harderin Princes, / Men neemt het daar niet op een leugen vyf of zes. / 'k Zag in Ovidius ook veel veranderingen; / Maar 'k hoorde nimmer niet van zulke vreemde dingen, / Dat Karel, in een dorp by Napels opgebracht, / Zo schielyk Prins wiert als een Koning reet ter jacht, / Gelyk hier is *gezien*; dat zyn eerst *wondre* zaaken' (italics added).

192 Van Selm 2001, 43, 173–176. Moreover, Van Selm describes that the *Amadís* can be found in inventories of book stores until 1650, after which its popularity diminished so much that no reprints were made. See Van Selm 2001, 26.

193 Debaene 1977, 233–234; Quak 1998.

194 Debaene 1977, 81; Claassens 1998; that is to say, *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*, *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, and *La Fin d'Elias*. The cycle was printed in Dutch as *Cronijcke, vanden vromen ende ontsienelijcken ionck-*

de Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (1605 and 1615, but many times reprinted in Dutch from 1657 onwards).[195] The common denominator of these chivalric romances and the situation in *Veranderlyk geval* is that in all cases the protagonist receives a knighthood or a well-deserved noble title (it is often also their birth right), although in the case of *Don Quixote* we encounter a burlesque attack on the genre. Mengo also mentions Honoré d'Urfé's popular French bucolic novel *L'Astrée* (1607–1627, with reprints in Dutch from 1625 onwards) and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (25 reprints in Dutch between 1566–1662), in which change is a constant factor.

L'Astrée is an interesting reference with regard to the plot of *Veranderlyk geval*: it is also clear from Mengo's more elaborate discussion of the plot. The immensely complex plot of *L'Astrée* chronicles the perfect love (much like Karel's and Margareta's love) between a shepherd and shepherdess—the heroine Astrée (named after the classical figure Astraea) and her lover Céladon—in fifth-century Forez. The political ambitions of the other characters result in many misadventures for the couple. In *L'Astrée*, however, the characters do not raise their station as happens in Heynck's play, but rather a prince hides among the rural community in Forez. So, in all the stories that Mengo mentions, the protagonists either ascend the social ladder, or find themselves at the centre of a political game, but not both.

Mengo's response of wonder is illustrative of the scene. By stressing the act of seeing in the final line of his response to Karel, the *gracioso* highlights and underlines the theatrical reality of the play. Through Mengo, the play self-referentially turns attention to its pastoral setting and its literary tradition. The reference to Arcadian, pastoral, bucolic literature frames that fictional reality and represents it as a perfect, idealised mirror of love as it is presented in *Veranderlyk geval*, and that mirror is subsequently extended beyond the reality of the theatre.

Furthermore, the OED definition can be used to understand that the effects of dis*place*ment on an audience are mainly psychological and can be seen as the 'substitution of one idea or impulse for another, as in dreams, obsessions, etc.' or as 'the unconscious transfer of intense feelings or emotions to something of greater or less consequence.' This interpretation implies an emotional detachment from one's own feelings: when the play represents a *place* that is elsewhere or exists in another time period, the spectator can regard the behaviour of the characters from a safe conceptual distance, although the double awareness existing in theatre also paradoxically makes

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heer Floris van Grecien, ghenaemt den ridder metten swanen (1593) and as *Een schone en miraculeuse historie vanden ridder metter swane* (1631, 1651).

195 See e.g., the *Short Title Catalogue of the Netherlands*.

spectators identify with the characters on stage. When Mengo thus expresses his own wonder, he also focalises the spectators' same reaction of wonder as he explicitly reflects on whether there exist such stories in the non-fictional world, reinforcing the exoticism of the setting in *Veranderlyk geval*.

It is here that the conceptual distance could in theory offer an emotional refuge from one's own behaviour and desires, and from the demands put on one's ability to manage emotions within the current emotional regime.[196] The plays are set in places and times beyond the current reality, that is to say, the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. When the theatre shows people that look like the spectators themselves, but who exist in another, exotic reality, theatre as an art form can abstract itself from the emotional expectations that spectators may experience on a daily basis. *Comedia nueva* with their often exotic settings played on those needs for emotional relaxation.

Comic Nearness

Emotional confrontation is the specific aim of a few Dutch adaptations which enjoyed some minor popularity in the Dutch Republic. Some Dutch playwrights made use of *couleur locale* to completely transform the stage setting of the original *comedias* into familiar, realistic, or domestic spaces. Rodenburgh's 1617 adaptation *Ialoersche studenten* is the best-known example of this practice: Toledo in Lope's original *La escolástica celosa* became Leiden in Rodenburgh's adaptation; Alcalá de Henares became The Hague. Playwrights, such as Rodenburgh, recognised the comic overtones rather than the tragicomic nature of the originals in question and decided to relocate the settings for their adaptation to the Low Countries.[197] These plays are mostly categorised as *comedias urbanas*, plays that are set in Spanish cities in a time in the early modern present and that are peopled with familiar characters, namely city dwellers.[198] In these plays, fictional and realistic spaces conflate with the aim of establishing what I call a 'comic nearness,' in opposition to Van Stipriaan's 'comic distance.' The

196 This is more so the case when a play can also be read allegorically; see Chapter 5. There, I discuss how Joan Dullaart reinterpreted Enciso's *Los Medicis de Florencia* (before 1634, published 1647) as a political play within the context of the Dutch Orangist movement. The adaptation is *Alexander de Medicis* (1653).

197 Walthaus 1999, 166–167, 169–170. Walthaus argued that much of the playfulness of Lope's original was lost in translation. Her analysis is, however, steered by a Spanish perspective. In the Dutch context, Rodenburgh's adaptation is still highly comic, perhaps more so than many of his other plays or plays by contemporary playwrights; see Abrahamse 1997, 99.

198 Thacker 2007, 150.

absence of any exotic setting in these *comedias* ensures that the adaptations follow the domestic Dutch comedies. They were in comparison thus also less popular, but no less important.

This comic nearness is established in particular through a created *couleur locale* and serves to confront spectators with the behaviour of the characters, but also with their own behaviour: it aims to make you wryly laugh about the things you recognise to be true in yourself. By this, *comic nearness* inherently has an emotional-comic effect. Van Stipriaan argued something similar when he discussed how most dramatic adaptations of Boccaccio's *Decamerone* were acculturated by transforming the Italian environment into an Amsterdam setting (the *couleur locale*). This applies even more to several famous Dutch comedies from the early seventeenth century, including two that were also adapted in 1617, this time from Latin: Gerbrand Adriaensz Bredero's *Moortje* (1617, 'Little Moor') and Pieter Cornelisz Hooft and Samuel Coster's *Warenar* (1617, 'True Fool').[199] In *Moortje*, for example, Bredero adapted Terence's *Eunuchus*, choosing Amsterdam as his setting instead of classical Athens. With *Warenar*, Hooft and Coster adapted Plautus' *Aulularia*, likewise set in Athens. The playwrights also preferred Amsterdam as the setting for their adaptation. By doing this, the plays did not only appeal more to spectators for seeing their own city represented on stage, but the message of Terence's and Plautus' originals also became more topical, disenchanting, and confronting, thus having a greater emotional impact on spectators.[200] For example, the girls that are raped in both plays are not just two Athenian girls who are silent witnesses to their own sexual violation, but rather Amsterdam girls who speak out against these crimes. In effect, they hold up a mirror both before their own parents and their own peers: the Amsterdam spectators. We may term the effects of this comic nearness *emotional confrontation*.

This emotional confrontation happens, for instance, in Rodenburgh's *Ialoersche studenten*.[201] As described above, this play is set in the two specific locations of Leiden and The Hague.[202] Through this local setting, the play's events gain an aura of reality.

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199 Van Stipriaan 1996, 160–162, 173–174, 189–190, and 2018, 217–224. Van Stipriaan is not clear whether 'comic distance' should be seen as a key characteristic of Dutch comedies from the early seventeenth century. When he discussed plays such as Bredero's *Moortje* or Hooft and Coster's *Warenar*, he read them as holding up a mirror to spectators and thus confronting them with their own behaviour.

200 Van Stipriaan 1996, 173–174, 189–190, and 2018, 59, 217–224; Grootes 1999, 381–383, 388–389, 396–399; Jansen 2004, 91, 93, 100–101, 103–115.

201 Transl. of Lope de Vega, *La escolástica celosa*.

202 Walthaus 1999, 158. In Lope's original, the student Cardenio travels from Toledo to the university city Alcalá de Henares (to take a university exam), while Rodenburgh instead has Cardenio travel

Rodenburgh seems to suggest that the spectator witnesses a realistic representation of seventeenth-century Dutch student culture. The playwright also varnishes over the actions of his *dramatis personae*, comparing their bad behaviour to that commonly occurring in daily life, which is much worse in Rodenburgh's opinion:[203]

> Should my farcical Vireno displease you, sweeten him by my serious Cardenio. If Juliana is too fickle at the beginning, excuse it with the marriage ending. Is Fabricio too brusque? Porcelio too proud? Marcio too brave? Valerio too timid? Celia too catastrophic? Tembranda too unlucky? Do not judge before the end. Ponder in your bowl of reasonability the circumstances of our century, the frenzy of the passion of love, the labyrinth of confusion, the caustic vengefulness, the disguised deceptions: notice what faithful suitors dare do to enjoy what they love, and what the pure female lovers do to achieve satisfaction. My play did not manage to do as much; or as happens more often, it is true one tells fables, but beneath that cloak you can often discover the truth.[204]

Although Rodenburgh had never been a student at Leiden University himself and was merely projecting this Spanish story onto Dutch student culture, the fact that the male students go to The Hague to parade along the Lange Voorhout, such as the Dutch 'beau monde' did in the seventeenth century (Fig. 1.9), only reinforced the play's appealing reality and made its characters' actions all the more confront-

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from the university city Leiden to the government city The Hague. I suspect that Rodenburgh made this choice for verisimilitude. Although Walthaus wrote that Rodenburgh does not make clear why Cardenio goes to The Hague, I argue it is more logical in the Dutch context that the students were in Leiden (because they also lived there) and instead travelled to The Hague, a nearby city with a real nightlife in the seventeenth century.

203 See also Abrahamse 1997, 98.

204 Rodenburgh 1617d, fol. *2v: 'Mishaegt u mijn boertighe Vireno, verzoet het door mijn erenstige Cardenio. Is Iuliana in't beginsel te wispeltuurich, verschoont het met het ghetrouwe besluyt. Is Fabricio te bitsich. Porcelio te trotsich. Marcio te moedich. Valerio te schichtich. Celia te rampspoedich. Tembranda t'ongeluckich, oordeld niet voor't eynde. Overwickt inde schaele uwes redelijckheydt de toevallen onses eeuws, de razernye van liefdens passie, de doolhovighe verwarringhe, de vinnighe wraeckgiericheydt, de vermomde bedriegheryen: merckt wat trouwe lievers bestaen om ghenieten 't geen zy lieven, en wat de reyne liefsters bedryven, om te gheraken tot ghenoeging'. Zo veel heeft myn rymert niet verziert, of meerder ghebeurt, 't Is waer hy fabuleert doch vaecken onder dien deckmantel treft men de waerheyd.'

FIG. 1.9 Anonymous, *Het Voorhout vande Kneuterdyk verby de Klooster-kerk*, 1711, etching
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ing. In Rodenburgh's adaptation, the 'beau monde' is, furthermore, represented by a merry company that passes by under the guidance of music, such as depicted in the well-known painting *The Fête champêtre* (1627) by Dirck Hals (Fig. 1.10).[205]

With this appeal to reality, the women in Rodenburgh's *Ialoersche studenten*, who are the daughters of Leiden's citizenry, become the daughters of the spectators, and the male students their sons. These daughters do not accept that the rowdy students use them for their own sexual pleasure and leave them with their honour and virtue tainted: to them, a promise of marriage made is a promise of marriage kept. In turn, the sons do not accept that the women play games with them and demand that they are honest about their true intentions. Thus, Rodenburgh's *Ialoersche studenten* becomes a lesson for the young accompanying their parents to the performance. In this moment, it can be said, the emotional regime is enforced as social norms are reaffirmed.

Rodenburgh was not unique in relocating the settings of his plays close to home, although he was the first to do so for a Spanish play. Several other playwrights also

205 For the interpretation that the people passing by are a merry company, see van Eemeren 1991, 267. Furthermore, there is no merry company present in Lope's original *La escolástica celosa*; see Lope de Vega 1604d, fols. 96^{v}–97^{r}.

FIG. 1.10 Dirck Hals, *The Fête champêtre*, 1627, oil on panel, 77.6 cm x 135.7 cm
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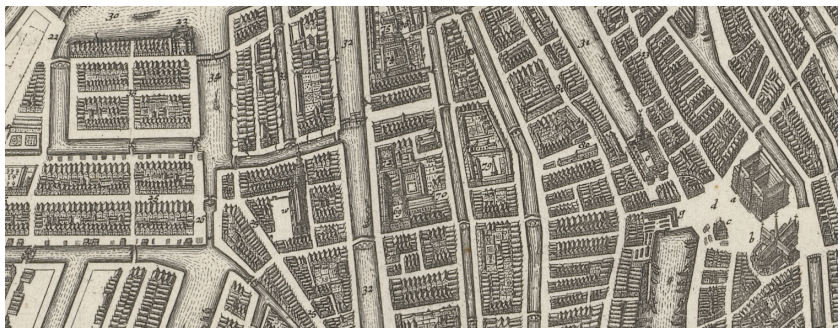

FIG. 1.11 Detail of A. Besnard and Daniel Stalpaert, *Amstelo-damum amplificatum / Nieuwe Beschryvinge van Amsterdam met syne vermeerderinge*, c. 1638–1682, etching, 542 mm x 629 mm. On the top left Vlooijenburg; on the bottom right Dam Square with the new Town Hall and Nieuwe Kerk
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reimagined locations featuring in the Spanish originals, setting them in Amsterdam or elsewhere in the Low Countries. A good example is Jan Zoet's adaptation *Zabynaja, of vermomde loosheid* (1648, 'Zabynaja, or Disguised Slyness'), about a black woman enslaved by a Portuguese nobleman, set among Amsterdam's Portuguese community.[206] Although Zoet writes that the original location of the play had been

206 In the paratext (Zoet 1648, fol. A2[r]), it is mentioned that the play is originally Spanish, but it is

the Spanish city Burgos,[207] in Amsterdam the Portuguese community was practically one and the same as the community of Portuguese Jews: the Sephardim. The Sephardic Jews had a strong presence in Vlooijenburg, which was, therefore, unofficially Amsterdam's Jewish quarter. Bringing a play about the Portuguese community onto the Amsterdam stage meant that the location of this play had to be Vlooijenburg. As some of the Sephardim also had black indentured servants in their households, a play about a black woman enslaved by a Portuguese Jew was apparently a recognisable image to Amsterdam's mid-seventeenth-century theatre-going public.[208] Adding *couleur locale* to any adaptation, whether it be of classical or Spanish origin, has potential for greater emotional effect than that to which the original setting could ever aspire.

Conclusion

Dutch theatre underwent a development during the seventeenth century related to the baroque interest in illusion and deception. It is possible to understand the popularity of the Spanish *comedia nueva* in the Low Countries within this context through two parallel adaptations of Calderón's *El mayor encanto, amor* as the ultimate examples. The original Spanish plays use magic and illusion in a way that sought to continuously amaze spectators. This happened within the context of the Buen Retiro palace gardens, a found environment, which enforced the illusion.

The two Dutch adaptations *Ulysses in't eylandt van Circe* and *De toveres Circe* reflect local traditions more, and were also dependent on local environments: there was no found environment used in staging the play in either in Brussels or Amsterdam, nor were live animals used in the productions. The play's two adaptors, De Grieck and De Leeuw, solved this with the intention to confirm and consolidate the illusion. De Grieck's stage design was based on that of the Italian opera *Ulisse all'isola di Circe*, and he referenced the Warande in Brussels next to Coudenberg Palace, thus connecting the fictional space in his adaptation to a real local place. Meanwhile, De Leeuw relied more on the possibilities of the new Amsterdam Public Theatre, where the décor could be quickly changed. Furthermore, the characters' language re-

unclear which Spanish source text Zoet used for his adaptation. We do know that the technical translator was Gerard Pietersz Schaep; this might indicate the origins of the Dutch adaptation. See also Jautze, Álvarez Francés, and Blom 2016, 38–39.

207 Zoet 1648, fol. A2r.

208 Ponte 2020.

enforced the change of scenery, and the animals in his adaptation were represented by means of animal costumes specifically purchased for the production of his play. Such a fully stage-managed production of *El mayor encanto, amor* was, however, an exception in the Dutch language area and was only possible after the two theatres in Brussels and Amsterdam were refurbished with coulisse décor and a proscenium arch.

An audience only allows itself to be told to a certain extent how it should spectate. In the seventeenth-century Low Countries, its taste was for grand spectacle plays with blood and grand emotions to overwhelm the eyes. This baroque tradition is strongly present in the Spanish originals and their Dutch adaptations, including those of Rodenburgh. This tradition emphasises the illusion and visual seduction of these plays, although not everyone agreed with this focus on the visual. Therefore, Rodenburgh defended his choice to adapt Spanish plays in his *Eglentiers Poëtens Borstweringh*. He argued that by allowing for visual illusions spectators could be better instructed. Almost fifty years later, Vos asserted something similar. In Brussels, the 'Vrye Liefhebbers der Rijmer-konste' likewise placed heavy emphasis on the role of the eyes in theatre's reception.

Thirty-four of the forty-five Spanish *comedias* that were adapted between 1617 and 1672 in the Dutch Republic appeared before 1665, the year that the Amsterdam Public Theatre was refurbished. These plays were first performed at the rhetoricians' chamber The Eglantine, and subsequently in the theatre built after a design by Jacob van Campen in 1638. Both theatres possessed a polytopic stage. This stage type is a baroque element that leaves much to the imagination of the spectators, and *comedia nueva* fit perfectly within this staging tradition, as in Spain the public *corrales de comedias* were designed in a similar way. Because of this, the many places occurring in the adapted Dutch *comedias* could be easily stage-managed in their new context.

Through these successful staging methods, the early modern theatre visitor realised that 'all the world's a stage.' Baroque theatre, *comedia nueva* included, relied on theatrical illusions which captivated spectators though visual means. Dutch playwrights were acutely aware that *comedia nueva* harboured this potential and, therefore, also followed in the footsteps of the Spanish *comedia*-authors by appealing to sight and deferring from the laws of theatre as formulated by the classical authors, a practice scrutinised by the traditionalists of Nil Volentibus Arduum. Nevertheless, it becomes clear from their disputes that the eyes are an important vehicle for the evocation of the 'responding emotions' of pleasure and admiration.

Comedia nueva evokes these responding emotions by representing a variety of places and distant spaces that either exist in a fantastic world of their own, or more

realistically in a space that belongs to the spectators' own social world. I demonstrate that the places dramatised in *comedias* can be categorised according to five groups, ranging from the mythical space of Circe's island in *Ulysses in't eylandt van Circe*, to the historical reality of Spain in D*e verduytste Cid*, or the contemporary Dutch cities represented in *Ialoersche studenten*. Meanwhile, the depiction of travel and passing of time enhance the audiences' enjoyment of the plot, although challenging the plays' *vraisemblance*. In this regard, the reconstruction of the Amsterdam Public Theatre and installation of the new proscenium arch was a means to advance the *vraisemblance*.

The distant and exotic spaces that are created onstage must provide an illusionistic-geographical distance, which in turn offers tragicomic distance. Then, there can occur an emotional relaxation on the part of spectators, so that they are no longer required to identify with the characters' actions in order to enjoy the play. On the other hand, plays that incorporate a *couleur locale* create comic nearness, and as a result also an emotional confrontation which shows spectators that the characters' behaviour reflects their own behaviour, for better or worse, back to them. The idea of *theatrum mundi* works beneath the surface in *comedia nueva*, and unconsciously contributed to the genre's success in the Low Countries.

CHAPTER 2

Imagineering Emotions through the Eyes

The Adaptation of Spectacle in Dutch Comedias

THEATRE. Oh, oh, oh!
VISITOR. What's the matter with you? Why are you like this? Are you sick? You seem to be wearing a head bandage. [...]
THEATRE. Can't you see the state I am in? I am wounded, my legs and arms broken; I am full of holes and trapdoors, with thousands of nails hammered into me. [...]
I find myself in a most sorrowful state and I suspect that this is due to one of three things: either there are no longer good actors, or the poets are all bad, or the audiences lack discernment. For dramaturgs think of nothing but stage machines, poets think of nothing but carpenters and spectators think only with their eyes.[1]

The 'Theatre' is in pain. People are putting nails, holes, and trapdoors into him, all because playwrights, actors, and even the audiences do not know anymore what a good play requires. Dramaturgs dream of stage machinery and spectators only want a feast for the eyes. In this excerpt from the *Prologo dialogistico* to Lope de Vega's *Decimasexta parte de las comedias* (1621, 'Sixteenth Part of [the Collection of] the *Comedias*'), 'Theatre' lodges a complaint that he is being hurt and transformed into something else, so that the most spectacular *comedias* can be staged. One thing becomes clear about the dramatic reality in Spain around 1621: spectators 'thought' only with their eyes and this was considered to be a sign of the audience's incapability of legitimate

1 Lope de Vega 1621, fol. ¶r, as translated by Ruano de la Haza 2008, 46: 'TEATRO. ¡Ay, ay, ay! / FORASTERO. ¿Qué tienes? ¿Qué novedad es esta? ¿Estás enfermo, que parece tocador ese que tienes por la frente? [...] TEATRO. ¿Es posible que no me ves herido, quebradas las piernas y los brazos, lleno de mil agujeros, de mil trampas y de mil clavos? [...] Yo he llegado a gran desdicha y presumo que tiene origen de una de tres causas: o por no haber buenos representantes, o por ser malos los poetas, o por faltar entendimiento a los oyentes; pues los autores se valen de las máquinas, los poetas de los carpinteros y los oyentes de los ojos.' Ruana de la Haza's translation 'head dressing' for 'tocador ese [...] por la frente' I have retranslated as 'head bandage.'

aesthetic judgement, such as I have discussed for Corneille's *Le Cid* in the previous chapter. Although 'Theatre' does not present it as such, this predominant focus on the eyes consequently led to the heavy use of spectacle and stage machinery. Despite 'Theatre's' complaint, the excerpt suggests that spectators very much enjoyed the technical inventions.

These technical inventions appealed to the eyes and, thus, created a fantastic theatre experience, eliciting wonder, awe, fascination, and admiration among spectators—emotions that Frijda has characterised as responding emotions, which are evoked by the quality of the stimuli beheld.[2] The eyes 'ha[d] no small feat in the manifestation of people's emotions' as 'Theatre' says in the same *Prologo*.[3] And what spectators witnessed with their eyes was indeed a spectacle! A word derived via French (*spectacle*) from Latin (*spectare*; to see), the word spectacle (*spektakel*) was introduced to Dutch around 1501–1525. It means literally 'that which catches someone's eye,' according to the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*.[4] This basic definition of a spectacle includes all technical aspects, stage attributes, and other elements of a performance used to enthral spectators.

However, building on the previous chapter, I am aware that the *mise-en-scène* and scenography equally contribute to spectacle, and can thus enhance the *vraisemblance* of a play, or overwhelm spectators into forgetting about reality. Therefore, I include several additional aspects in my discussion of spectacle. In the *mise-en-scène*, we tend to focus on aspects such as acting (composition, facial expressions, body language, the actor's use of gestures and their interactions), the lighting, the environment or space, costumes, make-up, and hairstyles, and set design.[5] The scenography 'includes stage architecture, scenery, machines, costumes, and lighting.'[6] The *mise-en-scène* and scenography influence the verisimilitude or believability of a play in the eyes of its viewers. In Chapter 1, I discussed the *mise-en-scène* in relation to how playwrights and stage directors created an idea of place and time in their plays and thus contributed to a believable setting. Here, I argue that spectacle is an element of amazement, admiration, and wonder as much as it is an element of verisimilitude; take, for example, the use of special effects to suggest the eruption of Mount Etna ('Mongibelo') in *El mayor encanto, amor*.[7]

2 Frijda 1986, 356.

3 Lope de Vega 1621, fol. ¶r: 'Teatro. Pues siendo los ojos tan principal sentido, no es pequeña la causa con que se mueve el pueblo' (translation mine).

4 See the WNT, lemma 'spektakel': 'Iets dat de aandacht der toeschouwers trekt, schouwspel.'

5 Postlewait 2010.

6 Wilson Smith 2010.

7 Brenan 1951, 277; Castillo Pascual 2015, 85–87; Vergeer 2020c, 327–328.

Spectacle not only includes what in Spain are called *tramoyas*, in Dutch 'konsten vliegwerken,' and in English stage machinery, but also less expected forms of what I regard to be spectacle, or that are significant to the success of a play's overall spectacle. Therefore, I adopt a broad definition of spectacle and consider that *all* elements in a play that captivate the spectator's eye can essentially be spectacular. In the Dutch and Flemish contexts, *tableaux vivants* ('vertooninghen'), *changements à vue*, light effects, sword and pistol duels, and dazzling costumes seem especially to have fulfilled the role of spectacle in the adaptations of *comedia nueva*. Following Natascha Veldhorst and Gustavo Umpierre, I also include musical and sound effects in my analysis, arguing that these could be counted as part of the spectacle, when they enhance the atmosphere or effects of the stage machinery, such as in the case of the theatre's thunder machine.[8]

In the early modern period, it was commonly understood that the *mise-en-scène*—and the scenography—played on people's emotions. Following Aristotle's objection to the *mise-en-scène* in his *Poetica*, early modern playwrights often argued that the abundance of spectacle did not speak to the ingenuity of the poet, but was rather the area of expertise of stage designers and managers.[9] Heavy reliance on the *mise-en-scène* showed that a poet had less mastery of his craft, if he needed to incite emotions in spectators (solely) through these means. When the *mise-en-scène* aimed only to create an ominous effect and was not steered towards arousing fear and compassion—the two foremost emotions of tragedy in Aristotle's vision of drama—the poet did not truly engage himself in the creation of tragedy.[10]

Lope's *Prologo* should be regarded in this same light. José Maria Ruano de la Haza has identified the discrepancy between Lope's *Prologo* and his practical approach to theatre, as he essentially laid it out in his *Arte nuevo*. In fact, Lope often used stage machinery, albeit simple ones, according to Ruano de la Haza.[11] At Madrid's two public playhouses—the Corral de Príncipe and the Corral de la Cruz—Lope and his stage director colleagues had ample means to make use of spectacle. And in the Low Countries, adaptors such as Rodenburgh and the theatre director Vos were eager to

8 Umpierre 1975, 59–90; Veldhorst 2004, 20–24. See also Korsten and Van Dijk 2020, who have looked for traces of sound in early modern Dutch textual and visual sources to argue how through *ekphrasis* sound is rendered hearable, even when it is not actually there. In their discussion of seventeenth-century sources, sound is rather a dramatic than a theatrical element, because it is suggested rather than produced.

9 Aristotle 1995, sec. 1450^{b}, 15–20.

10 Aristotle 1995, sec. 1453^{b}, 6–11.

11 Ruano de la Haza 2008, 46–49.

take the opportunity to showcase spectacle by keeping, transforming, or even adding it in their adaptations, as I argue below.

To effectively discuss the 'Spanish' spectacle in relation to theatrical space, this chapter offers an analysis of how spectacular aspects of the Spanish originals were adapted to the Dutch context. I also provide an overview of how the Netherlandish theatres developed from simple stages at the rhetoricians' chambers into the *théâtres à l'italienne* that the public theatres of Brussels and Amsterdam became in the 1660s.[12] In this regard, I discuss how playwrights and theatre producers worked together to *imagineer* emotions in spectator's eyes, while altering and improving their local venues. Further, I argue that the technical improvements of the Low Countries' theatres were carried out simultaneously to the introduction and flourishing of *comedia nueva*, and sometimes even as a result of *comedia nueva*.[13]

As noted above, in this chapter, I discuss spectacle as a means of *imagineering* emotions in the eyes. As a concept, *imagineering* is, naturally, a contraction of 'imagining' and 'engineering.' Used primarily in urban studies, the concept connotes the translation of imaginary representations of an environment into material reality.[14] Alternatively, according to Knox and Pinch, it can also denote 'the conscious creation of places with characteristics similar to other places [... o]ften seen as the creation of a superficial veneer or façade of culture.'[15] I use *imagineering*, however, in the same way as Frans-Willem Korsten et al. in the context of the creation and working of scenes of violence in the early modern period. They considered 'how the material production of images does not so much constitute a decoration or a mode of appearance but constitutes collective cultural imaginations as a cultural technique that produces distinct historical selves.'[16] *Imagineering*, then, describes a historical shift, 'in which new techniques were deployed to make images speak to the public and to one another.'[17] Korsten et al. assert that *imagineering* does not restrict itself to the visual alone but

12 For this, I build on key studies about the stage design, layout, interior, and inventory of the Amsterdam Public Theatre by Worp (1920), Hummelen (1967), Albach (1970), Smits-Veldt and Teusink (1978), and Amir (1996), before and after its remodelling in 1665. For Antwerp, I build on a selection of articles and the dissertation of De Paepe (2006; 2008a; 2008b; 2010; 2011; 2013; 2015). For Brussels, I take De Keyser (1925), De Baere (1945) and Langvik-Johannessen and Porteman (1996) as my point of departure.

13 See Blom 2021a, 353–356, 366–369. Blom discusses the alterations of the Amsterdam Public Theatre in light of the cultural industry and Vos and Fornenbergh's entrepreneurship, while I primarily focus on the emotional effects that the new spectacle could create.

14 Suitner 2015, 98.

15 Knox and Pinch 2010, 328; see also Best 2010, 196.

16 Korsten et al. 2020, 16.

17 Korsten et al. 2020, 15.

it also implies techniques, bodies, machines, and all sorts of artifacts, which involve all the human senses, and propel various forms of imagination. As *imagineering* is a present participle, Korsten et al. argue that it is continuously at work 'in what people see publicly and what they see in their imagination, both in terms of machineries and in terms of behaviour.'[18] In their editorial for a special issue on the spectacle of violence in the early modern period, Karel Vanhaesebrouck and Cornelis van der Haven give the following definition of *imagineering*:

> *Imagineering* refers (1) to imagination as it is used in representing other possible worlds, and (2) to engineering; that is, to the techniques employed and designed to do this—with technique indicating both the technical element of theatre and other public stages, and the broader possibilities of rhetoric, props and acting employed in such theatrical stagings. *Imagineering* describes a historical shift in which new techniques were deployed to make images speak to the public and to one another, with the aim of creating a shared space for cultural identity and memory.[19]

The concept also helps illustrate that cultural techniques, such as the techniques used in theatre, endeavoured to involve beholders in the spectacle in a prolonged and embodied way, while spectators were invited to take personal pleasure from what is seen. This allowed them to immerse themselves in the depicted reality.[20] The *imagineering* of spectacle adds to its theatrical illusion (and the related idea of *theatrum mundi*) discussed in Chapter 1. Agreeing with Korsten et al., I argue that spectacle in the Dutch adaptations of *comedias nueva* exemplifies *imagineering* which, when successful, brought spectators pleasure. *Imagineering* is, thus, a two-sided concept, which includes the perspectives of theatre makers who create spectacle and the effect that spectacle has on audiences.[21]

To this aim, I discuss Rodenburgh's pioneering work on *Casandra Hertoginne van Borgonie en Karel Baldeus* (1617, 'Casandra, Duchess of Burgundy and Charles de

18 Korsten et al. 2020, 17.

19 Vanhaesebrouck and van der Haven 2020, § 12.

20 Korsten et al. 2020, 17.

21 I am aware that the processes that can be analysed by the concept of *imagineering* can also be understood as examples of the sublime, which is discussed for the theatre by Bussels and Van Eck. See Van Eck et al. 2012; Bussels 2016.

Valdez') for the rhetoricians' chamber The Eglantine in Amsterdam, but also the more advanced technologies that Claude de Grieck had at his disposal for his *Ulysses in't eylandt van Circe* as it was performed in the Brussels Public Theatre. De Leeuw's version of the same play, *De toveres Circe*, marked the final stage in the development of spectacle as it was staged in the remodelled Amsterdam Public Theatre of post-1665.

Yet, the aim is to also discuss other theatres that in the seventeenth century staged a Dutch *comedia* adaptation. Thus, I discuss among others Antonio Francisco Wouther's *De verliefde stiefmoeder* (1665, 'The Stepmother in Love')[22] as it was performed at the Almoners' Theatre ('Aalmoezeniersschouwburg') located in the so-called House of Spain ('Spanjepand') in Antwerp's Great Market Square.[23] The discussion of spectacle in *comedias* from the Habsburg Netherlands takes us, furthermore, on a journey to the Flemish town of Lier, 18 kilometres from Antwerp, where the playwright-politician-jurist Cornelis de Bie reimagined three of Lope's plays in Dutch. These plays were, however, all printed in Antwerp and therefore also circulated in the cultural *space* of this metropolis, for which reason I discuss them alongside the *comedias* staged in Antwerp. It is unclear whether the plays were also staged in Antwerp, hence my discussion of Lier's productions. Since literary histories have usually focused on the three larger metropoles in the Low Countries, De Bie's plays are a welcome additional case study of the expansive dissemination of *comedia nueva*: it was broad enough to have reached a relatively small town and, moreover, one in the Habsburg Netherlands.[24]

The Pioneer: Rodenburgh's Use of Spectacle

In 1617, the diplomat-trader Theodore Rodenburgh returned to Amsterdam. He had travelled all across Europe, including to Madrid, where he had been on a diplomatic mission from 1611 to 1613 as envoy extraordinary to Felipe III's court on behalf of the Guinea traders' company. While residing in Madrid, he must have seen the plays of

22 Transl. of Lope de Vega, *El castigo sin venganza* (1635).

23 According to De Paepe 2011, 187, it is certain that *De verliefde stiefmoeder* was performed in the Almoners' Theatre; the title page of *De verliefde stiefmoeder* features the sentence 'ende vertoont op de Antwerpsche Speel-plaets' ('and show-cased on the Antwerp Play Place'). This would mean that the Almoners' Theatre and the 'Antwerpsche Speel-plaets' are one and the same location.

24 I only consider here performances of *comedias* in the established theatres of Amsterdam, Antwerp, Lier, and Brussels. For performances of *comedias* in, for instance, the Haarlemmerhout and other more rural areas, see Blom and Van Marion 2021, 61–63.

Lope de Vega performed either in the Corral de Príncipe or the Corral de la Cruz.[25] When he left Madrid, he took *comedia nueva* home with him, adapting Spanish plays for the Dutch stage. Although staging conventions in Amsterdam and Madrid were comparable, Rodenburgh immediately faced the problem that the Dutch rhetoricians' stages were not yet fit for the use of the—albeit simple—stage machinery that was already used in the *corrales* of Madrid.[26] Therefore, his four adaptations from Spanish are shaped by the practicalities of the stage of The Eglantine, of which he became the foreman ('factor') in 1617.

While Coster, Hooft, and Bredero established the First Dutch Academy in the location where in 1638 the Amsterdam Public Theatre would later be raised, the stage of the Eglantine was likely more in line with the traditional stages of the 'landjuwelen' (competitions of rhetoricians' chambers) in the sixteenth century.[27] There survives a witness to how Amsterdam's rhetoricians already used a proscenium arch and a semi-deep stage in 1609: a print by Claes Jansz. Visscher II depicts the open-air performance of scenes from the history of Lucretia and Sextus Tarquinius Superbus, as devised by Hooft (Fig. 2.1).

The rhetoricians surely knew how to effectively use the stage to create spectacular effects, even though they did not yet possess stage machinery as seen in the *corrales* of Madrid. A man of his time, Rodenburgh also knew that he first should entertain his audience through the eyes, before spectators could be moved by the moral message of the plays (see Chapter 1). He knew furthermore that spectacle was a major part of the Spanish productions that he saw in Madrid. Moreover, the excerpt of Lope's *Prologo dialogistico* from the 1621 edition of the *Decimasexta parte* confirms that spectacle was vital to the success of *comedia nueva* in Spain. To achieve the same effect, Rodenburgh adopted two specific 'textual strategies' to incorporate spectacle into his adaptations: *tableaux vivants* and music. Although the *tableaux vivants*, or 'vertooninghen' as they are called in Dutch, were originally a medieval device of theatrical performances, this highly visual medium was continuously adapted to fit the demands of the seventeenth century's newest poetic movements, 'occupying different narrative and emotional roles in plays in which they appeared,' according to Bussels.[28]

25 Van Marion and Vergeer 2016, 41.

26 Ruano de la Haza 2008, 44–47.

27 See Hunningher 1958, 125–132; Hummelen 1996, 100–104; De Paepe 2011, 115–125, 131.

28 Bussels 2019, 80.

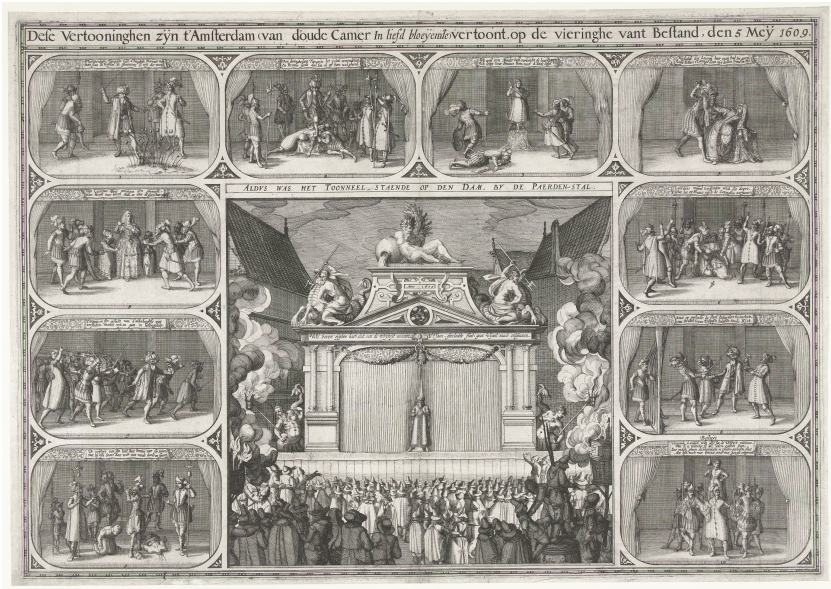

FIG. 2.1 Claes Jansz. Visscher II, *Toneelspel op de Dam bij de viering van het Twaalfjarig Bestand, op 5 mei 1609*, 1609, etching, 483 mm x 693 mm
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In a 2016 article, Olga van Marion and I discuss Rodenburgh's 'textual strategies' in his adaptations from Spanish. We argued that 'the 1617 plays were animated with songs, rhetorician poems, rondeaus, refrains, lamentations, duets, *tableaux vivants* and many other elements.' Such northern theatrical devices were unknown within the Spanish *comedias*; these Dutch aspects, as we call them, changed the very nature of Lope's plays.[29] In fact, I argue that other adaptors throughout the Low Countries followed Rodenburgh's solution for Spanish-style spectacles when stage machinery was unavailable.

Having seen the use of stage machinery in Madrid, Rodenburgh needed a way to produce the same spectacular effects. He chose the *tableau vivant* in particular for his adaptations, following a long-standing rhetoricians' tradition. By the sixteenth century and into the early seventeenth century, these *tableaux* featured in many morality plays and those of Hooft, Bredero, Coster, and Vondel (most notably in his *Gysbreght van Aemstel*).[30] Wiebe Hogendoorn argued that the middle class preferred

29 Van Marion and Vergeer 2016, 59.

30 For the sixteenth-century use of *tableaux vivants* by the rhetoricians, see van Dijk and Ramakers 2001,

visual spectacle: 'Dutch theatre in general reflected the taste of the "burghers", with a distinct preference for strong didacticism based on spectacular pictorial effects. The continuous popularity of *tableaux vivants* as a part of drama performances is clear evidence of this preference.'[31] *Tableaux vivants*, which theoretically were meant to emphasise the plays' allegorical instruction, were often criticised for being primarily a feast for the eyes, a way of *imagineering* gripping scenes to elicit pleasure and appreciation in spectators. *Tableaux vivants* offered everything that an audience could desire: suspense, sensation, action, horror, and eroticism.[32] The revenue collected by spectacular *tableaux* was enormous. The famous *Vertooningen bij 't Ontset van Leyden* (1660) by Jan Vos, for instance, were performed an prodigious twenty-four times in 1660 alone, and brought in an average of more than 400 guilders per day, an amount comparable to €4080 today.[33]

Although Vos would arguably become the most productive user of *tableaux vivants* in his role as theatre director from 1647 onwards, Rodenburgh was the first to incorporate the *tableau vivant* in his adaptations; he was also the first Dutch playwright to adapt *comedias*, as mentioned above. Rodenburgh looked for a way to translate the spectacle from the Spanish originals to the Dutch theatre environment as an act of acculturation; the *tableaux vivants* were a major part of this. Besides, they could also be employed to excuse travelling, to relate events that happened elsewhere, or to blatantly depict murder. These plot elements were important in Spanish theatre, but almost inexcusable in the contemporary Dutch theatre dominated by Hooft and Coster based on Scaliger's theory of the classical tragedy.[34] Thus, Rodenburgh had to come up with a solution to unite the intricacies of the Spanish plots with the Scaligerian movement; *tableaux vivants* consequently became a common convention in the Low Countries to showcase the spectacle of *comedia nueva*.

And yet, these 'life paintings' had been already at the cradle of *comedia nueva* in Spain, as was argued by McKendrick in 1989. As in many other places in Europe, she identified that *tableaux vivants* were a particularly popular method of enacting

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16, 30–31; Van Bruaene 2008, 205–206, 214, 219–221; Bussels 2010; 2019. For the seventeenth-century use of these *tableaux*, see de Haas 1996a; Hogendoorn 1978; Hummelen 1992; Oey-de Vita 1984; Smits-Veldt 1995. For a discussion of the *tableau vivant* in Vondel's *Gysbreght van Aemstel*, see specifically Albach 1987; van Marion and Vergeer 2015; Vergeer 2015.

31 Hogendoorn 1993, 338.

32 Albach 1977, 49.

33 Elenbaas 2004, 294. For this calculation, see Zijdeman 2021. The calculation is based on the purchasing power of the guilder in 1660 as compared to the purchasing power of the euro in 2020.

34 Smits-Veldt 1991, 52.

religious themes during processions in fifteenth-century Castile and Catalonia. By the time Lope entered the stage in Madrid, however, only traces of the *tableau vivant* remained in Spanish theatre practices.[35] In the Middle Ages, *tableaux vivants* were likewise used during religious events, but also as part of secular celebrations in the Low Countries.[36] During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the *tableaux* remained as important vehicles for baroque spectacle in Dutch plays.[37] Anna de Haas demonstrates how many of the *tableaux vivants* known to us today exist in tragedies: the Dutch Renaissance tragedy's rich dramatic tradition—including victories, defeats, murder, and betrayal—offered plenty of opportunities to stage impressive, gripping, or spectacular *tableaux*.[38] As many *comedias* also dealt with victories, defeats, murder, and betrayal, Rodenburgh's introduction of *tableaux vivants* to his adaptations of Lope's *comedias* are a logical consequence of acculturation.

Rodenburgh's *Casandra en Karel* is a stereotypical example of how *tableaux vivants* were used to acculturate the Spanish spectacle. The *comedia* concerns the adulterous lust of Duchess Casandra for her husband's chamberlain Karel. The *tableaux vivants* in this play are used by Rodenburgh to depict Casandra's attempt at revenge on Karel by means of spectacle, while the moral message usually explicated during the showing of *tableaux vivants* in the Low Countries is completely absent. First, Casandra suggests to her sister-in-law Leonora over a game of cards that she and Karel had sex by semiotically using the cards of the queen and the farmer. Leonora, who was secretly married to Karel, accuses her husband of adultery. She decides in a Medea-like outburst to kill their secret son, Grimaldus, as punishment for Karel's infidelity. Karel tries desperately to find his son, not knowing that Leonora has regained her senses and that, in fact, Casandra wants revenge by attempting to kill Grimaldus. While Karel looks for his son, spectators see a series of three *tableaux vivants* which are *imagineering* a successive display of attempted violence and, therefore, they can build suspense: the first shows how Casandra ties Grimaldus' hands, the second how she threatens to kill the six-year-old boy, and the final how she raises her dagger ready to strike, when by coincidence a gardener passes by. Meanwhile, Karel calls desperately for his son, and asks another courtier where Grimaldus could be:

35 McKendrick 1989, 6, 8–9, 22.

36 Van Dijk and Ramakers 2001, e.g. 14; Bussels and Van Oostveldt 2015.

37 Van Dijk and Ramakers 2001, 16.

38 De Haas 1996a, 256.

Tableau vivant showing how Casandra binds Grimaldus' arms.

KAREL. Oh God, I cannot find him; this makes me fear frightfully
That he must be in the hands of Lady Leonora,
He is not in the court, I do not know where I am,
I look for Grimaldus in the laurel forest, and hope
That I will find my child. Oh heaven, let it be prevented
That his mother can set her revenge in motion. *within.*

Tableau vivant showing Casandra threatening to kill Grimaldus, having bound him.

KAREL. Alas, I cannot find him; oh how my heart shakes.

Enter Prudentio.

KAREL. Prudentio, have you seen Grimaldus? Would you,
I pray you, go look for him.
PRUDENTIO. But Karel what is the matter?
KAREL. Prudentio, my friend, I cannot explain to you
What is the matter; I pray you look for the child.
PRUDENTIO. What is the matter?
KAREL. I pray you, go, and protect him when you find him.
PRUDENTIO. It will happen. *both within.*

Tableau vivant showing Casandra having a poniard in her hand and a gardener comes with flowers and stops her.

KAREL. Oh heaven, how shocked is Karel's poor heart,
She has the child. Mighty God have mercy on this bitter pain
Which my soul feels. Oh world, what kind of sorrow
Will it be that Karel has to see this misfortune befall his child.
What do I hear? Is it not a voice?
GRIMALDUS. Hey help, help.
KAREL. I hear him scream.
Oh most beloved child, I hear you.
GRIMALDUS. Woe me, woe me.

KAREL. We never saw
A more sad misfortune. Where are you my angel, Grimaldus?
The greatest misfortune befalls my heart.

Enter Grimaldus.

KAREL. Oh most beloved child, have I found you again?[39]

After showcasing these *tableaux vivants*, Grimaldus finally answers. Between his tears, the child tells his father everything that the audience has just witnessed, and how the Duchess said that it was just a game, after the gardener stumbled upon this shocking situation. The series of three, or triptych of *tableaux vivants* as seen here are also particular to Dutch-language plays. According to Hummelen, *tableaux* which were showcased in a series of three are characterised by developing action. In these *tableaux*, actions are performed which push the storyline forward as can be seen in *Casandra en Karel*.[40]

The Spanish original *El perseguido* (1590) by Lope de Vega does not stage this attempted murder as such; at least, this cannot be deduced from the published text of Lope's *Parte*, although the *Corral de Príncipe* and the *Corral de la Cruz* both had a discovery space, a stage compartment often covered by a curtain that could be used for instantaneous appearances or important and surprising events. The attempted murder could have

39 Rodenburgh 1617a, fols. H4^{v}–J1^{r}: '*Vertooning hoe Casandra Grimaldus zijn armen bindt.* / KAREL. O God 'k en vind hem niet, dit doet my angstich vreesen / Dat hy in handen van vrou Leonoor moet wezen, / Int Hof en is hy niet, ik weet niet waer ik loop, / Int lauren bosch ik zoeck Grimaldus, en verhoop / Ik mijn kind vinden zal, ach hemel wilt beletten / Zijn moeder heure wraek int werk niet en mach zetten. / *binnen.* / *Vertooning waer Casandra Grimaldus ghebonden hebbende hem dreygt te vermoorden.* / KAREL. Helaes, ik vind hem niet, ach hoe mijn herte trilt. / *Prudentio.* / KAREL. Prudentio, hebt ghy gezien Grimaldus? wilt, / Ik bid u, nae hem zien. / PRUDENTIO. Wel Karel watser gaende? / KAREL. Prudentio, mijn vriend, ik kan u dus niet staende / Verklaren watter is, ik bid u ziet nae 't kind, / PRUDENTIO. Wat isser? / KAREL. Ik bid u gaet, en houdt hem zo g'hem vindt. / PRUDENTIO. 't Zal geschieden. / *beyde binnen.* / *Vertooning waer Casandra de pongiaert inde hand heeft en de hovenier comt met bloemen en belet heur.* / KAREL. Ha hemel hoe verschrikt is arme Karels herte, / 't Kind heeft zy. hooge God meedooght de bitt're zmerte / Die myne ziel ghevoelt, ha wereld wat verdriet / Zal't zijn zo Karel aen zijn kind dit onluk ziet. / Wat hoor ik? is't geen stem? / GRIMALDUS. Ey help, help, / KAREL. Ik hoor hem klagen. / Ha waerdste kind, ik hoort. / GRIMALDUS. Oy me, oy me. / KAREL. Wy zagen. / Noyt droeviger misval. waer zijt ghy lief, Grimald'? / Het grootste ongeluk mijn herte overvalt. / *Grimaldus.* / Ach waerde lieve kind, heb ik u weer gevonden?'

40 Hummelen 1973, 152.

been showcased within this space.[41] Rodenburgh might have witnessed this himself while residing in Madrid.[42] Following the published text of Lope's original, however, we meet the boy, Grimaldico, after he escaped the Duchess' grip by the intervention of the same gardener. Grimaldico then finds his father and tells him exactly the same story that the Dutch spectators would have heard and seen in Rodenburgh's version. Both in the original and the adaptation, Grimaldico/Grimaldus offers an elaborate account of how the Duchess bound his hands and put the dagger to his breast until the gardener intervened. In both versions, the boy says that Casandra dismissed the whole scene as mere roleplay, but only in the Dutch adaptation can we be sure that spectators actually witnessed with their own eyes the Duchess' determination to kill Karel's son.[43] The spectacle's effect would be maximised if the *tableaux vivants* were staged behind a curtain opened at exactly the right moment, or with extra light effects.[44] Similar analyses are possible for Rodenburgh's *Ialoersche studenten* and his *'t Quaedt zijn meester loondt* (1618, 'Evil Rewards Its Master').

Rodenburgh's *'t Quaedt zijn meester loondt* shows particularly vividly that *tableaux vivants* were not only used as a means of showcasing the spectacle, but also to put extra focus on the moral friction that exists in many *comedias*. *'t Quaedt zijn meester loondt* is an adaptation of *La venganza honrosa* (1616, 'The Honourable Vengeance') by the Valencian playwright Gaspar Aguilar. The adaptation is an honour drama about the two star-crossed lovers Astolfo and Porcea, and the retaliation of Porcea's fiancé the Duke of Milan Norandino, and her father, the Duke of Mantua. Like Rodenburgh's *Casandra en Karel*, this adaptation includes a triptych of *tableaux vivants*, here of the decapitation on the star-crossed lovers by the vengeful Norandino and his loyal servant Fabricio. Norandino exacts revenge because Astolfo and Porcea eloped, damaging the honour of both him and his father-in-law:

> At once, when they are inside, there should be showcased a *tableau vivant*, showing that Norandino and Fabricio have beheaded Astolfo

41 Thacker 2002, 5–6, 2007, 125–126; Ruano de la Haza 2008, 41–45; Kaufmant 2010, 11.

42 See van Marion and Vergeer 2016, 41.

43 Lope de Vega 1604b, fols. 63^{v}–64^{r}; see also Abrahamse 1997, 92.

44 In a 2016 reprise of Rodenburgh's *Casandra en Karel* performed by the theatre group *Theater Kwast*, the *tableaux* were staged by killing the lights, while Casandra (Saskia Voorbach) and Grimaldus (Bert Apeldoorn) changed their positions, after which the spotlight was put on the actors again. While the next *tableau* was prepared, Imre Besanger in his role of narrator told what would be seen next. The alternation between putting the spotlight on Casandra and Grimaldus, performing the three *tableaux*, and then on the narrator, had a captivating effect.

> and Porcea, namely, Norandino beheads Astolfo, and Fabricio Porcea; a second *tableau vivant* showing that the heads are lying in a plate; a third *tableau vivant* showing that Norandino puts a written paper down on the bodies.[45]

The moral friction of the text is made explicit by these *tableaux vivants*, because they freeze the action and provide an opportunity for a dialogue between the spectators and actors. The central question is with whom to agree: Norandino and Porcea's father? Or rather Porcea and Astolfo? The star-crossed lovers may be rightly punished according to some, although the message of the drama may also be that the two young lovers would have been a better match than Norandino and Porcea could ever hope to be. The consequent lack of any explicitly formulated moral denunciation of the decapitation, as shown in the *tableaux vivants*, may at first suggest that it had never been an issue for Rodenburgh whether the men's vengeance was justified, as Abrahamse argues.[46] To me, however, the text brings the (un)lawfulness of the decapitation to the fore in a lived experience by means of the *tableaux* staging.

This lived experience meant that during the first performances at The Eglantine, the audience was made 'present' as spectator and auditor at this murder, 'seeing and hearing with their own senses.' They were encouraged to change from spectators without an active role into witnesses, who are also assigned jury responsibility during this scene.[47] This participatory effect would be particularly striking, because in this early theatre, the audience was seated more closely to the stage than in the later Italianate theatres. With this more vague distinction between stage and auditorium, the active participation of spectators was more common and even encouraged, as argued in Chapter 1.

Spectacles, and especially murder spectacles as presented here, can evince in spectators a more radical reaction when present at such a 'living' scene than if it were only narrated or reported by the characters thereafter. Meg F. Pearson writes that:

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45 Rodenburgh 1618, fol. F3r: 'Terstont als zy binnen zyn, moeter een vertooningh gestelt werden, waer Norandino, en Fabricio hebben Astolfo, en Porcea onthooft, te weten, Norandino onthooft Astolfo, en Fabricio Porcea, voor de tweedemael, dat de hoofden in een schotel leggen, en voor de derde mael, dat Norandino een geschreven pampier op de lichaemen leyt.'

46 Abrahamse 1997, 101–107. See also my Chapter 5.

47 Pearson 2011, 93.

> Onstage deaths, perhaps more than any other theatrical moment, contain the potential to engage or alienate an audience. To be a witness in these instances is to become "one who is called on, selected, or appointed to be present at a transaction, so as to be able to testify to its having taken place."[48]

As such, Rodenburgh does not try (or have) to persuade his audiences, but rather encourages them to judge for themselves: in Rodenburgh's poetics, visual stimuli must bring about moral rather than aesthetical judgement.

According to Pearson, the summoning of a witnessing audience might be a prerequisite of the success of certain plays. The pathetic appeal of onstage deaths can be undermined in favour of a distancing, grim humour, but many deaths—especially in Dutch theatre, I argue—demand an emotional response of pity and horror, which is elicited when spectators experience a mixture of fascination, sensationalism, and disgust at the event.[49] Pearson makes clear that presence and spectatorial engagement contribute to the trustworthiness of an account: to the viewer, it really happened.[50] That is why in the early modern period convicted felons were also executed in a public area: it was both entertainment and a way to activate the audience's judgement. The crowd is turned from a passive recipient into an active participant; the spectator will thus look carefully and earnestly for the tragedy, expecting it, and maybe even demanding it.[51] In the world of *comedia nueva*, the honour of one man must typically be restored by retaliation against another, sometimes even sought after in a court of law or before the king. In those cases, bloodshed can even be a valid demand by the plaintiff, and it is sometimes considered the only fitting form of justice. As a substitute to a true judicial procedure, the *tableau vivant* then functions as the ritual execution of a sentence. By being called upon as witness, spectators are forced to judge whether the execution was justified, although they cannot change the outcome, only reflect on it.

Although Rodenburgh did not explicitly condemn the vengeance of Porcea's father and fiancé in *'t Quaedt zijn meester loondt*, the playwright opens a dialogue and creates friction between the different interpretations that audiences may have of the play's outcome. In the end, what is the right thing to do? I contend that there was space for

48 Pearson 2011, 93.

49 Pearson 2011, 93–94. For the qualification of horror, see Ruff 2001, 13–28.

50 Pearson 2011, 94.

51 Pearson 2011, 95–96.

spectators to reach the conclusion that the murder of Porcea and Astolfo in *'t Quaedt zijn meester loondt* was too cruel, or to think it a fair sentence for children who disobey their parents. Most *tableaux vivants* in the Dutch adaptations of Spanish *comedias* are steered towards this effect, including the decapitations in *'t Quaedt zijn meester loondt*.

Comedia Nueva in Antwerp and Lier

When the Antwerp rhetoricians' chamber The Gillyflowers ('De Violieren') reorganised their activities in 1618/1619, Rodenburgh wrote *Deuchts violieren krans* (1619) for the occasion, which was performed in 1620. However, there is no sign that he actually visited Antwerp in 1619 to support The Gillyflowers.

Rather than Rodenburgh, it was Frederico Cornelio De Conincq who introduced *comedia nueva* in the style of Lope de Vega to Antwerp. Following his admission to The Gillyflowers in 1629, he wrote three plays: *Bedwongen liefde baert veel onrust', leet en' pijn: Maer vry verkoren trouw is heyl en' medecijn* (1635, 'Suppressed Love Bears Much Unrest, Sorrow, and Pain: But Chosen Loyalty is Welfare and Medicine'); *De Liefde en 't geval speelt somwijl met den mensch: Maer waere trouw en deucht brenght hem noch tot sijn wensch* (1636, 'Love and Fortune Play Sometimes with Mankind: But True Loyalty and Virtue Bring Him Still to His Desire'); and *Liefdens Behendicheyt Bestaende Inde listighe ghelijkwesendtheyt eens anders* (1638, 'Love's Dexterity Existing in the Cunning Equality of Each Other').[52] These plays are, however, not adaptations of original Spanish *comedias*, but rather original plays based on Lope's *comedias de capa y espada*. Johanna Ferket showed that De Conincq incorporated formal elements and themes from Spanish *comedia nueva*, but with the aim to make a parody of the genre, and more specifically, of the Spanish customs adopted by his countrymen.[53] Apart from De Conincq, no other Antwerp playwright would endeavour to follow (or parody) the Spanish fashion in this period. Moreover, any other initiatives were obstructed when The Gillyflowers stopped their activities around 1650. De Conincq's experiment with the *comedia* remained that of a peerless pioneer.

In fact, the Antwerp spectators had to wait until 1661 before original Spanish *comedias* were adapted and performed in Antwerp. In that year, the Antwerp Almoners established their Almoners' Theatre on the ground floor of the House of Spain on

52 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 281, 444–446.

53 Ferket 2016, 62–64, 80.

Great Market Square.[54] Adopting a similar revenue model as that of the Amsterdam Public Theatre, the Almoners started looking for a new, potentially popular repertoire: enter *comedia nueva*. In contrast to the development started by Rodenburgh in Amsterdam with the incorporation of *tableaux vivants* as means of spectacle, they were not used in the Antwerp adaptations; spectacle was introduced in other ways.

The Almoners' Theatre in Antwerp

The Antwerp Almoners succeeded in monopolising all theatre productions in Antwerp, either because they employed a theatre company or a troupe to play at the Almoners' Theatre, or because other theatre companies and troupes had to hand over a substantial part of their profits, even when they played elsewhere.[55] In Antwerp, all Spanish plays can be retraced to the Almoners' Theatre.[56] One of the more important playwrights active in this period was Antonio Wouthers, who adapted five *comedias* directly from Spanish, however, only two were performed at the Almoners' Theatre with absolute certainty. The first is *De verliefde stiefmoeder*, which according to the titlepage was performed at the 'Antwerpsche Speel-plaets,'[57] and the second is *Den Moscoïtschen knets* (c. 1665, 'The Muscovite Rift').[58] Wouthers' three other adaptations of Spanish plays are *Den volmaekten ridder* (c. 1665, 'The Perfect Knight'),[59] *De devotie van Eusebius tot het H. kruys* (1665, 'The Devotion of Eusebius towards the Holy Cross'),[60] and *Strijd van de min en het geluk* (c. 1665, 'Struggle for Love and Happiness').[61] These last three plays were printed in Brussels and likely also performed there.[62] Of these five Spanish-style plays by Wouthers, only three survive in an original printed edition: *De verliefde stiefmoeder*, *Den volmaekten ridder*, and *De devotie van Eusebius*.

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54 The House of Spain had previously been home to the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke and The Gillyflowers, who were dormant until 1662 after three decades of silence, and moved to rooms above the stock exchange in 1664. See De Paepe 2011, 106, 187, 405–410.

55 De Paepe 2008b, 25.

56 For an overview of locations were Spanish plays were performed, see De Paepe 2008b, 26–27 and 2011, 178, 187, 738.

57 See Keersmaekers 1996, 214–215. Other possibilities include the 'Aelmoesseniers-pand' on the Grote Markt.

58 Translation of Lope de Vega's *El gran duque de Moscovia* (1617).

59 Translation of Guillén de Castro y Bellvis' *El perfecto caballero*.

60 Translation of Calderón's *La devoción de la cruz* (1636).

61 Either a translation of Calderón's *Duelos de amor y lealtad* or his *Lances de amor y fortuna*.

62 De Paepe 2011, 187.

These factors complicate the analysis of *comedia nueva* as staged in the Almoners' Theatre, but nevertheless allow for a discussion of the visual impressions of these *comedias*, albeit limited. Another play known to have been performed in Antwerp is D*e mislukte liefde* by the anonymous author E.D.S.M.[63] Here, I focus first and foremost on Wouthers' D*e verliefde stiefmoeder* and E.D.S.M.'s D*e mislukte liefde*.

The Almoners' Theatre of 1661 had quite a simple stage compared to that of the refurbished Amsterdam Public Theatre when it reopened its doors in 1665. In the digital renderings made by Timothy De Paepe, we can see how small the space actually was. De Paepe writes the following about the Almoners' Theatre:

> The theatre was about 16.5 m long, 8.4 m wide and 6.5 m high. The initial design of the theatre consisted of a simple raised stage, spanning the entire width of the building and decorated with curtains. The audience members were expected to stand or be seated on a small amphitheatre. These accommodations were seen as sufficient for both the audience and the actors, be it local or visiting companies. The plays reflect this simplicity and rely on spoken décor, while they forgo any kind of spectacle.[64]

As noted above, in the seventeenth century Italy was frontrunner in developments of stage architecture, and France gave its own interpretation. We can quickly deduce from the renderings (Fig. 2.2, Fig. 2.3, Fig. 2.4, and Fig. 2.5) that the notion of a spectacular, baroque theatre should be left behind; it is likely that the six panels on either side of the stage making up the coulisse décor (see Fig. 2.3 and Fig. 2.4) were only installed in 1682 with the introduction of opera in Antwerp.[65] Before 1682, the coulisses were separated from the stage by curtains. Nevertheless, the Antwerp Almoners were aware of the latest fashions in stage architecture and their theatre was outfitted with a proscenium arch when it first opened its doors in 1661 (Fig. 2.5).

63 Several Spanish plays adapted by northern authors were performed in Antwerp, probably including Isaak Vos' D*e beklaagelycke dwangh* (1648, 'The Pitiful Force'), Van Heemskerck's D*e verduytste Cid* (1641), Dullaart's *Alexander de Medicis* (1653), Van Germez' *Vervolgde Laura* (1645), and De Leeuw's *Kosroés* (1656). De Paepe lists one of the scarce documents containing information on revenue of the Almoners' Theatre dating from the season 1681–1682 (2011, 192–193).

64 De Paepe 2010, 36.

65 De Paepe 2008b, 34–35.

FIG. 2.2 The House of Spain ('Spanjepand'), with the rooms of The Gillyflowers (second floor, 1619–1664) and the Almoners' Theatre (ground floor, 1661–1709)
COURTESY OF TIMOTHY DE PAEPE (3DTHEATER.WORDPRESS.COM)

FIG. 2.3 Hypothetical reconstruction of the interior of the Almoners' Theatre c. 1682
COURTESY OF TIMOTHY DE PAEPE (3DTHEATER.WORDPRESS.COM)

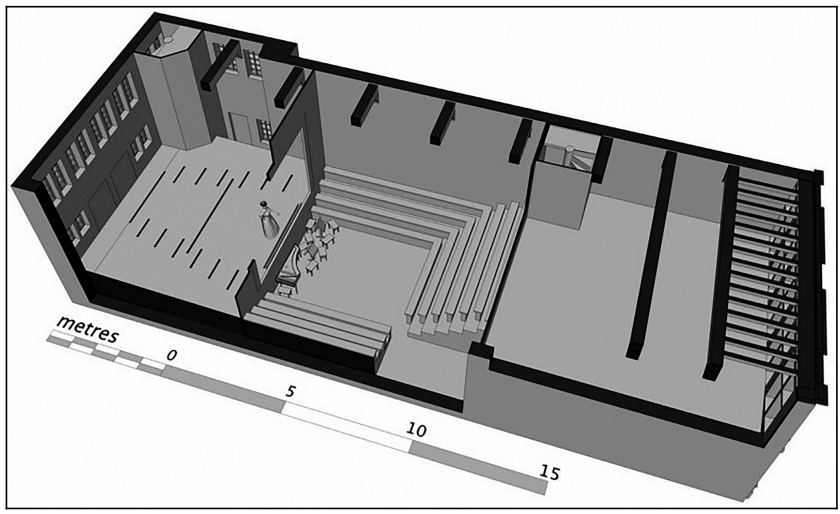

FIG. 2.4 Isometric view of a hypothetical reconstruction of the Almoners' Theatre, c. 1682
COURTESY OF TIMOTHY DE PAEPE (3DTHEATER.WORDPRESS.COM)

FIG. 2.5 Hypothetical reconstruction of the stage of the Almoners' Theatre between 1661–1682 COURTESY OF TIMOTHY DE PAEPE (DE PAEPE 2011, 255)

So, how might D*e verliefde stiefmoeder* have been staged? In the frontmatter of the printed edition, it says that the stage represents the area around Ferrara. The play indicates that it takes place in at least two different locations; no more seem necessary to perform this tragic *comedia*. Although Frederico and his *gracioso* Batín come out 'on a journey' in the first act, and Batín says that he finds it puzzling that his master sojourns near a willow tree[66]—suggesting a kind of wilderness—this setting is not kept beyond the first scene.[67] How this wilderness was represented on stage is impossible to determine; it is unclear whether it was a separate décor or, as De Paepe hypothesises for other plays, a spoken décor. In the latter instance, the décor is summoned through suggestion and naming, like Batín does by mentioning the willow tree, which also occurs in another instance when Aurora asks Carel to come listen to her in 'this flower garden.'[68] As Turner writes about such spoken décor,

66 Wouthers 1665b, 1.
67 Wouthers 1665b, 1–7.
68 De Paepe 2011, 132, 247; Wouthers 1665b, v. 768.

the use of dialogue can open or bifurcate the illusion 'by introducing a disjuncture between the verbal signs [...] and the proxemic signs that are visible' of one character's 'movement across a flat surface, and which *his* language weakly confirms.' In this moment, an audience must decide to accept the words of the character summoning a décor or reject the endeavour, 'which immediately forces an awareness of the larger enabling illusion taking place on the stage before them' (that is, a suspension of disbelief).[69] While we might not consider this spectacular, it certainly has an impact on the visual impressions of the play and, thus, how spectators experience the whole scene and whether they are moved. Language summons the world in *De verliefde stiefmoeder* and, we might assume, spectators are knowingly and gladly deceived.

The rest of the play was probably performed against the backdrop of a palatial décor, as is suggested several scenes later with the mention of a throne in the stage directions, but this could very well have been the only décor piece to create the suggestion of a palace.[70] Moreover, the Spanish original *El castigo sin venganza* by Lope does not seem to have needed much stage machinery or topographic changes in order to stage the play.[71] De Paepe concludes that the Almoners' Theatre had little to no ability to stage grand spectacle plays on the basis of his analysis of the surviving Antwerp repertoire between 1661 and 1682: none of the surviving prints indicate that stage machinery and spectacle were necessary.[72] However, Wouthers' *Den Moscoïtsche knets* proves that grand spectacles were not the only way to move spectators (if indeed this play was performed in Antwerp). The practical directions for a gruesome scene make clear how the desired effect was generated through the use of stage props:

> one places a plate with plate cover on the table wherein a hole is made and one places it over the hole in the table, and when the plate cover is taken away, spectators see the head of the child that is under the table.[73]

69 Turner 2006, 168.

70 Wouthers 1665b, 11.

71 Lope de Vega 1635.

72 De Paepe 2011, 246.

73 As quoted from De Paepe 2011, 246: 'men set een ghedeckte schotel op de tafel daer een gat door is ende men set se over een gat dat in de tafel is, ende alsdan wordt de schotel ontdeckt waer in men siet het hooft van het kint dat onder de tafel is.'

This horrific sight must have elicited some kind of reaction from spectators, and probably worked especially well in the small space of Antwerp's Almoner's Theatre because of the audience's relatively close distance to the stage.

The same can be said for E.D.S.M.'s *De mislukte liefde*, in which the Count of Barcelona enters the stage in the opening scene while struggling with a serpent that has entangled him. Only the hero, Rugero, can save him. The count's *graciosos*, Riquelmo and Ramiro, are unable to free the count or kill the serpent, because of their cowardly natures. If we are to believe the Amsterdam printer, E.D.S.M.'s play had been relatively popular, although I could not discover any particular spectacle in the printed text that may have contributed to this popularity. The printer reports:

> [I]f I am not wrong, the play, which has been showcased impeccably for thirteen or fourteen years in Antwerp, and not without an uncommon surge of people, often eagerly restaged, and always praised with delight, has (to my knowledge) never been made public in print.[74]

This implies that spectators certainly *saw* something that they enjoyed. Now, we must ask what could have been showcased on the relatively simple Antwerp stage shown in Fig. 2.5 (above).

One complication of *De mislukte liefde* is that we have an edition of the text which was printed in Amsterdam, which means that we cannot be sure that the Amsterdam edition reflects the performance practices in Antwerp or those in Amsterdam. De Paepe addresses this specific complication for several other Antwerp plays as well. He demonstrates that several of those plays were adapted to the local situation where the play texts were printed and performed, such as he showed for Wouthers' *De devotie van Eusebius* that was performed in Brussels around 1665: a text by an Antwerp author that was adjusted to the performance situation in Brussels.[75] However, *De mislukte liefde* was never performed in Amsterdam and it seems, therefore, unlikely that the text reflects a performance situation in the Amsterdam Public Theatre. There are, moreover, also signs that this particular edition is the 'original' Antwerp play: by comparing the original Spanish to its Antwerp adaptations, we can find various spectacular or exciting scenes that E.D.S.M. literally translated directly from Spanish.

74 E.D.S.M. 1674, fol. A2r: 'Mis ick niet, over 13 a 14 jaren onbegrepen t'Antwerpen vertoont niet sonder ongemeenen toeloop, meenichmael naer begeerte erhaelt, en altoos met verlustinge prijsbaer geordeelt, noit even (naer best weeten) gemeijn door den druck gemaeckt.'

75 De Paepe 2011, 248.

We can, consequently, be relatively certain that the anonymous E.D.S.M. transposed the struggle with the serpent from the Spanish original into his Antwerp version, as in Lope's *Los donaires de matico*, the play likewise opens with a struggle between the count and a snake: 'Sale el Conde luchando con una sierpe' ('The Count comes out while fighting a snake').[76] It is not likely that this snake was a live serpent, although this could have added to the build-up of tension if this was the case. Regardless, it is made clear that the Count is in danger because soon after both the Spanish and Flemish Rugero attacks the serpent with his rapier drawn. In the first scene, spectators were immediately seduced with a duelling match. And this is not the only duel in the play. In gratitude for saving the Count, he gives Rugero his daughter's hand in marriage. The rest of the court disagrees with the decision, since Rugero is a foreign peasant. Barcelona's highest military officer and his soldiers attack Rugero, who defends himself fiercely.[77] Such duels were a typically exciting element in the Spanish *comedias* and were considered spectacular, although these scenes did not need elaborate installations for stage machinery.

Generally speaking, the duel was essentially a dramatic device that could serve as a vehicle for emotion. To understand how the duel is in theatre a vehicle for emotion, I turn to a text from the German language area. In the sixth part of the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* (1646), a set of written dialogues by the German baroque poet Georg-Philipp Harsdörffer, the duel is the subject of a dialogue about theatre, where the question is: which emotion does the duel express? In other words, how can the duel *imagineer* emotions that can be subsequently recognised by spectators? According to Harsdörffer, spectators had to recognise from the duel the emotions of wrath and ire by means of the bilious colour of the skin and the facial expression of the duellists.[78] Thus, duels were fought often in *comedia nueva* because of their emotional impact on spectators. Duels provided many *comedias* with the much-desired action scenes.

Although De Paepe theorises that the stage of the Almoners' Theatre was elementary in design, and playwrights relied on secondary forms of spectacle such as duelling, this should be nuanced for *De mislukte liefde*. Nearing the end of this play, Rosimunda yells to the *graciosos* Riquelmo and Ramiro from atop a tower ('Rosimunda uyt den Thooren'). This does not happen within the coulisses, since immediately after, the stage directions note that there is 'van binnen blijschap' ('from within [the coulisses] happiness'). This suggests that the Almoners' Theatre had a décor piece which looked

76 Lope de Vega 1604a, fol. 1r.

77 E.D.S.M. 1674, vv. 1325–1333.

78 Harsdörffer 1646, fols. F3v–F4r. See also Niefanger 2011, 79–80.

like a tower, creating the possibility of balcony scenes.[79] These balcony scenes—famous today for that in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*—were essential in *comedias de capa y espada*: when a man tried to convince a woman to let him inside—and thus spend the night together—he appeared at that woman's balcony, while serenading her. In this regard, Veldhorst discusses the balcony scene as a classic musical scene in Dutch theatre.[80] We may accept that such balcony scenes were also used in the other *comedias* staged in Antwerp.

Let us return to D*e verliefde stiefmoeder*. There is no indication that a performance of the play featured a gruesome decapitation scene as in D*en Moscoïtschen knets*, or duelling such as in D*e mislukte liefde*. The ruse that the Duke uses to punish the adultery between his wife Cassandra and his son Frederico, and which results in Frederico killing his own stepmother and lover, is only reported by the Duke. This murder apparently happens off-stage. Subsequently, Frederico is killed as well by one of the Duke's nobles to do justice. Frederico is killed off-stage like Cassandra and therefore spectators cannot be called upon as judges to the scene as had been the case for the decapitation in Rodenburgh's *'t Quaedt syn meester loondt*. This means that the vivid impression of a murder is never created visually. Instead, D*e verliefde stiefmoeder* relies on effects of a different nature. One of the paratexts of this play mentions the impact of the characters Frederico and Cassandra on the audience.[81] Perhaps their dazzling costumes adorned with ribbons and trimmed with spangles[82] contributed to this effect. Basing his findings on the sheer number of costumes in the archival sources of the Antwerp rhetoricians' chambers, De Paepe notes that until the 1690s, costumes remained one of the most important means of mesmerising spectators.[83] This probably holds true for those worn in D*e verliefde stiefmoeder* as well. We can see how costumes could possibly influence how successful the actors were at delivering their parts, which is discussed in Chapter 7.

Notwithstanding their costumes, there is one specific piece of dialogue that stands out: in the second act, Frederico and Cassandra sing a duet lamenting that they are unable to be together because of her marriage to Frederico's father, the Duke of Ferrara.

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79 E.D.S.M. 1674, between vv. 1434–1435 and 1438–1439.

80 Similar scenes can be found in Rodenburgh's *Casandra en Karel*, *Celia en Prospero*, *Ialoerscheˆ studenten*, and Van Germez' *Vervolgde Laura*, among others. For the musical construction of the balcony scene in Dutch theatre, see Veldhorst 2004, 105–133.

81 Wouthers 1665b, fol. $\pi 3^{v}$.

82 These were in the early modern period decorative metal disks that were sown onto costumes and hammered flat for sturdiness.

83 De Paepe 2011, 139–141, 239.

Frederico initially sings six strophes. In the seventh, Cassandra relieves her stepson as he exits, and continues singing for another six strophes. *De verliefde stiefmoeder* stresses that the love that Frederico and Cassandra share conflicts with their honour (that is, if they were to be discovered, it would bring shame upon them because the relationship is considered incestuous according to early modern law, Frederico is a bastard, and Cassandra is already married). Witnessing these emotional conflicts in the *dramatis personae* brought about in spectators a feeling of pity, as I discuss further in Chapter 4. The duet in *De verliefde stiefmoeder* enhances and emphasises the spectacle of their predicament. Both instrumental and vocal music can have this effect, as is famously argued for Shakespearean tragedy by F.W. Sternfeld.[84] Even today, scholars of film consider that the soundtrack or score enhances the emotional atmosphere of almost every scene.[85]

Lope de Vega in Lier

About 18 kilometres from Antwerp, in the Belgian town of Lier, Cornelis de Bie adapted *comedia nueva* with a different approach to spectacle than that of Wouthers in Antwerp. In general, De Bie had to work with a more traditional performance situation of a rhetoricians' stage than in the Almoners' Theatre: there was, for example, no proscenium arch and the stage was likely a thrust-stage platform with a discovery space and two tiring houses on both sides. And yet, he seems to have been more inventive than his colleague in Antwerp. De Bie adapted three *comedias* by Lope de Vega: *Alphonsus en Thebasile, oft her-stelde onnooselheydt* (performed in 1659, printed in 1673, 'Alphonsus and Thebasile, or Restored Innocence');[86] *Armoede vanden graeve Florellus, oft lyden sonder wraeck* (performed in c. 1660, printed in 1671, 'Poverty of Count Florellus, or Suffering without Revenge');[87] and *Gheweldighe Heerschappye Vanden onrechtveerdighen Boris Ghedempt ende ghestraft door den jonghen Prince Demetrius Als eenighen en rechten Erfgenaem van het groot Hertoghdom van Moskovien* (c. 1672, 'Violent Rule of the Unjust Boris, Tempered and Punished by the Young Prince Demetrius, the Only and Rightful Heir of the Great Duchy of Muscovy').[88] I focus primarily on the second play,

84 Sternfeld 1963, 3–4, 195–249. This has, furthermore, been argued for early modern stage songs by Van Marion and Vergeer 2014;see also Veldhorst 2004, 14–16, 20–24.

85 See, among many others, Hoeckner et al. 2011.

86 Translation of Lope de Vega's *El gallardo catalán* (1611).

87 Translation of Lope de Vega's *Las pobrezas de reynaldos* (1617).

88 Translation of Lope de Vega's *El gran duque de Moscovia* (1617).

Armoede vanden graeve Florellus, about the struggles of the titular Count Florellus who is banished from Charlemagne's court and seeks the re-establishment of his honour.

De Bie was the foreman of the rhetoricians' chamber The Blossoming Tree ('De Groeiende Boom'). Unlike in Antwerp, the rhetoricians of Lier owned their building, called House The Oak Tree ('D'Eycken Boom') at Great Market Square since 1502, which enabled them to better meet the requirements to stage plays with spectacle. After the building had been thoroughly damaged by fire in 1638, the wooden façade was rebuilt in 1709 in the contemporary baroque style.[89] Although today's outer appearance does not reflect that of the mid-seventeenth century, we can be sure that Lier's rhetoricians inhabited a considerably similar building (Fig. 2.6). Essentially, it was a townhouse with a provisional stage for separate performances. The central space in any rhetoricians' building had several purposes: that of a reception room, party room, meeting room, and also a theatre hall.[90] This also meant that the stage was usually temporary, being rebuilt as needed. This might have been slightly different in Lier, where the meeting room was upstairs on the first floor, while the ground floor could function as a performance space and party or reception room. The charitable aims of the Lier rhetoricians required, furthermore, that they could easily stage a play when needed. With this in mind, a permanent stage is not unthinkable.

In order to reconstruct the performances of the three Spanish adaptations, we can best turn to the extensive research done initially by Hummelen and expanded upon by De Paepe. They have suggested that the stages and performance practices of rhetoricians throughout the Low Countries were similar. The stages of the Landjuwelen, the rhetoricians' competitions of Ghent in 1539 and Antwerp in 1561 had to accommodate different rhetoricians chambers from across the Low Countries, from Holland and Groningen to Flanders and Luxembourg.[91] Therefore, De Paepe was able to reconstruct a hypothetical stage of the rhetoricians' chamber of The Gillyflowers in Antwerp consisting of three compartments with dimensions equalling 1:2:1 (see Fig. 2.7). This reconstruction can be taken as an average of the 'rhetoricians' stage' in the Low Countries, where the side compartments, called tiring houses (A & C), are used as entrances, while the middle compartment (B) functions as a discovery space and the designated space for *tableaux vivants*.

89 Kennes and Vandeweghe 2017.
90 De Paepe 2006, 328, and 2011, 111.
91 De Paepe 2011, 115–125.

FIG. 2.6 House The Oak Tree in Lier 2011. Since 1502, the rhetoricians' chamber The Blossoming Tree was accommodated in the building that previously stood in its place
PHOTO BY T. VEREENOOGHE 2011 (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0), WWW.FLICKR.COM/PHOTOS/ERFGOED/

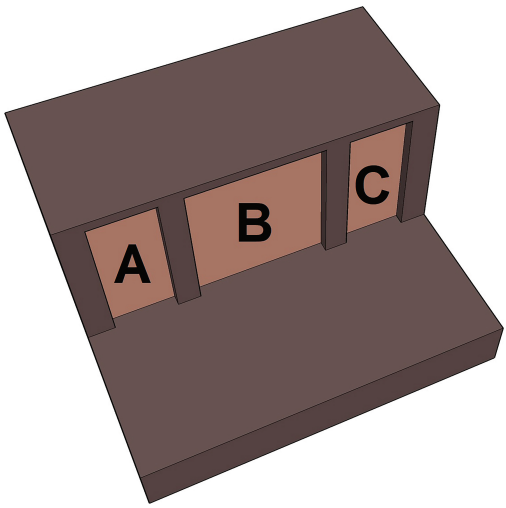

FIG. 2.7
Schematic reconstruction of the stage of the Chamber of The Gillyflowers. The side compartments (A & C) mainly functioned as entrances, while the middle compartment (B) is the compartment for *tableaux vivants*
COURTESY OF TIMOTHY DE PAEPE (2011, 131)

Another practice among rhetoricians were performances under the open sky in the market square. We cannot ignore that this may have also occurred in Lier. Then, the rhetoricians might have built a stage in front of The Oak Tree to play outside during summer; in winter, they would move inside.

As elsewhere in the Low Countries, there was a financial incentive to entertain spectators in any way possible; the rhetoricians of Lier needed to attract an audience in order to finance the local charitable institutions. De Bie makes these financial incentives clear in his foreword to *Armoede vanden graeve Florellus*: 'For this reason, I have more freely mustered courage by playfully presenting the miserable poverty of a powerful count for the entertainment of the rich and the consolation of the poor.'[92] The play was thus performed before a paying audience, whose money would benefit the poor. Suitable spectacle, then, was a necessity.

The basic stage like the one The Blossoming Tree probably had, made it impossible to use elaborate stage machinery. The text of *Armoede vanden graeve Florellus* makes clear that the middle compartment (B) was extensively used instead. As said, a typical use for this specific compartment was showcasing *tableaux vivants*. In De Bie's adaptation, there are five in total: in one we see how Charlemagne's army is in disarray from the Moors. In the next *tableau vivant*, which after a few lines of text follows

92 De Bie 1671, fol. A3^{v}: 'Daerom hebbe ick des te vrijer my selven verstout tot vermaeck van den Rijcken en troost van den Armen de allendighe Armoede van eenen machtigen Grave speelwijs te voorschijn te brenghen.'

shortly upon the first as a kind of reaction, spectators could see how Florellus relieves Charlemagne's army. The third *tableau vivant* shows a victory feast:

> Tableau Vivant.
> The Moors make the people of Charlemagne waver.
> [...]
> Tableau Vivant.
> Florellus with the weapon, the banner and clothes of Florantus positions himself before the French army and beats the Moors. *Exit* Florellus while fighting with the King of the Moors.
> [...]
> Tableau Vivant.
> The Emperor with his courtiers at the table and a ballet is performed.[93]

The last of these three *tableaux vivants* makes clear that a ballet is performed, an obvious influence from French court culture that also became popular in Amsterdam and Brussels. A few pages earlier, we can read in the stage directions how the middle compartment (B) is used to reveal a church or chapel space: 'A curtain will be drawn, behind which an altar is revealed.'[94] Then, the discovery space functions as a building, as a separate space, that the characters can enter. The uses of this middle compartment (B) are numerous in De Bie's adaptation of Lope's *Las pobrezas de reynaldos* (1617). De Bie not only demonstrates effective use of the traditional *tableau vivant*, but also adapts it to the current tastes of his audience by including the ballet. Moreover, the second *tableau* exemplifies De Bie's baroque aesthetics: the scene creates a realistic illusion of the battle by the sheer number of people present onstage. This same effect is described by Yannice De Bruyn in reference to Govard Bidloo's *Het zegepraalende Oostenryk of Verovering van Offen* (1686, 'Austria Victorious, or The Conquest of Buda').[95] Thus, the staging of this event could potentially generate the impression of being in the midst of battle.

Another spectacle in De Bie's play is Florellus' self-inflicted injury and his blood that runs down the stage; like Christ he is willing to sacrifice himself for his son as

93 De Bie 1671, 19, 21, 34: 'verschooningh. De Mooren slaen het volck van Keyser Carel inde vlucht. [...] verschooningh. Florellus met de wapen, standaert en Kleeren van Florantus voeght sich voor den legher vande Franschen en slaet de Mooren. Florellus al vechtende met den Coninck der Mooren uyt. [...] verschooningh. Den Keyser met sijn Hovelinghen aen de Tafel en wordt ghedanst een Ballet.'

94 De Bie 1671, 31: 'Men sal een gordijn openen al-waer eenen Autaer verschijnt.'

95 De Bruyn 2017.

the ultimate symbol of compassionate and fatherly love.[96] In line with the era, a duel with pistols is also included: 'They shoot each other and two valets are injured by Olivier and the other is arrested.'[97] These examples call to mind the words of Jan Vos, who had said that the hearts of Dutch spectators were affected so much by such scenes that their eyes teared up as much as 'the artificial blood that was running down the stage.'[98] Judging by the two examples discussed here, blood was apparently also a crowd pleaser in Lier. Other international vogues were likewise administered, including the so-called prison scene, famous in Spain's and England's dramas, but also in plays in the Low Countries. For Amsterdam, Veldhorst has demonstrated that prison scenes were often musical in nature.[99] De Bie's play also stages a prison scene, but it is impossible to determine whether this would have included music. The stage directions indicate that Florellus is incarcerated, but he is soon rescued by his brother and a devil.

The devil is a seemingly odd, but rather spectacular element in the text. In rhetoricians' drama of the late Middle Ages, it was not uncommon that a devil made an appearance. Traditionally, the devil played the part of seducer, offering knowledge or wealth seemingly without a price. In the end, however, the seduced woman—women were usually the devil's targets—died and condemned her eternal soul, or had to somehow atone for her sins, as in the early sixteenth-century miracle play *Mariken van Nieumeghen*. Yet, in the case of *Armoede vanden graeve Florellus*, the devil's appearance is as much a classic element incorporated from rhetoricians' drama as it is an interpretation of Lope's *Las pobrezas de reynaldos*. In the Dutch adaptation, the devil has the same supportive role as 'el diablo Zaquiel' in the Spanish original. Zaquiel (Phapesmo in the Dutch play) is not explicitly the representation of temptation and evil, but rather an ingenious shape-shifter of sorts. In both plays, he can be said to feature as the *deus ex machina*, who saves Florellus (Reynaldos in the original) with a screen of smoke and fire: Florellus' brother summons Phapesmo to aid him in his rescue mission. They decide on a fast-change trick: the devil will take Florellus' place in prison by changing into his clothes. The next day, at Florellus' execution, the headsman raises his axe,

96 De Bie 1671, 3.

97 De Bie 1671, 47: 'Sy schieten teghen malcanderen en 2 lijf knechten blijven door Olivier Gequetst en d'ander ghevanghen.'

98 Vos 1667, fol. *3r: 'Zoo meenigmaal als Ulysses in het Treurspel van Polexena, door den vermaarden Samuel Koster gedicht, Astianax, het zoontje van Hektor en Andromache, van de toorentrans wurp, scheen het nagebootste kindt d'aanschouwers zoo hardt op het hart gelijk op d'aardt te vallen: men zagh de traanen niet min uit d'oogen dan het nagebootste bloedt langs het Tooneel vloeien.'

99 Veldhorst 2004, 87–103.

but then the devil-Florellus disappears in smoke and flames.[100] *Dei ex machina*, such as Zaquiel/Phapesmo, were scarcely approved by the critics of *comedia nueva*, generally classicist playwrights, who asserted that the introduction of such deities could only be excused if the dignity of the play required this, but in every other situation they preferred, even demanded, that the dénouement came logically forth from the plot itself.[101]

De Bie's *Alphonsus en Thebasile* shows a similar pattern. The play opens in a grove, but the soothsayer Taurinus can be seen sitting in his study during the second scene of the first act. The switching of location from a grove to the sorcerer's study is a matter of opening the curtains of the middle compartment (B) at the beginning of the scene. This can be regarded as a simplified interpretation of a *changement à vue* as practiced in the big baroque theatres of Italy, Spain, France, and also in Brussels and Amsterdam. Additionally, there are several *tableaux vivants* staged in the play, which relate events that happened elsewhere, or show a character going on a journey; even a hunting scene is showcased in this way. Yet, nothing could be more spectacular than a band of traitors being burned at the stake by means of a *tableau vivant*.[102] The majority of the *tableaux vivants* are shown at the end of every act, also conforming to Lope's idea that such journeys and foreign locations should be allocated to the 'space' between the acts (see Chapter 1).

Finally, in De Bie's *Gheweldighe Heerspchappye Vanden onrechtveerdighen Boris*, a *tableau vivant* shows the coronation of the tyrant Boris as Duke of Muscovy, which is a key moment in the play, since now the rightful heir Demetrius must depose the newly coronated despot.[103] The *tableau* focuses as such on the contradiction between oppressor and liberator, giving Demetrius' actions to overthrow Boris' unlawful reign also more urgency. In this moment, everything that Demetrius fights for seems lost. His immediate response is thus: 'How will we wander as lost sheep! First in Muscovy, now in Poland; How have I slaved as a beggar, wasted away from hunger in service of a murderer of innocence!'[104] This *tableau* should, therefore, establish pity in spectators for Demetrius' fate and the fate of his country. When in a later scene Boris falls asleep, the tyrant-duke starts dreaming, which was staged as a pantomime: 'DREAM. There appear three ghosts who will lift him up and the smallest ghost sits in the throne

100 De Bie 1671, 62–70.

101 See esp. Nil Volentibus Arduum [c. 1678] 1989, 126, 274, 421.

102 De Bie 1673, 7, 18, 24, 44, 52, 71.

103 De Bie c. 1672, 49: 'VERSCHOONINGHE. Boris wordt Hertogh Ghecroont.'

104 De Bie c. 1672, 49: 'hoe gaen wy als verloren schapen dolen, / Dan in Moscovien, nu onder 't Rijck van

with crown and sceptre; two other ghosts appear with mourning costumes and a bier; two more with gallows.'[105] The horrific scene shows similarities to scenes in spectacle plays devised by theatre director Jan Vos in the 1660s, and that were staged at the Amsterdam Public Theatre (see below). The scene in De Bie's play functioned as an omen that Boris' reign would come to a tragic end: indeed, in yet another *tableau* Boris is shown defeated, while his soldiers defect to Demetrius' side.[106] The tyrant is taken captive and hanged at the gallows.[107]

With the relatively simple means that were available in Lier, De Bie adapted three of Lope's *comedias* with sufficient spectacle to entertain his audiences. In fact, I would argue that the *comedias* performed in Lier were slightly more spectacular than those staged in Antwerp. The most important form of spectacle remained the *tableau vivant*, which at times seems to have a rather traditional, late medieval rhetoricians' character, because of the way these *tableaux* are staged by means of the discovery space (the middle compartment). The appearance of the devil onstage is another medieval convention that returns here rather late in the seventeenth century in De Bie's oeuvre, although the smoke and fire used by this character are particularly novel and mesmerising elements in the performance. At the same time, the *tableaux vivants* designed by De Bie are influenced by the baroque aesthetics of exuberance and exaggeration; in Carolingian battle, he overflows the stage with people, creating the illusion that the represented battle was dynamically real. Furthermore, De Bie demonstrated awareness of the modern vogues in spectacle theatre by including a ballet to one of the *tableaux vivants* in *Armoede vanden graeve Florellus*. The productions of *comedia nueva* in Lier are therefore an interesting case study for our broader understanding of how the Spanish *comedias* were adapted and staged in the Low Countries, even outside the big cities, during the seventeenth century.

Polen, / Hoe ben ick af-geslaeft als eenen bedelaer / Van hongher uytgheteert, om eenen moordenaer van de onnooselheyt.'

105 De Bie c. 1672, 64: 'Droom. Verschijnen drie Gheesten die hem sullen op nemen en den kleynsten Gheest sit inden troon met Croon en schepter, twee met rou Capruynen ende baer, twee ander met een galghe.'

106 De Bie c. 1672, 80: 'Verschooningh. Daer Boris gheslaghen wort door het over-loopen van sijn volck by den Prins Demetrius.'

107 De Bie c. 1672, 84.

Spanish Spectacle Plays in Brussels

How different was the theatre environment in Brussels? In this city, theatre had existed in the narrow margins of society between c. 1620–1640, coinciding with Archduke Albert's death in 1621 and the renewed hostilities between the Habsburg Netherlands and the Dutch Republic after the Twelve Years' Truce ended. However, in the 1640s new initiatives were undertaken in the drama scene. Next to the traditional rhetoricians' chambers, new drama and poetry groups were established. The rhetoricians remained involved in official city parades, whereas these new societies were free to select their own repertoire. Converse to the city's rhetoricians, they selected an international repertoire, including Spanish *comedia nueva*.[108]

In Brussels, the first adaptation of a Spanish *comedia* was Calderón's popular play *La vida es sueño* (1635), adapted as *Het leven is maer droom* (1647).[109] The anonymous translator must have been a member of the society of the Free Enthusiasts for Poetry in Brussels ('de Vrye Lief-hebbers ende der Rymer-Konste binnen Brussel'), which still performed at Brussels' city hall in the 1640s (Fig. 2.8). As such, we may expect that *Het leven is maer droom* was also performed there in 1647.[110] Literary scholar Paul De Keyser asserts that these plays were performed by the Free Enthusiasts in the so-called fencing school, which was the conference hall of the Guild of Saint Michael (one of four historical divisions of the civic guard).[111] Regrettably, the interior of Brussels' city hall was completely destroyed during the French bombardments in 1695. Therefore, we have to rely for the most part on the information provided by the texts themselves to understand the nature of the spectacle in the Spanish plays staged there before the establishment of the Brussels Public Theatre.

For the adaptation *Het leven is maer droom*, it is likely that the play made extensive use of a stage with compartments (as represented in Fig. 2.7 above). Since the play was in all likelihood also performed in the fencing school, we can deduce that the stage must have been temporary as was the case at most rhetoricians' chambers. Nevertheless, the stage directions often mention the use of rapiers (in duels), paintings, tapestries, and a bed as stage props, in addition to the extensive musical accompaniment of violins, trumpets, and drums.[112] This means that the Free Enthu-

108 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 447–448.

109 Blom and Van Marion 2021.

110 Langvik-Johannessen and Porteman 1996, 285, 287.

111 De Keyser 1925, 22.

112 See the stage directions in Vrye Lief-hebbers 1647, e.g. 13, 21, 28, 40, 54, 59.

FIG. 2.8 Today's view of the City Hall of Brussels
PHOTO BY F. PÉCASSOU 2014 (CC BY-SA 4.0)

siasts employed several tactics to entertain spectators. While rapiers were used to create spectacular action scenes, the violins, trumpets, and drums should have set the appropriate mood for the play's events. When King Basilius enters the stage, for example, this is accentuated by a fanfare, emphasising his importance: 'They beat drums and blow trumpets, while King Basilius enters with his courtiers and council. The King's nephew and niece, Aurora and Astolfo, fall at his feet on both sides of his throne.'[113] After the fanfare dies down, Aurora and Astolfo flatter the king, for which the mood was already set by the music.

113 Vrye Lief-hebbers 1647, 23: 'Men slaet trommels en trompetten, ter-wijl den Koningh Basilius uyt-

The experiments of the Free Enthusiasts with spectacle can also explain why this literary society lobbied for the establishment of a permanent theatre in Brussels. In the foreword to his *Rosimunda* (1651), the foreman of the society, Willem van der Borcht (also known by his Spanish name, Guillelmo à Castro) writes about their halted endeavours:

> I intended to establish here in Brussels an eternal Theatre for the benefit of the poor foundlings; therefore, this endeavour is not by my intervention smothered in its own seed, and robbed of its fruits, but the misunderstanding that this has caused has given us Enthusiasts reason to showcase tangibly at their farewell that which might be hoped of such practice in the future.[114]

According to various scholars, they were unsuccessful in their plea, at least until the establishment of the Muntschouwburg (Theatre of the Mint) in 1700.[115] However, after c. 1660, the titlepage of a play by another member of the Free Enthusiasts mentions that it was 'showcased at the Brussels Public Theatre' for the first time. The play is Claude de Grieck's *Samson, oft edel-moedighen Nazareen* (c. 1660, 'Samson, or Magnanimous Nazarene'), an adaptation of Juan Pérez de Montalbán's *El valiente Nazareno*.

The Free Enthusiasts found themselves working under favourable circumstances, as theatre life in Brussels received an extra boost from 1650 onwards during the rule of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria, a renowned patron of the arts who was Governor of the Spanish Netherlands between 1647 and 1656. In this period, Brussels gained two new 'comedy houses': the 'Caetsspel' (1649) on the Wolvengracht and the 'Comediehuys' (1652) on the Warmoesberg.[116] Whether one of these playhouses was

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komt met zijn hof ende raet. Aurora ende Astolf vallen hem te weder-sijden in sijnen throon te voet.'

114 Van der Borcht 1651, fol. *2r: '[I]ck [...] hebbe voor-gehadt alhier binnen Brussel op te stichten een eeuwigh Schouborch tot behoef van d'arme Vondel-kinderen, dan also het selve door mijn toe-doen in sijn saet niet en is verstickt, ende van sijne vruchten berooft gheweest, maer dat het misverstandt dat sulcks veroorsaeckt heeft, reden ghegheven heeft aen onse Lief-hebbers by hunnen afscheyt wel tastelijck te bethoonen het gene in toe-komende tijden van dusdanighe oeffeninghe soude moghen ghehoopt [...] zijn.' There are multiple ways to interpret 'Vondel-kinderen' in this excerpt: one is orphans (foundlings), another is children of Vondel, i.e., poets.

115 See e.g., Langvik-Johannessen and Porteman 1996, 285; Blom and Van Marion 2021, 34.

116 De Keyser 1925, 22.

known as the Brussels Public Theatre cannot be verified, again because of the French bombardments of Brussels in 1695, although the 'Comediehuys' is the more likely candidate, since it was established only a year after the publication of Van der Borcht's *Rosimunda*, in which he pleaded for the construction of a public theatre. The new Archduke was particularly fond of the drama of southern Europe, including Italy and Spain. *Comedias nuevas* were already performed in Spanish at court in 1615/1616 by the troupe of Francisco Lopez, and now even more than before.[117]

The Spectacular Role of the Brussels Court

Like Madrid, the city of Brussels was largely dependent on, and shaped by, its court.[118] Thus, an important driver for the theatre business in Brussels was also initially its court. From 1650 onwards, the Brussels court imported spectacle plays from Italy and Spain. Archduke Leopold Wilhelm had ordered the construction of a permanent theatre in the Galerie des Empereurs of Coudenberg Palace, where these Italian and Spanish plays were to be performed (Fig. 2.9, next page). He commissioned the Flemish architect Leonard van Heil for the project. Whether this theatre was public is unclear.

As part of Leopold Wilhelm's cultural revitalisation programme, the first opera was also staged in the Low Countries in 1650. It was *Ulisse all'isola di Circe* by composer Gioseffo Zamponi and librettist Ascanio Amalteo, both Italian artists who were in the service of the Brussels court. As discussed in the previous chapter, Zamponi's opera was an extraordinary event and thus *Ulisse all'isola di Circe* was not performed in the Galerie des Empereurs but in the more impressive Sala Regia. There, the Archduke hired the Italian architect Giovanni Battista Angelini to specifically construct a temporary theatre, complete with stage machinery. Furthermore, the citizens of Brussels were also allowed to attend the performances during its 1655 reprise.[119]

Such grand Italian spectacles offered inspiration for playwrights when adapting Spanish *comedias*: they could harness the most impressive aspects of the opera to implement Italianate spectacle into their Dutch adaptations. This was likely the case for De Grieck's *Ulysses in't eylandt van Circe*.[120] The qualification of De Grieck's adaptation as a 'hof-spel' (court play) might echo the famous opera performance at

117 De Keyser 1925, 22.

118 Elliott 2009, 257–258.

119 Langvik-Johannessen and Porteman 1996, 284; Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 452; De Paepe 2015, 147.

120 Vergeer 2020c, 322–329.

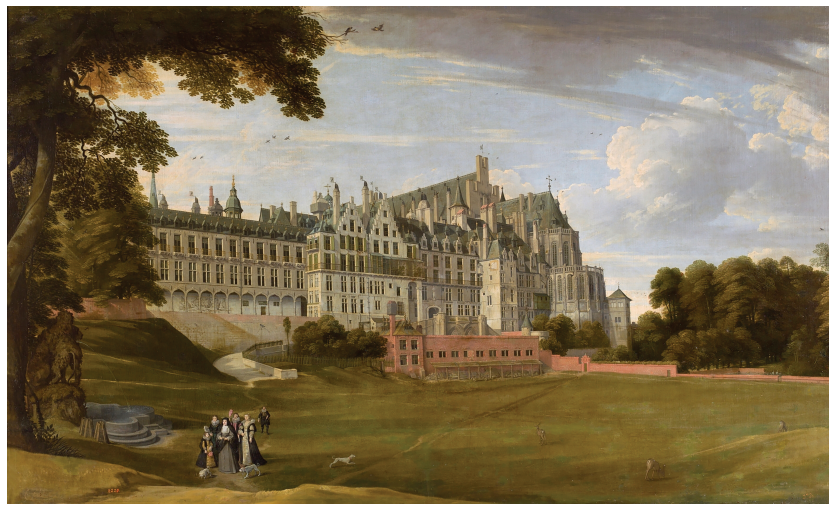

FIG. 2.9 Jan Brueghel the Younger (?), *The Royal Palace in Brussels (The Palace of Coudenberg) seen from the Warande*, c. 1627, oil on canvas, 150 cm x 228 cm
ROYAL COLLECTION, MUSEO DEL PRADO, MADRID

court;[121] otherwise, the genre designation is simply a reference to the Spanish *comedia palatina*, which is often set at court.[122] Either way, De Grieck adapted the Spanish text concisely, but the stage directions show more similarities to Zamponi's text than to Calderón's, although both the opera and the *comedia* had been spectacular events. Yet, unlike Zamponi's opera, there is no indication that Calderón's play was performed in Brussels.[123]

Therefore, De Grieck might have omitted the erupting volcano that Circe had summoned when Ulysses fled her island in the final act of Calderón's original. To compare, there had not been a volcano in Zamponi's opera either. Instead, spectators were treated to a *changement à vue* where Circe's courtyard instantly changed into a ruin.[124] Likewise, in De Grieck's adaptation of Calderón, the stage directions tell us that '[t]he Garden and the Palace change into a ruin.'[125] This was probably done by means of coulisse décor mounted on rails: one set of screens probably depicted a

121 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 554.
122 Vergeer 2020c, 320.
123 De Keyser 1925, 22.
124 Amalteo 1650, 44.
125 De Grieck 1668, 75.

sumptuous palace and garden while another set depicted ruins, which then replaced the first set in a mere moment. These examples demonstrate that De Grieck is almost certain to have attended the reprise of Zamponi's opera in 1655, along with his fellow citizens.[126] Perhaps inspired by Zamponi's opera, De Grieck wanted to make his own version of the love story of Ulysses and Circe, but he must have quickly realised that Calderón's version better suited his expertise as a playwright when he came in the possession of Calderón's *Segunda parte*.[127]

The spectacle present in such plays as *El mayor encanto, amor* could offer a challenge for theatre directors to exploit the potential of a found environment, and consequently some of the most elicit spectacle effects of the Spanish *comedias* were omitted from the Dutch adaptations (as discussed in Chapter 1). Particularly, the eruption of Mount Etna and the complete destruction of Trinacria were aspects of the original Spanish performance in the Estanque Grande that as spectacle must have elicited a strong emotional response evoked by the quality of the stimuli in Calderón's play. As an ending for the 'fiesta,' the eruption of Mount Etna demarcated not only destruction and loss, but also purification and rebirth, a renewal of the sun's energy, 'which was becoming weaker as the winter solstice approached' as Pepa Castillo Pascual asserts.[128] The ending of the 1635 performance was a tremendous way to celebrate Midsummer's Eve, on which the play's staging was planned. As Castillo Pascual explains, 'this type of apocalyptic ending was very much in keeping with the baroque stage design and, surely, it aroused the *admiratio* of all spectators.'[129]

In Madrid, the eruption of Mount Etna was represented by fireworks.[130] King Felipe IV's stage director Lotti's use of fireworks was not unique but surely among the first when in 1635 he designed the décor for Calderón's *El mayor encanto, amor*. For various Italian operas about Alcina and Medea discussed in the previous chapter, Hedman argued that the open-air found environments used to host court spectacles in the 1660s at Versailles, Munich, and Vienna enabled stage directors to use fireworks to create the sense that Alcina's and Medea's islands were destroyed by magic.[131] The same applies to Lotti's production of *El mayor encanto, amor*, he went even further than the later producers of the abovementioned operas. In his production, Lotti included a

126 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 452.

127 Vergeer 2020c, 321–322.

128 Castillo Pascual 2015, 89.

129 Castillo Pascual 2015, 85. For the aesthetic characterisation of spectators' *admiratio* as a responding emotion, see Frijda 1986, 356.

130 Brenan 1951, 277; Hedman 2019, 80–81.

131 Hedman 2019, 72–74, 77, 79–81.

floating stage lit with 3000 lanterns, a shipwreck, a triumphal water-car pulled by life-like prop dolphins. The destruction of Circe's palace and island with the eruption of Mount Etna to the accompaniment of artillery and fireworks was the ultimate climax.[132] The found environment enhanced the illusion, but the spectacle that the fireworks offered immersed spectators completely.

In the Brussels adaptation of 1668, this event is not described as such, nor was it likely possible to light fireworks within the Brussels Public Theatre, although news must have reached Brussels of the contemporary court spectacles staged elsewhere in Europe. In terms of the spectacle alone, the Flemish adaptation was probably less impressive, although for his adaptation De Grieck included the appearance of the nymph Galathea as *dea ex machina*, who entered the stage in a triumphal water-car. Just as in the Spanish original, we find Galathea in the Brussels adaptation accompanied by mermaids, while tritons announce her arrival by playing musical instruments.[133] It begs to differ whether without the volcanic eruption the Brussels adaptation could elicit the same effect in its Flemish spectators as Calderón's original might have. Nevertheless, the *changements à vue*, which were introduced in the public theatres of Brussels and Amsterdam in the 1660s, should be regarded as a novelty at that time.

Spectacle at the Brussels Public Theatre

De Grieck's *Ulysses in't eylandt van Circe* was not the only spectacle play performed in Brussels between 1650 and 1672. For Wouthers' *De devotie van Eusebius*, De Paepe concluded that the *changements à vue* were of equal importance. Although perhaps originally an Antwerp play, *De devotie van Eusebius* was performed at the Brussels Public Theatre in an altered form which reflects the possibilities of the venue.[134] According to the printed edition, during the first act, 'The theatre changes into a home; Guilia while lamenting enters with Arminda.'[135] Other stage directions include 'The theatre is changed in a forest' at the beginning of the second act, and a little bit later during the second act, 'The theatre is changed on the one side into a forest, and on the other

132 Brenan 1951, 277; Castillo Pascual 2015, 85–87; Vergeer 2020c, 327–328.

133 De Grieck 1668, 74: 'Het water stilt, ende op het selve verschynt de Nymphe Galathea in een triumph-wagen, die van Mereminnen voort-getrokken wordt, een deel Tritons, om den selven, met instrumenten.' See also Calderón de la Barca 1641, 26r: 'Serenese el mar, y sale por èl en un carro triunfal Galatea, tiranle dos Sirenas y alrededor muchos Tritones con instrumentos.'

134 De Paepe 2011, 248.

135 Wouthers 1665a, 10: 'Het theater verandert in huysinghen, Guilia met Arminda al weenende uyt.'

side a wall. The light is also dimmed a little.'[136] On the next page, we learn that Eusebius has to scale the wall, while flames rage over his head. Surprised, Eusebius 'halts in wonder halfway up the ladder.'[137] This was surely a fascinating sight, if realistic flames (perhaps of fabric) were indeed thrown over the wall. Because of these stage directions, De Paepe asserts that the Brussels Public Theatre possessed coulisse décor and allowed for performances with the technique of *changement à vue*.[138]

De Paepe does not discuss that apparently the lights could be adjusted to align with the play's atmosphere. Judging by the stage direction in *De devotie van Eusebius*, the scene necessitated this adjustment. Furthermore, it is possible to imagine that the handling of the candles used in these early modern theatres—lighting, snuffing, and fizzling out the candles—resulted in a lot of fuss, and perhaps smoke and smell, adding to the experience. It could even be said that without the effects of the candles, the scene might not have been as powerful or captivating. We can imagine how this would have been useful in the production of *Ulysses in't eylandt van Circe* as well, when in the third act the Greeks fight the animal inhabitants of Trinacria; when in the fourth act the ghost of Achilles and his grave rise from under the stage; or when in the fifth act Ulysses escapes Circe's island and the sorceress-queen conjures a turbulent storm and lets the sea vomit flames. Spectators must have watched with horror as Circe's ladies-in-waiting fled for their lives—the scene was, in a way, a *sacer horror*.[139] The flames that Circe summons would be more exciting if the theatre's auditorium was made dark, just as was the case in the *Devotie van Eusebius*.

In De Grieck's *Samson*, the blinded and captive hero Samson concludes the play in a dramatic and tragic way: he pulls down the columns of the Philistine temple on top of himself as a final act of heroism and bravery, which was likely staged as a *tableau vivant* or a pantomime. There is no indication that during this scene the lights were also dimmed, but the directors probably used the stage curtains to mimic the discovery space of the traditional rhetoricians' stage to the same effect. Therefore, spectators saw Samson grab the pillars, which he pulled over, destroying the temple of Dagon in the act.[140] The *mise-en-scène* here compares to that of Pérez de Montal-

136 Wouthers 1665a, 22, 36. the first quote reads: 'Het theater wort verandert in een Bosschagie'; the second: 'Het theater wordt verandert op d'een seyde bosch, ende op d'ander seyde muragie. Het licht wordt oock een weynigh verdonckert.'

137 Wouthers 1665a, 37: 'Soo Eusebius de leere begint op te klimmen, sal men over den muer vlammen viers doen vliegen, ende Eusebius blyft verbaest half-wegen de leer.'

138 De Paepe 2011, 247–248.

139 De Grieck 1668, 50, 69–70, 74–75.

140 De Grieck 1660, 55: 'Hy om-helst de pilaren, treckt haer te gaer, en doet den tempel invallen.'

FIG. 2.10 Antonie Wierix (II) after Maerten de Vos, *Samson breaks the pillars; the temple of Dagon collapses, killing all inside*, c. 1585–1643, engraving, 215 mm x 288 mm
RIJKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM

bán's *El valiente Nazareno*: 'Samson embraces the pillars,' then says that 'thus I die for God, for me, for my fatherland, for my zeal, for my honour, for my *constantia*, and because heaven has ordered it.'[141] To spectators, Samson's blindness offers a humbling, voyeuristic, and almost perverse contrast to the spectacle that the familiar hero is *imagineering*.[142]

When De Grieck's *Samson* pulls down the columns of Dagon's temple, the scene *imagineers* horrific images with potentially great effects on spectators. It was, moreover, a scene depicted many times by artists in the seventeenth century, and would have been familiar to viewers (see e.g., Fig 2.10). When Vondel devised this same Biblical scene for his *Samson of Heilige wraeck* (1660, 'Samson or Holy Revenge'), however, he did not showcase the destruction of Dagon's temple. In Vondel's play, this event remains

141 Pérez de Montalbán 1638, fol. 112r. The first quote reads: 'abraçase Sanson de las colunas'; the second quote reads: 'pues muero por Dios, por mi, / por mi patria, por mi zelo, / por mi honor, por mi constancia, / y porque el cielo ha dispuesto.'

142 See Van der Haven 2019, 34–41, who argued the same for Vondel's parallel play *Samson of Heilige wraeck* (1660).

beyond the spectators' grip, because as the chorus puts it: 'This frightful din deafens our ears. All this dust blinds our eyes.'[143] Instead, the many casualties are reported by a messenger. Yasco Horsman has described the messenger's report as rich and powerful in its use of language, evoking 'the scene of this disaster in all its gory detail':[144]

> I hung from a pillar, which was already tilting over,
> And I saw from above this fully pitiful spectacle;
> More deliberately when the dust had settled:
> Some crushed, other semi-crushed, and neck and leg broken,
> The blood and rubble were mixed, the pale ghosts haunt
> And stay around the torso, either dead, or semi-dead.
> This one still moves his arm, that one distorts his leg in distress.
> Another is about to die; another while moaning
> Comes from beneath the rubble. Shanks, bowels,
> And head, and intestines: a nauseated batter
> Mixed together; and flesh, and leg, and brain defile
> The day with a stench, which will almost bear a plague.[145]

Horsman continues that '[t]he speech of the messenger, and its explicit and violent nature, stands out in the play, and has such a shocking impact that it almost seems to detach itself from the narrative of which it is supposed to be the resolution, leaving Vondel's reader with a visual imprint of a scene of pure violence.'[146] And that is just it: the messenger's report is brought alive before readers and audiences through a pure act of *enargeia*.

In line with Freud and Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe, Horsman argued about the absence of those deaths on stage that death cannot be experienced directly, can only be re-presented, and lies beyond the means of theatre itself, because '[d]eath itself

143 Vondel 1660, 46–47: 'Dit afgrijsselijck geschal / verdooft onze ooren. Al dit stof verblint onze oogen.'

144 Horsman 2012, 446.

145 Vondel 1660, 50–51: 'Ick hing aen een' pylaer, alreede aen 't overhellen, / En zagh van boven al dit deerlijck schouspel aen, / Bescheidelijcker toen het stuiven was vergaen; / Geplet, en half geplet, en hals en been gebroken, / Het bloet en puin gemengt, de bleecke geesten spoocken / En waeren om den romp, of doot, of hallef doot. / Dees rept den arm noch, die vertreckt zijn been in noodt: / Een ander zieltoogh vast: een ander onder 't kermen / Komt onder uit het puin opdondren. schenkels, darmen, / En hooft, en ingewant, een misselijck beslagh, / Door een gemengt, en vleesch, en been, en brein den dagh / Bezwalcken met een lucht, die haest een pest zal baeren.'

146 Horsman 2012, 446.

can never be made present on the stage, since it always takes place on yet another, "different stage", that lies beyond the actual space of the theatre. Death itself is always endlessly deferred and displaced.'[147] This adds an extra dimension to the practical objections to death on stage as offered by Nil Volentibus Arduum.[148] Although I do not contest that death is a difficult—if not impossible—act to make present onstage, I think De Grieck's *Samson* actually succeeded in staging death by means of a *tableau vivant* or a pantomime. Thus, the play lets spectators experience more of Samson's revenge directly as witnesses to the 'holy justice' than in stagings of Vondel's *Samson*. While Vondel's messenger convincingly described the gruesome scene in a report, De Grieck's text indicates that a graphic representation was made visible on stage to a more visual effect: the horrific spectacle in De Grieck's adaptation is recreated—*imagineered*—by theatrical means, whereas the horrors in Vondel's play are dramatically constructed.

In all these situations, the dazzling baroque scenography could enhance the complementing emotions of horror and fear and evoke wonder and admiration in spectators. The *mise-en-scène* establishes an attentive fascination as painters were wont to do with their paintings. The baroque depends in part on the contrast between dark and light; as painting and theatre are in many ways alike, the scenes of these plays would be 'painted' in much the same way. Through the scenography of *Ulysses in't eylandt van Circe*, *De devotie van Eusebius*, and *Samson*, the Brussels Public Theatre had the means to seduce the eyes with a sea belching flames, buildings collapsing, tempests and turbulent storms, all through sudden changes of décor. With their eyes caught, spectators could also begin listening to the love and honour stories of the Brussels adaptations.

Amsterdam: *Comedia Nueva* for the Masses

The spectacle witnessed in Brussels is also administered in the productions of *comedias* in Amsterdam. I already discussed the first period with Rodenburgh, but spectacle was obviously also used during the second period of the Amsterdam Public Theatre (1638–1664), and in the third (1665–1672). We can see clear differences between the periods in line with the technical possibilities of The Eglantine and the Amsterdam Public

147 Horsman 2012, 456.

148 Nil Volentibus Arduum [c. 1678] 1989, 274, 387, 424–428.

Theatre itself, but also between the preferences of spectators in the first quarter of the seventeenth century and their changed preferences in the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century.

Spectacle at the Amsterdam Public Theatre (1638–1664)

With the opening of the Amsterdam Public Theatre in January 1638, not much had changed since Rodenburgh adapted his *comedias* in 1617/1618. Both Rodenburgh's *Casandra en Karel* and his *Ialoursche studenten* were performed at the theatre in 1642 and 1644, respectively. In 1645, *'t Quaedt zijn meester loondt* followed. We can accept that *tableaux vivants* remained an important vehicle to move the audiences in these plays, and the extra space on the stage of the Amsterdam Public Theatre made it possible to produce even more elaborate *tableaux vivants*.

In this period that new plays were adapted, the *tableau vivant* is, however, not always present to meet the need for spectacle. As such, the text of Van Heemskerck's *De verduytste Cid* does not make clear whether the murder of Don Gomes was showcased during the premiere of the play on 2 May 1641. This is due to Van Heemskerck himself, who had intended the play as reading drama and not as a performance piece.[149] Thus, typical spectacular theatrical devices were also absent from the text.[150] Only from later productions of *De verduytste Cid* it is known that the murder was represented by means of two *tableaux vivants*: one showing the murder, the other the immediate situation afterwards where Chimène cries over her father's dead body.[151] Nor is the duel between Don Rodrigo and Don Sanchez in the fifth act represented onstage, or at least not the outcome of the duel, namely that Don Rodrigo had defeated his opponent but being a magnanimous hero he let him live. However, Don Sanchez is less noble and uses this opportunity to speed to court and bring false tidings of Rodrigo's defeat and death to Chimène who like the spectators are unaware of the duel's outcome.[152]

In Van Germez' 1645 adaptation, *Vervolgde Laura*, spectacle is not created by means of a *tableau vivant*. The actor-playwright rather focused on a scene, which today is still very attractive to visitors of average cinema: the passionate scene as foreplay to

149 This is attested by his publisher Nicolaes van Ravesteyn 1641, fol. A2^{r}.

150 Smits-Veldt 1995, 210–211. Smits-Veldt makes clear that the absence of any reference to the *tableau vivant* in the text does not mean that it was not part of the performance.

151 See Stockink 1753, 1–2.

152 Van Heemskerck 1641, fols. F6^{v}–F8^{r}.

the well-known sex scene. In this specific scene, the lady-in-waiting Lidia seduces the valet Octavio, while impersonating her mistress Laura. The King who wanted to break up the young lovers, his son Prince Orantee and Laura, has orchestrated this meeting, bringing his son to overlook the 'spectacle.' While Orantee spies on the two people (the one he believes to be his girlfriend and her apparent suitor Octavio, his valet), spectators see how Lidia in Laura's clothes seduces another man.

> Oh! Do not resist my lust with idle talk!
> But answer me with the heart, and let us stop talking.
> Octavio, repay the fire [...] in loyalty and strong love.[153]

Van Germez gladly used this deception scene that was also present in the original plot, as the scene already was spectacular in and of itself: Orantee sees how "Laura" ardently longs to spend the night with Octavio. Angry, he curses Laura's name and leaves in grief. When Octavio hears other people nearby, he and "Laura" hide from prying eyes. We can only assume that they will share the bed, because the climax itself is not shown.

The use of spectacle in Isaak Vos' *De beklaagelycke dwangh* (1648) is again closer to Rodenburgh's use of spectacle in his three Lope adaptations. The playwright had written in his foreword to the play that it would please the audience, especially since he had paid more attention to the fashion and tastes of 'the time in which he lived' ('na de tijdt daar in hy leefde') than the 'old theatre laws' ('oude Tooneelwetten'). And thus, Vos included three *tableaux vivants*. The first is especially exhilarating, since spectators are now truly witness to a sex scene: the crown princess Dionisia sits in bed at twilight with her lover, whose true identity remains hidden. While she thinks she shares her bed with Henryck, the lover is in fact Oktavio, a detail known to the audience, which therefore warrants a *tableau vivant*, emphasising the plot turn and creating a spectacular moment of surprise and wonder:

> Tableau Vivant
> The play makes place for a tableau vivant. The actors form a still image under the guidance of music. The live painting showcases a tableau in the twilight of Diniosia's bedchamber: the crown princess can be seen with in her lap her lover.[154]

153 Van Germez 1645, 37: 'Ai! wederstreef mijn min doch niet met ydle zaeken! / Maer antwoord met 'et hert, en laet ons woorden staeken. / Octaef, betael de brand, die 'k steets gevoel met pijn, [...] in trouw' en sterk beminne.'

154 As quoted from Blom 2021a, 235. Reconstruction on the basis of the 1661 German *Wandergruppe* version

Yet, this sex scene likely does not compare to sex scenes as we know them from our modern-day movies, since *decorum* limited how much live nudity was allowed to be shown on stage. If a play necessitated on stage nudity, a *tableau vivant* might have offered a solution, but even then it is not always clear whether actors displayed their nudity live or that a painting was shown to spectators.[155] Even then, rarely did an actor have to act his or her role fully naked, because, as Hubert Meeus argues, 'naeckt' (naked) meant often 'in het hemt' (in undergarments).[156] It is likely that Dionysia and Oktavia were indeed dressed in undergarments during this scene.

The other two *tableaux vivants* also highlight plot twists. When Henryck is disappointed that his courtship with Dionisia has failed, he returns to Bristol. There, he rekindles his relationship with Rosaura, whom he marries soon after: 'Tableau Vivant. There Henryck marries Rosaura, the daughter of the Count of Bristol in public.'[157]

Believing that Henryck has betrayed her, Dionisia asks her father, the king, to intervene. Through a ruse, he orders Henryck to kill his own newly-wed wife, so that he can marry Dionisia and restore his daughter's virtue. The third *tableau vivant* shows, however, that Henryck, unable to kill Rosaura, sends her boat adrift onto the open sea towards her certain end. Just in time, Oktavio saves Rosaura before she sighs her last breath:

> Rosaura, being cast on the cliffs of Death,
> Is being helped by Oktavio, the source of her troubles.
> He renews her troubles through his unsavoury lusts,
> And increases them even, instead of fixing them.
> Meanwhile, Henryck rages on,
> Mourning his spouse, and he revolts at the idea of having to live on.[158]

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of *De beklaagelycke dwangh*: 'Musica, Verthönung, wie Octavio der Princessin aüff der Schoß sietzet und schleffet' (see Lope de Vega 1661, scan 15).

155 Meeus 2011, 84–85.

156 Meeus 2011, 90.

157 Vos 1648, fol. B7^{v}: 'Vertooningh. Daar Henrijck met Rosaure des Graaven Dochter van Bristol in't openbaar trouwt.'

158 See Stockink 1753, n.p. The original reads: 'Rosaura, strandende op de klippen van de dood, / Werd door Oktavio, de bronaar haarer kwalen / Geholpen, die haar ramp, in plaats van te bepalen, / Door zyne onkuysche min vernieuwt, en zelfs vergroot. / Terwyl Henrikus door de razerny gedreeven, / Zyn Ega steets betreurt, en walgt van meer te leeven.'

When this *tableau* was added exactly is uncertain. It cannot be found in the original print of 1648, but this does not mean that the play did not include a *tableau vivant*, as has been argued for many other plays from the same period. Our knowledge about the existence of a *tableau vivant* in *De beklaagelycke dwangh* comes from an extra-textual description made by J. van Thil and published in Stockinck's *Verscheide vertooningen, geschikt ter versieringe van eenige tooneel-speelen, die op den Amsteldamschen Schouwburg vertoond werden* (1753, 'Various *Tableaux Vivants*, Designed to Decorate Several Plays, which were Performed at the Amsterdam Public Theatre'). However, it also appears in the same moment of the plot in a 1661 manuscript of a German *Wandergruppe* version of the play.[159] After this *tableau vivant*, Rosaura conceives of her counterplot to save her husband's reputation and expose Oktavio for the lying schemer that he is.

Two years earlier, Isaak Vos used in his *De gedwongen vrient* (1646, 'The Forced Friend') duels as the most important vehicle for spectacle, which were showcased according to the text.[160] The prison break in the fourth act, orchestrated by Astolfo's lover Luzinda, must have also been spectacular, with its skirmishes with the guards comparable to the action in Indiana Jones or James Bond films.[161] Compared to Rodenburgh's adaptations, which rely heavily on the use of *tableaux vivants* for spectacle, Vos' *De gedwongen vrient* shows that plays can already be spectacular if the spectacle is established by means of the 'capa' (cloak) and the 'espada' (rapier), the two most distinct characteristics in *comedia de capa y espada* (for which this subgenre is named).

On the other hand, the absence of *tableaux vivants* in these newly adapted plays could indicate that this dramatic device served out its purpose after 1640 to entertain spectators; it might be that it was considered an old-fashioned and cheap theatrical device compared to more novel seductions. This is, however, not the case. As *comedia nueva* rose in popularity during the second half of the 1640s, spectacle was also increasingly added. The man responsible was Jan Vos, who was theatre director from 1647 until his death in 1667. The playwright adored *tableaux vivants* and other big spectacle and often implemented them in his own plays and those of others.[162] The employment of Jacob Baroces around 1646 as technical translator seems to have been another important influence. With Baroces' technical translations in hand, Leonard de Fuyter

159 See Blom 2021a, 240, 445. Blom has demonstrated that the German manuscript offers insight into how *De beklaagelycke dwangh* was also performed in Amsterdam. Blom quotes from the 1661 German *Wandergruppe* manuscript: 'Musica' and 'Vertönung, wie Rosaura in Schiffe fahret' (see Lope de Vega 1661, scan 31).

160 Vos 1646, fol. B3^{r}.

161 Vos 1646, fol. E4^{r}.

162 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 524–525; Geerdink 2012, 111–112.

added two *tableaux vivants* to his *Verwarde hof* ('Confused Court') in 1647.[163] Baroces also oversaw the spectacular duels in Isaak Vos' *De gedwongen vrient*. The absence of *tableaux vivants* in this play is, however, somewhat remarkable, since Isaak Vos' cousin was the spectacle-hungry Jan Vos.

A different approach to spectacle can be seen in Joris de Wijse's *Voorzigtige Dolheit* (1650, 'Cautious Madness'). There, music is used to spectacularly stage a plot and counterplot situation. De Wijse focused on the power of music to set the mood and to emphasise action. He especially exploited the influence of the contrafact: new songs were continuously written on existing melodies throughout Europe, and especially in the Low Countries. These new songs were, naturally, easy to recognise and to sing.[164] Knowing how successful the contrafact had been in the work of playwrights like Rodenburgh, De Wijse inserted two refrains, which follow one after another in the second act: the first song was sung to the popular melody of 'Je voudrais bien o Cloris' from Gabriel Bataille's *Airs de different autheurs, mis en tablature de luth* (1615), while the second song was sung to the lost melody of 'Non ha sotto il ciel.'[165]

Although both songs used well-known melodies, the second refrain in particular contributed to the creation of suspense. Following Lope's use of song-making, the refrain is directly connected to the action in the play: the King's stepmother Rosania and his fired general Dinardo plot against King Anthony, planning to poison his morning beverage to make him insane and consequently unfit to rule. They try to bribe Robbrecht, Anthony's apothecary, for the poison. Robbrecht is, however, loyal to Anthony and warns him. Anthony pretends that he knows nothing of the plot, and keeps the audience in suspense about his counterplot.

When the time for the poisoning comes, King Anthony sings a song with the incipit 'Op wat losser grondt.' He laments that his advances with Countess Lucinde, one of his courtiers, have been unsuccessful, while he drinks his morning beverage:

ANTHONY. [...]
And yet my eyes, I have been deceived
By two bright beams

163 Translation of Antonio Mira de Amescua's *El palacio confuso* (c. 1628). The Spanish adaptation is ascribed to Lope de Vega.

164 Grijp 1991, 23.

165 De Wijse 1650, fols. $C4^{v}$–$D1^{r}$. According to Veldhorst, the music of 'Non ha sotto il ciel' has not survived (2004, n. 532).

Radiating from your lovely face,
Which now make me stray.[166]

The content of Anthony's song stands in stark contrast to what is about to happen. In the meantime, the knowing audience would be compelled to call out to him to not drink, but know that he knows the beverage has been poisoned—or so they think. Veldhorst has, rightly, argued that the song comes at a precarious moment in the play. The King feigns illness as the result of drinking the poisoned beverage, and utters just in time: 'Oh poor me! My veins are swelling up, [...] My heart is in distress from poison, / I have been betrayed, hold this cup, oh the unbearable pain.'[167] The whole court rushes to the King's side in complete desperation. The music, hence, deceives the king and has an alienating effect, Veldhorst notes.[168] The audience wonders what is happening: they know that Anthony knew that the beverage was poisoned. Thus, they are conflicted, until it is revealed that the King has, in fact, fooled everyone, in order to unmask the plotters. Now he can counterplot against Dinardo and Rosania without them suspecting a thing. The audience are thrilled by the action, which is in turn emphasised by the songs which deceive them through their unsettling effects.

The spectacle in Dullaart's *Alexander de Medicis* (1653) is more straightforward. The translation of this play was again delivered by Baroces. The assassination of Duke Alexander in the fifth act is again represented by means of a *tableau vivant*. This time, however, we also have a depiction of the *tableau vivant* (Fig. 2.10). The play's frontispiece shows how the Duke is surprised by his own kin, Laurens de Medicis, and Laurens' valet Pedro, who stab him with poniards. Although the stage directions make no mention of a *tableau vivant* being performed, the frontispiece has the characteristics of one: in addition to the *pictura*, the *subscriptio* is also given, through which the assassination receives a moral dimension.[169] In the *subscriptio*, we read how Alexander is a gullible man, who too easily trusts those who appear to be his closest friends:

166 De Wijse 1650, fol. D1v: 'ANTHONY. Maar mijn oogen, 'k ben bedroogen / Door twee heldre straalen / Van uw lief gezicht, / Die my nu doen dwaalen.'

167 De Wijse 1650, fols. D1r–D1v: 'KONING. Ay my! Mijn adren zwellen, [...] Mijn hert gevoelt de nepen van fenijn, / Ik ben verraân, houw vast, ô duldeloze pijn.'

168 Veldhorst 2004, 170–171.

169 Smits-Veldt 1995, n. 6 (211).

FIG. 2.11 Frontispiece to Joan Dullaart's Alexander de Medicis, 1653
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ALEXANDER DE MEDICIS.
[PICTURA: FIG. 2.11]
Treason rewards now his favourite with much sorrow:
It makes in the appearance of friendship the monarch descend into hell.
True Loyalty makes here the loyal triumphant.
One who lightly believes is lightly [i.e. easily] deceived.[170]

170 Dullaart 1653, 3: 'ALEXANDER DE MEDICIS / 'T verraat beloont nu hier zijn gunst'ling met veel smert; / Het doet in vrientschaps schyn, den vorst ter helle dalen. / D' oprechte Trouw doet hier den trouwe Zegepralen. / Een die te licht gelooft, te licht bedroogen wert.'

Another notable aspect of this frontispiece is the depiction of one of the characters holding a torch, which might suggest that the lights were dimmed in the auditorium during the staging of the *tableau*, *imagineering* a gloomy scene of violence. One concern for the interpretation of this scene is how well-lit the Amsterdam Public Theatre was in the first place. In the bad lighting of Van Campen's theatre, a torch would have been a spectacular sight whether or not the lights were dimmed. Simultaneously, a torch in the left hand and bared sword in the right as shown in the frontispiece are reminiscent of the attributes of *Ira* ('Gramschap'; Ire or Wrath) in the Dutch translation of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia of Uytbeeldinghen des Verstants* (1644, 'Iconology or Depiction of Reason') by Dirck Pietersz Pers (Fig. 2.12, below). This similarity further stimulates an allegorical-emotional interpretation of the scene.[171]

As we see, such violent scenes were more common in this period in the adaptations of *comedia nueva*. They also appear in the work of the only female playwright who adapted Spanish *comedias* in Dutch, Catharina Questiers. She designed a *tableau vivant* with movement or pantomimic effect and combined it with a duel to create a spectacular scene in her *Casimier, of gedempte hoogmoed* (1656, 'Casimir, or Subdued Hubris'). In the final act, spectators are treated to a duel between the exiled King Laudislaus and his bastard brother Casimier. When Casimier finally falls to the ground, Duke Tebrando announces: 'The bastard lies down. I scream for joy, the blood seems to curdle in my breast.'[172] This scene was then depicted in a *tableau vivant* or pantomime, as can be discerned from the edition's frontispiece (Fig. 2.13).

In the *subscriptio* to the image, we read that Casimier's hubris is tempered and Fortune will not any longer taunt King Laudislaus:

> Fortune is finally tired of teasing the Polish Monarch:
> She gives him to wear the crown again, after much disaster and slander.
> Clorinde and Sigismund, having intended his return,
> Thus, Casimier's treason and hubris is subdued.[173]

171 Ripa [1644] 1971, 185–186.

172 Questiers 1656, fol. G4^{v}: 'Den bastaart leyt ter neer. / Ick schrey van vreugt, het bloet schijnt in mijn borst te stremmen.'

173 Questiers 1656, fol. π1^{r}: ''t Geval is eind'lijck moe de Poolse Vorst te plaagen: / zij doet hem, naa veel Ramp en Hoon, de Kroon weerdraagen. / Clorind' en Sigismont, zijn weederkomst bestempt, / dies, Casimiers verraat en Hooghmoet wert gedempt.'

FIG. 2.12 'Ira. Gramschap. Toorn.' in Cesare Ripa's Iconologia, 1644

Apart from this pantomimical duel, there are three more *tableaux vivants* shown in succession at the end of the play to celebrate the joyous outcome that King Laudislaus is restored to the Polish throne. Through this triple spectacle of *tableaux vivants*, the action was brought to a satisfactory end, showing first King Laudislaus and his Queen Irene being crowned again, then Laudislaus and his brother Casimier with their wives Irene and Clorinde greeting one another, and finally Laudislaus bestowing laurels on Casimier and Clorinde.[174]

174 Questiers 1656, fol. H2r.

FIG. 2.13 Frontispiece to Questiers' *Casimier, of gedempte hoogmoed*, 1656
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In any case, we can learn from these *tableaux vivants* (and pantomimes) that the spectacle in *comedias* during the first two decades of the Amsterdam Public Theatre built forth on the spectacle that Rodenburgh employed as *factor* of The Eglantine in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. After Questiers' *Casimier*, Serwouters' 1659 play *Hester of verlossing der Jooden* ('Esther or Liberation of the Jews') is possibly the

summit of this development. In his original *La hermosa Ester* (1610), Lope de Vega had used music to create the desired atmosphere, and to stress key moments in the play.[175] This can be seen in one scene specifically: when Ahasuerus asked Haman what he should gift to the noblest man in his empire, Haman responded that this man should be guided through the city on a horse surrounded by musicians before the people. Haman thought he was a fortunate man, but it turned out that Mordechai was the luckier one. Haman truly hated Mordechai, and the fact that he was made to guide the Jewish man through the city was in Haman's eyes dishonourable. In the Spanish version, this scene is performed before spectators and its importance emphasised by the introduction of music:

> *[There appears] Music of shawms—and in the area of an events arena [palenque] amidst great accompaniment—and behind [them] Mordechai [appears] with sceptre and crown on a horse, and with his pallium; Haman will bring him on foot at the rein, and stopping in the theatre, he will say:*
>
> HAMAN. What equals my misfortune?
> Who saw how I see myself
> at the feet of Mordechai,
> while he climbed so high?[176]

In the Dutch adaptation, there is no indication that similar music was played, but this specific scene is constructed as a *tableau vivant*, which was often accompanied by music.[177] What Umpierre wrote about the role music played in Lope's plays is demonstrated here in the Dutch adaptation by a *tableau vivant*. Serwouters structured the scene as such:

> TABLEAU VIVANT
> *Where Mordechai sits on a horse in royal garment,*
> *And is led by Haman through the city Susa,*
> *Under jubilation of all the people.*

175 Umpierre 1975, 21–28, 59–74.

176 Lope de Vega [1610] 1999, III, vv. 265–266, vv. 266–269: '(Música de chirimías, y por un palenque entre grande acompañamiento, y detrás MARDOQUEO con cetro y corona en un caballo, y su palio; traerá al pie de la rienda AMÁN, y en parando en el teatro, dirá). / AMÁN ¿Qué iguala a mi desventura? / ¿Quién se vio como me veo / a los pies de Mardoqueo, / y él subido a tanta altura?'

177 Albach 1977, 40–41.

HAMAN. The Monarch Ahasuerus makes known to all the lords,
That it pleases him to royally honour this man.[178]

The play ends, however, even more spectacularly than a *tableau vivant* could hope to achieve: Haman is executed for his endeavour to kill Esther's kin. On the order of Ahasuerus, Haman is hanged at his own gallows. This execution was staged before the eyes of the audience, who become witnesses, such as at the execution in Rodenburgh's *'t Quaedt syn meester loondt*. Haman speaks his final words, which he uses to convince the onlookers (and thus also spectators) to not allow such an unjust verdict:

HAMAN. Where is the rope? I pray! Give it in my hands.
How am I then preserved until now, to endure
In the most disgraceful way this shame? I will avert it.
You Counsellors of this Empire, you irreproachable lords!
Can such a cruel death be done to me with justice?
May anyone strike down such a Prince like me?
I confess, I have tried to kill the Jewish race.
I recall the order! The King has ordered it,
That I am punished with the hangman's rope. Oh Haman![179]

It is no use. The executioner gives Haman the rope to loop around his neck. In a final protest, Haman accuses Ahasuerus and Esther of being tyrants. And then he chokes to death. By this, the scene is *imagineering* a violent depiction of (in)justice, which must have evoked horror. Thus, spectators saw the following:

178 Serwouters 1659, 44: 'VERTOONING. *daar Mardocheus koningklijk gekleed te paard zit, / en door Haman in de stadt Zusa omgevoert wert, / met toejuichen van al het volk.* / HAMAN. De Vorst Assuerus doet de weet aan alle heeren, / Dat het hem heeft belieft dees Koninglijk te eeren.' See also Blom's discussion of a print by Rembrandt from c. 1640 that might have inspired this *tableau vivant* (2021, 320).

179 Serwouters 1659, 52: 'HAMAN. Waar is de strik? ik bid! men geeftze my in handt. / Hoe ben ik dan bewaart tot nu toe, om de schandt / Op 't aldersmadelijkst te lijden? 'k zal het weeren. / Ghy Raaden van dit Rijk; ghy onbesprooke heeren! / Kan my zoo wreeden doot met recht zijn aangedaan? / Mach iemant zulken Prins, als my, ter neder slaan. / 'k Beken, ik heb getracht de Joodtsche stam te dooden. / Ik wederroep 't bevel! de Koning 't heeft geboden, / Als dat ik met de koort gestraft wert. Haman ach! / Mijn doodt geeft aan mijn staat een alteswaaren slach. / Mijn Vrouw zal onverwacht haar Prins en voorspraak derven, / En mijne kindren doen de rouklacht van mijn sterven.'

MAMUCHA. Prepare yourself for death, the time has already passed.
HAMAN. There is my turban. How do you want me to suffer?
How can I suffer? No. I cannot prepare myself.
I do not want to part honourless from this world.
I must! Alas! I must! And see how I show
That I obey you judges and crown.
There I have put the rope around my neck.
Could I once take revenge on the evil Jews,
I suffered the fiercest pain, which anyone ever thought of.
Where is my greatness now? Where is my old strength?
Ahasuerus tyranny and of his Queen …
MAMUCHA. Begin.
SETAR. The smooth rope kept the slander within.
MAMUCHA. There he lies, who disturbed this Empire by his threats,
And still continuously shakes, as long as she bears the body.
Report Haman's death to the King.
Thus, he is fallen, who yesterday was seated
In heaven as a young and second Phaeton.
He drove too rash the wheels of the sun.[180]

Judging by the frontispiece of the 1659 print of *Hester* (Fig. 2.14), Haman's execution was perhaps also showcased by means of a *tableau vivant* or pantomime: while in the front the final scene of *Hester* is depicted, the *tableau vivant* of Haman leading Mordechai through Susa is shown in the background, as well as the execution scene discussed above. The poem written by Serwouters underlines the possibility that the execution was mediated either through a *tableau vivant* or pantomime:

180 Serwouters 1659, 52: 'MAMUCHA. Bereit u tot de doodt, de tijdt is al verby. / HAMAN. Daar is mijn tullebandt. hoe wiltghe dat ik ly? / Hoe kan ik lijden? neen. ik kan my niet bereiden. / Ik wil dus eereloos niet van de weereldt scheiden. / Ik moet! helaas! ik moet! en zie hoe ik betoon, / Dat ik gehoorzaam ben u Rechteren en kroon. / Daar heb ik dan de strik om mijnen hals gestreeken. / Mocht ik my eenmaal aan de snoode Joden wreeken, / Ik leed de felste pijn, die iemant oyt bedacht. / Waar is mijn grootsheit nu? waar is mijn oude kracht? / Assuerus tiranny en van zijn Koninginne… / MAMUCHA. Vang aan. / SETAR. De gladde koord die hiel den laster binne.' / MAMUCHA. Daar light hy, die dit Rijk door dreigen hadt versaagt, / En noch gedurigh schrikt, zoo lang zy 't lichaam draagt. / Men doet de Koning voort van Hamans sterven weten. / Dus is hy nu gedaalt, die gistren was gezeten / Ten hemel, als een jong' en tweeden Phaëton. / Hy mende 't onbedacht de raders van de zon.'

FIG. 2.14 Frontispiece to Johannes Serwouters' *Hester*, 1659
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[Pictura: Fig. 2.14]
The demise of the Jewish Race was sadly resolved;
Yet, Persia's High King was charmed by the face
Of a Hebrew daughter, who prevented the disaster.
Thus, a woman stops de death of men, women, children;
And Haman's hubris crashes in an instant.
He who wants to eradicate it all, prepares himself a rope.[181]

Thus, the first *tableau vivant* and the execution scene (possibly also by means of a *tableau vivant*) in *Hester*, and the *tableaux vivants* in *Alexander de Medicis* and *De beklaagelyke dwangh*, show that the traditional rhetoricians' theatre device was continuously reinvented to stage elaborate scenes: these *tableaux* were the standard means by which to meet the seventeenth-century audience's desire for spectacle. Furthermore, music emphasised the action and could, as Lope's *La hermosa Ester* and Serwouters' *Hester* demonstrate, enhance the spectacle of *tableaux vivants* in the Dutch adaptations. Otherwise, contrafacts could fulfil a different role by emphasising the action and plot twists, as is the case in De Wijse's *Voorzigtige dolheit*. This way of working lasted at least until 1664. After the Amsterdam Public Theatre was remodelled in 1665, new means of spectacle became available.

Spectacle at the Amsterdam Public Theatre (1665–1672)

Did the structural alterations made to the Amsterdam Public Theatre in 1664/1665 also lead to improvements in staging spectacle? We may expect that this was necessary because the elaborate productions of new *comedias* (as well as other spectacle plays, such as Vos' *Medea*) and spectators' demands for more extravagant spectacles pushed the boundaries of what was possible in the old theatre building of Jacob van Campen.[182]

When in 1662, the actor Jan Baptist van Fornenbergh opened, furthermore, the first permanent theatre in The Hague, also called *Schouwburg*, the Amsterdam Public Theatre received serious competition. Different from Amsterdam, Van Fornenbergh's

181 Serwouters 1659, fol. A2r: 'De val van't Joodts Geslacht stont droevig in geboort: / Doch Parssens Oppervorst, wiert door't gezicht bekoort / Van een Hebreeuwse Telg, die 't onheil deed verhindren. / Zoo stuit een vrouw de doodt van mannen, vrouwen, kindren; / En Hamans hovaardij stort in een oogenblik. / Wie 't al verdelgen wil, bereit zich zelf een strik. / J. Serwouters.'

182 See Amir 1996, 260–261.

theatre in The Hague already possessed coulisse décor and, therefore, offered more means for spectacle. Little is, however, known about the theatre's specific lay-out, but it is generally presumed that the repertoire mainly consisted of the box-office successes of the Amsterdam Public Theatre, including Dutch adaptations of Spanish *comedias*, such as *De verduytste Cid* (1641) and *Sigismundus, prinçe van Poolen* (1654).[183] As executive director, Jan Vos was in competition with Van Fornenbergh, who even tried to replace Vos as executive director of the Amsterdam Public Theatre with a proposal to fully remodel Amsterdam's city theatre and install the coulisse décor used in The Hague. Vos immediately took measures to counter this attack on his chairmanship and instigated the remodelling of the Amsterdam Public Theatre himself.[184]

The effects of these improvements were immediately visible and are reflected in the popularity charts for the period 1665–1672. In these seven years, eleven new *comedias* were adapted. Three of these new adaptations were well received by spectators and ranked among the ten most popular plays in this period: *De spookende minnaar* (1664, 'The Haunting Suitor')[185] by David Lingelbach; Hendrik de Graef's *Joanna koningin van Napels* (1664, 'Johanna, Queen of Naples');[186] and *Don Louis de Vargas* (1668)[187] by Heynck. The three plays were each performed sixteen times in the short period between their premieres in 1664 and 1668 and the closing of the theatre in 1672.

Another adaptation that should be mentioned here is Questiers' *D'ondanckbare Fulvius en getrouwe Octavia* (1665, 'The Ungrateful Fulvius and Loyal Octavia'),[188] which was the inaugural play at the theatre's reopening on 26 May 1665.[189] Questiers was the sister-in-law of Philip Vingboons, the architect of the remodelled Amsterdam Public Theatre. We may assume, however, that the theatre directors selected her

183 The troupe of Van Fornenbergh had already performed these plays in previous years on their travels in the Baltic Sea area and the Habsburg Netherlands. For more information on Van Fornenbergh's theatre in The Hague, see Albach 1977, 88; Smits-Veldt 1996, 242–244; Blom 2021a, 274–275, 342–344.

184 See Blom 2021a, 348–354.

185 Translation of Calderón's *El galán fantasma* (1637).

186 Translation of Lope de Vega's *La reina Juana de Nápoles* (1615).

187 Translation of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza's *El tejedor de Segovia* (1619).

188 The source text of this adaptation is unknown. In Dutch scholarship, it is generally assumed that like Questiers' other two adaptations from Lope de Vega and Enríquez Gómez, *d'Ondanckbare Fulvius* is likewise an adaptation from Spanish; see Schenkeveld-van der Dussen et al. 1997, 68, 316; Pipkin 2013, 190–191.

189 Questiers 1665, fol. *3r: '*d'Ondanckbare Fulvius* zal voor d'allereerste maal ons nieuwe Schouwburgh de prachtige gardijnen doen openschuyven.'

play as the theatre's opening piece not only because of her family ties, but rather on its own merits and the good revenues her other two Spanish adaptions had drawn.[190]

The spectacle in these plays shows something important. Even with the renovations of the Amsterdam Public Theatre, which offered more opportunities to employ stage machinery, *comedias nuevas* adapted in Dutch do not necessarily include innovative spectacles. This is demonstrated by Questiers' *d'Ondanckbare Fulvius*: Vos had utilised all the new technical possibilities in his *Inwyding van de Schouburg t'Amsterdam* (1665, 'Inauguration of the Theatre in Amsterdam') that was staged as prelude to Questiers' play, but the spectacle in Questiers' play remained limited, although we can probably assume, given her family connections, that she was well aware of the new fittings the theatre was to receive. However, the sound of gunshots from within the coulisses, several songs to set the mood and emphasise the emotions, and two duels were included as the primary spectacular effects in the play.[191] The text also indicates that Questiers indeed used the new coulisse décor and created *changements à vue*: the first act is set at court, but the second and third acts are set in a garden or a *hortus conclusus* according to the dialogue, and in the third act there also appears a balcony as per the stage directions.[192] Questiers' way of working shows that she embraced some features of the renovations, which were here used for the first time with likely spectacular effects and awe among spectators.

In De Graef's *Joanna koningin van Napels* (1664), spectacle is also rather limited compared to what the renewed theatre's technical features would have allowed. In De Graef's case, however, his play was published right before the refurbishment of the Amsterdam Public Theatre in 1664/1665, for which reason the play was probably not written with the new possibilities in mind. Neither does Lope's original include stage machinery or spectacle in general, if we rely solely on what we find in the Spanish source text. Yet, this does not fully explain the absence of spectacle in De Graef's adaptation. We know that Vos devised spectacle for plays that did not originally include

190 See Nozeman 2014b.

191 Questiers 1665, 3, 11, 14, 28, 47, 53–54.

192 For the first act, see Questiers 1665, 3: 'De Koning komt naar 't hof.' For the second act, see Questiers 1665, 14, 16: 'Hoe kort de tijd oock is, dat wy hier zijn gekoomen'; and 'Terwijl de Faam u lof gansch Napels door gaat roemen, / Vind ik u in de tuyn, alwaar de schoonste bloemen / Vast twisten, welcke verf dat best naar u gelijckt, / De lely en de roos van u geen voordeel strijckt; / Gy wint, Mevrouw, de kroon van al dees tuyn-cieraden.' For the balcony scene in the third act, see Questiers 1665, 27: '*Octavia in de venster.*'

any, or drastically altered them to better suit his goals of astonishing the crowd. The best-known examples are those of Vondels plays: for *Jeptha* (1659), Vos designed a *tableau vivant* of Ifis' sacrifice by her own father.[193] He also drastically altered the dance of angels at the end of *Lucifer* (1654), which he made into a dance depicting the golden and silver era.[194] And famously, Vos added extra *tableaux vivants* to Reinier de Bondt's *Beleg en ontset der stadt Leyden* (1645, 'Siege and Relief of the City Leiden') for its 1660 premiere in the Amsterdam Public Theatre.[195] In a similar fashion, Heynck's *Don Louis de Vargas* also stages a *tableau vivant* of the execution of Don Beltran, the father of the protagonist, following the apparently continued demand for *tableaux* by spectators.[196]

The 1667 reprint of Serwouters' *Hester* (the original is discussed above) strongly suggests that older Spanish plays were altered in this period to now also include *tableaux*, or even more *tableaux* to supplement the ones they already featured. A fascinating piece of evidence of this play's contemporary reception can be found in an example at Leiden University Libraries (1094 F 67:2). A reader, perhaps its first owner, glued a piece of paper into his book. On this piece of paper, we find a description of a scene in which Haman is dining with Hester and Ahasuerus. The poem is in fact a laudation by Jan Vos of Rembrandt van Rijn's slightly earlier painting *Ahasuerus and Haman at the Feast of Esther* (1660, see Fig. 2.15 below):

> Haman as Esther's and Ahasuerus' Guest [*etcetera*, painted by Rembrandt]
> Here one sees Haman eating with Ahasuerus and Esther.
> But it is in vain; his breast is full of regret and pain.
> He eats Esther's food; but deeper into her heart.
> The king is mad with revenge and rage.
> The wrath of a monarch is horrendous when it rages.
> He who threatens all men, is surprised by a woman.
> Thus, one is precipitated from the top into the vale of adversity;
> The vengeance that comes slowly uses the cruellest rod.[197]

193 Vergeer 2018, 49–51.

194 Harmsen 2016.

195 Elenbaas 2004, 294.

196 Heynck 1668, 18.

197 Serwouters 1667, insert on fols. A1^{v}–A2^{r}: 'Haman bij Hester en Asuerus te gast / Hier sietmen haman [sic.] bij Assueer en Hester eeten / maar't is vergeefs sijn borst is vol van spijt en smart / Hij bijt in

FIG. 2.15 Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn, *Ahasuerus and Haman at the Feast of Esther*, 1660, oil on canvas, 73 cm x 94 cm
PUSHKIN MUSEUM OF ARTS, MOSCOW

Art historians have already related this poem and the associated painting to the performance of Serwouters' *Hester*. At the same time, they assert that Vos' poem defers from both the painting by Rembrandt and the play by Serwouters, exactly because Vos puts such a heavy importance on the passions,[198] while in Serwouters's play and Rembrandt's painting they are more subtly articulated and depicted. Furthermore, the rage of King Ahasuerus is absent in Serwouters' play, while Vos emphasises this emotion in line with Esther 7:8–9.[199] And yet, Geerdink noted that both in Vos' poem and in the final act of Serwouters' play, the despair of Haman takes centre stage.[200] I

Hesters spijs maar dieper in haar hart / de Koning is van wraak en rasernij beseten. / de gramschap van een Vorst is schriklijk alsse raast. / die alle mannen drijgd, word door een vrouw verbaast. / soo stortmen van het top in't dal der tegenspoeden / de wraak die lanksaam komt gebruijkt de wreedste roeden.'

198 Blom 2021a, 335.

199 Schwartz 1984, 276–277.

200 Geerdink 2012, 114 (n. 57).

argue therefore that the rage of King Ahasuerus described in Vos' poem also returns in Serwouters' *Hester*.[201]

Although Vos' poem was originally written separately from Serwouters' *Hester*, the fact that at least this one reader related Vos' poem and Serwouters' play to each other perhaps indicates a closer connection between the two works in the form of a *tableau vivant*. The clause 'Hier sietmen' strongly suggest that indeed spectators could *see* what is described in these verses. The whole *tableau* even bears a title, just like the *tableau vivant* in *Alexander de Medicis*. As so many poems that indicate a *tableau vivant*, the question remains of how the *tableau* was performed if Vos' poem indeed introduced one.

For this, Jan Steen's *The Wrath of Ahasuerus* (c. 1668–1670, see Fig. 2.16 above) might offer an answer. Like Rembrandt's painting, Steen's painting has been related to Serwouters' *Hester*.[202] While Rembrandt depicted the moment exactly before Esther's revelation that she is Jewish, Steen chose to represent the moment right after. This moment is also described in Vos' poem, where Ahasuerus' 'madness with vengeance and rage' is shown, while Haman instead despairs. Steen painted this work c. 1668–1670. The dates of the painting and of the written account in the 1667 example of Serwouters' *Hester* coincide, and both might be a response to the performance of a *tableau vivant* in the 1667 performances of *Hester*. This suggests that Steen's painting in particular was not only inspired by Serwouters' play, but was made after the *tableau vivant* was inserted during the 1660s, and possibly even specifically in 1667. The opposite might also be true, however: the painting may have inspired the play's new *tableau vivant*.[203] Either way, the evidence makes clear that the performance of *Hester* with the new *tableau vivant* left a vivid impression on spectators.

There is even more evidence of theatre's conversation with the other arts at this time. During the same scene, spectators were also treated to a dance that was newly introduced into the 1667 print. The dancers were supposed to represent the four continents of the world (as it was known at the time). This dance's description compares to the dance in Vondel's *Lucifer*, which was devised by theatre director Jan Vos: 'Here is dancing by the Monarchy and the four continents of the world.'[204] The *tableau vivant*

201 Serwouters 1659, 49–50.

202 The catalogue to the exhibition 'Kennerschap—Bredius: Jan Steen en het Mauritshuis' held at The Hague's Museum Bredius in 2014–2015, suggests that Steen primarily took inspiration from a performance of Serwouters' *Hester*; see Jansen, Leistra, and Stal 2014, 108–109.

203 See e.g., Blom 2021a, 337–340.

204 Serwouters 1667, 56: 'Hier wert gedanst door de Monarchie en de vier deelen des wereldts.' The

FIG. 2.16 Jan Steen, *The Wrath of Ahasuerus*, c. 1668–1670, oil on canvas, 81.2 cm x 98.5 cm. Private collection, The Hague

and the dance are, then, additions to the already spectacular *tableau vivant* found at the beginning of the fifth act in the original 1659 print of Serwouters' *Hester*.

As demonstrated by these examples, we see that *tableaux vivants* remained an important part of spectacle in Dutch adaptions of Spanish plays, although the Amsterdam Public Theatre underwent technical improvements that enabled more extravagant displays. This shows that Rodenburgh's pioneering work in 1617–1619 remained successful among later spectators, and his approach persevered throughout the seventeenth century. Rodenburgh's textual strategies meant that he combined old and new poetics, a practice which influenced the way that the poetic ideas of Lope de Vega (and other Spanish playwrights) were 'transferred and transformed' in the Low Countries,

description of this dance compares very much to the description of the dance in *Lucifer* as devised by Vos, for which reason I suspect that he also devised this dance in Serwouters' play. See Vos 1662, 651: 'want in deeze wordt het vervolg van 't spel, de goude en zilvere eeuw uitgebeeldt.' See also Harmsen 2016.

as demonstrated by the recent work of Van Marion and myself.[205] That is not to say that there were no innovations in spectacle in this period. Although dance, including ballet, was introduced to the Amsterdam stage as early as 1642, with the increasing popularity of the ballet in France, and amidst the growing cultural dominance of France in the second half of the seventeenth century, Dutch playwrights and stage directors more often included dance in their work, including in adaptions of Spanish plays.[206] Yet, it remains unknown whether the choreography of these dances was very complex or sophisticated, as the first mention of a designated dance master in the theatre's registers dates from 1681.[207] This further paints the picture of a rather traditional handling of spectacle in *comedias* staged in Amsterdam, although clearly theatre directors continually looked for ways to professionalise and modernise the spectacle according to the newest European trends.

As much as the *tableau vivant* remained an important dramatic device, and new décor and dances were also adopted to impress the audience, architectural elements were likewise used to enhance spectacle at the Amsterdam Public Theatre. David Lingelbach's *De spookende minnaar* (1664), an adaptation of Calderón's *El galán fantasma* (1637), exemplifies how adaptors inserted new forms of spectacle after the structural alterations of the theatre. In this play, one of the seven new trapdoors was used to create a believable effect of Duke Ferdinand's fall into a quarry at the end of the play's fourth act. The trapdoor also represents the gate into an imaginary Kingdom of Death. There, the Duke's rival Fabritius, who the Duke thought he had killed, posed as a ghost to frighten him in revenge for the Duke's obstruction of Fabritius' and Klimene's love. This is similar to how in Vos' *Medea* the protagonist is met by ghosts who rise up from under the stage while she sits in her chariot with her children. When Medea's chariot begins to fly (i.e., is hoisted into the air), the sorceress throws her children out and satisfied, the ghosts retreat below the stage again.[208]

New Forms of Spectacle in 'De toveres Circe'

However, of all the *comedias* adapted in Dutch, only Calderón's *El mayor encanto, amor* was a true *comedia de tramoya* (comedy of stage machinery). In contrast to many of the other adapted *comedias*, De Leeuw fully used new stage technologies of the Amster-

205 Van Marion and Vergeer 2016, 43.
206 Worp 1920, 108, 146–147.
207 Worp 1920, 155.
208 Vos 1667, 55, 58.

dam Public Theatre which, as described elsewhere, was outfitted with coulisse décor allowing for *changements à vue*. Using this to its full potential in the final scenes where Circe destroys her own island, the setting is rapidly changed from a lovely garden into a ruin and flaming vortex.[209]

De Leeuw based the scenography of his *De toveres Circe* on De Grieck's *Ulysses in't eylandt van Circe* and consequently on Zamponi's *Ulisse all'isola di Circe*, as discussed in detail above, but he was also influenced by Vos' *Medea*. As outlined in Chapter 1, the adapted play was only completed after the theatre's structural alterations were made in 1665, although Baroces had delivered a translation in 1664; maybe De Leeuw was waiting to see the changes before determining how the play could actually be staged.[210] *El mayor encanto, amor* was the perfect play to take advantage of the renewed venue's features. De Leeuw decided to emphasise the spectacle already present.[211] As a successor to Vos' *Medea*, De Leeuw's *De toveres Circe* also tried to fully use the new capacities of the remodelled theatre, including the deeper stage.

Perhaps for this reason, the title page of De Leeuw's *De toveres Circe* states that it was performed 'With Artifice and Animals.'[212] The fact that this was explicitly displayed on the titlepage means that the publisher started to advertise with the play's spectacle: apparently this was a successful way to draw a full house. In the 1690 reprint of *De toveres Circe*, the publisher puts so much emphasis on the new music, ballets and other forms of spectacle that this seems to have been more important than the play's contents. Moreover, the play's link to Vos' Medea is clearly expressed:

> It is hoped that this tragedy by the famous poet Don Pedro de Calderón, translated from Spanish, and by *A. Leeuw* artfully rearranged and rhymed, with newly made music, new ballets, etc. adorned, will please the devotees and that it will be profitable to the city's orphanage and the old men's home, despite the expenses made because of it.
>
> The successful outcome that *Medea* of Jan Vos had some months ago has been a great stimulus to take in hand with enthusiasm a work of such elaborate action and to stage it with zeal.[213]

209 Vergeer 2020c, 335–336; 2020d, 104–105.
210 De Leeuw 1670, fol. *3r.
211 Harmsen 2016.
212 De Leeuw 1670, fol. *1r.
213 De Leeuw 1690, fol. *2r.

While De Grieck delivered an almost literal translation of the Spanish with his *Ulysses in't eylandt van Circe*, De Leeuw took more liberties, including the new music and new ballets explicitly mentioned above. According to Sullivan, 'the musical scores and choreography for the Buen Retiro performances were obviously not available for Amsterdam.' This explains, according to Sullivan, the novelty of the new music and ballets designed for the Amsterdam adaptation.[214] Conversely, Cardono, Cruickshank, and Cunningham argue that the inclusion of new music in the Amsterdam version shows that the performance of Zamponi's opera in Brussels must have influenced De Leeuw's adaption of the play for Amsterdam.[215]

In several scenes, De Leeuw makes use of the theatre's trapdoors, to both comic and tragic effect. One example happens amidst a confrontation between the Greeks and the inhabitants of Circe's island, consisting mainly of animals, trees, and their human commander Prince Arsidas of Trinacria. Unintentionally, Clarín stumbles across his best friend and fellow *gracioso* Lebrel, when they, acting in their true nature, flee to a table standing in the middle of the stage. Since Circe had conjured a dark storm, they can hardly recognise each other. Lebrel thinks that he fights a lion, whereas Clarín thinks he is battling a giant. Unexpectedly, Circe orders the table with the two *graciosos* on top to sink down under the stage.[216] The trapdoors are also used when Circe, surrounded by her ghosts, sinks below the stage in the last scene to signal her death after she has been abandoned by Ulysses. De Leeuw used every form of spectacle at his disposal in the Amsterdam Public Theatre, including the illusion of fire and thunder as is seen in the printed edition's frontispiece (see Fig. 2.17 below).[217]

De Leeuw also used the newly available stage machinery. When Ulysses takes on the sorceress-queen in the first act, 'To the accompaniment of string music, Iris descends on her rainbow which is standing in a sky of clouds.'[218] Other spectacle includes a chest holding a pesky dwarf and a chatterbox chaperone who spring out to pester Clarín. Then, there are the animal metamorphoses (described in Chapter 1), the flame-vomiting sea, and the storms summoned by Circe.[219]

However, the most notable difference between *De toveres Circe*'s spectacle and the spectacle in other *comedias* is the apparent absence of the *tableau vivant* as a dramatic

214 Sullivan 1983, 54.

215 Cardono, Cruickshank, and Cunningham 1990, 140.

216 De Leeuw 1670, 59.

217 Vergeer 2020c, 331–336.

218 De Leeuw 1670, 8: 'Iris, op 't geluid van heel zacht Snaarenspel, daald neder op haar Boog staande in een lucht van wolken.'

219 Vergeer 2020d, 104; see also the theatre's complete inventory of 1688 in Huydecoper c. 1730, inv.nr. 315.

FIG. 2.17
Coloured frontispiece by Adriaan Schoonebeek in a copy of Adriaen Bastiaensz de Leeuw's *De toveres Circe* (1670)
LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, 1092 G 1:3

device. Although De Leeuw did not follow Jan Vos' preference for the visually powerful *tableaux vivants*, his adaptation still best reflects the theatre director's influence on the Amsterdam Public Theatre and his beliefs discussed in Chapter 1 that 'seeing precedes speaking' or that spectators' eyes should be captivated 'by appropriate and enchanting strings.'[220] In De Leeuw's *De toveres Circe*, spectators beheld an enchanting world characterised by an explosion of spectacle. With this play, *comedia nueva* reached

220 Vos 1667, fol. *2v, *4r.

its full spectacular potential in the Dutch Republic. Doubtlessly, the scenography of De Leeuw's adaptation must have triggered the *admiratio* of spectators in a similar way as the scenography of the original 1635 production of Calderón's *El mayor encanto, amor*.

Conclusion

The spectacle of the Spanish *comedias* mesmerised the Dutch-speaking audiences gathered in the theatres of Brussels, Antwerp, Lier, and Amsterdam. With the introduction of *comedia nueva* in the Low Countries by Rodenburgh in 1617, it was necessary to translate the spectacle of the Spanish originals into a form that was both technically possible at The Eglantine, as well as familiar to Dutch spectators. Rodenburgh's solution was the incorporation of the *tableau vivant* in his four adaptations. As a theatrical device, the *tableau* had proven its use from the fifteenth century onwards and was a well-established method of *imagineering* gripping scenes by which these audiences could be moved to fascination, horror, wonder, and admiration.

Rodenburgh's solution seemed to work, because after him many other adaptations include one or more *tableaux vivants*. Additionally, playwrights in Antwerp, Lier, and Amsterdam experimented with lighting and stage props to achieve the same effect or to add to the already great effect of *tableaux vivants*, *imagineering* even more spectacular scenes that could count on the awe of spectators. For the stages of the larger and more modern theatres of the third quarter of the seventeenth century onwards, playwrights introduced new forms of spectacle that were more similar to the original spectacle in the Spanish *comedias*. When Brussels and Amsterdam opened their own Italian-style theatres, the opportunities to showcase spectacle increased. At the same time, the *tableau vivant* remained a beloved form of spectacle; new *tableaux vivants* were even introduced to already existing plays to emphasise the spectacularity of these adapted *comedias*, because the medium proved capable of captivating spectators throughout the whole seventeenth century.

Besides *tableaux vivants*, costumes and music seem to have been especially important. The more austere theatre of Antwerp in particular still relied for the most part on the multifunctionality of costumes and music in the 1660s, more than was done in Brussels or Amsterdam in the same period. In Lier, *tableaux vivants* seemed to have been the most popular form of spectacle until the third quarter of the seventeenth century, although the poet De Bie was aware of the new vogues with regards to dance, and especially ballet. In all the theatres discussed here, the duel was a form of action

spectacle that compensated for the absence of stage machinery and could still mediate the proper emotions of ire and wrath to spectators. Yet, the theatres of Brussels and Amsterdam introduced ever more elaborate forms of spectacle culminating in the two parallel adaptations of Calderón's *El mayor encanto, amor* in 1668 and 1670 respectively. Animal transformations, *changements à vue*, the use of trap doors, smoke, fire, and extra ballets must have overwhelmed spectators with wonder at the marvellous baroque scenography. The Amsterdam version was even advertised especially for its spectacular elements.

It seems that the introduction of *comedia nueva* in the Low Countries went hand-in-hand with a surge of spectacle: apparently, the grand emotions of the genre necessitated that they were showcased by means of spectacle and, at the end of the developments described here, also stage machinery. The more elaborate the *comedias* with extensive *tramoyas* on the Flemish and Dutch stages became, the more complex stage machines had to be. As *comedias* and other spectacle plays became more popular, the structural integrities of the theatres in Brussels, Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Lier were affected, partly because the newer *comedias* necessitated elaborate spectacle, and partly because elaborate spectacle made more extravagant *comedia* productions possible. This is, perhaps, best evidenced by the parallel adaptations of Calderón's *El mayor encanto, amor* discussed in this chapter. But the driving force behind the structural alterations was, in the end, the public: they clearly loved to be mesmerised by the spectacle in Spanish plays and therefore demanded more. Thus, when the personification of 'Theatre' from Lope's *Prologo dialogistico* complained that he was wounded by the structural alterations inflicted upon him to meet the demand for spectacle and stage machinery, he expressed a trend in early modern Europe of *imagineering* more elaborate productions which would leave spectators in complete awe. This trend found its way to the theatres of the Low Countries and left the eyes of Flemish and Dutch spectators transfixed in complete wonder.

CHAPTER 3

Emotional Excesses

The Frequency of Emotions in Dutch Comedias

It is night. Queen Joanna enters the stage in a night gown. In her hands she holds a crown, ready to bestow it on her suitor Prince Lodewijck of Taranto. The conflicted queen must make the difficult choice between her duty to her people on the one hand, and her love for Prince Lodewijck on the other. She has not made a definite decision, however, since her love for the prince involves a genuine risk: another, more tyrannical suitor will seek revenge if she chooses Lodewijk.*

This is the opening scene of the second act of Hendrick de Graef's *Joanna Koningin van Napels* (1664), an adaptation of Lope de Vega's *La reina Juana de Nápoles*.[1] For his Dutch version, De Graef took over the so-called *redondillas* of the original, likewise staging Joanna's conflict in a song of eleven *redondillas*.[2] By inserting them De Graef followed the traditional use of the Spanish stanza in *comedia nueva*, which is perfect for love affairs according to Lope's *Arte nuevo*.[3] Compared to Lope's original, De Graef's version is—as strange as it may seem—much more emotional. As such, Joanna urgently belts it out during a duet with her lady-in-waiting Margareta, as the extraordinary opportunity will quickly pass. Joanna sings that her love for the prince burns brighter in her heart than the fires of Troy. Her heart is besieged and her love is, therefore, not only fierce, but also self-destructive and, giving in to it, tells Margareta to let the prince into her chamber:

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* I wish to thank Sanne Hoeken for the indispensable work she did text mining examples of sentiment discussed in this chapter while she worked for me as student assistant from April to June 2020. The results of that collaboration will also be published separately. The research for this chapter was made possible with funding from the Leiden University Centre for Digital Humanities as part of a small grant research project in 2020.

1 The play is a dramatisation of the historical war between Naples, led by Queen Johanna I (1326–1382), and Hungary, let by King Louis I. Louis attacked Naples after accusing Johanna and her second husband, Louis of Taranto, of killing Prince Andreas, Johanna's first husband and the brother of the Hungarian king.

2 *Redondillas* are a traditional octosyllabic stanza comprised of quatrains rhyming ABBA. (Thacker 2008, 117). In this play, see the *redondillas* at Lope de Vega 1737, 8–9 and De Graef 1664, 13–15.

3 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, v. 312: 'y para las [cosas] de amor, [son] las redondillas.'

JOANNA. Diana, Goddess of Night,
Lead, lead the Prince in peace
To me, whose heart is burning in love
Much brighter than the fires of Troy.
[...]
Oh Margareta, you know my thoughts and feelings,
Because you carry the key of my heart,
Open this chest, heal my sorrow,
Ai, let Prince Lodewijck enter.
[...]
Shame kept my tongue chained,
When I, pricked by Love, gave the sign,
Where the Prince could speak to me.
Love grows most in catastrophe.
MARGARETA. Madam, his highness is about to arrive.
JOANNA. His arrival moves my soul,
Where to has love transported me?
Who can rein in a loving heart?[4]

Queen Joanna's language is embodied and rich with metaphor that describes how she is moved and her senses overwhelmed by her love, and also her fear of the tyrant she is rejecting who threatens to seize her kingdom if she denies him.

Emotional conflicts like Joanna's are recurrent in the *comedias* adapted in Dutch, and form the genre's backbone. In concrete terms, this means that the subject or theme of many *comedias* is 'the love that a lady of the highest nobility has for an inferior who either works directly for her or does so in the courtly-palatial environment in which she moves.'[5] As Juan Ramón Muñoz asserts about Lope's plays, they 'are, indeed, variations on the same theme.'[6] According to the scholarly literature,

4 De Graef 1664, 13–14: 'KONINGIN. Diaen, Godinne van de Nacht, / Geley, geley de Prins in vrede / Tot my, die 't hart in liefde brant / Veel felder als de brant van Troyen. [...] O Margareet gy kent mijn zinnen, / Wijl gy de sleutel draegt van 't hart, / Ontsluyt dees borst, genees mijn smart, / Ay laet Prins Lodewijck hier binnen. [...] De schaemte hield mijn tong geboeyt, / Toen ick door min geprickt gaf 't teeken, / Waer dat de Prince my zou spreecken. / De min in rampspoet 't meeste groeyt. / MARGARETA. Mevrouw, zijn Hoogheydt zal haest komen. / KONINGIN. Zijn komste mijne ziel ontroert, / Waer toe heeft my de min vervoert? / Wie kan een minnend hart betoomen?'

5 Ramón Muñoz 2015, 55.

6 Ramón Muñoz 2015, 55.

emotions that appear frequently in the context of these conflicts are desire, envy, honour, joy, love, pride (superbia), and vindictiveness.[7] Scholars agree that the two paramount emotions in the *comedia nueva* are love and honour, an observation that I test here for the Dutch and Flemish adaptations by means of quantitative analysis.

Apart from these seven emotions, I am also interested in fear and compassion, which are recognised as vital in theatre, and ubiquitous in tragedy, since Aristotle discussed them in his *Poetica*. Although *comedia nueva* is rather tragicomedy, it is interesting to identify these emotions in the Dutch adaptations, and then relate their occurrence to that of early modern tragedy (and especially early modern Dutch tragedy). Through comparison, we may deepen our understanding of what made *comedia nueva* unique among other popular plays in the Low Countries.

It is my presumption that the Dutch adaptations include similar conflicts to those in the Spanish originals. Because of this imported subject matter, the overall focus in Dutch theatre shifts with these *comedias* to characters' displays of fierce emotions and their ultimate choice between which emotion to follow. In contrast, Konst has argued that Dutch tragedies mostly demonstrate how emotions are unbridled and completely consume the *dramatis personae*, for which reason the passions should be tempered.[8] This suggests that both *comedia nueva* and Dutch 'home-grown' plays should be regarded as emotional, but in different ways. Therefore, how unique were the Dutch adaptations within the literary-cultural space of the early modern Low Countries compared to the other dominant genres? Apart from love and honour, which are found in both genres, are there other emotions that are more common in the *comedias* than in the Dutch home-grown plays? And, did the adaptations demonstrate different emotions than those already commonly shown in these 'home-grown' plays? Might these differences explain the genre's novelty? The secondary literature suggests that this is indeed the case. This chapter argues the following: the frequency in these adaptations of desire, fear, love, and honour, and emotions associated with joy or vengeance, is characteristic of *comedia nueva* in the Low Countries. Moreover, these popular plays offered audiences a new and unique combination of emotions not seen in other locally produced plays of the period.

Therefore, this chapter looks ahead to the following chapters where the expression of emotions in play texts is discussed. I identify which emotions are expressed most frequently in the Dutch adaptations of Spanish *comedias*, and compare their occur-

7 See, e.g., McKendrick 1984; McKendrick 1989, 74; Rey Hazas 1991; Álvarez Sellers 2013; Lauer 2014; Ramón Muñoz 2015.

8 Konst 1993, 1, 6.

rence to those found in Vondel's plays, the Senecan-Scaligerian plays, and the Horror and Spectacle plays. This is done through a quantitative analysis. This demonstrates in a more objective way that *comedia nueva* was one of the most emotional theatre genres in the seventeenth-century Low Countries with respect to the intensity of emotional expression in comparison to other contemporary dramatic genres.

The Frequency of Emotions in Adaptations of Spanish Drama

Joanna's song from De Graef's *Joanna Koningin van Napels*, which was discussed above, demonstrates that the queen is full of both love and sorrow at the same time. The emotions that Queen Joanna expresses are only a fraction of the full range of emotions available in the play. To gain insight into these emotions, I adopt here a quantitative approach as a new means of analysis to complement more traditional qualitative analyses in my other chapters. By comparing the frequency with which emotions appear in adaptations of *comedia nueva* to those which appear in Dutch 'home-grown' plays, I can also address the question of whether emotions are constructed differently in the Dutch adaptations than how they are constructed in other dramatic subgenres.

In recent decades, there has been continuous interest in whether emotion can be quantitatively measured in texts.[9] For literature, and for theatre in particular, a team of historians, literary scholars, and computer scientists from Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam led by cultural historian Inger Leemans have developed the Historic Embodied Emotions Model (HEEM). The method uses text mining techniques (or rather sentiment mining techniques here) to identify textual emotions in historical texts. Unique among many other methods, HEEM is specifically trained to analyse early modern Dutch. Text mining with HEEM can also help us differentiate between emotions in different dramatic genres: while there are plenty of emotions constructed throughout Dutch drama, they are not necessarily constructed the same way in every play or in every group of plays.

The motivation behind the Leemans' team's development of HEEM was that existing techniques of sentiment mining are unable to address the complexity and historical manifestation of emotions and their expression. Their aim was, therefore,

9 Examples of projects approaching texts in this way include the development of the text analysis software programme Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) by Pennebaker, Francis, and Booth (2001), studies by Kahn et al. (2007) and Borowiecki (2013), and the WordNet-Affect project by Strapparava and Valitutti (2004) which has had an online presence since 2009.

to develop a quantitative method that could adequately map emotions across time.[10] They assert that the most important differences between their model and existing models are first their focus on the human body as important actor in experiencing and expressing emotions (embodiment), and secondly, the number of labels identified to order emotions.[11] They chose plays as their literary genre, since these texts offer an excellent case to demonstrate the possibilities of historical emotion mining: theatre remained one of the most popular genres in the early modern period, and they claim that between 1600 and 1800 there occurred fundamental changes in emotional culture and the enactment of emotions on stage.[12] To date, HEEM offers the most fully developed tool set in the Dutch language area to quantitatively analyse emotions in historical texts for their linguistic and embodied aspects. I find HEEM very useful and thus make critical use of the tool in my analysis below.

What is the Historic Embodied Emotions Model?

For their specific goals, Leemans et al. adopted four concept types to describe and categorise emotions during the text annotation process. This has the advantage that emotions are not only tagged when it concerns the explicit expression of emotion words, such as when characters speak of their 'liefde' or 'min' (both meaning more or less 'love'), but also when characters express feelings that are dependent on other emotional processes that include the body more specifically.

They broke their concept types down into 'emotion,' 'body part,' 'bodily process,' and 'emotional action' (see table Table 3.1). Leemans et al., however, adopted a definition of emotion that is different from the definition I use in my study. While my study argues that emotions are mostly characterised as *emotives*, i.e., as performative emotion claims (see the Introduction), Leemans et al. adopted Swiss psychologist Klaus Scherer's definition of emotion: 'a strong feeling deriving from one's circumstances or relationships with others involving cognitive appraisal, bodily symptoms, (a readiness for) action, motoric expression (for instance in face or voice) and subjective awareness.'[13] Scherer's definition also happens to be closer to what Scheer described about how emotions exist both in body *and* mind.[14] Likewise, the definition compares to

10 Leemans et al. 2017, 2.
11 Van der Zwaan et al. 2015, 23.
12 Leemans et al. 2017, 2.
13 Van der Zwaan et al. 2015, 23; see also Scherer 2005, 697, 703–705.
14 Scheer 2012, 195–196.

TABLE 3.1 HEEM concept types (compiled from Van der Zwaan et al. 2015, 24; Leemans et al. 2017, 4)

Concept type	Explanation	Examples
Emotion	Strong feeling deriving from one's circumstances or relationships with others involving cognitive appraisal, bodily symptoms, (a readiness for) action, motorical expression and subjective awareness	Weerzin (*aversion*), haten (*to loathe*), verliefd (*to be in love*), verdrietig (*to be sad*)
Body part	A body part involved in an emotional action or expression (internal or external)	Gezicht (*face*), spieren (*muscles*), bloed (*blood*), geest (*mind*), ogen (*eyes*)
Bodily process	(Uncontrollable) reactions of the body to emotions	Huilen (*to cry*), zuchten (*to sigh, to moan*), blozen (*to blush*), rillen (*to tremble*)
Emotional action	(Controllable) human action triggered by an emotion	Schelden (*to scold*), in de armen sluiten (*to embrace*), honen (*to scorn*), smeken (*to beg*)

Konst's definition of *hartstochten* (passions) as an inclination of the heart, the alleged seat of human emotions.[15]

Within these four concept types, Leemans et al. identified terms according to 38 selected emotion labels that they deemed relevant for the interpretation of early modern theatre:

> anger (woede); annoyance (wrevel); acquiescence (berusting); awe (ontzag); benevolence (welwillendheid); compassion (mededogen); dedication (toewijding); desire (verlangen); despair (wanhoop); disappointment (teleurstelling); disgust (walging); envy (jaloezie); fear (angst); feeling of loss (gemis); greed (hebzucht); happiness (geluk); hatred (haat); heavy-heartedness (bedruktheid); honour (eergevoel); hope (hoop); joy (blijdschap); love (liefde); loyalty (trouw); moved (ontroerd); offense (beledigd); other (anders); pride (trots); relief (opluchting); remorse (wroeging); sadness (verdriet); shame (schaamte); spitefulness (wrok); suspicion (achterdocht); trust (vertrouwen); unhappiness (ongelukkig); vindictiveness (wraakzucht); wonder (verwondering); worry (bezorgdheid).[16]

15 Konst 1993, 1.

16 Leemans et al. 2017, 4.

Leemans et al. only annotated terms that concerned an emotional expression, not ones that described natural physical responses (i.e., trembling from anger, but not trembling from cold).[17] After annotating 29 texts by hand, they automatically annotated the 250 other plays in their corpus through machine learning.[18] They published the results in a dataset which forms the basis for my analysis here.[19] By using the same emotion labels as Leemans et al., I am able to identify a variety of emotions in Dutch *comedias* and compare them to the total number of emotions found by Leemans et al., as well as to the number of emotions that appear per genre.

Although identifying 38 emotion labels, Leemans et al. found the data to be too narrowly differentiated to give a surveyable overview of emotionality in Dutch theatre plays: with so many terms recognised as separate emotional categories, each with a relatively small number of discrete examples, comparison between them became too difficult. The research team consequently rearranged the 38 emotion labels in HEEM according to twelve broader emotion clusters (Table 3.2).

I use both the emotion labels and emotion clusters used in HEEM, but in different ways: the 38 emotion labels are useful to discuss separate emotions present in the plays, whereas the emotion clusters can signal larger trends in the genres and make it easier to visualise their frequency, and in turn to compare the frequency of one cluster across all genres, or one cluster to another within the same genre.

As its name, the *Historic Embodied Emotions Model* suggests, this method analyses how emotions are embodied and in which part of the body those emotions reside. Leemans et al. have concluded, for instance, that the heart is the most commonly mentioned body part within which emotions reside in the early modern period with a share of 20% of all emotions that are located in the heart in the early seventeenth century. Moreover, this share seems to increase over time to 42% during the eighteenth century. They also demonstrate that wrath is one of the emotions that is especially

17 Leemans et al. 2017, 4: 'Words were annotated and interpreted in context which means that a polysemous word like the Dutch noun *hoop* which has two meanings (*heap* and *hope*) will only be identified if it is used in its second meaning. Likewise, body related concepts, i.e. body parts, bodily processes and body sensations, are only identified if they are involved in an emotion expressed in the text. In the case of bodily processes, for instance, the reaction must be triggered by an emotion and not by any other phenomenon. For example, *trembling* is annotated in a sentence such as *she trembles with anger*, but is not annotated in: *she trembles from the cold*.'

18 Van der Zwaan et al. 2015, esp. 25–29. It should be noted that the number 279 is slightly distorted, since most of Samuel Coster's plays were taken together as one text: the team took Coster's *Samuel Coster's werken* (1883) as the 'text' for Coster. This edition contains, however, nine theatre plays. For my analysis, I have divided the results according to each individual play text.

19 See Van der Zwaan et al. 2016.

TABLE 3.2 HEEM emotion clusters (reproduced from Van der Zwaan et al. 2015, 24)

Emotion cluster	Heem emotion labels
Anger	anger, annoyance, hatred, offense, spitefulness, vindictiveness
Compassion	compassion
Desire	desire, greed, envy
Despair	despair, unhappiness
Disgust	disgust, shame
Fear	fear, awe, suspicion, worry
Joy	joy, happiness, hope, relief, wonder
Love	love, dedication, loyalty
Other	Other
Positive Sentiments	acquiescence, benevolence, moved, trust
Pride-Honour	pride, honour
Sadness	sadness, disappointment, heavy-heartedness, loss, remorse

located in the heart.[20] In theory, we could also explore where the emotions in Dutch *comedias* are located in the body. The data mining completed by Sanne Hoeken and myself, the results of which are discussed in this chapter, suggests that there is hardly any coherence between emotions and the body in the language of characters in Dutch *comedias*, or in the other genres for that matter.[21] This is because the machine learning did not always recognise body parts that were identified in relation to specific emotions. While the tool could usually identify the correct emotion, it neglected to tag the associated body part in some cases. Therefore, the HEEM dataset cannot yet provide trustworthy results for the comparison of embodied emotions across or within different genres.[22] However, HEEM did produce sufficiently reliable results to compare the frequency of separate emotion clusters and emotion labels.

20 See Leemans et al. 2017, 11 (figs. 12, 13).

21 In her capacity as student-assistant, Hoeken wrote the data extraction code.

22 The problem with machine learning experienced here will be discussed in a separate publication on the usefulness of HEEM for genre research; see Vergeer and Hoeken 2021, in preparation. We think that HEEM can be used to determine the frequency of different emotions, but should still be further developed before it can actually give trustworthy insights into how embodied emotions come into existence in early modern Dutch drama.

Quantitative Analysis Corpus

To test how the Dutch adaptations of *comedia nueva* relate to three of the most common subgenres in the Low Countries, I naturally needed a corpus. However, only nine of the 279 corpus texts already entered into HEEM appeared before 1672 and have Spanish origins (Table 3.3). I include all nine, each of which was entered into HEEM using machine learning,[23] which form a sub-corpus within my larger study corpus of 36 plays.[24]

For my findings about embodied emotions in Dutch adaptations of *comedia nueva* to be meaningful, I compare my nine sub-corpus texts of Spanish origin to a control group of Dutch-origin play texts. The selection of the control group is based on Konst's corpus in the earlier mentioned *Woedende wraakghierigheidt en vruchtelooze weeklachten* where he discussed seventeenth-century Dutch tragedy. His corpus was selected to have: 1) adequate chronological spreading; 2) texts that were relatively well-known; and 3) representation of different literary movements. The third consideration was the most important to Konst and will also be the most important for my comparison.[25]

The first group that Konst discussed consists of Senecan-Scaligerian plays by Hooft, Bredero, and Coster (Table 3.4). These are characterised by a dramatic structure inspired by Seneca's tragedies and the poetics of Julius-Caesar Scaliger. His second group consists of Vondel's drama, including also his biblical drama (Table 3.5). Vondel's drama exists independently from contemporary literary movements; unlike his peers, he often selected subjects from the Bible and focused expressly on Aristotelian poetics. The third group that Konst discussed are the so-called 'gruwel- en spektakeltoneel' ('Horror and Spectacle plays', Table 3.6), which notably include those by theatre director Jan Vos, as well as by others including Reinier de Bont's *Beleg en ontset der stadt Leyden* (1640, 'Siege and Relief of the City Leiden') and adaptations of English revenge tragedies such as Adriaen van den Bergh's *Don Jeronimo maerschalk van Spanjen* (1621, 'Don Hieronymus, Marshal of Spain').[26] Konst includes a caveat that this group has less internal cohesion than the others: while Vos' *Medea* is close to the

23 The source of the text makes clear whether it was annotated by hand (annotations) or whether the text was automatically annotated through machine learning (predictions). It is important to keep in mind that machine learning can predict the HEEM labels with micro-averaged $F_1 = 0.45$, and macro-averaged $F_1 = 0.24$ on spelling-normalised data. See Van der Zwaan et al. 2015, 29.

24 Van der Zwaan et al. 2016.

25 Konst 1993, 2–4.

26 Transl. of Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedie* (1592).

TABLE 3.3 Dutch adaptations of Spanish plays in HEEM produced before 1672

	Dutch adaptor	Title	Year	Spanish author
1.	Johan van Heemskerck	*De verduytste Cid*	1641	Guillén de Castro y Bellvís
2.	Isaak Vos	*Gedwongen vrient*	1646	Félix Lope de Vega
3.	Leon de Fuyter	*Verwarde hof*	1647	Antonio Mira de Amescua
4.	Isaak Vos	*De beklaagelycke dwangh*	1648	Félix Lope de Vega
5.	Claude de Grieck (F)	*Den grooten Bellizarius*	1654	Antonio Mira de Amescua
6.	Hendrik de Graef	*Joanna Koningin van Napels*	1664	Félix Lope de Vega
7.	David Lingelbach	*De spookende minnaar*	1664	Pedro Calderón de la Barca
8.	Hendrik de Graef	*Den dullen ammirael*	1670	Félix Lope de Vega
9.	Adriaen Bastiaensz de Leeuw	*De toveres Circe*	1670	Pedro Calderón de la Barca

TABLE 3.4 Senecan-Scaligerian plays in HEEM produced before 1672

	Author	Title	Year	Data source
1.	Pieter Cornelisz Hooft	*Achilles en Polyxena*	1614	annotations
2.	Pieter Cornelisz Hooft	*Theseus en Ariadne*	1614	predictions
3.	Gerbrandt Adriaensz Bredero	*Griane*	1616	predictions
4.	Gerbrandt Adriaensz Bredero	*Lucelle*	1616	predictions
5.	Gerbrandt Adriaensz Bredero	*Rodd'rick ende Alphonsus*	1616	predictions
6.	Samuel Coster	*Iphigenia*	1617	predictions
7.	Samuel Coster	*Ithys*	1618	predictions
8.	Samuel Coster	*Isabella*	1619	predictions
9.	Samuel Coster	*Polyxena*	1619	predictions

Senecan-Scaligerian plays, Lodewijk Meyer's *Verloofde koninksbruidt* (1668, 'Engaged King's Daughter') anticipates a fourth group of 'Frans-classicistisch drama' ('French-classicist plays') produced by Nil Volentibus Arduum. The plays in this fourth group were, however, published and performed after 1672 and are therefore beyond the scope of this study. Following Konst, I selected from the HEEM dataset nine plays from each of Konst's three groups which are relevant to my study period. As often as possible within the HEEM dataset, I chose the same texts as Konst to maximise opportunities for comparison.

TABLE 3.5 Vondel's plays in HEEM produced before 1672

	Title	Year	Data source
1.	*Het Pascha*	1612	predictions
2.	*Hierusalem verwoest*	1620	predictions
3.	*Palamedes*	1625	annotations
4.	*Gysbreght van Aemstel*	1637	annotations
5.	*Elektra*	1639	predictions
6.	*Maeghden*	1639	predictions
7.	*Joseph in Dothan*	1640	annotations
8.	*Lucifer*	1654	predictions
9.	*Salmoneus*	1657	predictions

TABLE 3.6 Horror and Spectacle plays in HEEM produced before 1672

	Author / Adaptor	Title	Year	Data source
1.	Adriaen van den Bergh	*Don Jeronimo maerschalk van Spanjen*	1638	predictions
2.	Reinier de Bont	*Beleg en ontset der stadt Leyden*	1640	predictions
3.	Jan Vos	*Aran en Titus* (transl. of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, 1589)	1641	predictions
4.	Geeraerdt Brandt	*De veinzende Torquatus*	1645	predictions
5.	Pieter Zeerijp	*D'eersuchtige wraak*	1647	predictions
6.	Dirk Kalbergen	*Muliassus de Turk* (transl. of Mason's *The Turke*, 1607)	1652	predictions
7.	Jan Vos	*Medea*	1667	predictions
8.	Thomas Asselijn	*Op- en ondergang van Mas Anjello*	1668	predictions
9.	Lodewijk Meijer	*Verloofde koninksbruidt*	1668	annotations

For each of these plays there is an XML file with annotations and predicted labels in NAF format (NLP Annotation Format) within the HEEM dataset. This format comprises a number of layers and elements, which I briefly describe here. First, the fileDesc element contains the attributes that identify the author and title of the play. Then follows a text layer with all word forms (elements enclosed by ⟨wf⟩), each with the attributes 'id' (a numbered identifier per line), 'length' (of a lemma in letters), and 'sent' (line in the play). The terms layer that follows contains lexical units (terms) that refer to the word forms. The word forms are assigned to each term as targets in the span attribute. Each term also has the attributes 'id,' 'lemma,' and 'pos' (part of speech). Finally, the layer that is crucial for my analyses—the emotions layer—follows. This layer includes all references to emotions in the play.

Each emotion element includes a span attribute with the terms that comprise an emotion-related expression. The term ids are assigned as target elements to the span element. The emotion expression is annotated with the External References element in each emotion element. This is then used to associate the terms with external resources: the classifications by the models of the HEEM dataset. An External References element (⟨externalRef⟩) consists of multiple components, each describing an external resource with the attributes 'reference,' 'resource' (generally derived from HEEM's dataset), and 'confidence.' The 'reference' attribute identifies the predicted label. In addition, there is a 'resource' attribute for body parts, which serves the embodiment of emotions analysis.

With knowledge of the annotation structure for each play, we extracted the valuable information through a Python script. This script parsed all files from the selected plays and counted for each file the cluster labels, heem labels, and the binary sentiment labels by extracting them from the reference attributes of the externalRef elements derived from HEEM. All results, as well as all code and data used for this analysis, can be publicly accessed in the database associated with this research.[27] After counting all relevant labels, we converted the results to relative counts by dividing by the total number of terms in the file of each play and multiplying by 1000 to identify the label count per 1000 terms; in HEEM, these are both words and punctuation, among which exclamation marks are most telling in the context of emotion. All results are, moreover, rounded to one decimal place. In this way, the frequency of emotional expression of each emotion cluster and binary sentiment type are obtainable for each play. On the basis of this corpus we can thereby quantify emotions and compare how many emotions can be found across the four genres.

27 See Hoeken and Vergeer 2021. Details about the data are also discussed by Vergeer and Hoeken 2021, in preparation.

The Emotional Nature of Drama in the Low Countries

My study here is primarily focused on the emotions that appear in the Dutch adaptations of *comedia nueva*, but these are best understood in the context of emotions found in the 'home-grown' genre. It is therefore useful to discuss the dramatic nature of all four genres here.

Positive and Negative Emotions

Comedia nueva is a tragicomic genre—according to Lope de Vega, a mix of 'Terence with Seneca'[28]—so the emotions within reflect those found in both tragedy and comedy. Leemans et al. proposed that the tragic or comic nature of a play can be demonstrated by both positive and negative sentiment types. To this end, the team divided the 38 emotion labels in HEEM as either positive emotions or negative emotions:

Positive love, joy, desire, hope, compassion, happiness, honour, loyalty, wonder, moved, acquiescence, benevolence, pride, dedication, trust, awe, relief.

Negative sadness, fear, anger, despair, vindictiveness, hatred, remorse, worry, shame, heavy-heartedness, disgust, spitefulness, annoyance, envy, suspicion, offense, unhappiness, disappointment, greed, loss.[29]

Leemans et al.'s corpus demonstrate that tragedies contain more negative than positive sentiments, while comedies contain more positive than negative sentiments.[30] It could also be argued that then the dominance of negative emotions can predict whether a play or genre is tragic, while more plentiful positive emotions indicates that a play or genre is comic. Therefore, a balance between the two suggests tragicomedy. This outcome is also based on the poetical instruction by humanists such as Scaliger that comedies should generally contain many positive emotions with subjects including marriage, love, and funny misunderstandings, whereas tragedies should predominantly feature death, anger, and sorrow, and should frequently contain negative emotions.[31]

Because of the tragicomic nature of the *comedia nueva*, the expectation is that Dutch adaptations demonstrate a generally equal ratio between the frequency of

28 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, v. 175.
29 Van der Zwaan et al. 2015, 24.
30 Leemans et al. 2017, 11.
31 Scaliger [1561] 1995, 3.96.

positive and negative sentiments.[32] The three other Dutch genres should be tragic (i.e., display more negative than positive sentiments). However, the group of Senecan-Scaligerian plays also include specific plays by Bredero. Bredero's *Griane*, *Lucelle*, and *Rodd'rick ende Alphonsus* are all tragicomic in nature and are in many ways comparable to *comedia nueva* as myself and Van Marion argue in an article about Bredero's *Rodd'rick ende Alphonsus*.[33] For this reason, the presence of Bredero's plays likely influences the results for the Senecan-Scaligerian genre. Statistical analysis has, furthermore, shown that the sample for each genre is too small ($n = 9$) and not representative to make any claims about the significance of the differences found between the genres.[34] Yet, the results may still indicate trends that can be further analysed by both close and distant reading.

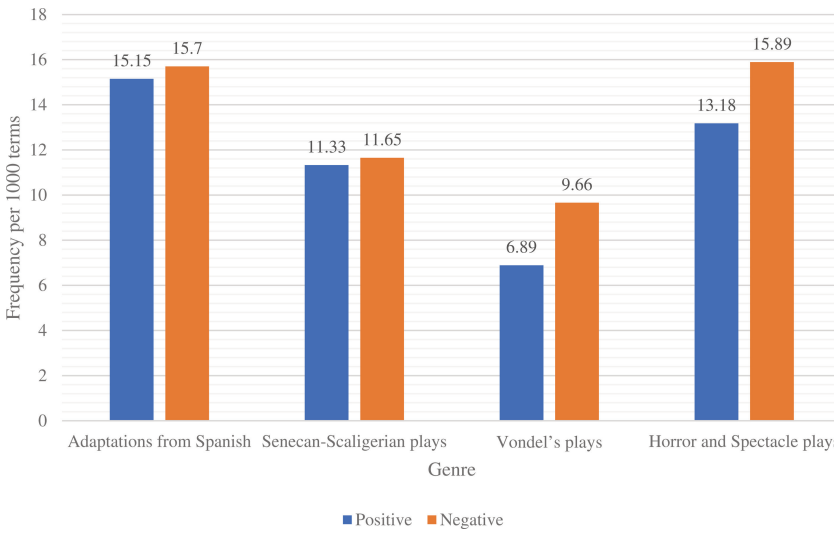
I tested the hypothesis by looking at the division of positive and negative emotions in the different genres. Using binary division, Graph 3.1 shows that Dutch adaptations of *comedia nueva* have a more balanced dispersion of positive and negative emotions than do both Horror and Spectacle plays or Vondel's plays. The nearly even balance confirm that Dutch adaptations of *comedia nueva* are indeed tragicomedies, as per Lope's description in his *Arte nuevo*. Graph 3.1 also shows that there is likewise a nearly even balance for Senecan-Scaligerian plays, which goes against my initial expectations. According to the seventeenth-century theory that underpins the Senecan-Scaligerian plays, the genre should be predominantly tragic in nature. Thus, the expectation would also be that this genre harbours an overwhelming amount of negative emotions. This is not true.

Alternatively, we can compare the frequency of positive and negative sentiments between the four genres and see whether, per 1,000 terms, one genre is more positive or negative than the others. The expectation is that Dutch *comedias* have more positive (i.e., comic) sentiments than the other genres, because these plays are tragicomic. Meanwhile, Horror and Spectacle plays, Senecan-Scaligerian plays, and Vondel's plays

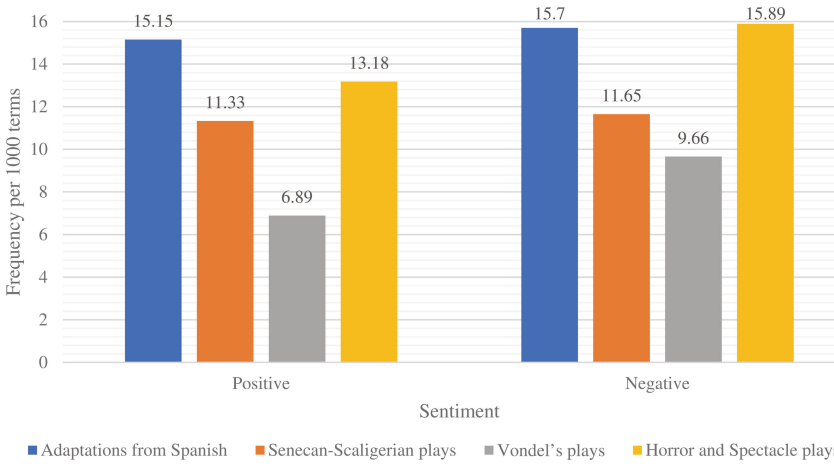
32 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 174–180: 'Lo trágico y lo cómico mezclado, [...] harán grave una parte, otra ridícula, / que aquesta variedad deleita mucho.'

33 Vergeer and Van Marion 2021, forthcoming.

34 Apart from the tragicomic plays by Bredero in the group of Senecan-Scaligerian plays, findings for Horror and Spectacle plays were also influenced by the high frequency of compassion (2.6) and fear (10.6) in Kalbergen's *Muliassus de Turk*, which were twice as high as the average across all genres. In general, the frequency of compassion, dedication (5.6), desire (5.3), despair (6.0), fear, heavy-heartedness (5.6), hope (2.4), joy (8.5), love (10.7), sadness (7.0), and vindictiveness (6.3) are all exceptional high in *Muliassus de Turk* in comparison to other revenge tragedies. These results warrant a deeper analysis of the play, which I will do in a future publication.



GRAPH 3.1 Average frequency of positive and negative sentiments in four genres



GRAPH 3.2 Average frequency of positive and negative sentiments between four genres

should display more negative (i.e., tragic) sentiments, because the plays in these categories are identified as tragedies. The results are shown in Graph 3.2. The results indicate that compared to the other genres (and especially Dutch *comedias*) Senecan-Scaligerian plays are not distinctly more tragic in nature.

Emotional Clusters

The emotional nature of the different genres is also determined by which emotions often appear together. Are they different in the Dutch *comedias* compared to those in the other three genres? The scholarly literature says that the emotions love and honour are strongly present in Spanish *comedias* and, therefore, likely also in Dutch *comedias*, and to a somewhat lesser extent this also applies to joy and anger.[35] We could say that love, honour, joy, and anger are the four main emotion clusters of *comedia nueva*. Likewise, the scholarly literature states that anger and sadness are most common in Horror and Spectacle plays.[36] Despair and fear are also strongly prevalent emotions in this genre, but to a lesser extent than anger and sadness. These four emotions should also be the most prevalent emotions in the Senecan-Scaligerian genre, as per Scaliger himself.[37] Fear should be an important emotion in Vondel's plays, as well as compassion.[38] It is expected that the emotion clusters which, according to the literature, are especially present in a particular genre, the mean frequency of HEEM dataset annotations that reference that emotion cluster is higher than for other, less prevalent emotion clusters. In the visualisation below (Graph 3.3), the frequency of each of the eleven emotion clusters within the four different dramatic genres is ranked from highest to lowest.

The graph suggests that the emotion patterns for the four genres are more or less comparable with one group of emotions that is prevalent over the other: overall, love, anger, fear, joy, and sadness are more frequent than are 'positive sentiments,' despair, pride-honour, disgust, and compassion. Dutch *comedias* and Horror and Spectacle plays are, furthermore, more emotional than the Senecan-Scaligerian plays and Vondel's plays, although Dutch *comedias* have a bigger focus on the emotion love, whereas Horror and Spectacle plays have a bigger focus on the emotion anger. The results are partly in line with my expectations.

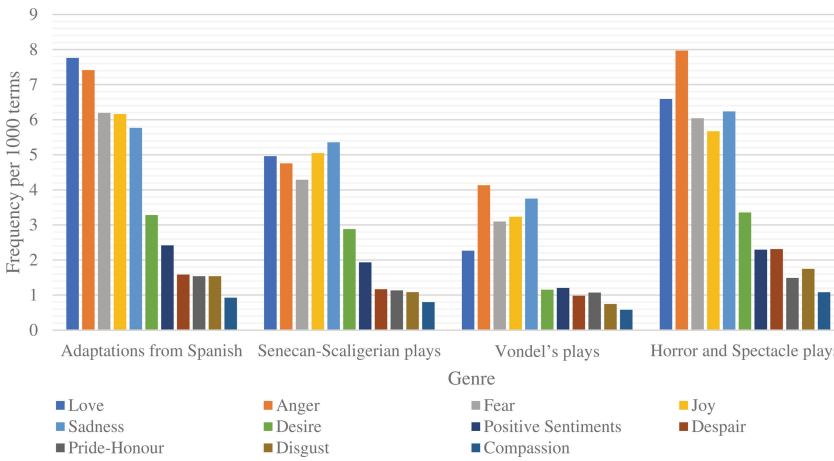
As regards my hypotheses, for the Dutch adaptations of Spanish *comedias*, the frequency of anger, joy, and love are higher than to some other emotions (compassion, despair, disgust), but not to all other emotions (e.g., fear and sadness). Additionally, the frequency of honour is not as high as expected. We can draw the same kind of

35 See, e.g., McKendrick 1984; McKendrick 1989, 74; Rey Hazas 1991; Álvarez Sellers 2013; Lauer 2014; Ramón Muñoz 2015.

36 Worp 1879, 95–106; Werkgroep Utrechtse neerlandici 1978, 12–38; Meijer Drees 1986 and 1989.

37 Scaliger [1561] 1994, 1.6, and [1561] 1995, 3.96.

38 Smits-Veldt 1991, 95–98.



GRAPH 3.3 Average frequency of emotion clusters in four genres

conclusion for the Horror and Spectacle plays. The emotions anger, fear, and sadness are referred to more often than to some other emotions (compassion, disgust, pride-honour) but not to all other emotions (e.g. desire, joy, love). Despair is not, although expected, a more frequent emotion than other emotions are.

In the case of the Senecan-Scaligerian plays, the results show that three of the emotions I expected to be frequently represented, anger, fear, and sadness, are referred to more often than are compassion, despair, disgust, and pride-honour, but not more often than joy and love. The fact that love is also referred to fairly often can probably be explained by the fact that the corpus for Senecan-Scaligerian plays also includes Bredero's plays, and these are often about love, as noted above. Additional emotions expected to appear frequently, fear and despair, do not differ from the other emotions. So, again the results only partly agree with the hypotheses. The hypotheses about Vondel's plays also seem to be partly incorrect. Anger and sadness stand out in his plays, while fear and joy appear also to be quite frequent. Compassion does not appear more frequently than do any other emotions at all.

Finally, above I posed the question of whether the dispersion of emotions in Dutch adaptations of *comedia nueva* is different from that of the other three genres. I have not found this to be true. The data suggests that the four genres do not appeal to entirely different emotions and are in this sense comparable.

The Frequency of 'Spanish' Emotions in Dutch Adaptations

My quantitative analysis has shown thus far that Dutch adaptations of *comedia nueva* can indeed be considered tragicomic, and do not appeal to entirely different emotions than those of the Dutch 'home-grown' genres. What does this mean for my earlier observation that the emotions desire, envy, honour, joy, love, pride (superbia), and vindictiveness appear most often in *comedias*?

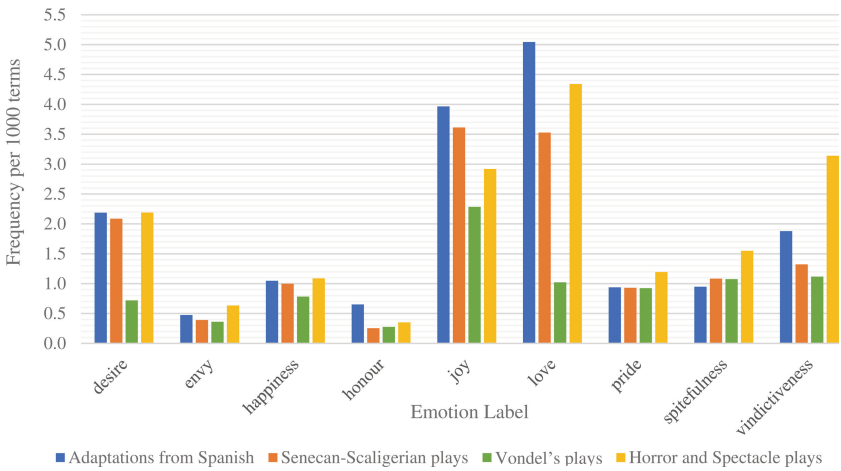
From Love to Vindictiveness

Although the scholarly literature argues that typically these seven emotions are found in the Spanish originals, it begs the question whether this is also true of Dutch adaptations, given that my data shows that Dutch adaptations do not harbour different emotions than do the three 'home-grown' genres addressed above. To see whether the seven emotions that are said to be frequent in the Spanish originals also occur frequently in the Dutch adaptations, the frequency for the nine corresponding HEEM labels desire, envy, happiness, honour, joy, love, pride, spitefulness, and vindictiveness are visualised in Graph 3.4 below. The graph immediately shows high frequency of desire, love, and joy for all plays (with the exception of Vondel's plays), and the differences between the four genres are subtle. Horror and Spectacle plays show high frequency of vindictiveness, higher than in any of the other three genres.

This illustrates that the differences between the frequency for love and desire in Dutch *comedias* and Vondel's plays are larger in comparison to those between Vondel's plays, Senecan-Scaligerian plays, and Horror and Spectacle plays. This is partly in line with my expectations.

That there exist large differences in the appearance of vindictiveness between the Horror and Spectacle plays on the one hand and Dutch *comedias*, Vondel's plays, and Senecan-Scaligerian plays on the other hand, but not between Dutch *comedias*, Vondel's plays, and Senecan-Scaligerian plays, is unexpected: many scholars of *comedias* have argued that Spanish drama is often characterised by acts of vengeance. As such, *comedia nueva* has been said to probably reflect a broader cultural phenomenon in Spain (see Chapter 5).[39] The quantitative results suggest that in the Low Countries it was not *comedias* but rather the Horror and Spectacle plays which showcased vengeance. This can probably be explained by the presence of two English revenge tragedies in this

39 McKendrick 1984, esp. 316–319.

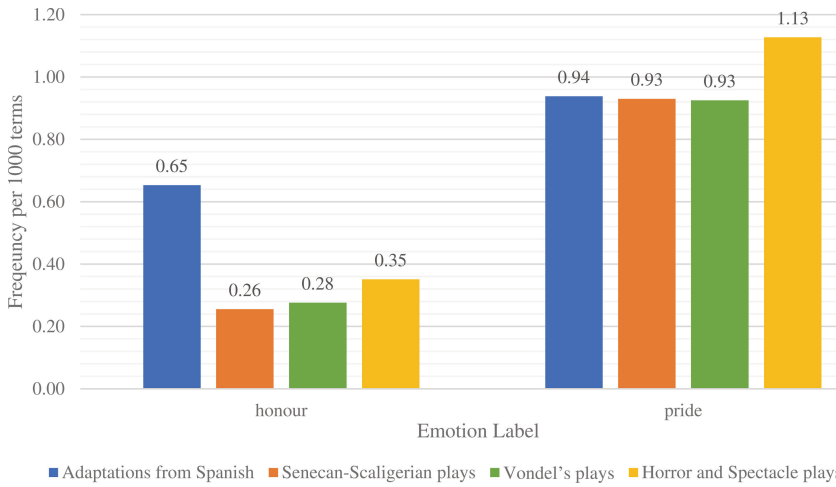


GRAPH 3.4 Average frequency of 'Spanish' emotions in four genres

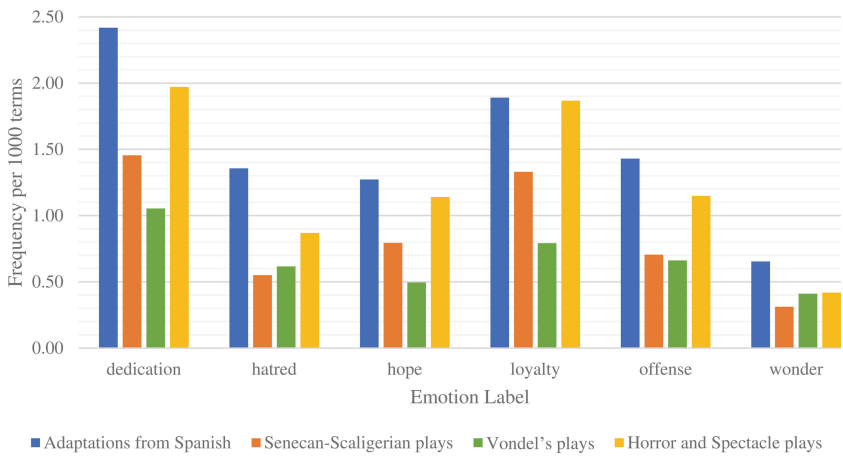
group of plays (discussed further in Chapter 5). As such, the audience did not necessarily watch a *comedia* if they wanted a story about vengeance; for that, the spectator may have been better served by watching a Horror and Spectacle play.

A more nuanced look into honour and pride can, furthermore, demonstrate other ways in which Dutch adaptations of Spanish *comedias* and Horror and Spectacle plays differ. Graph 3.5 shows that honour is more frequently demonstrated in Dutch *comedias*, whereas pride seems to be more common in Horror and Spectacle plays, although that difference is small. These findings are in line with the importance of honour in *comedia nueva* as per the scholarly literature. Yet, the frequency of pride in the adaptations from Spanish, Senecan-Scaligerian plays, and Vondel's plays is the same, and the frequency in the Horror and Spectacle plays is only slightly higher. As pride is also often dramatised in stories about tyrants where it takes on the form of hubris, we may deduce that the plays about political intrigue, such as *Medea* (freq. 1.90) and *Op- en ondergang van Mas Anjello* ('Rise and Fall of Mas Anjello', freq. 2.38), feature pride more as a frequent emotion as compared to *De verduytste Cid* (freq. 0.67) or *De spookende minnaar* (freq. 0.44). I discuss honour and pride more elaborately in the following chapters as they became very popular on the Dutch stage, in part because of *comedia nueva*.

Above, I selected the nine HEEM labels of desire, envy, happiness, honour, joy, love, pride, spitefulness, and vindictiveness as 'Spanish' emotions, for which we might expect a difference between *comedias* and Dutch 'home-grown' plays. Yet, only for love and honour are there noticeable differences between Dutch *comedias* and the other



GRAPH 3.5 Frequency of honour and pride in four genres



GRAPH 3.6 Average frequency of other 'Spanish' emotions in four genres

genres. Rather, more important differences between genres exist for other emotions which one might initially expect to be of minor importance. These are found for dedication, hatred, hope, loyalty, offense, and wonder (Graph 3.6), corresponding with the emotion clusters anger, fear, joy, and love.

These results are not as surprising as they first seemed. On the one hand, dedication and loyalty can be related to star-crossed lovers, who remain steadfast despite their adversaries and the political struggles that engage them, which also makes

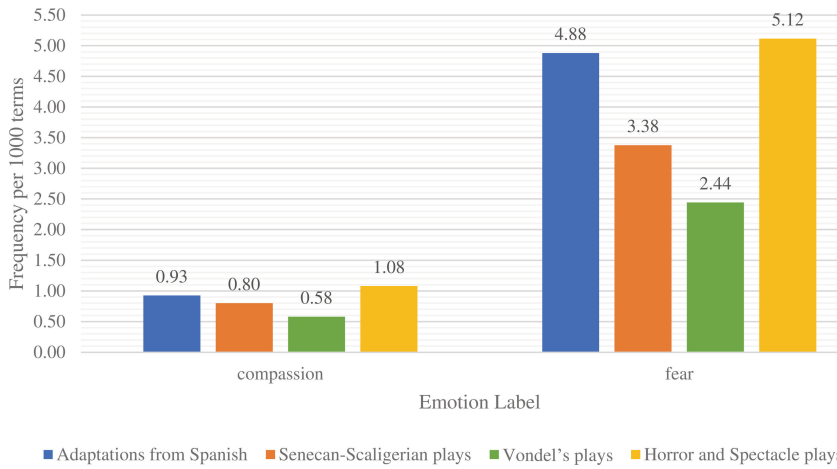
them hopeful. On the other hand, hatred and offense are emotions which arise when the protagonist's honour is damaged and decides to exact vengeance. Although there was no clear difference between Dutch *comedias* and the other genres with respect to vindictiveness, these 'secondary' emotions of hatred and offense could perhaps be regarded as a desire for vengeance, which I discuss in more detail in Chapter 5. In turn, wonder is probably a reaction of the characters in the Dutch adaptations of Spanish *comedias* to the unexpected plot twists and forms of dramatic deception characteristic of the genre, as I discuss in Chapter 4. Thus, we see that in comparison to three other genres popular in the Low Countries in 1617–1672, the results suggest that there exist differences in the expression of nine different emotions: dedication, desire, hatred, honour, hope, love, loyalty, offense, and wonder.

The Frequency of Tragic Emotions

The emotion clusters discussed above have already shown that Dutch adaptations of *comedias* do not appeal to entirely different emotions than do three contemporary genres, and that there are nine emotion labels that appear at higher frequency in Dutch adaptations of Spanish *comedia nueva*.

As already mentioned, I am also interested in the expression of fear and compassion. They are paramount in theories of tragedy, and are as important in *comedia nueva* as in Senecan-Scaligerian plays, Horror and Spectacle plays, and Vondel's plays. To make this comparison I rely on the influence of Aristotle's *Poetics* on early modern tragedy. Aristotle's treatise is not only one of the oldest theories about emotions in drama, but also one of the most cited in the early modern period. Aristotle identified two emotions in particular: fear and pity. Typically, these two emotions are considered tragic, and as such should be omnipresent in tragic genres, including the Horror and Spectacle plays, Senecan-Scaligerian plays, and Vondel's plays analysed in this chapter. We have seen for the emotion clusters, somewhat remarkably, that this is not the case. Do the frequency of fear and compassion, then, at least differ between the genres? In other words, are fear and compassion more frequent in the tragic genres than in the *comedia nueva*? Considering that Aristotle defines fear (*phobos*) as an overwhelming terror with which the spectator should be confronted and overpowered,[40] it is

40 Aristotle 1995, 46–47, 72–79.



GRAPH 3.7 Average frequencies of the emotion labels fear and compassion in four genres

clear that the philosopher's definition is closer to the emotion label 'fear' rather than to the larger HEEM emotion cluster 'fear,' which also includes the emotion labels awe, suspicion, and worry. In this regard, it is also interesting that the majority of emotions that are categorised as fear follow the strictest sense of the word, meaning the emotion label fear/*phobos* (compare the frequencies in Graph 3.3 and Graph 3.7). The frequency of compassion and fear between the different genres are visualised in Graph 3.7.

While fear and compassion are typical of tragedy according to Aristotle, their presence in each of the four different genres studied here might suggest broader use by early modern playwrights. The high frequency of fear in Dutch *comedias* (a tragicomic genre) but relatively low incidence in Vondel's plays (a tragic genre) and in Senecan-Scaligerian plays may be indicative of its changed use in seventeenth-century theatre. Simultaneously, the differences between the frequency of compassion across all genres are too small to make any conclusions about the relative importance of the emotion label compassion in the four genres.

On the basis of the theories on which Senecan-Scaligerian plays and Vondel's plays were based, the frequency of fear and compassion should be expected to be higher than in the Dutch *comedias*. This originates in particular from our perception of these two 'home-grown' genres. Hooft, Bredero, and Coster's plays are largely informed by the theories of sixteenth-century humanist Julius-Caesar Scaliger, whose son Joseph Justus Scaliger was Hooft and Coster's professor at Leiden University, as mentioned in Chapter 2. However, as Smits-Veldt has pointed out, neither Hooft nor Coster demon-

strated a deep understanding of their professor's theories nor of their differences from those of their schoolmate Daniel Heinsius.[41]

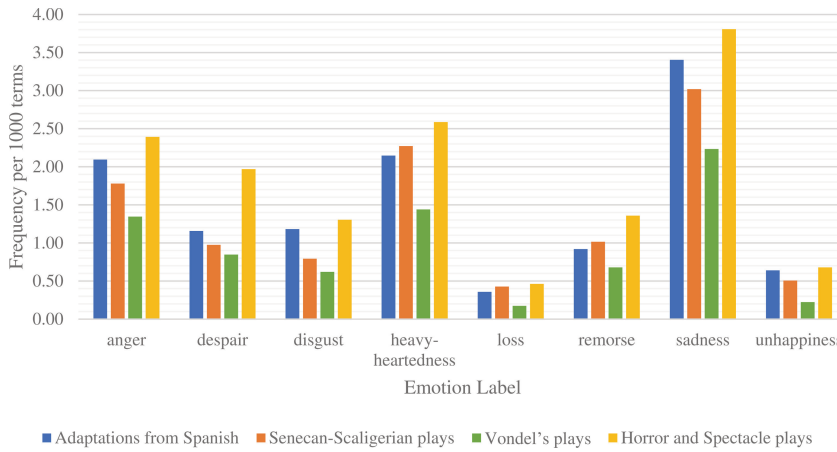
As the elder Scaliger wrote in his influential *Poetices libri septem* (1561, 'Seven Books on Poetics'), tragedy 'completely consists of a fearful atmosphere: fear, threats, exile and death make up a tragedy.'[42] Meanwhile, Heinsius wrote in *De tragoediae constitutione* (1611, 'On the Constitution of Tragedy') that a catharsis (*expiatio affectuum*) must be established by means of compassion (*misericordia*) and fear (*horror*), where *horror* is understood as fear coupled with disgust.[43] Therefore, it is at least conspicuous that the Senecan-Scaligerian plays are not more explicitly frightful. Vondel's theory of tragedy was meanwhile based on Gerardus Johannes Vossius' theories as laid out in *Poeticarum institutionum libri tres* (1647, 'Institutes of Poetics in Three Books'). Vossius attached great importance to fear (*terror*) and compassion (*misericordia*).[44] While the discrepancy between theory and practice might not explain why the Senecan-Scaligerian plays and Vondel's plays do not make a greater appeal to fear and compassion, these theories may elucidate why *comedias* that focused more explicitly on fear and compassion were adapted for the Dutch stage.

Nevertheless, the current results indicate that compassion and fear are more frequent in Horror and Spectacle plays and in Dutch adaptations of Spanish *comedias* than in the other two genres. As such, it can even be argued that Dutch *comedias* and Horror and Spectacle plays better meet the main tenet of tragedy than the so-called tragedies included in my sub-corpus, as they might elicit more fear and pity.

Tragedy cannot be reduced to fear and pity alone; a deeper understanding of the tragic side of *comedia nueva* can be gained by also looking at other emotions. According to the 38 HEEM emotion labels, there are eight additional emotions that can be categorised as tragic in the Dutch-humanistic context of Scaliger, Heinsius, and Vossius. These include anger, despair, disgust, heavy-heartedness, loss, remorse, sadness, and unhappiness.[45] The frequency of each of these eight additional tragic emotions in the four genres studied in this chapter are visualised in Graph 3.8 below.

It seems that the frequency of the additional emotions in my sub-corpus of Dutch *comedias* and the selected Senecan-Scaligerian plays are comparable, with the exception of anger, disgust, and sadness. Generally speaking, Horror and Spectacle plays and

41 Smits-Veldt 1991, 52, 58.
42 Scaliger [1561] 1994, 1.6.
43 Smits-Veldt 1991, 55–57.
44 Vossius [1647] 2010, II.13.20.
45 Heinsius 1611, 12–13. For an analysis of this passage, see Smits-Veldt 1991, 53–58.



GRAPH 3.8 Average frequencies of other tragic emotions in four genres

Vondel's plays demonstrate respectively higher and lower frequencies for these other 'tragic' emotions. These findings are unexpected: the inclusion of comic emotions as found in Dutch *comedias* do not make the genre any less tragic than the three other genres. This confirms again that Dutch adaptations of Spanish *comedias* generally offered displays of the same emotions as seen in the other genres, while at the same time showing additional emotions characteristic of *comedia nueva* (such as love) more frequently than is seen in the three other genres.

Conclusion

Let us return once again to Queen Joanna. Her emotions show that she is struck by love. But do the love and sorrow shown by Queen Joanna in her heartrending song compare to the way emotion is shown in other Dutch adaptations of *comedia nueva*? How unique is Joanna's conflict between her love and duty? In this chapter, I looked at several trends with regards to the frequency of emotions, arguing that love, honour, and vengeance appear to be more frequent in Dutch *comedias* than in other genres staged in the Low Countries.

This chapter demonstrates that love appears more often in adaptations of Spanish drama in comparison to several other emotions in the same genre. Moreover, love is more important in Dutch adaptations of *comedias* than in Vondel's plays. Likewise, love is a less important emotion in Senecan-Scaligerian plays. Nevertheless, neither the Horror and Spectacle plays, Senecan-Scaligerian plays, nor Vondel's plays show

such a clear focus on love as do the Dutch *comedias*. In the same way, the results suggest that honour is more frequent in Dutch adaptations of *comedias* than in the three other genres.

With regard to the tragic emotions of fear and compassion, this chapter shows that Dutch *comedias* together with Horror and Spectacle plays are the most fear-inducing. The especially high frequency of fear in adaptations of Spanish plays is unusual, as I expected fear to be more frequent in Senecan-Scaligerian plays than in Dutch *comedias*. For compassion, the differences were too small to make any conclusions about the importance of compassion as an emotion in Dutch *comedias* or any of the other three genres except that in all four genres compassion is equally frequent. Overall, the data shows that adaptations of Spanish plays are in many regards just as tragic as Horror and Spectacle plays and Senecan-Scaligerian plays with the additional element of comedy.

Dedication, desire, fear, hatred, honour, hope, love, loyalty, offense, and wonder appear to be more frequent in the nine Dutch *comedias* selected here than in the other genres, although they show more similarities than differences. From this collection of emotions, we may also deduce that offense and hatred—emotions typically associated with acts of vengeance—are more frequent in adaptations of Spanish plays than in the other genres. Thus, we can see how this sub-corpus of Dutch *comedias* focuses more on love, honour, and vengeance compared to the three other genres. However, the frequency of vindictiveness, which is arguably also associated with vengeance, was lower than that in Horror and Spectacle plays.

Quantitative analysis of 36 plays in four genres demonstrates that Dutch adaptations of *comedia nueva* may sometimes offer a unique combination of emotions that are less frequently occurring in Senecan-Scaligerian plays and Vondel's plays with which the *comedias* were here compared. However, Horror and Spectacle plays appear to be in many ways similar to Dutch adaptations of Spanish *comedias*. Without data, however, it is still clear that *comedia nueva* generated great affects of dedication, desire, fear, hatred, honour, hope, love, loyalty, offense, and wonder in its audiences. This suggests that these emotions offered the spectators something they could find less in at least Senecans-Scaligerian plays and Vondel's plays. The next three chapters look more closely at the specific construction of the ten emotions dedication, desire, fear, hatred, honour, hope, love, loyalty, offense, and wonder in the Dutch revisions of Spanish *comedias*.

CHAPTER 4

He Loves Me … He Loves Me Not

The Stakes of Love and Honour in Dutch Comedias

Le Cid by Pierre Corneille may be the most iconic tragedy of the seventeenth century. As an adaptation of the Spanish play *Las mocedades del Cid* (1605–1615, 'The Younger Years of the Cid') written by Guillén de Castro y Bellvís in two parts, Corneille's play stages an exemplary conflict between love and honour for its protagonists Don Rodrigo (El Cid) and his love interest Chimène. The Dutch adaptation by Van Heemskerck followed soon after Corneille's adaptation gained traction in Paris in 1637. In 1641, Dutch spectators were treated to the intricate affair of the two young lovers, separated by honour and duty to their respective families. The play embodies Lope's advice as formulated in his *Arte nuevo*: 'the affairs of honour are the best, / because they powerfully move all people; / with them go virtuous deeds, / for virtue is everywhere loved.'[1]

Corneille's play and Van Heemskerck's translation put forward a problematic relationship between honour and the emotions of the characters, who in their attempt to restructure reality in their favour, deceive those around them. Don Rodrigo and Chimène are at one point forced to make an almost impossible choice between the public honour of their families and their personal desires for each other. There is considerable attention to the psychological process in Castro y Bellvís' *Las mocedades del Cid*, the subsequent adaptation of *Le Cid* by Corneille, and the translation of *De verduytste Cid* by Van Heemskerck.[2] As such, the Spanish, French, and Dutch spectators of these plays all witness a deep conflict between love and honour: Don Gomes felt that he was passed over for the job of guardian of Castile's prince in favour of Don Diego. Angered, the former confronts the latter and claims that he would have been a better guardian. Don Diego wants to duel the ungrateful man, but his high age has numbed his fighting arm, which Don Gomes sees as a sign of his incapability to fulfil any public office and he calls him a weak old man. And thus, Don Diego makes his son Rodrigo avenge the shame brought upon him by Don Gomes. Rodrigo

1 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 327–330: 'los casos de la honra son mejores, / porque mueven con fuerza a toda gente; / con ellos las acciones virtuosas, / que la virtud es dondequiera amada.'

2 See Floeck 1969, 132–133.

must kill Gomes. This presents a dilemma for Rodrigo, since Gomes is the father of Chimène, Rodrigo's love interest. These kinds of conflicts occur in virtually all of Spain's *comedias nuevas* and in turn, in all Dutch adaptations of those plays. The code of honour that is articulated as an expression of natural order is here disregarded, ignored, or challenged by the protagonists when they allow their passions to take centre stage. The inevitable result is conflict, and the tools employed by the characters to resolve this conflict are deception and illusion.

Conflict is the driving force in *comedia nueva*, and in fact all drama is built around conflict. In Aristotle's *Poetics*, conflict is a recurrent subject; the proper representation of conflict generates fear and pity. In fact, the Greek philosopher says that tragedy is the *mimesis* of an action conducted by agents 'who should have certain qualities in both character and thought (as it is these factors which allow us to ascribe qualities to their actions too, and it is in their actions that all men find success or failure).'[3] The Greek word used by Aristotle for acting is 'prattein' (πράττειν), which means *acting from* or *dealing with* a problematic situation. The derivation 'praxis' (πρᾶξις) used by Aristotle means *action* in drama, but in a broader sense it refers to things you must deal with or that concern you, affairs, or things related to politics and political decisions. These acts imply that they manifest in the public space and have consequences for the cosmos. In the tragedy *Antigone* (c. 442 BCE) by Sophocles, the conflict is psychologically rendered in its protagonist as a conflict between two public obligations: does she defy a decree by her uncle Creon and bury her brother Polynices, who was marked a traitor of Thebes, or does she defy the divine law that obligates her to pay respect to a dead family member? In the classical world there were two opposing forces in the public sphere—the laws of the gods and those of the *polis*—and the conflict between them formed the foundation of classical tragedy.

In sixteenth-century Spain, tragic conflict also emerged between two resolute forces, but particularly between a character's public face (honour) and personal feelings (love). Thus, the political conflict of the classical tragedy became a social conflict. The Spanish *Siglo de Oro* created narratives of the individual's position opposite society (the public), which then explored—and tested—both the individual's movability and society's flexibility with regards to norms and expectations. The conflicts in *comedias* always revolved around individual desires and were not centred on the grand, tragic, nor fatalistic stories of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. The conflicts of *comedia*

3 See Aristotle 1995, 48–49. I want to thank Adriaan Rademaker for these insights, which have helped me better understand how conflict is constructed in classical drama and subsequently how early modern drama differs from this foundational conflict between two public interests.

nueva do also not compare to the conflicts of Senecan tragedy, which stood model for so many Renaissance tragedies, especially in the Low Countries.[4]

According to Ramón Muñoz, in *comedia nueva* the characters' desires and especially love represent, problematise, and challenge established cultural norms, among which the pregnant understanding of honour in Spain's literature. In *comedia nueva*, the honour code can either reflect or challenge the status quo when it is used as a literary convention. Honour, therefore, is at the forefront of *comedia nueva*, and it affects the auto-image of the individual both in the context of his lineage and his community. Moreover, honour challenges relationships between men and women in the family environment of blood ties and marital bonds. When love is in play, the honour code is cataclysmic for conflict situations or events, as Lope recorded in his *Arte nuevo*.[5]

Within this broader construct it is, however, necessary to distinguish between the different forms of honour that exist in Spanish *comedia nueva* to understand what is at stake for the protagonists. Robert A. Lauer posits that honour has two different appearances in Spanish: *honra* and *honor*. The former is 'associated with the idea of surplus, ambition, property, wealth, power, high office, war, and culturally-specific masculine values.'[6] In other words, *honra* has an association with physical action: it requires overt displays of praise, bowing, saluting, gifts, statues, property, et cetera. The latter is distinct from *honra* in that it is internal and innate. *Honor* is the reward of virtue and virtuous deeds: it reflects intrinsic characteristics like modesty, chastity, purity, high repute, and a good name, mostly in women. It is also a metaphysical and moral concept of femininity within Abrahamic faiths for which God suffices as a witness, whereas *honra* is primarily bestowed upon someone by their community. And yet, the terms are connected and are both offered in acknowledgement of a person's 'goodness' or 'worthiness.'[7] According to Lauer:

> the opinions of others matter with respect to both *honor* and *honra*: for the former, God's judgement suffices for salvific purposes; for the latter, only the king's estimation is legally binding; for either one, public opinion may weigh in; for neither one, would a personal opinion or a matter of conscience matter.[8]

4 Rey Hazas 1991, *passim*; Álvarez Sellers 2013, *passim*; Ramón Muñoz 2015, 54–55.
5 Ramón Muñoz 2015, 54.
6 Lauer 2014, 79.
7 Lauer 2014, 83–85, 90.
8 Lauer 2014, 84.

The concepts of shame, dishonour, and disgrace are important drivers behind re-establishment of a status quo, and which are often resolved through suicide, retaliation, or revenge. Most importantly, honour is universal 'and not only the property of a social class. If that had been the case, the average theatregoer would not have been entranced by such cases and Lope de Vega would not have written or recommended them' as Lauer argued.[9]

Many of these considerations with regards to honour also apply to seventeenth-century literature in the Dutch Republic, as Fokke Veenstra contended, although in Dutch there appears to be only one word that includes both definitions of honour.[10] Veenstra discusses Hugo Grotius, who writes in his *Inleiding tot de Hollandsche Rechtsgeleerdheid* (1631) that 'honour belongs to everyone: first, to protect: it can also be forfeited by crime and it too belongs to those who are declared honourless.'[11] As in other European cultures, the two definitions of honour were commonplace in Dutch society and literature; Veenstra illustrates this in his discussion of Hooft's *Geeraerdt van Velsen*, for example.[12] Van Heemskerck's *De verduytste Cid* reconciles honour's ambiguous meaning by introducing the accompanying concept of *roem*, following Corneille's use of *gloire* in *Le Cid*. To account for the typical division between the Spanish concepts of *honor* and *honra*, the French text differentiates between *honneur* and *gloire*; the Dutch of Van Heemskerck does the same by using the terms *eer* and *roem* (Figure 4.1).[13]

9 Lauer 2014, 85–86.

10 Veenstra 1968, 21.

11 Grotius 1631, I.14.48: 'de eer behoort mede een yder toe: eerst om te beschermen: kan oock door misdaed verbeurt werden, als bij den ghenen die eerloos werden verklaert.'

12 Veenstra 1968, 40–42.

13 Floeck 1969, 165–167. The assumption that in Dutch there are no distinct words to distinguish between *honra* and *honor*, and that both forms of honour are expressed by the term *eer* in early modern Dutch (see Bood 2020b, 154) is false. It should be more thoroughly researched how often the terms *eer* and *roem* are used to distinguish between the internal and external manifestations of honour. Wim van Anrooij was among the first to discuss the terms 'waeldaet,' and 'waeldoen' (and the complementary 'misdaet/misdoen') in his 1990 dissertation as good and bad deeds, respectively (172–181). This may be a good starting point to explore the relationship between internal and external forms of honour and the language used to describe both. Varieties of the term 'weldaet' can be found throughout *De verduytste Cid*; see, e.g., 'Helden-daed' where it is used in combination with a reference to 'roem-ruchtig tuygh' (illustrious sword): 'En ghy roem-ruchtigh tuygh van menigh Helden-daed, / Maer nu van stramme leen een noodeloos cieraet; / Gheweer, wel eer ghevreest, maer dat in dit onteeren / My meer dient tot een pronck dan om my te verweeren' (Van Heemskerck 1641, fol. B4^{r}.).

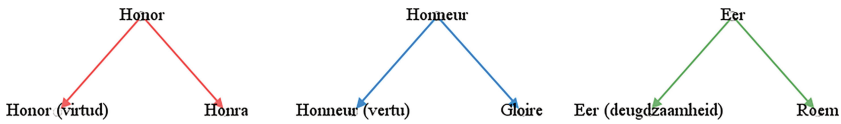


FIG. 4.1 Conceptions of honour in the Spanish, French, and Dutch versions of *The Cid*

As for love, the common ideal in the Low Countries was that love should exist between two equals. The widely-read Dutch poet and politician Jacob Cats (1577–1660) wrote prolifically about moral issues around sex and marriage. Cats argues in his *Houwelick* (1625, 'Marriage') that husband and wife should be of similar age, wisdom, riches, faith (even specific denomination), and appearance:

> First, make sure to select your equal,
> Not exceptionally grand, not too powerfully rich.
> Second, the heart inclines, by powers of reason,
> Both to a good name, and to healthy loins.
> Third, look for one, who on equal grounds
> Embraces, just as you, the Christian faith.
> Fourth, if you want to pair in right peace,
> Choose the sweet youth, and not the late years.
> Finally, do not marry one, who is either more handsome,
> Or of higher understanding, but one who is on average the same.[14]

Cat's ideas about marriage formed a doctrine, but they obviously do not reflect the whole of Dutch society in the seventeenth century. Broadly speaking, the Dutch thought it important that spouses felt affection for each other; youth were generally allowed to choose their own partner within certain limits, although families could still object to an unsuitable partnership while their children were minors. With this relative freedom, there are examples in which marriage enabled one spouse to climb the social ladder, as is the archetypical case of Marten Soolmans demonstrates: by

14 Cats 1625, fol. B1r: 'Draecht eerstmael goede sorgh te nemen uws ghelijck, / Niet uytter maeten groot, niet al te machtich rijck. / Ten tweeden neychtet hert, door krachten van de reden, / En near een goede name, en nae ghesonde leden. / Ten derden soucker een, die op ghelijcken gront / Omhelst, benevens u, het Christelick verbont. / Ten vierden, sooje wilt in rechte vrede paeren, / Verkiest de soete jeucht, en niet de late jaren. / Ten lesten trouter geen, noch schoonder in ghelaet / Noch hooger van begrijp, als in de middel-maet.'

FIG. 4.2 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of Marten Soolmans*, 1634, oil on canvas, 207.5 cm × 132 cm
RIJKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM

marrying Oopjen Coppit he became part of the *Regenten*. Social mobility was, therefore, a reality in the Dutch Republic within certain bounds: As Soolmans' family was already prosperous, this made him apparently a suitable match in the eyes of the Coppit family, despite a class difference (see Fig. 4.2 and Fig. 4.3).[15] In other cases,

15 Janssen 2020, 32–34.

FIG. 4.3 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of Oopjen Coppit*, 1634, oil on canvas, 207.5 cm x 132 cm
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however, it is unlikely that the lovers' families, or society for that matter, approved of marriage between people of entirely different socio-economic backgrounds,[16] such as the union between a shepherd's daughter and a prince or other instances of extreme

16 Haks 1985, 130–132, demonstrates that there was a good deal of social as well as religious endo-

social mobility as often occurs in *comedia nueva*.[17] The emotional regime that Cats represents heavily restricted—at least in terms of social mobility—the freedom of potential lovers, although it was enforced less stridently in practice.

In this same theme, love and honour are essential motifs in *comedia nueva*. In this chapter I discuss the role of love and honour in the Dutch adaptations and its interaction with Dutch norms and ideals of love and honour. I demonstrate how Spanish affairs of love and honour as mediated through Dutch adaptations moved spectators in Amsterdam, Antwerp, Brussels, and Lier. In Dutch *comedias*, emotional conflict revolves around intricate, forbidden, impossible loves, which become further complicated by notions of honour and society's expectations.

To this end, I specifically look at the trajectories of *comedia de capa y espada* and *comedia palatina*, and analyse their emotional conflicts between love and honour using Reddy's theory as set out in *The Navigation of Feeling* (2001). I have identified five different 'generic plots' (or five different thematic conflicts) in the Dutch adaptations of these *comedias*. These 'generic plots' are divided according to the specific roles of love and honour including *comedias*:

1. about forbidden desires;
2. in which protagonists are falsely accused of some crime or moral failing to prevent them from pursuing their love interests;
3. in which an antagonist is jealous of the protagonists' love and becomes delusional because of his overwhelming passions;
4. in which an antagonist—a male family member of the female protagonist—is overprotective and disapproves of the protagonists' love; and
5. in which antagonists abuse their power, by which they prevent protagonists from maintaining a love relationship.

These five categories do not exclusively follow the Spanish subgenres of *comedia de capa y espada* and *comedia palatina* as described by Thacker. They also include some plays that we may characterise as *drama de honor*, such as Rodenburgh's *Casandra en Karel*, or as *tragedia al estilo español*, such as Wouther's *De verliefde stiefmoeder*. *Dramas de*

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gamy. See also Van der Heijden, who argues that parents often started legal proceedings to annul an undesirable marriage or betrothal, usually for financial reasons or because of a mismatch in family or personal reputation. Age or religious differences were also cited, although the court rarely accepted these objections (1998, 200–202).

17 Examples of extreme social mobility in Dutch *comedias* are Rodenburgh's *Casandra en Karel*, Van Germez' *Vervolgde Laura*, Vos' *Gedwongen vrient*, De Fuyter's *Verwarde hof*, Serwouters' *Hester* and his *Den grooten Tamerlan*, Heynck's *Veranderlyk geval* and his *Don Louis de Vargas*, E.D.S.M.'s *De mislukte liefde*, De Bie's *Armoede vanden grave Forellus*, and De Grieck's *Cenobia*.

honor and *tragedias* are more elaborately discussed in Chapter 5, where the escalation of conflict in these plays is the central subject.

These five 'generic plots' demonstrate that the characters in Dutch *comedias* must navigate their feelings through emotional management, and look for ways to circumnavigate social norms by turning to acts of deception. For spectators, this deception becomes a playful manifestation of dramatic irony, which builds suspense and establishes their attentive engagement.[18] This is not to say that natural law does not make an appearance in the adapted *comedias*. Yet, as Ramón Muñoz argues, natural law becomes problematic when desires come into play. Van Stipriaan argues that ethics and moralistic teachings are an important aspect in Dutch comical plays, but they are not the main aim or primal drive of these plays.[19] Acts of deception help the characters cope with or subvert natural order, while dramatic irony connects audiences to the characters' emotional conflicts in *comedia nueva*.

In this chapter I primarily focus on Wouther's *De verliefde stiefmoeder* and Rodenburgh's *Ialoersche studenten*, Adam Carelsz van Germez' *Vervolgde Laura*, De Fuyter's *Verwarde hof*, De Wijse's *Voorzigtige dolheit*, and Dirck Pietersz. Heynck's *Veranderlyk geval*. A discussion of the 'generic plots' of these plays allows me to consider the cultural relevance that these *comedias nuevas* harboured in the Low Countries, while varying on the theme of love and honour.

Love versus Honour in Dutch *Comedias*

The star-crossed lovers of the original Spanish *comedias* were continually faced with objections by brothers, fathers, or other family members to their intended marriages, which brought about the lovers' intense emotional conflicts that were central to the plot. The subject of love versus honour as rendered in *comedia nueva* was slightly out-of-place in the context of the storylines Dutch audiences knew from 'home-grown' productions. Before the adaptation of *comedias* by Rodenburgh and others, the Dutch stage was primarily dominated by Dutch playwrights, who initially based their tragic model on Seneca and Lipsius, through which they promoted a perpetual tempering of the passions.[20] The tension between love and

18 Van Stipriaan 1996, 198–200.
19 Van Stipriaan 1996, 199.
20 Konst 1993, 1, 6.

honour is a key point of difference between the Dutch adaptations of *comedias* and local plays such as Hooft's *Geeraerdt van Velsen*, Vondel's *Jeptha*, and Bredero's *Moortje*.

The Dutch playwrights largely based the emotional psychology of their protagonists on the ideas of the humanist professor Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), who in 1584 wrote *De Constantia in publicis malis*. In this work, he presents a dialogue between himself and philologist Carolus Langius, to whom he ascribed an ideal neostoic vitalism. Lipsius performs, or better dramatises, in this dialogue his own struggle to endure the distress of *Belgica*. He begins his work with a lamentation of the disorder in the Low Countries. The central issue is how to remain unmoved by civil war and religious turmoil:

> 'Who is, Langius,' I said, 'so iron-willed that he can endure this misfortune any longer? For years now, we swing, as you can see, back and forth amidst the beating waves of civil war, and just as on a turbulent sea, the troubles of war beat us with intermittent squalls from one place to the other.'[21]

Lipsius then, through Langius, promotes *constantia* (perseverance) and *apatheia* (apathy) as comfort against misfortune, because at one time Fate (*fatum*) would strike one person, and another the next. 'Let your reason guide you,' is Lipsius' conclusion.

For Lipsius, Fate was a force that, like Fortune, influenced the lives of the early modern man, for better or worse. Lipsius would accept what befell him without complaint. This is also what he taught Hooft and Coster as his students at Leiden University. In turn, they incorporated Lipsius' philosophy into their dramatic oeuvre. In a way, as Reddy posits, these plays sought to 'provide individuals with the prescriptions and counsel concerning both *the best strategies* for pursuing emotional learning and *the proper end point or ideal* of emotional equilibrium.'[22] Here, two clashing ideals of emotional management seem to stand in relief against each another: on the one hand, there exists a moralising emotional discourse that aims to *educate* people about the proper way to handle their emotions, which can be recognised in Senecan-Scaligerian plays and in Vondel's plays. On the other hand, there is a literary tradition that leaves space for a jubilation of tumbling and turbulent emotions—predominantly inner agitations—that are rendered on stage by means of the romantic plots of *comedia*

21 Lipsius [1584] 1983, bk. I.1, §39.
22 Reddy 2001, 55.

nueva. The latter tradition subverts certain social rules in Dutch society concerning sexual interactions between men and women. The Spanish *comedias nuevas* and subsequently the Dutch adaptations eliminate Fortune as much as possible and substitute this force with examples of love and honour that help characters overcome adversity.

Limiting the Influence of Fortune

The way that Fortune and Fate are substituted in Spanish drama is unique and foregrounds free will as an important motif: events are not predestined or fatal consequences of our actions, but rather the result of our choices and aim for social betterment. By eliminating, or at least limiting, the ancient forces of Fortune and Fate, Spanish *comedias* can focus on the protagonists' emotional conflicts, and on the choices they must make to solve these conflicts. Ramón Muñoz, echoing Rey Hazas, remarks that the dichotomy between love and honour in *comedias nuevas* may be a functional substitute for Fortune in Greco-Roman drama, or a way to limit her power and shift the focus to the characters and their dilemmas.[23] Álvarez Sellers, however, argues that we should not necessarily limit the conflict in Spanish theatre to love and honour; it can also extend to other 'articulated conflicts' between two forces, which are as powerful as they are necessary and irreconcilable. Moreover, they can have a different appearance in every play. Álvarez Sellers identifies four dichotomies in total: love/honour, desire/norm, passion/reason, and past/present.[24]

Although distinct, these different sets of opposing forces are, in a sense, similar. They each represent two opposing worlds that converge, or better, worlds that clash. The conflict is a battle between the free will (*libre albedrío*) of individuals who have many times romantic desires for a person of another social class, and the Machiavellian Reason of State (*Razón de Estado*), which not only extends to political affairs but also to social norms and the honour code: that is, the interests of the individual are subservient to those of the state or regime.[25] Additionally, nature and natural law are important pillars of *comedia nueva* and define the emotional conflicts that are presented. Ramón Muñoz wrote about three of Lope's *comedias* in which '[n]ature acts as a sphere of force, of constriction, that can be borne or explored, but cannot be

23 Rey Hazas 1991, *passim*; Ramón Muñoz 2015, 54–55.

24 Álvarez Sellers 2013, 25.

25 See, e.g., Rey Hazas 1991, *passim*; Álvarez Sellers 2013, *passim*; Ramón Muñoz 2015, *passim*.

ignored, nor can it be changed or moved.'[26] Cultural norms and values should, then, be used to manage one's behaviour, relationships, and ideologies in any given social framework, but also one's understanding of nature. However, obeying natural order becomes problematic when characters are faced with their own contrary desires.[27] As in the broader European literary tradition, *mimesis* of natural order was the core pillar through which Spanish theatre was justified. Thomistic law, including natural law, appealed to man's rational ability to live in accordance with the universal law of nature that applies regardless of time and space. Robert L. Fiore convincingly demonstrated that natural law is essential to the main themes in Spanish drama through his discussion of Lope de Vega's *Fuenteovejuna*, Tirso de Molina's *La major espigadera*, and three of Calderón's *autos sacramentales*.[28]

In the Dutch context, the diminished role of fate makes the adaptations unique in comparison to the early seventeenth-century plays by Hooft and Coster, or Vondel's complete oeuvre. In this sense, 'home-grown' plays stage conflicts that are closer to Greco-Roman drama. Take, for example, Sophocles' *Oedipus tyrannus* / *Oedipus rex* (c. 429 BCE). Oedipus' downfall is the inevitable result of two conflicting public interests and a sharp twist of fate: the gods command that justice is passed on the murderer of King Laios and Oedipus, realising he is the murderer of his own father, has to pass justice on himself. Oedipus blinds himself and goes into exile to solve the conflict. By trying to prevent the oracle's prophesy from coming true, Oedipus does exactly what he fought against: he ultimately kills his father and marries his mother. Similarly, the conflicts in Dutch plays by Hooft, Coster, and Vondel have political implications and revolve around two public interests. Vondel's *Jeptha*, although an adaptation of George Buchanan's *Jephthah*, is shaped by Vondel's poetics and problematises a theological conflict between honouring a promise made to God and the promise of a father to love his daughter unconditionally, which he fails to do. God had already preordained his failure, but this did not make Jeptha less guilty.[29]

We can see that the Dutch adaptations respond to their native situation. In *comedias*, the *libre albedrío* had given individual characters an explicit choice, which is why there is much attention paid to the psychological process. In their respective adaptations, the protagonists understand their emotional conflicts as sharp twists

26 Ramón Muñoz 2015, 54.

27 Ramón Muñoz 2015, 54.

28 Fiore 1975, *passim*.

29 For an interpretation of Jeptha's guilt, see Korsten 2006, 86–89.

of fortune. In a similar way to his French counterpart, Don Rodrigo laments in Van Heemskerck's translation of *Le Cid* that fortune struck him after he was given the task of avenging his father: 'fortune runs me through; there is nothing that may help me.'[30] Rodrigo's outcry in the *stances* of the French adaptation is a familiar theatrical device, a dramatic declaration by the hero in which he elaborates on his emotional conflict at the end of the first act. Van Heemskerck transferred the *stances* directly from Corneille's original *Le Cid*.[31] Wilfried Floeck came to the conclusion that the elaboration by Don Rodrigue (the French Rodrigo) on his emotional conflict is a reflection of French tastes, while discussing Corneille's adaptation in relation to Castro's original.[32] He argued that while the general plot and plot themes of the French adaptation are identical to the Spanish play, Corneille had eliminated many scenes from Castro's original to focus more explicitly on the dramatic conflict of the protagonists Don Rodrigue and Chimène. Because Van Heemskerck's translation stays very true to the French intertext, the Dutch adaptation finds a middle ground between the impossible choice that is always foregrounded in Spanish drama, and the 'home-grown' tradition that stages examples of adversity and misfortune. For the premiere in the Amsterdam Public Theatre, this soliloquy (the *stances*) may have been set to music, to both emphasise the protagonists' internal conflict and to deliver an impressively emotional scene for the spectators.

The characters in these Dutch adaptations of Spanish *comedias* are governed by their emotions, so that it is sometimes impossible to know whether the characters truly have the free will to choose between their personal desires and their duty or honour. The Dutch adaptations seem to showcase this tension in particular. According to Álvarez Sellers, between both absolutes, whether love and honour or any of the other dichotomies, 'is the emotionally torn protagonist who suffers as he must choose and accept the consequences.' She asserts that the protagonist must hide his passions at all costs, since as soon as he verbalises them, the conflict will erupt. Following one's obligation and answering to the honour code guarantees social integration, but it comes at the high price of total sentimental annihilation, which not everyone is willing to pay.[33] Through recognisable and easily digestible subjects, the dilemma is made understandable to the audience.

30 Van Heemskerck 1641, fol. B6^{r}: ''t Luc loopt my dwers; daer 's niet dat helpen mag.' Cf. Corneille 1637, 22: 'Tout m'est fatal, rien ne me peut guerir.'

31 Cf. Corneille 1637, 21–23; Van Heemskerck 1641, fols. B5^{v}–B6^{r}.

32 Floeck 1969, 132–133.

33 Álvarez Sellers 2013, 25.

Lauer, furthermore, suspects that when Lope mentions in his *Arte nuevo* 'los casos de la honra,' he refers to accidental events, or to plot twists that were unexpected.[34] According to Lauer, honour *comedias* are capable of:

> stirring the emotions not because they deal with something familiar but, on the contrary, precisely because they do not. One may sense initially that one knows what these plays are about, but as the works progress, one realises that one is dealing with something exceptional, unforeseen, accidental, unexpected.[35]

Paradoxically, spectators witness a conflict that is as much recognisable as it is exceptional; an event that is fantastic, but imaginable at the same time. This has to do with the fact that not only do the protagonists have *libre albedrío* (free will) to choose their own fate, but that they may also use their free will to love their partner with a fierce, if ill-advised, *constantia*. In Dirck Heynck's *Veranderlyk geval* and Antonio Wouthers' *De devotie van Eusebius tot het H. kruys* (1665), for example, the young lovers remain faithful—steadfast, in their own words—despite the retaliation of their antagonists.[36] In turn, the antagonists also have free will and use it to interfere with the desires of the lovers, pursuing their own heart's desires, whether those are romantic or originate from a lust for power. This makes the conflicts recognisable and enjoyable to watch.

Heynck's *Veranderlyk geval* shows this especially well. The play is an adaptation of Cristóbal de Monroy y Silva's *Mudanzas de la fortuna y firmezas del amor*. In Heynck's play, Karel and Margareta remain loyal to each other despite their different social stations, and the backlash that they receive from other characters in response to this mismatch. There are moments that Margareta doubts whether Karel is faithful, and vice versa, but they manage to convince each other every time that the other has nothing to worry about. Instead, their greater conflict originates in the desires of others: the other characters each want the dominion of Naples, and attempt to use Karel and Margareta as pawns in order to get it. Here, love and power are in conflict, as are the public and private spheres connected to these themes.

According to the plot, Frederico can inherit the throne if the current king has an heiress; conversely, Porcia can become queen if he instead has an heir. When the

34 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 327.
35 Lauer 2014, 86.
36 Wouthers 1665a, 19, 43; Heynck 1663, 20, 31.

shepherd who took care of the king's wife during his exile, tells the king that he has an heir—Karel—Porcia is overjoyed, while Frederico instantly hates Karel. Frederico begins plotting against Karel and extorts Albano, the shepherd that had raised both Karel and Margareta to lie to the king that Margareta is actually the king's daughter, so that, by marrying her, Frederico will later become king. When Karel is again diminished in status, Porcia loses all interest in the prince and leaves him, as do all the other characters. Under such confusing conditions, and while not knowing the priorities and motives of other characters, Karel and Margareta must navigate their emotions. They remain in the dark, while the audience, from their omnipotent perspective, watches these internal and external, personal and private conflicts unfold before their eyes.

Plays such as *Veranderlyk geval* reflect a broad interest among the aspirational layers of Dutch society in the contemporary 'ideal courtier.' This ideal was described in Baldassare Castiglione's *Il cortegiano* (1528), a book that explicated values that were still relevant throughout the seventeenth century.[37] The ideal courtier stood as a model for the private ambitions of the Dutch middle class, while the corruption of court life was abhorred and pastoral life romanticised. The ennobling character of love was also a central theme in this famous book. We see this motif clearly return in *Veranderlyk geval*: Karel and Margareta are humble peasants who are respectively recognised as prince and princess in the course of the play, and are connected through their ennobling love for each other. Frederico and Porcia, in contrast, are two power-hungry nobles unafraid to lie and deceive to achieve their political goals. As such, Karel and Margareta were ideal examples for the humble citizen with aristocratic ambitions.

Speech versus Silence

The existing conflict between the opposing forces of private desires and ambitions and the public life at court can be understood through Reddy's concept of the *emotive*, which exemplifies how characters continuously struggle to shape reality in a way that fits their desires. In Reddy's theory, the emotional conflict in *comedia nueva* revolves around withholding emotional thoughts from other characters, but also includes the suppression of emotionally rich thought material, whenever the individual's internal disposition or external body is in danger. The *dramatis personae* must interact with a world full of surprises, a world that is messy. The conflict between the public and the

37 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 220–222.

private also means that protagonists are faced with the choice between speech and silence: reveal your true heart's desire and face the consequences, or keep silent about it to maintain your social position.

This ties in with Reddy's understanding of emotion claims: emotions are only emotions insofar as they are expressed verbally or bodily; they become *emotives* (emotion claims) when they are no longer mere sensations existing in the body and the mind. That does not mean, however, that choosing whether to act on emotions cannot be deliberated upon at length in conversation with other characters. Álvarez Sellers demonstrates this for Lope's *El castigo sin venganza*, where Cassandra prompts her stepson to reveal his feelings for her that she knows he has. Federico, however, persists in his silence, but Cassandra transgresses the norm and indulges her passions in order to elicit a confession from Federico. Within two conversations and some three hundred verses, Cassandra and the audience learn for certain what they already suspected: Federico is in love with his stepmother.[38] Translation does nothing to the basic themes of Lope's original. Wouthers' *De verliefde stiefmoeder* stages the same conflict existing within Frederico and a comparable dialogue with his stepmother Cassandra.

The protagonists' emotional conflicts between love and honour are likely to have moved spectators to sympathy. This is attested in the contemporary debate around *Le Cid*. In the pamphlet *Le jugement du Cid, composé par un bourgeois de Paris, Marguillier de sa paroisse* (1637), an anonymous Parisian spectator (generally believed to be French author Charles Sorel) writes that he was primarily led in his judgement by the pleasurable effect that the emotional conflict between love and honour had on him and other spectators. According to him, the emotional conflict between love and honour was especially moving for the audience:

> [...] there is no one who after having seen the intended marriage of the two lovers, is *not taken* with great fear for them as soon as the fathers begin to quarrel; who is not *moved* seeing the affront received by Don Diègue; who is not troubled seeing him command his son to avenge him; and who will not be *moved* with pity seeing Rodrigue torn between his honour and his love.[39]

38 Álvarez Sellers 2013, 26–27.

39 As quoted from Thouret 2013, 104; see for the original French Civardi 2004, 779–781: '[...] et il n'y a personne qui après avoir vu le mariage résolu des deux amants, *n'entre* en de grandes craintes pour eux aussitôt que les pères commencent à se quereller ; qui ne soit *ému* voyant l'affront que reçoit

Yet, more than the choice between love and honour, Sorel particularly emphasises Rodrigue's internal struggle as overwhelmingly emotional:

> But nothing has *transported* the spectators any more than when Rodrigue, having killed the Count, comes to Chimène to ask for his death, and encounters the same struggle in her mind between her love and honour. These two combats, equally great in the two principal characters, and which keep the whole piece alive, give so much pity and pleasure together, that until then nothing had been seen that got so much attention.[40]

This internal struggle was also recognised in the Dutch Republic as the play's main operator of affect. For Van Heemskerck's translation, Pels writes in comparable wordings that everyone was moved by the disasters that befell the two lovers:

> Who hears Chimène, who hears Don Rodrigo lament,
> And is not weakened in the heart to help them bear their misfortune?
> When the duty of a child despite their heart's desire
> Sends such cruel tempests towards their pure love.
> It does not only play out for the ears, nor before the eyes;
> But for the soul, which, lifted up by this example,
> Gets an unconscious inclination to follow virtue,
> Which she esteems in others with delight.[41]

Don Dièguе ; qui ne soit troublé voyant le commandement qu'il fait à son fils de le venger ; et qui ne *s'attendrisse* de pitié voyant le combat en Rodrigue entre son honneur et son amour.' Italics are my own.

40 As quoted from Thouret 2013, 104; see for the original French Civardi 2004, 779–781: 'Mais jamais rien n'a plus *transporté* les spectateurs qu'alors que Rodrigue ayant tué le Comte, vient chez Chimène lui demander la mort, et met le même combat en son esprit entre son amour et son honneur. Ces deux combats, également grands dans les deux principaux personnages, et qui entretiennent toute la pièce, donnent tant de pitié et de plaisir ensemble, que jusques ici rien ne s'était vu qui eût tant attaché l'attention.' Italics are my own.

41 Pels [1681] 1978, vv. 981–988: 'Wie hoort Chiméne, wie hoort Don Rodrigo klaagen, / Dien 't hart niet week wordt om hunn' ramp te hélpen draagen? / Wén kinderlyke pligt in wéêrwil van 't gemoed / Zo wreede stórmen op hunn' zuiv're liefde doet. / Het speelt alleenlyk niet voor de ooren, nóch voor de oogen; / Maar voor de ziel, die, door dat voorbeeld opgetoogen, / Onweetend neiging krygt tót vólging van een' deugd, / Die zy in anderen beschouwt mét zulk een' vreugd.'

Thus, Fortune gives way to the conflict between love and honour in the Spanish *comedias*. In this form, the Spanish *comedias* were transferred to the Low Countries and were then adapted in Dutch. Therefore, the conflict in the Dutch *comedias* is likewise centred on the struggle between private love and public honour, which moved everyone who saw it to a deep empathy for the love-afflicted characters.

An Intricate Web of Conflicting Emotions

The emotional conflicts in *comedia nueva* are structured within a web of opposing political and private interests. In that light, Dumas argues for the French adaptations by Rotrou that the plays' actions, 'like those of *comedias* on which they are inspired, are based on a tension between love and a power of political origin, sometimes tyrannical, which tries to control or appropriate the love.'[42] The antagonists often fail in their endeavours to appropriate that love, making the plot an entertaining maze of conflicting interests. Like the originals and their French adaptations, all Dutch-language *comedias* likewise involve an intricate web of love relationships and hostile relationships. The plays never simply tell the story of a woman loving a man and vice versa: when one traces out all the relationships in *comedias*, almost every time man A loves woman A and vice versa, while woman B loves man A as well, and man B loves woman A at the same time. Meanwhile, all suitors, both male and female, are enemies, or at least adversaries. Of course there are variations on this basic structure, but the relationships nevertheless form an intricate web of emotions.

Thus, the spectators were treated to characters who experience what Reddy called 'goal conflicts.' This required the characters to exact emotional control or relinquish one of their goals. While they coordinate their actions towards the fulfilment of their desires, they encounter goal conflict as some obstacle prohibits them from acting on those desires. When confronted with goal conflict, such as having to withhold sharing feelings, individual characters are conflicted by different goals that add to their health and wholeness, including, for instance, freedom from the pain caused by acting against 'the honour of one's family, clan, or party, or the moral integrity of one's commitments.'[43] Reddy concludes that whether individuals resist or give in to what causes the goal conflict, he or she will experience *emotional suffering* either way: the resolution is, in effect, a lose-lose situation. Reddy defines emotional suffering as an acute form of goal conflict, which likely accompanies important shifts in life goals:

42 Dumas 2017, 108–109.

43 Reddy 2001, 123.

the suffering could be supplanted by grief, or may result in feelings of guilt or shame, or alternatively, feelings of anger or spite will arise.[44] In *comedias*, the characters must navigate their feelings, while meeting their aims and expectations or alter course to a specific effect.

In the case of De Fuyter's *Verwarde hof*, Matilde loves Carel, but when Carel becomes a tyrant, she is forced to defeat him. Matilde is aided by Frederico and Henrico, her allies and thus Carel's enemies. Porcia and Frederico love each other, but they agree that it is better for the kingdom if Frederico were to marry Matilde. Finally, following his own interests over those of the kingdom, Frederico agrees to marry Porcia. Henrico, meanwhile, loves Helena, who is the Princess of Salerno, and vice versa. Mistaking Carel for Henrico, who are long-lost twin brothers, Helena confesses her love for him, after which Carel rejects her. Helena now hates Henrico (or so she thinks).

The relationships in *Voorzigtige dolheit* are similarly confusing: King Anthony and Lucinde are courting in secret, of which her brother Morosin disapproves, thinking that his sister is involved with a man of lower social standing. To prevent Morosin from finding out about his love affair, the King promotes him to general and sends him to the frontier. This means, however, that the previous general Dinardo loses his job and his mistress Rosania (who is also Anthony's stepmother) is afraid that the King knows that they want to take the throne for themselves. Therefore, they start plotting against the King with more vigour.

Using methods inspired by Social Network Analysis, it is possible to visualise the intricate relationships of *De verduytste Cid*, *Veranderlyk geval*, *Verwarde hof*, and *Voorzigtige dolheit* in a surveyable way (see Figures 4.4–4.7).[45] Here, I also add the relational stability of relationships, which was informed specifically by the approach of Ingeborg van Vugt, who in her dissertation plotted networks between scholars in the Dutch Republic and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in the seventeenth century according to their stability: positive, negative, or neutral. Van Vugt also determined whether any triangle of relationships between three members within the network was stable or unstable: the relationship between two members might be stable, but the relationship with the third member could lead to friction, causing the whole network to be unstable, and even collapse as a result.[46] These triangular relationships form a crisscross of lines which are sometimes hard to follow. Moreover, relationships are never stable across the whole action of each play. As the plot progresses, characters

44 Reddy 2001, 124–125.

45 Each of these figures is made with the online open-source programme Gephi.

46 Van Vugt 2019, esp. 148–149, 167–185.

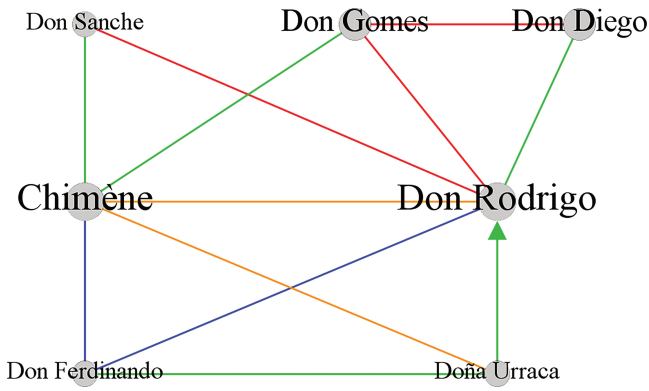

FIG. 4.4 The Triangular Relations in *De verduytste Cid*; green indicates a positive relationship, orange an unstable relationship, blue a neutral relationship, and red a negative or hostile one. The arrows indicate if those feeling have a specific direction

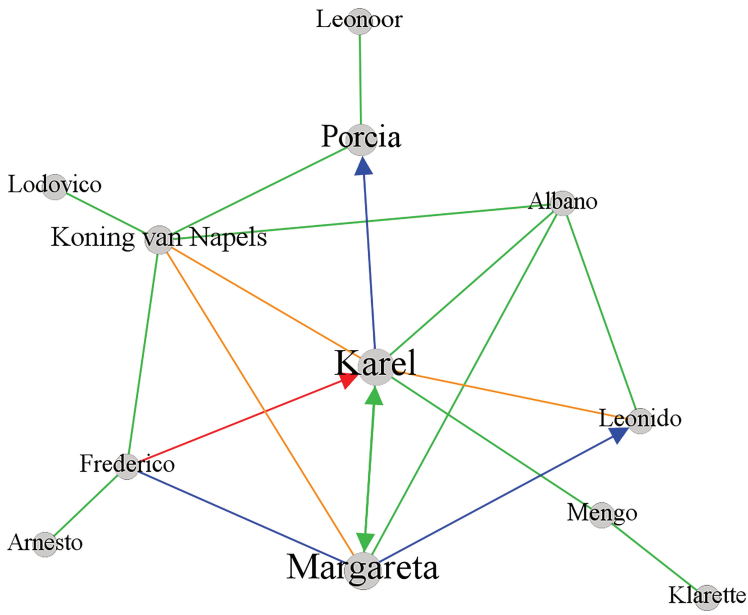

FIG. 4.5 The Triangular Relations in *Veranderlyk geval*; for a legend, see Fig. 4.4

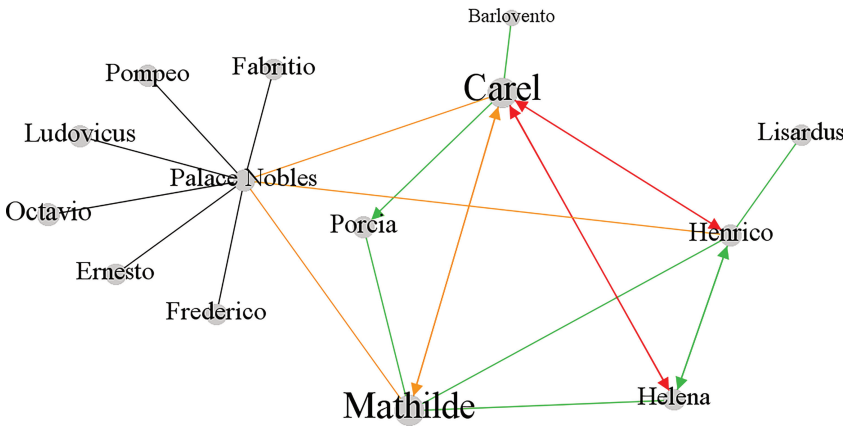

FIG. 4.6 The Triangular Relations in *Verwarde hof*; for a legend, see Fig. 4.4

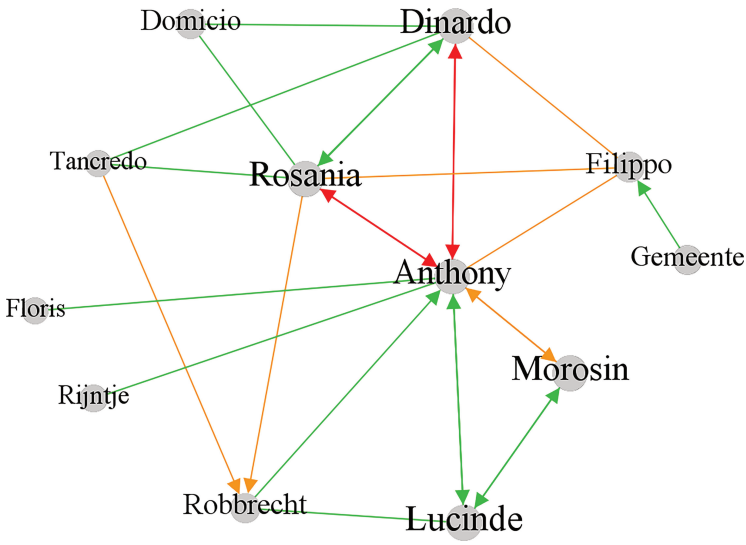

FIG. 4.7 The Triangular Relations in *Voorzigtige dolheit*; for a legend, see Fig. 4.4

come to hate one another, or begin affairs with others: by virtue of its relational instability, every *comedia* is, thus, contradictorily stable. These kinds of relationships are intrinsic to *comedia nueva* and count for much of the genre's appeal, I argue.

This structure also means that characters cannot reveal their true inward emotions to each other, at least not without losing honour or their social standing at court. Therefore, they turn to deception and lies to protect their emotional stability. In other words, the spectators are treated to emotional intrigue. On the contrary, the emotional conflicts in home-grown plays were fierce, but focused mainly on the conflict of the protagonist, such as the judge Jephthah in Vondel's *Jeptha*.[47] Combined, the intricate web of conflicting emotions and deception form a playful structure for these *comedias*, which enthralled spectators.

Deception as Comic Relief

In theatre, characters have their own agendas, but do not usually know one another's motives. Yet, the audience does. Their deceptions of one another result in dramatic irony. When the star-crossed lovers cannot easily be together they must find alternative solutions. Likewise, the antagonists who try to appropriate their love for their own political desires do not aim to accomplish their goals by overt means. Therefore, everyone turns to an attractive form of deception. The dramatic irony that comes from this playful deception is established in *comedia nueva* (as in other forms of comic theatre) when the protagonists are overpowered by their passions and quick-witted characters exploit the situation, or cunning characters slyly take advantage of all the confusion and entanglements to forward their own plans. The deception of these adversaries generates suspense. Van Stipriaan writes that deception is metaphorically 'the double beating heart of the comic Renaissance.'[48]

As in comic theatre in general, the dramatic structure of *comedias* relies on deception to establish an ongoing fascination on the part of the playgoers. This dramatic frame shapes the contours of many Spanish plays. Lope himself said as much in his *Arte nuevo*:

> Deceiving with the truth is something
> Which has proven successful, [...]

47 See, e.g., Konst 1993 and 2000; Korsten 1999 and 2000; Steenbergh 2012; Vergeer 2018.
48 Van Stipriaan 1996, 167.

> Always have equivocal speech and
> The uncertainty rising from ambiguity held
> A great place among the common people, wherefore they think
> That they alone understand what the other says.[49]

Several of Lope's *comedias* are partial dramatisations of Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* (c. 1349–1360) and Matteo Bandello's *Novelle* (1560). Both collections of texts are full of playful twists and turns used by Lope to inspire the plots of his *comedias* and other plays. These plotlines, rich with deception, also reach the Low Countries through the Dutch adaptations of his plays. Thus, one may understand the deception in Van Germez' adaptation of *Laura perseguida*, *Vervolgde Laura*, as what Van Stipriaan calls 'deception in the style of the *Decameron*' ('Decameronesk bedrog').[50] In *Vervolgde Laura*, spectators witness a form of deceit that requires them to use their senses and their *ratio* to correctly interpret the characters' somewhat opaque dialogue. Laura, when accused of being a prostitute, declares that she is an honest and virtuous woman. Only at the very end does the audience learn that, better yet and to her own surprise, Laura is actually a princess.

Sometimes the setting also helps clarify the plot for spectators: in Rodenburgh's *Celia en Prospero*, Count Prospero hides among villagers in the countryside from his adversary, Prince Aristippus of Spain. When he arrives at a mill, Prospero meets a different character named Laura, here the miller's daughter, and miller's servant, Molimpo.[51] Prospero is dishonest about his identity and introduces himself as Martijn, afraid of persecution by the Prince. Such scenes of deception and roleplay steer the spectators' interpretation of the protagonists' emotional conflicts.[52] Deception in theatre was not unique in the Low Countries when it arrived in *comedias* adapta-

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49 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 319–320a, 322–326: 'El engañar con la verdad es cosa / que ha parecido bien, […] siempre el hablar equívoco ha tenido / y aquella incertidumbre anfibológica / gran lugar en el vulgo, porque piensa / que él solo entiende lo que el otro dice.'

50 Van Stipriaan 1996, 168. For the role of deception in the visual arts, see Kwak 2014, esp. 34–39, 210–212, who attests to something similar.

51 Rodenburgh 1617b, fol. B3r.

52 According to Thacker, the instrument 'of social criticism is metatheatrical role-play. Metatheatre allows a glimpse of society stripped of its authority—patriarchy (as a dominant order) takes its own values to be truth, and is therefore undermined (revealed to be just another constructed way of viewing and ordering the world) when its roles are shown to be manufactured and manufacturable theatrically, rather than being essential' (2002, 178–179). The implications of this are explored further for Dutch adaptations in Chapter 6.

tions. In general, deception was a popular theme in Dutch comedies.[53] Given that the Dutch apparently took pleasure from ambiguous and titillating roleplay, it is easily understood that *comedia nueva* met this demand from the audience.

Lope de Vega especially appreciated deception. In his *Arte nuevo* he recommended postponing the dénouement to the very last moment to ensure that the audience remained captivated by the events on stage:

> Divide the matter in two parts,
> And start the entanglements from the beginning
> Until the action runs down,
> But do not permit the dénouement
> Until the very last scene,
> Because, knowing the end, the people
> Turn their face to the door and their backs
> To what they awaited face-to-face for three hours,
> As there is no more to know than how the play ends.[54]

Comedias aim to always surprise spectators, as per Lope's advice. According to him, it should always be the aim to deceive the audience's better judgement; if the spectator can correctly guess the outcome early in the play, then the story should end very differently. As he explains:

> Present the case in the first act,
> In the second, entangle the events,
> So that until the middle of the third
> Hardly anyone guesses how it ends;
> Always deceive the people's taste and
> If they show to understand where the plot leads,
> Bring the solution then very far from where it is expected to lead.[55]

53 Van Stipriaan 1996, 169.

54 Lope de Vega 1609, vv. 231–239: 'Dividido en dos partes el asunto, / ponga la conexión desde el principio, / hasta que vaya declinando el paso, / pero la solución no la permita / hasta que llegue a la postrera scena, / porque, en sabiendo el vulgo el fin que tiene, / vuelve el rostro a la puerta y las espaldas / al que esperó tres horas cara a cara, / que no hay más que saber que en lo que para.'

55 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 298–304: 'En el acto primero ponga el caso, / en el segundo enlace los sucesos, / de suerte que hasta el medio del tercero / apenas juzgue nadie en lo que para; / engañe siempre el gusto y, donde vea / que se deja entender alguna cosa, / dé muy lejos de aquello que promete.'

Once more giving an example from *Vervolgde Laura*, the surprise in this play is indeed established in the final scenes. There Porcia, the Princess of Poland, reveals to the King that Laura is her sister by showing him a letter. He responds with disbelief and declares his deception: 'By what kind of justice, and wondrous power, could I be more entangled with luck and deceived?'[56] The King, who previously wanted his son Prince Orantee to marry Porcia instead of Laura can now agree with a marriage between his son and the long-lost princess. Such surprising dénouements are characteristic of *comedia nueva* and therefore also of their Dutch adaptations.

Five Times Love in *Comedia Nueva*

All the characters' love entanglements, emotional conflicts, and deceptive acts took various forms. In the Dutch adaptations, the emotional conflict between love and honour were shaped by five different plot structures, in which deception drives the plots forth and entangles them. On first impression, it may seem that the characters in these *comedias* are archetypes or stereotypes. As McKendrick argues almost every play contains at minimum one pair of lovers or potential lovers who are aided by some comic servants. The antagonists are authority figures such as fathers, husbands, or brothers, or 'figures of subversion' such as rivals or jealous suitors. Many times a representative of law and order—dukes, princes, kings—contribute to the solution at the end. The characters in *comedia nueva* are at the outset painted according to their social or biological roles and less so by their personalities. Thus, cast lists are typically stereotyped: the *dramatis personae* are characterised as young heroines, maids, young gentlemen and their friends, older men and servants. Thus, character types are arguably repetitive and plots are complicated and 'action-packed' but follow the same general structures. The emotions in each play are similarly intense—exaggerated even—and characters are usually torn by familiar doubts and internal crises, although their unique motives and surprising resolutions keep them exciting nonetheless. Often, women appear in masculine disguises, and older women are typically absent.[57]

And yet, *comedia nueva* was in fact deeply interested in characterisation. McKendrick writes that characters show to have own volitions, complex reactions to the

56 Van Germez 1645, vv. 1929–1930: 'Door welk een stof van recht, en wonderlijk vermoogen, / Kan ik met meerder luk verstrikt zijn, en bedrogen?'

57 McKendrick 1989, 73–74.

burdens that affect them, and different ways to cope with stress.[58] This formula, says McKendrick, demonstrates the preferences of Spanish spectators and playwrights catered to those tastes. She argues even that these elements in *comedia nueva* answered to audiences' desire for a 'theatre of escapism' that led spectators into a world of romance and away from the world of everyday reality.[59] Is this the same for the Dutch adaptations?

Forbidden Desires

The Dutch adaptations seem indeed to have been a 'theatre of escapism', although some of the more culturally-situated *topoi* are lost in translation, whether intentionally or not. That spectators could indeed escape into a world of romance becomes apparent in the first subtheme: forbidden desires. These may be disallowed because of considerable social mismatch, incest, or adultery. In this plot structure, the emotional conflict is painful and hardly ever ends well, because the protagonists' love is illicit according to early-modern law and practice.

Forbidden desire is central to Lope's *El castigo sin venganza* (1631 'The Punishment without Revenge') and its Dutch adaptation *De verliefde stiefmoeder* (1665, 'The Stepmother in Love') by Antonio Wouthers. While generally similar to the Spanish original, the Dutch characters are partially reimagined to make their emotional conflict even more painful, and their required actions more difficult. In Lope's original, spectators saw that the Duke of Ferrara was a womaniser until he decided that he needed a legitimate heir; his bastard son Federico would not suffice. For this, he needed a woman of good heritage and his sights fell on Cassandra, the protégée of the Marquis of Mantua. In the Dutch adaptation, Wouthers eliminated the opening scene wherein the Duke's previous life was shown. Apparently, the Duke's questionable morals drew objection from either Wouthers, theatre critics, or the Flemish audience. The result is that the Duke was instead a completely virtuous man and need not undergo the transformation seen in the original, which occurs during his service to the pope.[60]

Although the tawdriness of the premarital Duke was eliminated, the crux of the story—namely, Frederico's quasi-incestuous love for his stepmother Cassandra—naturally remained intact in the Dutch adaptation. As opposed to the Duke's now-pristine behaviour, Frederico not only commits something considered in early modern

58 McKendrick 1989, 74.
59 McKendrick 1989, 74.
60 See Friedman 2008, 216–217.

Netherlandish law equally criminal to incest, but also adultery.[61] The doubling of the committed crime was also subject of one of the preliminary poems in the play's script by an anonymous author named by the acronym A.F.W., which was likely Wouthers himself. He writes:

> All of Spain holds *Vega's* work for perfect,
> While the Netherlands disapprove of the same work by misunderstanding,
> And yell: *this incest should be adultery,*
> *Then it is not adultery, although the son affected*
> *By a cursed love towards his father's bed*
> *Extinguishes his God-hated fire with his stepmother*
> *As long as this tragedy continues to speak Spanish verses.*
> But now you bright lord see through the double trick
> Of the unequivocal word, which Dutch attention derides,
> When it camouflages this adultery:
> If you see through *Lope's* poem, and become a translator,
> And read the Spanish, and write, and spell a Dutch letter,
> And translate the Spanish into Dutch, then *Vega's* play
> Of incest also receives now the name of adultery.[62]

According to seventeenth-century law, both incest and adultery were crimes with dire punishments including the loss of honour, goods, and public offices, as well as prison sentences of two weeks, banishment for fifty years or more, and fines of one to two hundred Carolus guilders (= € 1040 to € 2080 today). Moreover, adultery was one of the

61 In early modern Netherlandish law, also the unmarried person with whom the married party committed adultery was found guilty of this crime. For the Habsburg Netherlands, see *Placcaeten ende ordonnantien* 1648, 280, 386–387; for the Dutch Republic, see *Groot placaet-Boeck* 1658, fols. X4^{r}–X4^{v}; see also Van der Heijden 1998, 32, 142; Herlihy 1995, 105–106.

62 Wouthers 1665b, fol. π3^{r}: 'Heel Spaenîen schat het werck van *Vega* voor volmaeckt, / Daer Neerlandt 't selfde werck door mis-verstant belaeckt, / En roept: *dees Bloetschant dient een Overspel te wesen,* / *Dan 'tis geen Overspel, hoe wel den soon geresen* / *Door een vervloeckte min op 's vaeders ledekant* / *Met sijn Stiefmoeder blust sijn Got gehaeten brant* / *Soo lank dit Treurtooneel blyft Spaensche rymen spreken.* / Maer nu gy schrandren Heer doorspeurt de dobbel treken / Van het eenstemmig-woort, dat Neerlants indacht hoont, / Als het dit Overspel van Overspel verschoont: / Doorsiet gy *Lopes* dicht, en wert een oversetter, / En leest het Spaens, en schryft, en spelt een Duytsche letter, / En overspelt het Spaens in Duyts, en *Vegas* spel / Van Bloetschant krygt den naem nu oock van Overspel.' Italics reproduced from the original.

few legitimate justifications for divorce.[63] This means that the subject in Wouthers' *De verliefde stiefmoeder* was particularly controversial because it turned one crime into two. Therefore, Wouthers' version was not only more moralising than the original, but also more fascinating against the background of early modern Netherlandish law. The fact that the duke, Frederico's father, is now of pristine behaviour puts Frederico's actions into a particularly bad light.

In another of the preliminary poems, an anonymous poet identified only as S.A.A., expresses this fascination, when he asks how it could happen that a son and a stepmother ignored the law and any duties they held towards the Duke of Ferrara, Frederico's father and Cassandra's husband. This author is convinced that only bastards could disregard their fathers in such a way:

> [...] Whatever could be the cause?
> A legitimately-conceived son will fear to disgrace
> His father's marital bed, and fear hell:
> A bastard does it all, and does not bother about adultery.[64]

Frederico will, therefore, not just be fined or lose his public offices at court in Ferrara, but he will also have to pay with his life for his crimes. Meanwhile, the Duke refuses his right to divorce Cassandra, and instead tricks Frederico into killing her by requesting his son to execute a nobleman who had tried to assassinate the Duke. To make the ruse a success, the Duke had covered Cassandra's face, allegedly as to not upset the executioner. Eager to serve his father, Frederico volunteers and leaves stage. The Duke describes for the audience how Frederico within the coulisses approaches his beloved stepmother and stabs her with his sword. For killing his stepmother, Frederico is himself executed. The Duke presumably takes this course of action in order to not lose face by it becoming public knowledge that his wife committed adultery, and near-incest, with his bastard son.

Before the lovers meet death, however, spectators are treated to a display of emotions by Frederico and Cassandra. A large part of the tragedy resides in the emotional

63 For the Habsburg Netherlands, see *Placcaeten ende ordonnantien* 1648, 386–387; for the Dutch Republic, see *Groot placae-Boeck* 1658, fols. X4^{r}–X4^{v}; see also Van der Heijden 1998, 48–50. For the recalculation of the fine in euros, see Zijdeman 2021. The calculation is based on the purchasing power of the guilder in 1665 compared to the approximate purchasing power of the euro in 2020.

64 S.A.A. 1665, fol. π4^{r}: '[...] wat mach doch d'oorsaek wesen? / Een soon in d'echt geteelt sal vaders echt bedt vreesen / Te naeken met oneer, en schromen voor de hel: / Een bastaert doet het al, en acht geen overspel.'

conflict of both stepson and stepmother, which had also formed the heart of Lope's original. The same conversations in the Spanish original return in the Dutch adaptation. In the first conversation with her stepson, Cassandra urges Frederico to open up to her: 'confess your sorrow to me, and do not die without having spoken.'[65] As did Federico in the original, the Dutch Frederico says that he should better remain silent:

> Because I taste such sadness,
> And my dangers are so large,
> Which burden my soul,
> That I will suffer less harm
> (For dying is but one)
> When dying patiently from pain
> Than to express my thoughts.[66]

Like her Spanish counterpart, Cassandra then tells her stepson the history of Prince Antiochus of the Seleucid Empire who fell in love with his stepmother Stratonice. The court physician Erasistratus tried to heal the prince, who was burning with an uncurable fever. Having tried almost everything, Erasistratus feared for the prince's life, but when Antiochus' stepmother entered the room, the doctor noticed that Antiochus' face 'caught a renewed fire,' revealing his love for the woman. The doctor concluded that Antiochus was lovesick. After Antiochus' father was told what ailed his son, he rejoiced and allowed Stratonice and Antiochus to marry.

Cassandra lets her stepson know that she sees the same illness in his case and that she is actually aware of his love for her.[67] However, while the love between Stratonice and Antiochus is accepted, the love between Frederico and Cassandra is illicit in their country (as well as early modern Spain and the Low Countries), as discussed above. Thus, Cassandra's comparison of Frederico to Antiochus is deficient. Frederico rather resembles Hippolytus from Seneca's tragedy *Phaedra* (before 54 C.E.), which was based on the myth of Phaedra and Hippolytus. The anonymous author S.A.A. suggests as much and Lope had actually also based his tragedy on Seneca's drama.[68] While

65 Wouthers 1665b, vv. 636–637: 'bekent my uwen row, / En sterft niet sonder spraek.'

66 Wouthers 1665b, vv. 671–677: 'Want ick sulk een droefheyt smaek, / En soo groot sijn mijn gevaeren, / Daer ick met mijn siel beswaere, / Dat ick minder schaed' sal werven / (Mits het sterven is maer een) / Met gedult van pijn te sterven, / Als te uyten mijne reen.'

67 Wouthers 1665b, v. 829: 'Frederico loochent niet dat'k sulks sag in u wesen.'

68 See S.A.A. 1665, $\pi 4^{r}$; Friedman 2008, 216.

married to Theseus, King of Athens, Phaedra fell in love with Hippolytus, the King's son by another woman. When Phaedra confesses her feelings to her stepson, Hippolytus is aghast and draws his sword to kill his stepmother for her crime. Realising that this is what she wants, the prince instead casts away his sword and flees into the forest. Hurt in her honour, Phaedra schemes against Hippolytus: in a dramatic scene where she threatens to commit suicide, she discloses to Theseus that Hippolytus had tried to seduce her. Angered by the supposed actions of Hippolytus, Theseus bans his son from Athens and prays to Poseidon that the god may destroy his son. Poseidon complies with the king's wishes. Feeling guilty, Phaedra confesses to Theseus her betrayal and falls on her sword and dies.

There is a crucial difference between Frederico and both Hippolytus and Antiochus: they were legitimate sons of the king, while Frederico is a bastard. This is taken as the reason for why Frederico 'does not fear his father's bed,' and adds an extra layer of moral repugnancy to his love for Cassandra. Such a moralistic explanation is in line with what Van Marion explains happened in the early modern period with Ovid's work, and his *Heroides* in particular: Ovid's sometimes indecent *Heroides* were interpreted moralistically, including Phaedra's adulterous desires. Therefore they were censored or preceded by an elaborate introduction warning against the obscene nature of some letters, as was also the case for Phaedra's letter to Hippolytus.[69] Moreover, a similar reading of *De verliefde stiefmoeder* as Ovid's *Heroides* is further enforced by the reference to the myth of Myrrha in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 10 on the title page of *De verliefde stiefmoeder*: ''Tis a crime to hate one's father, but such love as this is a greater crime than hate.'[70] Myrrha fell in love with her father, but unable to suppress her feelings she fed her father drunk and tricked him in sleeping with her. This reference frames Frederico and Cassandra's near-incestuous relationship likewise as a crime—an action deserving of consequences beyond just displeasure. Although there should be no compassion for Frederico and Cassandra according to the paratexts, there was some for Myrrha in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, who was saved by the gods and turned into a myrrh tree when her angered father tried to kill her for her crime. Nine months later, while in plant form, she gave birth to the beautiful Adonis. The intertextuality with the history of Antiochus and Stratonice, the myth of Hippolytus and Phaedra, and the myth of Myrrha, thus, tells the spectators in many ways that a crime always

69 Van Marion 2001, 164–170; Van Marion 2005, 68–71, 101, 182.

70 Ovid 1916, 10.314–315. The translation was taken from the edition in the Loeb Classical Library. The original on the title page of Wouthers' *De verliefde stiefmoeder* reads: '—scelus est odisse parentem / Hic amor est odio maius scelus.'

remains a crime deserving of punishment, but specifically the intertextuality with Myrrha's story allows spectators to have some compassion for the protagonists in the end.

Spectators of *De verliefde stiefmoeder* are presented with the two examples of Antiochus and Hippolytus to steer their interpretation of the play and also help them understand why Frederico is emotionally conflicted: one story had a happy ending, whereas the other had a tragic ending, and Frederico cannot know which direction acting on his own love would take him. Therefore, the dilemma is whether Frederico could, and should, reveal his passions, or if he should remain silent. That choice itself is torture. Having confessed his feelings to Cassandra, he would now rather die than deny his feelings again:

FREDERICO. For you, adorable woman,
I want to test death in this distress,
It is the most that Frederico can risk for your beauty.
I no longer want to live in these sad days,
I am a body without a soul, and seek death so much,
That I will not find her, or if I will enjoy her
My heart would rejoice: I pray then to strive for
Your hand alone, which made me taste the sweet poison.[71]

Both Cassandra and Frederico's *honor* are on the line but in the end their passions take priority. With that choice, the conflict will finally erupt in the closing act.

Instead of exacting vengeance, Frederico's father devises a plot whereby Frederico will unwittingly kill his own stepmother. In return, Frederico is killed by Carolus Gonzaga, the Marquis of Mantua, for killing his former protégée Cassandra. The Duke never lifts a finger. It is a 'castigo sin venganza' as the Marquis says in the original: 'Behold a punishment without revenge.' The Duke disagrees, however, saying that he regrets what has passed: 'My poor heart begins to break!'[72] He never wanted this to happen, but his honour forced him to punish both his son and his wife. In the

71 Wouthers 1665b, vv. 870–877: 'FREDERICO. Voor u wil ick de doot / Aenbiddelijke vrow beproeven in dees noot, / 't Is't meest dat Frederic kan voor uwe schoonte waegen. / Ick wil geen leven meer in dees bedroefde daegen, / 'k ben lichaem sonder siel, en soek soo seer de doot, / Dat'k haer niet vinden sal, mits soo ick haer genoot / Mijn hert sich heugen sow: 'k bid dan voor't laest te naken / uw Handt alleen die my het soet vergift dee smaken.'

72 Wouthers 1665b, vv. 1443–1465; Lope de Vega 1635, fol. 113^{v}.

end, all characters lose, and their story elicits compassion, but at the same time the Duke's defence may seem 'more incriminatory than convincing' to the spectators.[73] This is because there exists in Lope's original play *El castigo sin venganza* a 'diffused responsibility' wherein all characters share accountability for the consequences their actions have made inevitable.[74] The title of Lope's original also indicates to spectators that the play was meant to be indeed perceived as a 'punishment without revenge', whereas the title of the Dutch adaptation does not guide the spectators to identify this same moral dilemma with its innocuous title. In the Dutch adaptation, however, the Marquis's statement is restructured and the Duke's remorse omitted to resemble a surprising form of poetic justice, focusing more on the retaliation for the near-incest, rather than on the unfortunate turn of events:

CAROLUS. Thus, the tragedy concludes,
And it shows how Frederico dies in the end, trying
To hide from justice, alongside his Cassandra.
As such, the incest is done having got its punishment.[75]

Although the Dutch version's Marquis does not conclude that the death of the star-crossed lovers is a punishment without revenge, and the Duke never shows tears of remorse, we learn from the author with the acronym S.A.A. that the play was still perceived as an example of a punishment free of any form of vengeance, which suggests that S.A.A. had a lot of knowledge of the original by Lope and possibly read Spanish as well: 'Frederick's death and grave covers the Duke's shame through a punishment without revenge.'[76]

The tragic ending of *De verliefde stiefmoeder* might have been poetically just according to drama theory, and also according to the two earlier-mentioned writers of the laudatory poems, but the spectators may have had a very different, unexpected reaction. According to one other laudatory poem added to the printed paratexts addressed to the author:

73 Friedman 2008, 217.

74 Friedman 2008, 217.

75 Wouthers 1665b, vv. 1462–1465. The original reads: 'CAROLUS. en dus het Treurspel gaet ten eynde, / En toont hoe dat den Graef op't laesten, die sich meynden / Te bergen voor het recht, met sijn Cassandra sterft. / Dus is de bloetschant uyt die hare straf verwerft.'

76 S.A.A. 1665, fol. π4r: '*Frederics* doot en graf / Bedeckt des Hertogs schant door een wraekloose straf.'

> Your piece (Sir) for its illustrious Verses
> Is requested by all of Antwerp,
> For you have charmed them by this brilliant work,
> And you make unsuccessful
> Hatred & Rage:
> Ever since Cassandra entered the Theatre
> Everyone is keen on having a Stepmother.[77]

The poem was written by the author with the acronym A.F.W., who is, as said, likely Wouthers himself. Thus, he says of his own play that it was very successful. Wouthers' account also suggests that the emotions, which Cassandra represented, were positively received, for they represent something different than the 'hatred and rage' that concludes the play. That the author's very biased account of the play's success holds at least some truth is reflected by two other laudatory poems added to the play's printed paratexts, one in Dutch, another in Latin. First, the further anonymous author 'Door Got, natuur en reen' writes that 'as Frederico and Cassandra make the Theatre echo with applause and cries, the audience celebrates to the heights of Wouther's star's rise.'[78] Second, the anonymous author 'Virtus nobilitas est' describes how incestuous love affairs are nowadays popular among audiences and how *De verliefde stiefmoeder* like any 'exceptionally good poem turns right what is wrong and gives praise to that which deserves no commendation.'[79]

In the eyes of the spectators, Cassandra's and Frederico's fates could not be poetic justice. Following the plot of the Dutch *comedia*, instead, the tragic part of *De verliefde stiefmoeder* is still that neither Cassandra nor Frederico could fulfil their desires, for which their reward is death; the focus is not on the Duke's retaliation, but on Cassandra's and Frederico's tragic love entanglement. *Honor* works here not as a mere retaliating force, but more so as a tyrannical and hateful force, which can never be successfully disregarded, ignored, or challenged. It is not Fortune that makes the lovers bleed, but the punitive *honor* that is ingrained in society.

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77 Wouthers 1665b, fol. $\pi 3^{v}$: 'Vostre piece (Monsieur) pour ses illustres Vers / Est demandè par tout Anvers, / Car vous l'avez charmé par ce brillant ouvrage, / Et faites aller de travers / La Haine & la Rage: / Depuis que Cassandre a partut sur le Theatre / Chacun est amoureux d'avoir une Marastre.'

78 'Door Got, natuur en reen' 1665, fol. $\pi 3^{v}$: 'want als sy [Frederico and Cassandra] 't Schouburg daveren, / En treuren doen, om 't seerst uijttrompen sy u [Wouthers] klaveren'.

79 'Virtus nobilitas est' 1665, fol. fol. $\pi 4^{v}$: 'Qvos canit incoestos numerosus amores, / Nunc (tamen hi quondam displicuere) placent. […] Carmen nempè bonum, mala quae, bona reddit, & idem / Laude indigna, facit laudibus ire Polo.' With thanks to Louis Verreth for the translation.

Lope wrote in the preface of *El castigo sin venganza* that with this play he had written a tragedy 'al estilo español.' His work is not structured according to Greek standards ('antigüedad griega') or the severity of the Romans ('severidad latina'), because tastes change with time, but he argues it is a tragedy nonetheless.[80] Wouthers' adaptation *De verliefde stiefmoeder* shares many of the tragic qualities of the original and its plot is maybe more tragic than most other *comedias* adapted for the Dutch-language stage. In this regard, it is useful to remember what Aristotle wrote about the nature of tragic protagonists. The plot of tragedy should specifically showcase persons who are neither bad nor good, but in-between:

> [N]either should decent men be shown changing from prosperity to adversity, as this is not fearful nor yet pitiable but repugnant, nor the depraved changing from adversity to prosperity, because this is the least tragic of all, possessing none of the necessary qualities, since it arouses neither fellow-felling nor pity nor fear. Nor, again, should tragedy show the very wicked person falling from prosperity to adversity: such a pattern might arouse fellow-feeling, but not pity or fear, since the one is felt for the undeserving victim of adversity, the other for one like ourselves (pity for the undeserving, fear for one like ourselves); so the outcome will be neither pitiable nor fearful. This leaves, then, the person in-between these cases.[81]

Thus, Cassandra and Frederico are not wicked people but persons who make an error of judgement. It is possible to have compassion for the two protagonists. We see, therefore, that poetic justice becomes an unsatisfactory solution to the audience. This becomes even more evident taking into account the hate that the audience had for the specific tyrannical manifestation of *honor* in this play; in other words, public opinion disfavoured the outcome of this Dutch *comedia*.

The Antwerp audience was in the end intended to be on the side of Cassandra and Frederico rather than on the side of a society that demanded honourable behaviour of them. It was not the excess of emotions for a stepmother that should be tempered, but rather the cultural anxiety about a mother who is also a sexual woman in the eyes of her son. This cultural anxiety can be recognised in the ardent defence of rational

80 Lope de Vega 1634, fol. A3^{v}.
81 Aristotle 1995, 68–71.

restraint of the passions by other playwrights and humanists alike.[82] This restraint applied even more to situations where lovesick individuals pursued an incestuous, or otherwise forbidden relationship. In these cases, only God can help, as the famous physician Johan van Beverwijck wrote in his *Schat der gesontheyt* when he refers to the familiar example of Prince Antiochus. Trying to cure the 'disease' by allowing the consummation of such love, as the court physician Erasistratus had allowed, would save the body, but it would mean losing one's soul. On the Dutch-language stage, lovesick patients are, thus, 'negative *exempla* that are to instil fear and compassion and with which audiences can identify themselves' as Van Marion concludes in a 2016 article about lovesickness on stage.[83]

On first impression, the audiences' intended reactions to *comedias* such as *De verliefde stiefmoeder* and their tragic characters, would be to resist the (reasonable) doctrines of natural, divine, and secular law against incest, and overthrow the honour code, especially when finding one's true love. And yet, they would have known that this was impossible in real life. The dénouement of this *comedia* affirms this outlook, although it also questions the stringent role of honour in society. The spectators surely understood Frederico's and Cassandra's suffering, and suffered along with them, about the impossibility of their love, however wrong they knew it to be.

False Accusation

In my second group of thematically related *comedias*, the protagonist is falsely accused by a tyrannical antagonist. Lope's *El perseguido* (1590, 'The Persecuted') is one illustrious example. The play was adapted by Rodenburgh for the Amsterdam theatre market in 1617. As in the Spanish, the adaptation *Casandra en Karel* poses a similar dilemma as *El castigo sin venganza*, but now the Duchess Casandra is in love with Karel, the chamberlain of her husband: again a forbidden love. In this play, however, the forbidden love leads Casandra to falsely accuse Karel of rape to protect her reputation. As reiterations of the story of Potiphar's wife from the Bible, both the original and the adaptation relate how Casandra discloses her feelings for Carlo (Karel in the Dutch version) and how he in turn rejects Casandra, because he is secretly married to Leonora, Duke Aernout's sister. Their marriage had remained a secret because Leonora was a woman of a much higher social station, for which reason she feared that her marriage to Karel

82 See primarily Konst 1993, *passim*; Sturkenboom 2014, 163–191.

83 Van Beverwijck 1637, 151–152; Van Marion 2016, 59.

would be met with a rejection by the court and her brother the Duke.[84] A rejected woman, Casandra is afraid that Karel may tarnish her reputation (*honor*). To prevent this, she goes to her husband and falsely accuses Karel of rape. Thus, Casandra uses deception to get her way and lies to take revenge on Karel. Karel remains, however, steadfast and loyal to the Duke.

Karel is incarcerated and only after explaining to Duke Aernout that he is innocent and has been married to Leonora for over six years, he is released from prison. He proves his innocence to Aernout by showing him how he has been visiting Leonora every night through an ingeniously deceptive system the two lovers created: in the middle of the night, Karel comes to Leonora's window and when Leonora's lap dog barks, it is safe for Karel to come up. Learning that Karel is released from prison and is furthermore married to Leonora, Casandra wants to overcome her embarrassment by taking revenge upon Karel, intending to kill both him and his son with Leonora (as discussed in Chapter 2). She fails and is exiled, after which she repents.[85] Generally speaking, the play teaches that love and lust are mutually exclusive, and love the greater of the two, as is expressed in the sextet of the introductory sonnet of this play:

> How loyal matrimony of love defends itself bravely,
> And does not moan at temptation; how neither flattery, nor begging,
> nor sly seduction can break matrimony's loyalty,
> And how desires of the flesh do not harm a pure heart,
> How much love and lust differ one from the other,
> Is taught by Karel's love, and the lust of Casandra.[86]

In this regard, Dumas argued for three French adaptations of Lope's *comedias* by Jean Rotrou that the 'theme of persecuted and separated lovers appear to be linked to that of power.'[87] She stated that the actions in these plays, just as in the Spanish originals, 'are based on a tension between love and a power of political origin, sometimes tyrannical, which tries to control or appropriate the love.'[88] This is the case in

84 Van Marion and Vergeer 2016, 44–45.

85 Van Marion and Vergeer 2016, 59

86 Rodenburgh 1617a, fol. *4r: 'Hoe trouwe liefdens echt Zich moedelik borstweerdt, / En geen aenvechting kreunt, noch vlaiery noch smeken, / Noch snood' boelagie kan geen echtens trouwe breken, / En vleeschelike lust geen reyn gemoede deert, / Hoe veel de liefd en min verschelen d'een van d'andere / Leert Karels liefde, en de minne van Casandre.'

87 Dumas 2017, 108.

88 Dumas 2017, 108–109.

Karel en Casandra, and also appears in another French adaptation: that of Lope's *Laura perseguida*, which was translated by Rotrou in French as *Laure persecutée*. In turn, the actor-playwright Van Germez took this French version as the base text for his own *Vervolgde Laura*.

Vervolgde Laura, which like *Karel en Casandra* centres around a false accusation, demonstrates a problematic approach towards love and honour. The false accusation made by the king in this play—like Duchess Casandra, a symbol of stately power—likewise complicates and tries to appropriate the love between the protagonists. Typifying it according to the central false accusation, as Christophe Couderc likewise does, may benefit our understanding of an important group of adaptations that can be primarily found in the Dutch Republic, but less so in Flanders. According to Couderc, 'the play deals with an archetypical conflict between honour, or the social aristocratic law, which demands—apart from other, multiple obligations—the social equality of husband and wife, and love, as individual impulse' says Couderc.[89]

This question of equality is at the crux of *Vervolgde Laura*. The protagonist Laura and Prince Orantee are madly in love, but their different social stations makes them an unsuitable match. If they were to marry, Orantee's *honra* (his physical honour, as described above) is at stake. The king wants his son to instead marry the Princess of Poland. In order for Orantee to agree to this resolution, Laura must be eliminated as the object of his love; she must be removed from the stage, quite literally. Therefore, the king concocts a heinous lie that Laura has been throwing her decorum (*honor*) to the wind, sleeping around with many other suitors, and thus deceiving his son. Laura remains stoic in the face of this lie, as a virtuous protagonist is expected to do in *comedia nueva*. The conflict of *comedias* originate from their characters' strength: it takes courage to stand their ground when social and stately forces work against them, especially when deception, a common theme in *comedias* (as discussed in the opening of this chapter) is used to separate lovers.

Although the reason for her exclusion, Laura's inequality does not define her as a person. She is a self-respecting woman and needs no confirmation or validation from Orantee or the king. Therefore, she does not try to counter the king's accusation that she is a promiscuous woman, when even Orantee momentarily believes the heinous lies his father and his helpers have been telling him, calling her a whore to her face.[90] When the Prince finally realises that Laura was falsely accused, Orantee must prove his worth to her and not the other way around. Here, her *honor* takes precedence over

89 Couderc 2015, 10.

90 Van Germez 1645, v. 1127a.

his *honra*. Therefore, Orantee disguises himself as his own servant, to whom Laura may be more willing to speak, and visits her. He uses this small deception to explain:

ORANTEE. The Prince admits his guilt: because he said
That his own passion made him enraged due to distrust.
[...]
LAURA. But for a lover to fight me,
like an enemy! and to falsely accuse me of viciousness
With the goal to subject me to spitefulness!
[...]
To scold me [for a whore]! Oh! To not spare my honour!
Certainly it is unbefitting of a royal son,
Who should continuously combine courtesy with power.[91]

Laura demonstrates that she has an abundance of *honor* and this is not tied to any formal title, despite the fact that she does not have any *honra* to account for. *Vervolgde Laura* presents, therefore, not a mere tension between love and honour, but the play also questions whether the possession of worldly honour is a reasonable prerequisite for two people to love each other. When in the closing scene, Laura is revealed to be a princess herself, this proves that *honra* is fleeting, but *honor* is eternal.

In a third example of this type of *comedia* which revolves around an accusation, the hero might have eternal *honor*, but it cannot save him from a tragic death. General Bellizarius finds his death in De Grieck's *Den grooten Bellizarius* (1658) after Empress Theodora falsely accuses him of rape. Like *Vervolgde Laura*, this play is a translation of an adaptation by Rotrou, *Le Bélisaire* (1644). Empress Theodora is similar to Casandra in *Casandra en Karel*. Therefore, Theodora should also be seen as an incarnation of Potiphar's wife. The trusting General Bellizarius in De Grieck's *Den grooten Bellizarius* becomes, just as the Duke's chamberlain Karel in *Casandra en Karel*, victim of a deep-seated grudge. Although Bellizarius says that he cannot remember it, Theodora has felt her honour harmed since Bellizarius rejected her when she was not yet empress. This drives the plot: Theodora's desire to assassinate Bellizarius for rejecting her,

91 Van Germez 1645, vv. 1376–1377, 1385–1387, 1389–1391: 'ORANTEE. De Prins bekend zelf dat hy schult heeft: want hy zeit / Dat hem zijn eigen drift, door wantrou maekt verbolgen. [...] LAURA. Maer my, van minnaer, te bekrijgen, / Gelijk een vyand! en my valsheid op te tijgen / Met voorneem van my valsheid aen te doen! [...] my / Te schelden voor een! ha! mijn eer niet te verschonen! Voorwaer het is de stam eens vorsts niet recht vertonen, / Die steets de heusheid met de macht vereent.'

which she perceives as dishonouring her, which fuels an even deeper rage as her husband, Emperor Justiniaen, grants Bellizarius titles and proposes they rule the empire together as equals. While the biblical Joseph and Rodenburgh's Karel were released from prison after gaining the favour of Pharaoh and Duke Aernout respectively, Bellizarius is not so lucky.[92] In contrast to his counterparts, Bellizarius is executed by his overlord, Emperor Justiniaen.

Theodora's actions are, however, not condoned by her peers. It becomes evident that other characters think that it is just a matter of perspective whether Theodora has really been dishonoured. The lady-in-waiting Camilla says, for example, that it does not befit an empress to seek revenge, and even more so since the supposed dishonour was received when she was not yet a ruler:

> Because the time has now changed your status,
> It is a wonder that this does not happen to your anger;
> To avenge such scorn is unbecoming to Theodora,
> Now that she governs the raising and setting of Aurora
> And puts laws in place: and although you are scorned,
> When you received the scorning, you were not yet crowned.
> Thus, pull out your enlightenment to forget out of bravery.[93]

Camilla is indeed similar to the lady-in-waiting Camilla in *Casandra en Karel*. She too is unable to convince her lady to have temperance. As ladies-in-waiting, both Camillas are archetypical in their service, but also function as temperate counter-voices to their ladies' excessively passionate behaviour. Because Casandra and Theodora are driven by a distorted sense of honour, Karel and Bellizarius can hardly be blamed for their actions. Amidst a group of courtiers who plot their deaths, both heroes stand firm in their beliefs and, like Laura, refuse to strike back.

The focus on human interaction and past decisions mark *Den grooten Bellizarius* as different from the 'home-grown' plays of the early seventeenth century in which the protagonist is chastised for being overly passionate. Bellizarius is clearly impassionate, unlike those around him. And yet, Theodora successfully tricks her husband

92 Van Marion and Vergeer 2016, 45.

93 De Grieck 1658, 8: 'Wanneer den tydt nu heeft verandert uwe staet, / 't Is wonder dat het soo niet met u gramschap gaet, / Te wreecken sulcke hoôn voegt niet aen Theodoore, / Nu zy den ondergang en op-gang van Auroore / Beheerst en wetten stelt, en schoon gy zyt gehoont, / Toen gy het hoôn ontfinckt, en waert gy niet gekroont, / Treckt u verlichting dan uit moedig te vergeten.'

into believing that Bellizarius has betrayed him by making advances on the Empress, and he is consequently executed. Despite what initially appears to be a triumph, Theodora too faces dire consequences. She is rejected and expelled by her husband, precisely as Casandra was in Rodenburgh's *Casandra en Karel*.[94] Either the spectator can interpret the play as an example of a man who was too good for a harsh world or as a warning against giving in to passions, because power is dangerous and has the ability to corrupt.

Casandra en Karel and *Vervolgde Laura* conclude with a celebration of the lovers, whereas *Den grooten Bellizarius*, like *De verliefde stiefmoeder*, ends in tragic death where the figures of authority—Emperor Justiniaen and the Duke of Ferrara—act righteously, but end up alone. While Karel and Leonora were already married but can now live legitimately as lovers, Laura and Orantee's love is legitimated by her new-found pedigree which likewise enables their union. The solution is quite simple, but what becomes clear in this 'generic plot' type is that Karel, Laura, and Bellizarius do not possess worldly *honra* per se, but have significant moral *honor* that prizes their good character above their social station: they have innate nobility, which is purer than any formal title can ever bestow. Leonora and Orantee were never wrong in loving their significant others, even when the rest of the world could not see it. Furthermore, Karel, Laura, and Bellizarius are underdogs, which makes them particularly sympathetic characters. Especially in the bourgeois Dutch Republic, one can imagine how these characters of low(er) birth were received with empathy, especially while the nobility generally appeared in a tyrannical light. This was not an uncommon sentiment in Dutch society.[95] In other words, a title can turn you into a tyrant.

Jealousy as Delusion

In the third subtheme, love is problematic when the characters are deluded by their overwhelming emotions. In Rodenburgh's play *Ialoersche studenten*, a group of male students engage in the courtship of three women from Leiden. As a *comedia urbana*, Lope's *La escolástica celosa* is peopled with normal citizens, bringing the characters closer to the audience who watched them. The same applies to Rodenburgh's adaptation, who, as discussed in Chapter 1, brought the setting closer to home by using a *couleur locale*. As such, spectators are confronted with an intriguing courtship display: Juliana seems to be in love with Cardenio, who in turn is also falling in love with her.

94 Van Marion and Vergeer 2016, 58–59.

95 See e.g., Veenstra 1968, 20–21.

At the same time, Valerio, who is also in love with Juliana, is witness to the scene. A jealous man, he says that he was forced to deceive Juliana by dressing as a farmer while complaining that Juliana had promised herself to him:

Valerio enters in farmer's dress, with a shovel in hand, and speaks.

VALERIO. Oh! How does this view kill my poor heart.
The mind predicted the truth like I now find.
The jealousy made (to see if my beloved
Juliana also converses with Cardenio)
Me dress in these clothes: (the heart of a suitor is bold)
Now I see, it is unnecessary to [merely] suspect.
[…]
Juliana swore me loyalty,
And would this sweet woman
Forget me when she is with him?
Is female love so light,
That out of sight
They know of no loyalty?[96]

In the first act of the play, Juliana leads the two boys on, making them so jealous that they want to duel each other. Their friends prevent this bloody engagement, however. Out of spite, Cardenio courts Celia, while Valerio remains ever suspicious.

Celia plays along with the heartbroken boy. The problem is, however, that Celia already had a boyfriend. Her boyfriend Marcio sees Celia and Cardenio together and thinks that his girlfriend has been disloyal. Marcio breaks up with her. Then, Celia meets with her friend Tembranda, who has been left by another student, Fabricio, although they were engaged to be married. Having been dumped herself, Celia remarks that students are 'rogue companions / deceitful and vicious, cunning and full of tricks.'[97] The audience knows, however, that these students and daughters

96 Rodenburgh 1617c, fols. A3r–A3v: '*Valerio comt uyt in een Boere py, met een spa in de hant, ende spreeckt.* / VALERIO. Ha! Hoe dat dit ghesicht mijn arme hert vermoort / 't ghemoet voorseyt de waerheyt g'lijck ich nu bevinde, / De Jalousie deed (om sien of myn beminde / Juliana met Cardeen ooc t'samen spraecke houd) / Ic my in dese cleen: (een lievers hert is stout) / Vercleden, nu ic siet, tis Nood'loos te geloven. […] Juliana swoer my trou, / En sou dees lieve vrou / Met hem my gans vergeten? / Is vrouwe liefd' soo licht, / Dat zijnde uyt t'gesicht / Sy van geen trouwe weeten?'

97 Rodenburgh 1617c, fol. C3v: 'schallicke gesellen / Bedrieghelick en valsch, deurtrapt en vol bedroch.'

of Leiden's citizenry easily change partners if it is opportune, and try to deceive one another if it benefits them. The characters continue to betray one another and only when everyone is disguised in the final act, do they share their true feelings and throw away their masks. The deceitful games of the characters gave rise to jealousy and stood in the way of their mutual happiness.

The jealousy of the men in this play is a dangerous passion that produces delusions, which the spectators surely knew from books they had at home: the abovementioned Van Beverwijck described jealousy ('Nijt') as a sorrow ('Droefheyt'), which 'cannot defend itself when one would accuse her of being the foulest and ugliest of all passions, because so many of the others originate from a weakness of nature, but Jealousy solely from a sheer anger of our own will.'[98] The moralist Cats goes a step further than Van Beverwijck in his *Houwelick*, saying that 'No sickness, no persistent urge of all the fierce passions bears in our mind such strange delusional monstrosities, such mad unreasonableness as this haunting.'[99] Moreover, Cats continues:

> [Jealousy] Which she [the Night], strengthened by delusion, has brought forth in the world.
> Rumours without ground, continuous suspicion of harmfulness,
> And slander, in the habit of feeding the lie,
> And always renewed shock, and steady fanaticism,
> And thirst for hot vengeance are ceaseless there.
> [...]
> Never does she show a happier countenance, than when her clever actions
> Aim for deception, and lie in wait to catch;
> Her favour is solely deceit. On the outside [she has] a beautiful visage,
> On the inside only murder, and nothing more than cruel hate.[100]

98 Van Beverwijck 1637, 125–126: 'Sy en kan haer in 't minste niet verantwoorden, als men haer beschuldigt te zijn de vuylste en leelickste van al de Passien, voor soo vele alle d'andere, komen uyt een swackheydt der Nature, maer de Nijt alleen uyt een loutere boosheyt van onsen eygen wil.'

99 Cats 1625, fol. *ff3r: 'Geen sucht, geen harde drift van alle felle tochten / En baert in onsen geest soo vreemde waen-gedrochten / Soo dullen onverstant als dese spokery.'

100 Cats 1625, fol. *ffiv–*ff2r: 'Dat sy [de Nacht], uyt [W]aen begort, ter weerelt heeft gebracht. / Ge-

But Cats does not stop there. The popular author also discusses the consequences of unfounded jealousy: 'But he who with clever lurking waits on his companion, learns to do sometimes what was never thought before.'[101] However, the works of Cats and Van Beverwijck were likely soon forgotten once the spectators gathered in the theatre to watch Rodenburgh's play and were probably of little influence on their ability to enjoy what unfolded on stage. This does not mean that Rodenburgh did not mean to warn his audience with *Ialoersche studenten*. Although the playwright does not explicitly moralise for his spectators here, the play still holds up a mirror to the audience: Rodenburgh's dedication to Maria Steenburen explains that the real behaviour of contemporary youth is even worse than in his *comedia urbana*.[102]

Juliana's jealous suitors are given free reign to spy on each other and learn through this of Juliana's deceitful, opportunistic ways. And the same applies to Celia when she demonstrates similar behaviour. However, none of their actions have especially negative consequences. Nearly all the youths marry at the end of the play, even though their jealousy could have cost them all dearly. In a way, Rodenburgh even celebrated the actions of these young students when he chose to stage the consequences of spying by means of two *tableaux vivants*, which in this play are not only a form of spectacle but also an inherent part of the action. In the first *tableau vivant*, Juliana and Cardenio hug. As in many contemporary love emblems, such as in Hooft's *Emblemata amatoria* (1611), Cupid shoots the two lovers with his arrows. Meanwhile, Valerio stands in the wings behind one of the stage curtains and sees the whole spectacle. Vireno stands on the other side.[103] A bit later, the roles are reversed. Now, Valerio and Juliana hug very intensely, while the infant god of love shoots them. This time it is Cardenio who spies on the lovers.[104]

Through these *tableaux*, the play establishes dramatic irony and reveals the deception in an pregnant, emblematic way. The many stage directions in *Ialoersche studenten*

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ruchten sonder gront, geduerich Quaet-vermoeden, / En Achter-klap, gewoon de Leugen aen te voeden, / En altijt verssche Schrick, en staege Dweepery, / En Dorst tot heete wraeck sijn haer geduerich by. […] Noyt toontse blyden schijn, dan als haer slimme gangen / Sijn uyt op haer bedroch, en loeren om te vangen; / Haer gunst is enckel list, van buyten schoon gelaet, / Van binnen enckel moort, en niet als wreeden haet.'

101 Cats 1625, fol. *ff3r: 'Maer die met slim geloer op sijn geselschap wacht, / Die leert haer somtijts doen dat noyt en is gedacht.'

102 Rodenburgh 1617d, fol. *2v; see also Abrahamse 1997, 97–98.

103 Rodenburgh 1617c, fol. A4r: 'Vertooninghe, waer Iuliana met Cardenio omhelst zijn, en Cupido schiet hun beyde, Valerio staet in een hoeck vant gardijn en siet het, en Vireno aen d'ander syde.'

104 Rodenburgh 1617c, fol. C1v: 'Vertooninghe, waer Iuliana met Valerio seer minnelick malkander omhelsen, en cupido schiet hun, Cardenio staet aen een syde, en siet het.'

contribute further to the dramatic irony: they indicate whether a character is present on stage, and whether certain information is known to characters. To the reader (although not to the spectator), this further intensifies the perceived jealousy of the lovers:

> *Valerio and Ostilio enter, with the capes over their ears, from the one side. And within there is music in honour of Iuliana; Cardenio and Vireno stay on the other side of the stage, and the music having ended, Valerio speaks.*[105]

Stage directions are also explored by Turner in his examination of the terms 'within' (exits) and 'out' (enters) in English Renaissance theatre. These stage terms have a counterpart in both Dutch and Spanish with the terms 'binnen' and 'uit,' and 'va(n)se' and 'sale(n),' respectively.[106] The implication of these stage terms is that those who are 'within,' cannot be witnessed by the characters on stage or witness the events on stage themselves. Meanwhile, those who are 'out,' are out in the open and everything they share on stage, they consequently also share with the spectators and the characters lurking in the shadows. Turner explains that the term 'within' 'designates a kind of location, a place that the actor goes "to", even if this place remains elusive: perhaps it is "offstage", and thus in the theatre; perhaps it is "elsewhere", and thus in the fiction[al]' world of the play discussed in Chapter 1.[107] The directions signify the way that spectators perceive a play as being presented in a theatrical space, indicate where a character *exists*, and how much he or she knows in comparison to spectators. In a play full of deception, such as Rodenburgh's *Ialoersche studenten* (and Lope's original *La escolástica celosa*), this information is imperative for spectators, and the readers at

105 Rodenburgh 1617c, fol. B1^{v}: '*Valerio en Ostilio comen uyt, met de mantels om hun ooren aen d'een syde, en binnen wert gespeelt ter eeren Iuliana: Cardenio met Vireno blijven aen d'ander syde, en t'spel geeyndicht zijnde, spreeckt Valerio.*'

106 In addition to the variable 'sale(n)' (see, e.g., Lope de Vega 1604d, fol. 75^{r}), the stage term 'entra(n)' is also used in Spanish to signify that a character comes out onto the stage. For two late-sixteenth or early-seventeenth century manuscripts of Miguel de Cervantes' *El cerco de Numancia*, Silvia Esteban Naranjo has shown that the different stage terms indicate spatial-temporal changes in the play and thus determine our understanding (2016, *passim*). The meaning of the stage term 'entra(n)' is the same as 'sale(n)' except for the point of view that is taken: 'sale(n)' means as much as that the character comes out from a space that is inside, whereas 'entra(n)' would mean the opposite, that a character was outside and is now coming onto the stage. The use of these two stage terms is not fixed, however, and alternately occur in a single play, such as Lope's *La escolástica celosa* demonstrates; see, e.g., Lope de Vega 1604d, fols. 76^{v}, 78^{v}.

107 Turner 2006, 174–175.

home, to understand who knows what, and in turn, the motives behind their words and actions.

When Celia's boyfriend, Martio, eavesdrops on Celia and Cardenio, his position on the stage is, however, even more elusive than the activity implies. The text indicates that he is not really on stage and can, therefore, not fully hear what Celia and Cardenio are discussing: 'Martio stands half behind the curtain, and hears some of what Celia says.'[108] In situations like Martio's here, the characters are neither out, nor within: they are 'without.' Turner describes 'without' as a spatial 'crux,' which is established when a character, such as the old King Lear in Shakespeare's *King Lear*, refuses 'to move either "within" or "out" and instead wanders "without" into a breach in fictional space to flail in the *potential* that surrounds him, a point somewhere *between* a coherent location and the platform stage.'[109]

So, Martio overhears Celia, but is not fully 'out' on stage. Thus, he cannot hear the full extent of her conversation with Cardenio. The most peculiar aspect of Martio's action is, in fact, that he stands half behind the stage curtain, using an architectural element of the theatre as a hiding place, positioning himself somewhere exterior to the fiction of the play, '*between* a coherent location and the platform stage.'[110] Martio's inability to hear everything has disastrous consequences for him when he breaks up with Celia, not out of jealousy or spite but out of sorrow: he is the only one who at the end of Rodenburgh's play is left without a fiancée. The other men engaged in scheming and deception, whereas the otherwise well-intentioned Martio drastically broke up with Celia based on incomplete information and consequently ends up alone. Abrahamse saw this as a peculiarity of the plot as there is no poetic justice for Martio, but I instead argue that Martio's inexperience in effectively employing deception and his unlucky position on the stage made him victim to the love game that the other characters play with one another.[111]

Rodenburgh wrote in his dedication that this play showed how in fact 'the frenzy of love passion, the labyrinth of confusion, the caustic vengefulness, the disguised deceptions' reflect reality.[112] Abrahamse interprets this to mean that there is almost no moral lesson, at least not in comparison to Rodenburgh's other adaptations from

108 Rodenburgh 1617c, fol. C2^{v}: 'Martio staet half achter t'gordijn, en hoort sommighe reden van Celia.'

109 Turner 2006, 176.

110 Turner 2006, 176.

111 Abrahamse 1997, 98.

112 Rodenburgh 1617d, fol. *2^{v}: 'de razernye van liefdens passie, de doolhovighe verwarringhe, de vinnighe wraeckgiericheydt, de vermomde bedriegheryen.'

Spanish.[113] Van Stipriaan sees such plot structures as opportunities for Dutch playwrights to focus on the literary game which they wish to play with the reader or spectator, preventing them from identification with the comical, but common characters. This could then open up a domain where various subjects could be discussed in a comical or farcical way without the necessity of reconciling what is shown with the dominant morale.[114] That dominant morale was, according to Abrahamse, hardly reflected in Rodenburgh's *Ialoersche studenten*.[115] Van Stipriaan argues that spectators should not aim to recognise obvious stereotypes, but rather the enigmas, reversals, parallels, and associations which they must discern and resolve into meaningful interpretations.[116] I maintain, however, that in line with Rebecca Yearling and Ferket's analysis of comic theatre, we should see this as a way for Rodenburgh to subtly provoke his audience: the mixed message of *Ialoersche studenten* disoriented spectators and broke with moral codes. Therefore, it was unclear according to which norms and standards the play and the characters should be judged, whether the norms of the fiction or the norms of reality had to prevail.[117] By this, Rodenburgh offered a provocative, though playful *exemplum* to his audience.

The Suspicious Man

In a variation on the theme of delusional jealousy, there are *comedias* in which an overjealous or protective male—a father, brother, or husband—guards a woman against a male suitor of lower nobility, seemingly to protect her honour, but ultimately protecting his own. McKendrick traces the origins of many of these conflicts in *comedia nueva* to a patriarchal society:

> The romantic stage-hero must by definition be able to exert control, to assert himself over whatever situation temporarily threatens his well-being. […] Where women are conceived of as living by, through, and for men, where a man's wife, daughter, or sister is conceived of as an extension of himself, there are bound to be fertile ambiguities. The women's actions reflect upon the men, who cannot entirely hope

113 Abrahamse 1997, 97–98.
114 Van Stipriaan 1996, 161–162.
115 Abrahamse 1997, 98.
116 Van Stipriaan 1996, 161–162.
117 Yearling 2016, 164; Ferket 2021, 228.

> to prevent any threat to their reputations, but who then, given their social and sexual ascendency, can do something about it if they wish to. Threat and solution are both contained within the one set of circumstances.[118]

In these cases, the only way to bypass the protector, possessive of his bloodline and his sexual honour, is through deception. This can be witnessed especially in two of Lope's plays, *El cuerdo loco* (1620) and *El mayor imposible* (1647), but also in their respective Dutch adaptations: Joris de Wijse's *Voorzigtige dolheit* (1650) and Joan Blasius' *De malle wedding* (1671).

In the introduction of Blasius' *De malle wedding*, the playwright explains: 'as such, it often happens that a woman breaks free more fiery in her curtailed and obstructed temptations, if she is retained in a stricter manner; similarly, gunpowder explodes fiercer if it is stuffed tighter when fire breaks out.'[119] This is a moralistic (and misogynistic) verdict to be sure, which echoes Cats' pragmatic advice to trust your female family members, because 'she who you fully trust, does not want to be unfaithful.'[120]

Warned by these moralists, spectators can see how the lovers in *De malle wedding* sidestep the Argus-eyed brother through a ruse: by hiding in a book case, the male suitor enters the chambers of his beloved lady. The lady's brother, who is also her guardian, and who hates the suitor to his very core, is unaware of what occurs. It is a famous ruse to be sure, since Hugo Grotius had also hid in a book case to escape Castle Loevestein in 1621; therefore, this ruse becomes a subtle but clever reference to Dutch historical events. This time, however, the hero does not try to escape, but tries to enter.

The guardians in these *comedias* are the lovers' primary adversaries. They try to appropriate their love through misuse of their power; their excuse is always that they are their sisters' or daughters' protectors. Sometimes a father may even decide to place his own child under restraint, as takes place in *Vervolgde Laura*, where the King tries to separate Laura and Orantee not by imprisoning the female suitor but rather his son. Only when that fails does he blacken Laura's reputation. Isaac Vos' *Gedwongen vrient* demonstrates that a male adversary, who is initially wary of his sister's virtue can

118 McKendrick 1984, 323.

119 Blasius 1671, fol. *5^{r}: 'so gebeurt het meenigmaal, dat een Vrow, hoe sy vaster beslooten word, hoe sy vieriger in haar besnoeide en belette begeerlijkheid uitbreekt, gelijk het Bus-kruid, hoe het vaster gestopt is, hoe het krachtiger uitbarst, waneer d'er de brand in slaat.'

120 Cats 1625, fol. 114^{r}: 'diemen veel betrout, en wil niet ontrou wesen.'

also become a necessary ally, or a 'forced friend.' Realising that his own love Lizaura is determined to save her brother Count Astolfo from prison, Prince Turbino accompanies her, although he has no affection for the man that has been courting his sister Princess Luzinda without his consent. When Luzinda tells her brother that she will join Lizaura on her mission, Turbino admits to his sister:

TURBINO. I am not Astolfo, although I am his equal
In love; so that I have to be now because of love
Astolfo's forced friend. Luzinda, do not fear me;
Do not fear your brother, although he has reason,
And cause to kill you because of the audacious deed: I forgive
You always. I believe that you and I were born
Beneath the same planet: you have chosen the brother,
I love the sister. Oh! Heavenly decision,
You have made Astolfo, Lizaura is my bride.[121]

Turbino then indeed joins Luzinda, on her quest to free Astolfo from captivity, because Lizaura (Astolfo's sister, and Turbino's lover) will also be there. So, although he is no friend of Astolfo, his mutual interests—to be with his lover—lead him to join Luzinda and Lizaura's cause.

Voorzigtige dolheit also stages a male protector. For this, we can look at the opening scene. There, guardian and brother, Morosin, lays claim to his sister's Lucinde's *honor*. It has been tainted, because she has had sex with a man who is unbeknownst to him; he is so blinded by rage at the act itself that he misses the man's identity. The audience, however, learns what Morosin does not, namely, that this man is King Anthony himself. According to the play's summary:

> The young king in the spring of his youth, [...] sets his heart on the beautiful Countess Lucinde, who acknowledges his love and grants him free passage, after which the king being in her chambers, is discovered one night by Count Morosin (her brother), and is helped in

121 Vos 1646, fol. D1^{v}: 'TURBINO. Ik ben Astolfo niet, al ben ik hem gelijk / In lieffde; zoo dat ik door lieffde nu moet weezen / Astolfs gedwongen vrient. Luzinda wilt niet vreezen; / Schroom voor u Broeder niet, Schoon dat hy reeden heeft, / En oorzaak u te doon door 't stout bestaan: 'k vergeeft / U al te maal. 'k Gelooff dat gy en ik, gebooren / Zijn onder een Planeet, gy hebt de Broer verkooren, / Ik heb de Zuster lieff, O! Heemelsche besluyt, / Gy zijt Astolfus deel, Lizaura is mijn Bruyt.'

> his escape without revealing his identity. The Count inflamed with anger accuses his sister of promiscuity, and wishes, in order to restore his honour, to know the identity of the man who has escaped him.[122]

During this scene, Morosin approaches Lucinde with his sword drawn, but she reproaches him for laying claim to her *honor*. She accepts that he shares her honour, being her brother, but he is not her spouse and so his reaction is overbearing. In reply to her brother's accusations, she says:

> LUCINDE. I know very well that I am bound to you by blood,
> And my honour concerns you partly as my brother, but
> Not as my husband; you denounce Lucinde's virtue too much,
> While you dare to contaminate the honourable heart with dishonour,
> And dare here to whet your tongue and blade on this bosom.[123]

Morosin then asks himself: 'Do I feel my honour injured, my fighting arm armed, in order to relieve our House of that disgrace by your death?'[124] However, instead of killing his sister he is immediately moved to compassion and wants to know the suitor's identity, deciding that if the man is of noble birth he would allow his sister's romance. Lucinde still feels that not she, but he, has tainted her honour by accusing her of imprudent behaviour. They cannot resolve the issue as Morosin is summoned to court where King Anthony appoints him general of his army, only to prevent Morosin from finding out that he himself is Lucinde's suitor.

King Anthony's decision to promote Morosin unleashes a power struggle between him and his former general, Dinardo, and Dinardo's accomplice (and King Anthony's stepmother) Rosania. Miscommunication and deception are the main reasons for

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122 De Wijse 1650, fol. A1r: 'De jonge koning in't bloejenst van zijn jeugt […] zijn zinnen op de schoone Gravin Lucinde, die zijn liefde erkent en met vrye toegang begunstigt, waar over de Koning zich in haar vertrek vindende, op een nacht van den Graaf Morosin haar broeder beloopen, en onbekent wechgeholpen wiert; de graaf hier door vol gramschap, beschuldigt zijn zuster met onkuisheit, en begeert, om zijn eer te voldoen, de man te weten, die hem ontkomen is.'

123 De Wijse 1650, fol. A3r: 'LUCINDE. Ik weet wel dat ik ben door 't bloet aan u verbonden, / En u mijn eer ten dele aangaat als broeder: maar / Niet als gemaal; gy spreekt Lucindes deugt te naar, / Terwijl gy 't eerbaar hert met oneer durft besmetten, / En hier uw tong, en kling op deze boesem wetten.'

124 De Wijse 1650, fol. A4r: 'Ik voel mijn eer gequetst, mijn strijdtbare arm gemandt, / Om door uw dood ons huis t'ontlasten van die schandt?'

the action: Morosin wants his and his sister's *honor* restored (because why else does Lucinde conceal her suitor's identity?); the king fears that Morosin will find out about the affair (because the young king's behaviour is unbefitting a ruler, which would taint his honour); and Dinardo and Rosania think that the King knows that they desire the Albanian throne (because why else would he replace Dinardo as general?). Dinardo and Rosania plot against Anthony, deciding to feed him a potion that will turn him mad. Instead, the king is informed of their plot and decides to feign his madness to uncover the plot. Too late he realises that Dinardo and Rosanio intent for Anthony to kill Lucinde in a frenzy in the hope that this will anger her brother Morosin so that he will kill Anthony. Only with the help of Morosin is Lucinde successfully saved and can marry her lover, King Anthony.

In *Voorzigtige dolheit*, it is the characters' fear of losing their honour that drives the 'guardian-type' plot and forces each character to conceal their true intentions. Only the audience knows everyone's motives. This dramatic irony is exhilarating and shows that in a world where love and honour are bound by social rules, people risk losing their social position and therefore life as they know it, if they are not cautious or simply frank about their love.

Abuse of Power and Separated Lovers

In the final group, the antagonists desire power and in order to gain it, they prevent the protagonists from pursuing their relationship. The plotlines of these plays share that the protagonists became a plaything of the antagonists in a game which allows them to both raise their station and be disgraced, all in the time span of the same performance. These plays have been characterised by Joan Oleza as *comedias del poder injusto* (*comedias* of unjust power), in which a despot is being led—and blinded—by his passions, while he separates the protagonist lovers to further advance his power.[125]

This is expressed in the motto of De Graef's *Joanna Koningin van Napels*. It reads: 'Tolluntur in altum / Ut lapsu graviore ruant' ('He is raised aloft that he may be hurled down in more headlong ruin'), a partial quote of Claudian from *In Rufinum*.[126] In the context of the play it refers to Queen Joanna's adversary Prince Andreas of Hungary, who tries to control and appropriate Queen Johanna's love for Prince Lodewijck

125 Oleza 2004, *passim*, and 2005, *passim*; see also Sáez 2015a, 97.

126 Book 1, Ch. 3; see, e.g., Claudian 1992, 28–29. The full quote is: 'No longer can I complain that the unrighteous man reaches the highest pinnacle of success. He is raised aloft that he may be hurled down in more headlong ruin.'

of Taranto. The last part of the quote (i.e., 'Ut lapsu graviore ruant') is also used as motto for an *emblema* in Cats' *Spiegel van den ouden ende nieuwen tijt* (1632, 'Mirror of the Old and New Age'). The moral message that Cats communicates is that he who rises higher than he ought to, falls steeper than he expected.[127] The theme was exceptionally popular in the Dutch Republic: it is expected that the protagonists' fall evoked great pity from spectators, whereas the antagonists fell to much rejoicing. Therefore, it is understandable that this was also the subject of Serwouters' *Den grooten Tamerlan*, in which the chieftain abuses his newly gained position as leader of Wallachia and humiliates Sultan Bayaset. This leads Aurora, daughter of the Byzantine emperor and wife of Bayaset, to poison the rebel-lord Tamerlan: he who rises higher, falls further.[128]

Joanna Koningin van Napels and *Den grooten Tamerlan* are accompanied by four other adaptations in this group which also happened to be perennial favourites in the seventeenth-century Amsterdam Public Theatre.[129] The plays are De Fuyter's very popular *Verwarde hof*, De Wijse's *Voorzigtige dolheit*, the all-time favourite Heynck's *Veranderlyk geval*, and Heynck's *Don Louis de Vargas*. Their popularity made them particular targets for Pels' scrutiny, as discussed in Chapter 1.[130] Both *Verwarde hof* and *Veranderlyk geval* have similar plots: two lovers cannot be together, as a lust for power corrupts one of them (*Verwarde hof*) or corrupts other characters who then try to separate the lovers (*Veranderlyk geval*). The lust for power becomes tyrannical and appropriates their love. In both plays, this appropriation brings about the (temporary) fall of the protagonists. Everyone keeps up appearances and lies about their true desires. Therefore, Fortune seems to be the malefactor, but dramatic irony teaches us that the antagonists are truly responsible for the consequences, although the protagonists only learn this at the dénouement.

Yet, the antagonists are hardly ever punished, but almost always forgiven. Love and honour play a major role in the two *comedias*: in *Verwarde hof*, Carel is promoted from a mere unknown soldier to marquis so that he can marry Queen Matilde. She is charmed by the stranger and thus easily promotes Carel; as it turns out, she did so too easily. They marry. Having become both a marquis and king in such a short time, he grows arrogant and tyrannical. Although she still loves him, Matilde is compelled to drive him insane in order to temper his hubris. For this, she introduces Carel's

127 Cats 1632, fols. Ccc3^{r}–Ccc4^{r}.

128 See Van Marion and Vergeer 2021, forthcoming.

129 For the popularity charts, see ONSTAGE 2015.

130 See Pels [1681] 1978, vv. 1066–1069.

previously unknown twin brother Henrico. Acting as Carel, Henrico will retract Carel's every decision. Driven mad by this turn of events, Carel releases control of the kingdom to Matilde and reconciles himself with Matilde's seniority. Again, honour is a force to be frowned upon, because it corrupts as much as it organises society. They are two sides of the same coin.

As discussed in Chapter 1, *Veranderlyk geval* differs in that Karel is rediscovered by his father, the king, and is immediately promoted to prince. This forces him to leave his beloved Margareta behind. His cousin Frederico wants the Neapolitan throne for himself, but can only become king if there is a female heir. He convinces Karel's adoptive father to admit to the king that not Karel, but rather Margareta is his true heir. Initially risen in station, Karel now falls from grace again, but he still cannot be with Margareta because she is now a princess. The lovers remain separated and Frederico's corrupted lust for power appropriates that love. In Karel's perception, it seems that evil forces work against him, but spectators know Frederico's motives. Karel and Margareta can only be together when in the dénouement Karel's adoptive father, Albano, admits that Karel was always the true heir, Frederico admits that he made Albano lie, and when Albano, furthermore, reveals that Margareta is the King's niece.

The plot structures of *comedias* are decidedly different than those of 'home-grown' plays. The early seventeenth-century tradition of Senecan-Scaligerian plays is based on the concept of an 'oogenblikkige beweeging': 'an instantaneous motion and emotion that takes place at one single moment.' These must be simple and unambiguous so that the scene engages the viewer 'as if he were one of the bystanders.'[131] It concerns the depiction of the fierce and intense passions themselves, which must move the beholder along strictly rhetorical lines. Sluijter characterised the rendering of these passions as gripping visualisations which made audiences empathetic towards the suffering victim by representing their misery and distress as clearly as possible.[132]

Conversely, for his plays from the 1640s onwards, Vondel followed the Aristotelian model: *Jeptha* follows the dramatic structure of a protagonist who, as the result of a *hamartia* (a tragic flaw, an error of judgement), comes to realise what he did (*agnitio*) and then experiences a *peripeteia* (a dramatic reversal of mood from one extreme to the other which is often emotional in nature).[133] Vondel himself termed this a 'staetveranderinge' ('change of state'). Sluijter maintains that Vondel's plot structures

131 Sluijter 2010, 290–291.
132 Sluijter 2010, 288–292.
133 Sluijter 2010, 294–295.

incited fear and compassion 'by way of continuous unfolding of the plot, in which inner conflicts, *woelingen* (literally: turbulences, agitations), as Vondel calls them, play an important role.'[134] As such, Vondel attests in his introduction to *Elektra* (1639) that 'in this tragedy a multitude of passions revolve [*woelen*] most fiercely: anger, audacity, fear, anxiety, hate and love, fidelity and infidelity, grief and happiness.'[135] Such *woelingen* were responsible for eliciting emotions from spectators, and not spectacles of horror, nor gripping and gruesome stories as employed in the Senecan-Scaligerian plays, and later in the Horror and Spectacle plays.[136]

Contrary to these normative 'home-grown' traditions, Spanish *comedias* differed from the Aristotelian model, although Spanish playwrights clearly knew of and essentially implemented the plot structure as described by the Greek philosopher. Still, *comedia nueva* is different from Greek tragedy. This meant that the Spanish plays and, therefore, also the Dutch adaptations, not only constituted one *agnitio* and one *peripeteia*, but arguably many in the protagonists and antagonists alike. Furthermore, not all dramatic reversals are internal and thus emotional, although their responses to those reversals are. In some cases, the *peripeteia* is enforced by an external, sometimes despotic power, and is primarily of a social nature, unlike in Vondel's plays where the protagonist has an ethical dilemma. In *comedias*, different protagonists experience an *agnitio* and a *peripeteia* at least twice but often more times. On the one hand, this is a way to bring social injustice to the fore when the *peripeteia* is of an external nature, and on the other, it is a way to show how unstable the mind of certain characters is when the *peripeteia* is of an internal nature. In the latter case, the dramatic reversals become almost comical or burlesque: how can someone make the same mistake twice?

The inner agitations of all characters swing back and forth between different passions, their ambitions, honour, duty, and not least their reason. In *Veranderlyk geval*, we can even see how the two protagonists mirror each other in when they experience their own *agnitios* and *peripeteias*. Meanwhile, in *Verwarde hof*, Carel is an emotionally-blinded despot who abuses his new-found power, prompting his wife Matilde, who as queen holds legitimate power—realising her mistake in marrying Carel—uses a ruse to bring about his fall. Instead of accepting his fate, Carel tries to regain power, at which he obviously fails. The humbled king experiences two *peripeteias*, but only

134 Sluijter 2010, 295.

135 Vondel 1639, fol. A2^{r}: 'In dit treurspel *woelen* veelerleie hartstoghten, gramschap, stoutigheid, vreeze, bekommeringe, haet en liefde, trouw, en ontrouw, droefheid en blyschap, elck om't hevighste.' Italics mine.

136 Sluijter 2010, 295.

one of his two *agnitios* is a true *agnitio* (Fig. 4.8). As the schematic plots of *Verwarde hof*, *Veranderlyk geval* (Fig. 4.9), and *Jeptha* (Fig. 4.10) demonstrate, the Dutch adaptions of Spanish plays drive the Aristotelian model over the top. Compared to the relatively modest display of *woelingen* in Vondel's plays, they truly overwhelm spectators with their dramatic peaks and valleys.

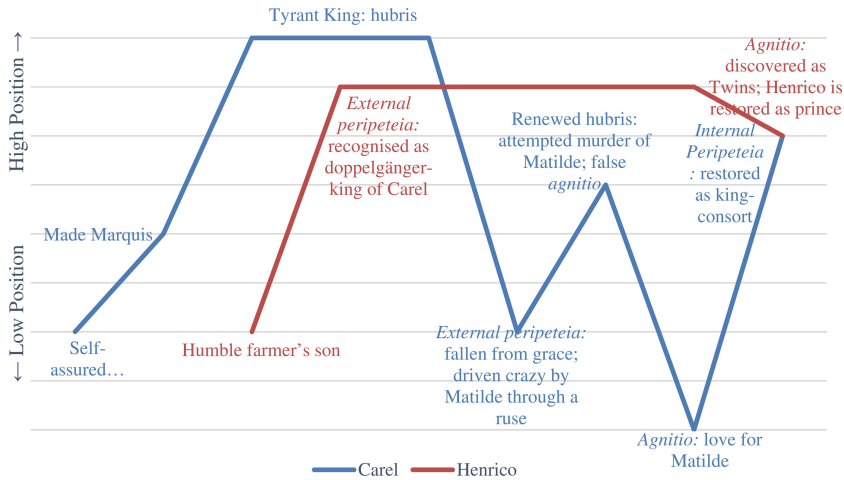

FIG. 4.8 Development of the social positions of Carel and Henrico in *Verwarde hof*

What about the two other perennial favourites that Pels mentioned? In addition to *Voorzigtige dolheit*'s plotline of the disapproving brother as discussed above, the play also problematises the rise and fall of the protagonist, meaning that the play thematises two different generic plotlines at once. The play also stages King Anthony's feigned insanity (his downfall), brought about in response to the attempted *coup* of Rosania and Dinardo. The expectation was that being insane and thus incapable of ruling his kingdom, he could be easily toppled from the throne. Through his act of deception, the King more easily manoeuvred through the court, exploiting everyone's misperception of him as harmless. The spectators know, in fact, that he is not. The scheming usurpers plan to murder his lover Lucinde and pin it on the apparently insane Anthony, assuming that Morosin will in turn kill Anthony in revenge. Thus, by appropriating the couple's love, Rosania and Dinardo aim to claim the kingdom for themselves.

Likewise, Don Louis in *Don Louis de Vargas* must regain his former position at court after his father has been executed as a traitor for supposedly assisting the Moors in the war against Castile. Louis' disgrace is, however, not enough for his adversary Don Julian, who together with his father are the real traitors and had set up the

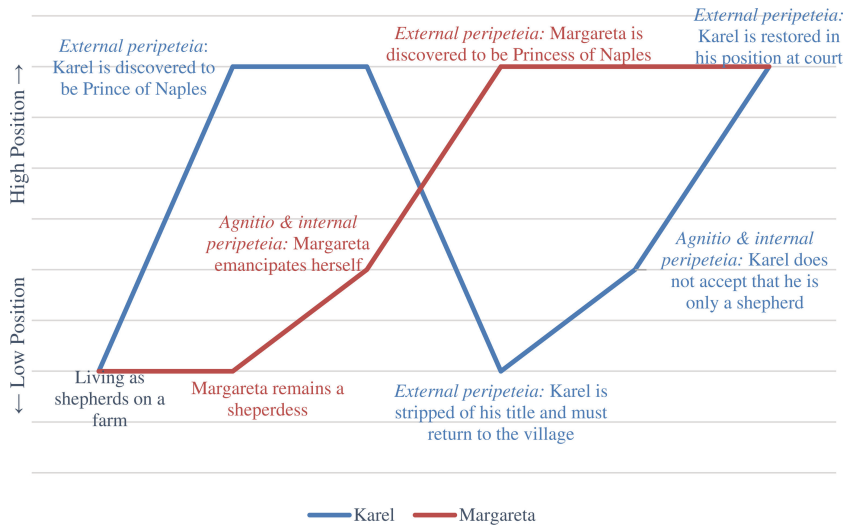

FIG. 4.9 Development of the social positions of Karel and Margareta in *Veranderlyk geval*

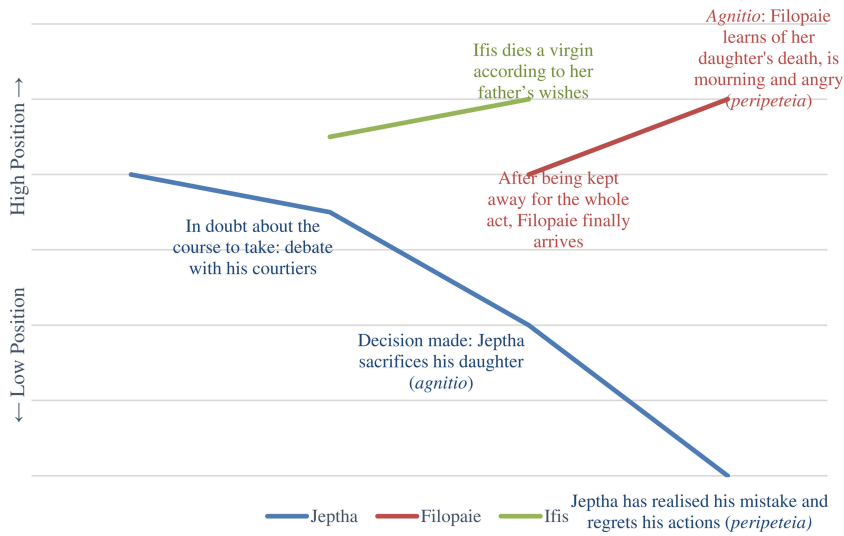

FIG. 4.10 Development of the moral position of Jeptha, Filopaie, and Ifis in *Jeptha*

De Vargas family for their betrayal. To make their humiliation complete he claims Louis' sister, Lizandra, as his betrothed. Louis decides to protect his sister's *honor* by killing her with poison. The poison turns out to be a sleeping potion and Lizandra awakes, unbeknownst to Louis. Don Julian then abducts the woman to marry her. When finally Louis is reinstated as a respectable noble at the Castilian court, this not only means that his family name (*honra*) is redeemed, but also that his sister's *honor* is protected from the real traitor Don Julian. Here, the antagonist Don Julian tries to appropriate the love that exists between brother and sister, but only to further humiliate his enemy.

Honra is a central concept in these plays and the force can clash with a number of passions, including desire for prestige or power, and desires of the flesh or the heart. This was surely a recipe for spectator enjoyment, which is supported by the sales records of the Amsterdam Public Theatre. Even Pels had to admit their appeal:

> The plays are not good through unseemly or mistaken
> Ostentation, but through pleasing instruction.
> In them one generally sees true Love and Love of State
> Opposed to discontent; one hears praiseworthy speeches
> In favour of duty, and honour, and in disfavour of vices:
> So that, even if they lack four-square craftsmanship,
> They thereby bring great pleasure to the audience.[137]

This might explain why Brandt, echoing Pels in his biography of Joost van den Vondel, attested that the adapted Spanish plays especially entertained the 'masses (gawping at the vain chitchat and activity),' because of the characters' abundant 'inner agitations and all kinds of changes.'[138] Brandt rightly observed that Vondel's plays were hardly performed. Especially between 1660 and 1667, his plays gave way for the adapted

137 Pels [1681] 1978, vv. 1070–1076: 'Zy zyn niet fraaij door onbetaamlyke, óf verkeerde / Oppronkingen; maar door zeer leerzaame aardigheên. / Men ziet'er trouwe Liefde, én Staatzugt in 't gemeen / Malkand'ren tégengaan; men hoort 'er lóflyk spreeken / Ter gunst van pligt, én eer, ter ongunst van gebréken; / Zo dat ze, al zyn ze juist niet in de winkelhaak, / Daar door den kykeren aanbréngen groot vermaak.' The translation is taken from Sullivan 1983, 55.

138 Brandt 1682, 68: '[...] dat men met der tijdt andere speelen, meest uit het Spaensch vertaelt, invoerde, die door 't gewoel en veelerley verandering, hoewel'er somtydts weinigh kunst en orde in was, den grooten hoop, (zich aan 't ydel gezwets en den poppentoestel vergaapende) zoo behaagden, dat men kooper boven goudt schatte, en Vondels treurspeelen achter de bank wierp.'

comedias and other spectacle pieces.[139] It could be said that the four Spanish plays mentioned by Pels had replaced those of the home-grown wunderkind, Vondel.

Conclusion

Conflict between love and honour, personal desires and duty, and the private and the public characterise Spanish *comedia nueva*, and subsequently its Dutch adaptations. Faced with social taboos related to marital mismatch, jealousy, and emotionally-blinded despots, spectators were offered an *emotional refuge* from dominant morals (the *emotional regime*) with regards to sex and marriage as they were propagated by figures like Cats and Van Beverwijck. These plays invited spectators to empathise with the lovers who must manoeuvre through society and manage their emotions accordingly to achieve their goal of being together. In *comedia nueva*, the influence of Fortune, omnipresent in Dutch 'home-grown' plays, is replaced by an emotional conflict between love and honour. In this way, Spanish plays and their Dutch adaptations differ from the Senecan-Scaligerian plays written by Hooft and Coster, who more or less followed the neostoic philosophy of their mentor Lipsius.

Instead of Fortune, free will (*libre albedrío*) is highlighted, and requires that the star-crossed lovers must make an explicit choice between their personal desires and their honour, both inner (*honor*) and outer (*honra*). Alongside that of the protagonists, the motives and desires of the antagonists drive the plots. The choice that protagonists must make becomes more difficult because their antagonists likewise express free will, and use it to forward their own interests, often by appropriating or exploiting the protagonists' love. Therefore, the *comedias* are characterised by an intricate web of conflicting emotions and ever-changing relationships between the characters. Because of this, spectators were treated to something that the 'home-grown' plays, in which the emotional conflict was more straightforward, arguably did not offer.

In combination with emotional conflicts between the private and the public, frequent acts of deception surely pleased the spectators. It can be said that deception even offered a particular kind of comic relief, in which illusion, lies, and masquerades created suspense and dramatic irony. The Dutch *comedias* relied on their ability to deceive: the characters routinely deceive one another; theatrical illusion deceives the eyes of spectators; and finally the plot twists deceive the audience who think that they

139 ONSTAGE 2015.

surely know how the story will end. It was the spectator's responsibility to unravel these delusions and deceptions, which they can do by means of staging and stage directions: while the audience witnessed and heard all, the characters travelled from 'within' and 'out,' observing and hearing (and sometimes misinterpreting) only part of the action and dialogue. Among these intrigues, disguises, and betrayals, it was Lope's aim to stud his original *comedia* plots with so many entanglements that not until the very last scene could anyone in the audience correctly guess the outcome.

The combination of emotional crisis and the subsequent entanglements and deception in the plot were manifested in the Low Countries through five standard plot types. I argue that these five plot types generated pleasure for spectators and ultimately their approval and applause. These five types of *comedias*: 1) are about forbidden desires; 2) include a false accusation against the protagonist to prevent them from pursuing their love interest; 3) feature an antagonist who is jealous of the love between the protagonists and becomes delusional because of his overwhelming passions; 4) have an antagonist—a family member of the female protagonist—who is overprotective and disapproves of the love between the protagonists; and 5) involve antagonists whose lust for power thwarts the protagonists' efforts to be together.

These five plot structures might suggest that the protagonists and the antagonists were nothing more but archetypes or stereotypes: one pair of lovers or potential lovers, some comic servants, and 'complicating' characters who are figures of authority or subversion, and representatives of law and order. All characters are in some way defined, at least initially, by social or biological roles. However, most characters have complex motives and personal desires, by which they obstruct the lovers, at least for a while. Lope and his fellow playwrights exposed and rewrote the conflict, unleashed by social inequality, from a different but complementary prism in each text: the plots of Lope's *comedias* were, indeed, clever variations of the same theme, and often one with roots in ancient literature.

The first of the generic themes in the Dutch adaptations discussed here is forbidden desires and incestuous love. Wouthers' *De verliefde stiefmoeder*, the Dutch adaptation of Lope's *El castigo sin venganza*, shows how the quasi-incestuous love between stepmother Cassandra and her stepson Frederico has disastrous consequences for the suitors. Through allusions to the history of Antiochus and Stratonice and the myth of Phaedra and Hippolytus, the play exemplifies how such illicitly matched couples are driven by their heart's desire to emotional crisis. Plays such as *De verliefde stiefmoeder* harbour an enormous potential to evoke wonder and admiration, pity and fear, and pleasure and horror: while Antiochus and Stratonice had a happy ending, Cassandra and Frederico meet the same tragic fate as Phaedra and Hippolytus. In

the Dutch adaptation, and in the contemporary social environment it was staged in, Cassandra and Frederico's relationship not only bordered on incestuous, but was also adulterous. In spite of this—or perhaps because of it—empathetic spectators in Antwerp apparently demanded to see more of Cassandra, and rejected the Duke's righteous meting out of poetic justice.

In other *comedias*, a false accusation against the protagonist was popularised in a way that the underdog position of one of the two lovers informed the audience's moral compass. Both Karel in Rodenburgh's *Casandra en Karel* and Laura in Van Germez' *Vervolgde Laura* face false accusations by a despotic figure of authority: Duchess Casandra in *Casandra en Karel* and the King in *Vervolgde Laura*. While Casandra attempts to indulge her lust for Karel, he remains an uplifting example of loyalty, both to his master Duke Aernout and his wife Duchess Leonora. As punishment (i.e., poetic justice), Casandra is banished from court. In *Vervolgde Laura*, the titular character overcomes the false accusation of her infidelity by staying true to herself; her lover Orantee discovers the truth eventually. While she may not have any *honra*, she has ample *honor*. Orantee, who is a prince and has plenty of worldly *honra*, now must prove to Laura that he is deserving of such a virtuous lover.

In a third subtheme, the jealousy of a rival suitor temporarily separates the lovers. Rodenburgh's adaptation of Lope's *La escolástica celosa*, the play *Ialoersche studenten*, offered an example that was both entertaining and, as purported by Rodenburgh himself, true to life. In it, rival suitors become delusional with jealousy and accuse their love interests of unfaithfulness. The characters hurt one another with their deceitful actions and loose (liberated) morals with regards to sex. Although the play contains a moralistic message about the dangers of unrestrained jealousy, the playful, comic overtone offers audiences an *exemplum* that was both provocative and entertaining. In a variation of this theme, the fourth generic plot type, the antagonistic man is overbearingly protective of the *honor* of his female family members. He is a father, a brother, or a husband. In these plays, the deceptive ways in which the lovers sidestep the hypervigilant adversary offer an entertaining and fascinating frame within which the emotional conflict is shaped: the characters find covert ways to express their personal desires, so that the public honour and duty of all characters involved is not tainted, lost, or rejected.

In the fifth and final theme, power comes in play, corrupting those in a position of authority, who then try to control and appropriate the love existing between the lovers. The four plays *Verwarde hof*, *Voorzigtige dolheit*, *Veranderlyk geval*, and *Don Louis de Vargas* are particularly illustrative of this group. These plays were also the perennial favourites in the Amsterdam Public Theatre, which shows that Dutch audiences

appreciated the *comedias* that dealt with an exertion of unjust power by a tyrant who is led and blinded by his passions. According to the Claudian paradigm, both the protagonists and antagonists are raised to a great height, so that they may tumble with a heavier fall: the former likely with great pity from the spectators, the latter with delight and schadenfreude.

These *comedias* also differ substantially from the 'home-grown' plays in the way that emotions are rendered. The plot structures of these plays did not offer separate scenes of gruesome and horrific emotions, as did the early seventeenth-century plays belonging to the Senecan-Scaligerian tradition which were rendered as 'oogenblikkige beweeging.' Neither did they offer a measured and modest development of the mental and emotional state of the protagonist, who through a *hamartia* recognises the error of his judgement (*agnitio*) and experiences a dramatic reversal (*peripeteia*; 'staetveranderinge'). These plays, including Vondel's works of the 1640s–1660s, followed the Aristotelian model of a continuous unfolding of the plot in which *woelingen* (internal conflicts) play an important role.

The Spanish *comedias*, and subsequently their Dutch adaptations, warp this Aristotelian model by offering not one *agnitio* and *peripteia* in a single protagonist, but many such swings among several different protagonists and antagonists. Conversely, *comedias* are characterised by a continuous rise and fall of the protagonists and antagonists alike. Sometimes these dramatic reversals are even mirrored between different characters simultaneously, which they reflect on by expressing their inner conflicts, their *woelingen*. All these *woelingen*, these emotional peaks and valleys, must have overwhelmed spectators. Where Vondel's plays present to us characters who have an ethical dilemma of a public nature, the characters in the Spanish plays experience *woelingen* related to their personal desires, their ambitions, their honour, their duty, and sometimes also their reason. Compared to the modest and evenly-tempered nature of Vondel's plays, the adaptations of the Spanish *comedias* push Aristotle's model over the top. This too explains why the Dutch adaptations were so successful—they both engaged with and subverted familiar models of live storytelling—and why the genre was also received with much criticism from classicistic playwrights, such as Pels.

Lope said that the affairs of honour are the best, but only because the plots of the *comedias* contextualised those affairs of honour within a frame of love, deception, and subversive acts. Faced with an imminent loss of honour, characters manoeuvred themselves in unprecedented and precarious ways that could only move spectators with pity and fear, with wonder and admiration, and with horror and fascination.

CHAPTER 5

Emotions on the Fringe

The Appeal of Vengeance in Dutch Comedias

Love is beautiful … until it is not. Although honour is an important force in many *comedias de capa y espada*, the most important motif remains the love between the unmarried protagonists. Afterall, any dishonour can be easily restored through marriage.[1] Sometimes a suitor might be jealous and this can complicate the love, as seen in Rodenburgh's *Ialoersche studenten*: in the end, however, no one was deeply hurt and everyone could eventually still marry the partner of their choice, except for Martio. But what if not only the jealousy of another suitor is in play, but also your family's honour? What if your family's name is tarnished by the actions of your lover? Should you then allow your brother or father to take vengeance? What about your fiancé or husband? Or what if another man tarnishes your daughter's, sister's or wife's virtue? Will you then take revenge for yourself? These are the central questions in many *comedias* that have been described as *dramas de honor*. In them, unlike other types of *comedia*, the solution of marriage cannot be relied on to repair conflict. The restoration of the family's honour through other means becomes the main focus in these plays, and these means are bloodier and messier even than the action in *comedias de capa y espada*. This also applies to the Dutch adaptations.

An example of how vengeance and the associated emotion of vengefulness are shaped is found in a Dutch *comedia* of this type: *'t Quaedt syn meester loondt*, Rodenburgh's adaptation of Aguilar's *La venganza honrosa*. This play was discussed in Chapter 2 for the blatant vengeance of Duke Norandino of Milan and the Duke of Mantua enacted on the two star-crossed lovers Porcea and Duke Astolfo of Ferrara. Norandino is the wronged fiancé of Porcea and the Duke of Mantua is the shamed father of the bride. The two wronged men frame their vengeance as reasonable:

DUKE OF MANTUA. There is a reason that we avenge ourselves on them,
who dare to break the holy matrimony because of lust,
staining my honour and princely name.

1 Abrahamse 1997, 102.

NORANDINO. They are stealing my honour and the glory of my fame.
With this steel sword I will restore myself with their blood [...]
because she steals your fame, my fame, and my honour.[2]

In Aguilar's original, their desire for private vengeance is presented as morally acceptable—the play is called 'The Honourable Vengeance' after all—and likewise in Rodenburgh's adaptation. Abrahamse remarked that the play contrasts with Rodenburgh's other work; he had trouble reconciling *'t Quaedt syn meester loondt* with the rest of the playwright's oeuvre. The approval of vengeance in this play contradicts the stoic ideal of tempering the passions, and also the Judeo-Christian doctrine whereby God alone has the right to exact vengeance: 'Vengeance is mine, and recompense' (Deut. 32:35).[3] Furthermore, mankind is prohibited from killing: 'You shall not murder' (Ex. 20:13).[4] Abrahamse believes that Rodenburgh with this play disregarded Dutch society's non-acceptance of vengeance. His doing so is remarkable, as 'in the Low Countries people certainly did not share the Spanish notion about honour and retaliation.'[5] Abrahamse's argument implies that seventeenth-century Dutch people went to court to settle disputes concerning honour. And although he does not say it in so many words, he also suggests here that the Spanish might instead seek personal revenge.[6]

Abrahamse is not alone in these assumptions: they actually reflect writings from the early modern period. An auto-image by Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius argued that his countrymen were free of 'that vain tickling of the thirst for glory' which plagued Mediterranean peoples, according to his comparison between Athenians, Romans, and Batavians (the romanticised ancestors of the Dutch and Flemish) in his early *Parallelon rerumpublicarum* (1602).[7] The Dutch were neither led to 'fiercely pursue'

2 Rodenburgh 1618, fol. B3r: 'DUKE OF MANTUA. 't Is reden dat wy 't wreken / Aen heur, die d'Heyl'ghe echt door minne lust durft breken, / Bemorssende mijn eer, en Princelijcke name. NORANDINO. Zy rovende mijn eer, en glory van mijn faem. / Met dees verstaelde klingh recht ick my aen heur bloede [...] Vermits zy rooft uw faem, mijn faeme, en mijn eer.'

3 Abrahamse 1997, 102–103.

4 See also Weisgerber 2008, 353. At the same time, the religious laws as formulated in Exodus 21:24 and Deuteronomy 19:21 say 'Eye for eye, tooth for tooth,' which suggests that under certain circumstances vengeance is allowed.

5 Abrahamse 1997, 103.

6 Abrahamse 1997, 103.

7 Grotius [1602] 1801, 92, 98 (translation by Sturkenboom 2014, 187). Grotius did not specify the kind

revenge, nor to 'ignore her completely,' allowing them to be brave in battle without being cruel, as opposed to the cruelty and immoderation of the southern Europeans.[8] Grotius' argument was, in a large part, based on the idea that the Dutch were phlegmatic, a result of the Low Countries' wet climate. On the contrary, the dry southern climate made the Romans and Athenians hot-blooded and therefore more prone to emotional dysregulation, including vengefulness. By this logic, Grotius argued that what applied to the Romans and Athenians applied equally to early modern peoples living around the Mediterranean Sea—including the Spanish.[9] However, such stereotypes are always one-dimensional and the reality is always more complex.[10] The religious conflicts between the Arminian and Gomarist parties during the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1621) had, for instance, demonstrated that Dutch moderation was far from absolute.[11]

In general, we can see that in line with the Flemish-Dutch auto-image, playwrights usually rejected acts of violence and revenge, and even vengeful emotions in the tragedies of the early seventeenth century. In the same way, moralists like Cats and physicians like Van Beverwijck rejected vengefulness in Dutch society as a passion related to the mad passion of wrath, which itself was believed to be the cause of irrationality. Therefore, either vengefulness or wrath should be supressed, overcome, or only expressed by a single tear.[12] At the same time, playwrights, moralists, and scholars alike acknowledged that the desire for revenge was innate to mankind, for it was in man's animal nature to be violent, often causing more violence in retaliation.[13] But even then, Grotius 'adamantly advocates divinely justified vengeance over private revenge' in another of his early works, *De republica emendanda* (c. 1600).[14] In it, he writes that under no circumstances should one resort to private vengeance because, as Van Beverwijck also argued, revenge is the product of anger. For the Dutch Republic to reach 'harmony with the Lord's precepts,' Grotius writes, '[n]o expectancy, no fear should ever be so great as to impel us to injure a fellow-man in any way.'[15]

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of honour to which he was referring, but in his works primarily discusses honour in relation to reputation.

8 Grotius 1602 [1801], 92, 98 (translation by Helmers 2016, 364).

9 Grotius 1602 [1801], 92–93, 97–99. See also Meijer Drees 1997, 25–56; Sturkenboom 2014, 175–180.

10 This is also the subject of Bood's dissertation. See Bood 2020a.

11 Helmers 2016, 365.

12 Cats 1625, fols. Kk4^{v}, Ll3^{v}, Rr4^{r}, *cc4^{v}; Van Beverwijck 1637, fol. N1^{r}.

13 Weisgerber 2008, 354.

14 Laureys 2020, 105.

15 Grotius 1984, 77; Laureys 2020, 105.

Hooft especially seems to have rejected revenge in *Geeraerdt van Velsen* (1613) and in *Baeto* (1617, published 1626), as did Vondel in *Palamedes* (1625) and in *Maria Stuart* (1646). These history plays presented the playwrights' perspectives on republican politics and especially in a republic there was no place for vengeance. Seventeenth-century Dutch tragedy seems to have stressed the need for moderation of vengeance, although the plays are brimming with detailed depictions of other expressions of violence including murders, duels, and executions.

From a moral perspective, it was imperative that Dutch playwrights stressed the inappropriateness of vengeance; in the highly urbanised Low Countries, peace and order among citizens was crucial to the maintenance of a cooperative civil society. Likewise, craftsmen, merchants, and other economic stakeholders profited from order, whereas conflict would interrupt their businesses. In addition to theatre, other Dutch literature unsurprisingly also reflects this desire for peace and order as far back as the fourteenth century.[16] Jean Weisgerber identified three strategies used to counter revenge in Dutch Renaissance tragedy: in the first, hostile powers were suppressed by establishing absolute rule. The second was of a moral nature, and required that one supress counterproductive urges towards vengeance, something that was effectively considered self-conquest (i.e., to 'be the bigger person'). The third strategy was practical and functional, but hardly honourable in the early modern social context: one should flee when wronged rather than respond, a strategy that Christ advised in Matthew 10:23. This latter strategy was also preferred by Christian neo-stoicism, current in the work of Lipsius and his students Hooft and Coster.[17]

In Dutch revenge tragedies of the mid seventeenth century, as Ton Hoenselaars and Helmer Helmers argue, the only just vengeance was divine revenge. It could only be enacted by God or one of His terrestrial representatives. For example, politically motivated revenge, or royal revenge, was legitimate when carried out by a king to gain recompense according to his divine right.[18] In such a case, it is not an individual who exacts revenge, but the embodiment of the state itself who pursues justice for crimes committed against his body politic. However, as Weisgerber argues, in an absolute monarchy vengeance is unnecessary because of the monarch's firm state control, which many early modern tragedies—including Dutch tragedies such as *Geeraerdt van Velsen* and *Baeto*—make clear.[19]

16 Pleij 2009, *passim*; Hugenholtz 1959, *passim*.

17 Weisgerber 2008, 356.

18 Helmers 2011, 231–233, 237; Hoenselaars and Helmers 2016, 209, 211–212.

19 Weisgerber 2008, 357–358.

Contrary to what Weisgerber, Hoenselaars, and Helmers argue about the place of revenge in Dutch tragedy, *dramas de honor* adapted from Spanish presented worlds in which the use of revenge was sanctioned as a form of poetic justice. When looking at the popularity charts and registers of the Amsterdam Public Theatre, the three perspectives outlined above—a full rejection of vengeance, its allowance within the context of divine goals, or its use as a means of poetic justice—existed concurrently without one view achieving dominance.[20] Nevertheless, vengeance was still a subversive subject in Dutch and Flemish society: it stood in stark contrast with the teachings of the aforementioned seventeenth-century moralists and their moderate auto-image. This might be considered as a very successful *emotional regime* that shaped early modern social behaviour, and continues to shape the Dutch and Flemish perception of this period today. It arguably has implications for the way modern Dutch and Flemish society currently sees itself: revenge and vengefulness result from overwhelming *perturbationes*, undesirable mental disturbances.[21]

Why, then, did Rodenburgh adapt Aguilar's particularly bloody *La venganza honrosa*? It may have been a response to the subversive, taboo nature of vengeance in Dutch and Flemish society. This play could have appealed to spectators as a way to escape legal and social behavioural limits: that which is forbidden is often all the more exciting. Abrahamse's difficulties in locating Rodenburgh's *'t Quaedt syn meester loondt* within his oeuvre may be partly explained by this motivation. Although Abrahamse acknowledged the effects that cultural transfer can have on the transmitted cultural product, he did not acknowledge the effects that a cultural product from a foreign culture can have on the receiving culture. In that regard, transfer studies is based on the understanding that an important, often unforeseen, and extreme effect of cultural transfer is a shifting of boundaries within the cultural system of the receiving culture.[22] I assert that this play, like other adaptations of *dramas de honor*, should not be understood within the dominant emotion discourse in the Low Countries, but instead within the frameworks of cultural transfer, emotional exotism, and emotional relief. In this context it becomes clear that the honour-vengeance theme is a cultural

20 See ONSTAGE 2015, Analysis/Popularity Charts. Among the top ten most popular plays in 1638–1672, we find plays which propagate these different views, such as Vos' revenge tragedy *Aran en Titus* (1641), Van Heemskerck's *comedia De verduytste Cid*, Hooft's tragedy *Geeraerdt van Velsen*, Joan Dullaart's *comedia Alexander de Medicis* (1653) and Dullaart's tragedy *Karel Stuart, of Rampzalige majesteit* (1652).

21 Konst 1993, 9, 15, 38. See also Schama 1987, 567–570, who argues that moralists and scholars saw these auto-images as representative of Dutch culture; Schama accepts these auto-images, furthermore as truthful.

22 Espagne and Werner 1985, 508.

product of Spanish society that found its way into the Low Countries and appealed to Dutch audiences as a literary construct that offered an *emotional refuge*. *Dramas de honor* like Rodenburgh's *'t Quaedt syn meester loondt* presented audiences with hypothetical situations (set in foreign countries) in which characters struggle with their emotions and eventually choose to pursue violent solutions that could not be pursued in real life because of legal and social restrictions on these types of emotional expression.

Considering seventeenth-century Dutch theatre in the context of cultural transfer shows that Dutch and Flemish scholars in the previous decades have put too sharply in contrast 'home-grown' plays and adaptations of Spanish *comedias*: vengeance is not an anomaly in Dutch theatre or something that is only excusable when it serves very specific, divine aims. My analysis instead shows that the honour-vengeance theme became popular in the Low Countries because it offered an alternative to the sustained tone and restraint so insistently vocalised by Dutch moralists in other literature. Similarly, in their study of Dutch adaptations of English revenge tragedies, Hoenselaars and Helmers argued that their sensational representation of unbridled passions provided a radical alternative to restrained morality characteristic of Vondel's high art.[23] I explore similar themes in this chapter. It may be that Dutch and Flemish adaptors recognised the potential of the honour-vengeance theme in the *dramas de honor* which transferred to the Low Countries by means of trade and cultural exchange. By translating and adapting these Spanish dramas, local playwrights, like their Spanish colleagues, offered an alternative, but strictly literary, solution to real-life concerns within an exotic frame.

This function of the adaptations is rooted within the Spanish originals. Their honour-vengeance theme is presumed to be a manifestation of a cultural anxiety towards the social and economic consequences of contemporary *limpieza* statutes which made those with Jewish, North African, or mixed race heritage effectively second-class citizens.[24] Yet, the concerns of Spanish playwrights such as Lope de Vega and Aguilar were not entirely the same as those of the Dutch and Flemish adaptors. By comparing the manifestation of the honour-vengeance theme in the Spanish originals to their specific refiguration in the Dutch adaptations, I demonstrate that 1) exacting vengeance is a way for characters to retain or regain agency in a world governed by Fortune; 2) vengeance does not always stem from degenerative or corruptive passions when it is wielded by magnanimous characters; and 3) when the legal system fails to

23 Hoenselaars and Helmers 2016.

24 McKendrick 1984, 318–333.

judge the guilty party, vengeance can instead offer recompense, although it is illicit according to that same system.

Additionally, several Dutch adaptations of *comedia nueva* add a political dimension to these three socio-literary benefits. In these, vengeance is sometimes legitimised as a means to gain support for local politico-religious goals, which Hoenselaars and Helmers have demonstrated for Dutch adaptations of English revenge tragedies as well as Dutch 'home-grown' revenge tragedies.[25] It seems that Dutch playwrights adapted Spanish *comedias* with the same aim. I continue this analysis by first discussing the alternative 'solution' (i.e., vengeance) found in *comedias*, then identify the political message added to some of these adapted plays either to warn against the role of vengeance in the fall of empires (*translatio imperii*), or as a way to evoke Orangist sentiments.

The Honour-Vengeance Theme in Spain

In Spanish scholarship, it has been argued that bloodshed, revenge, and retaliation are omnipresent in *dramas de honor* because they reflected the cultural reality. As demonstrated above, it was generally believed by Dutch moralists that the Spanish and their southern peers were more hot-tempered than their northern counterparts.[26] Some scholars of Spanish history and literature have suggested that Spain's early modern society was particularly vengeful and that this inspired the subjects of *dramas de honor*. Hispanists Amedée Mas and Margaret Wilson cited, for instance, the journal of Valencian priest Mosén Juan Porcar, who described eight cases of wife-murder in the city over forty years (1589–1629).[27] McKendrick tested this assumption in her discussion of the role that honour and vengeance play in *comedia nueva*. She comes, however, to the conclusion that it is hard to take Porcar's journal as a complete or representative account; moreover, eight such cases in forty years within a large city can hardly be considered a high incidence. Therefore, she proposes that *comedia nueva*—and especially *dramas de honor*—did not reflect a historical truth, but rather a poetic truth. That is to say, the plays mirrored 'not how men acted but how they would have liked to act' according to a strong sense of (male) honour in Spanish society.[28] An

25 Hoenselaars and Helmers 2016.
26 Meijer Drees 1997, 79–114.
27 Mas 1957, 348; Wilson 1969, 46.
28 McKendrick 1984, 316.

assessment made by Karl Vossler—'In the Golden Age in Spain, life was made literate and literature was lived'—is especially poignant in this context.[29]

Like McKendrick, Donald Larson thought that the honour code as depicted in Spanish theatre was likely little more than a dramatic convention revived from the Middle Ages as a way for Spain to cope with the loss of its military grip on Europe, a way of grappling with a collective emasculation. The Spaniard compensated for this with an assumed *machismo*, which the stage *caballero* perfectly reflected by imposing his sense of honour on himself and on those around him.[30] The honour-vengeance theme was a theatrical device that explores a series of relationships between a man and his environment, between man and his conscience, between a man's view of himself and how others view him, and above all between man and his sexual honour.[31] The theatrical explorations of real-life concerns shaped how spectators in Spain perceived *dramas de honor* and how this honour-vengeance theme was subsequently received and restructured in Dutch adaptations of these vengeance-laden plays, when they were translated and adapted for the Netherlandish stage.

McKendrick asserts that in the Spanish honour code there is an almost exclusive emphasis on honour as social reputation, which she connects with contemporary anxiety about purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*). In Spanish society at large, the *limpieza* statutes of many Spanish civil and ecclesiastical institutions propagated racist views that identified *conversos* (Catholics with Jewish heritage) and *moriscos* (Catholics with Muslim lineage) as having 'bad blood' (*mala sangre*). Such an accusation was accompanied by social and political exclusion: those with *mala sangre* could not hold important posts within *colegios mayores* (higher education preparing students for top administration or church positions), nobility, or religious orders. Purity of blood was especially important among the nobility, as having bad blood led to a loss of social standing. In Spain, *limpieza de sangre*, *honor/honra*, and *nobleza (de sangre)* were interdependent and virtually the same.[32]

This is a form of social insecurity that according to McKendrick was articulated in terms of sexual insecurity on the stage. While in real life the court settled all disputes and allegations, the legal system could never offer a satisfactory emotional solution. In the theatre, any possibility of sexual dishonour must be dealt with accordingly, usually by means of bloodshed. In the fictional world, a man can respond to sexual dis-

29 Vossler 1933, 209: 'En el siglo de oro en España se literizaba la vida y se vivía la literatura.'

30 Larson 1977; see also McKendrick 1984, 316–317.

31 McKendrick 1984, 317.

32 McKendrick 1984, 318–333.

honour with a fierce reaction, more so than in real life. In the hypothetical situations played out in early modern Spanish theatre, characters cultivated and nourished their desire for vengeance in response to their sexuality and their heritage.[33]

However, Spanish *comedias* are not unique in how they exploit the honour-vengeance theme as a subversive theatrical device. Hoenselaars identified that Dutch and English playwrights used vengeance to address differences between fiction and reality: since vengeance was illegal, avengers must operate in secret and put on a mask. Thus, they took on the role of actor; the avengers challenge the boundaries of the theatrical and hold a mirror up to spectators.[34] In *comedia nueva*, characters do often wear masks to fulfil their desire for vengeance, but not because vengeance is illegal. Rather, they legitimise or rationalise acts of vengeance as a way to protect their persona within the social sphere. On stage, a stain on the family's honour caused by a wife's infidelity or the simple accusation of infidelity robbed a man of his honour, which demanded from him that he sought vengeance, for in the logic of the *limpieza* statutes the purity of the bloodline had to be protected at all cost. A mask then helped men to cover up their sexual dishonour: the need to preserve their public face was so important that it was advised that men sought secret vengeance for secret dishonour.[35]

The emotional response of revenge enables in *comedia nueva* an expression of urges otherwise repressed within contemporary social conventions and the honour code. Within an emotional regime which highly prized rationality, moderation, and emotional modulation, vengeance realised onstage provided spectators with a vicarious outlet for 'passions of love and jealousy alien to the self-respecting, self-controlled individual.'[36] In fact, McKendrick argues that the issue of honour in virtually all *comedias* is dramatised in terms of 'sexual aggression, sexual jealousy, or sexual threat,' behaviours and responses which could not be overtly or rationally acted out within the societal boundaries observed and reinforced by theatre audiences.[37]

McKendrick acknowledges, however, that there is another consideration for the popularity of vengeance-laden *dramas de honor*. Spanish theatre depended on the common Spaniard for support. *Limpieza de sangre* was primarily a concern for nobles, who had a socio-economic reputation to protect.[38] Likewise, every stage *caballero* was

33 McKendrick 1984, 330–331.
34 Hoenselaars 1991, esp. 115–117.
35 McKendrick 1984, 331.
36 McKendrick 1984, 333.
37 McKendrick 1984, 332.
38 McKendrick 1984, 331.

represented in the *corrales de comedias* as being obsessed with those same concerns. As Juana de José Prades concludes, 'the gentlemen of the *comedia nueva* are not accommodating, opportunistic, or venal. Their virtues, like their defects, have only one root: the overvaluation of a most rigorous ethic' of chivalry and nobility.[39] When the average Spaniard saw these gentlemen walk onstage, he did not share their more noble concerns, but did recognise their preoccupation with protecting the honour of their female relatives. McKendrick affirms that Spanish spectators recognised the honour of noble characters because they knew what honour meant in their own familial context: it was universal, or democratised, and a deeply ingrained characteristic of their performative masculinity.[40] In other words, Spanish audiences were uninterested in plays about political and social intrigue, but attended in droves those plays in which men were *machos* and pursued *macho* ideals.[41] Within this framework of honourable masculinity, the correct recourse to dishonour was bloodshed and revenge.

What are the implications of these interpretations by McKendrick and others of Spanish *comedia nueva* for the Dutch adaptations that I discuss? They may show that Spanish characterisations of honour and vengeance were, at least to some degree, understood within Netherlandish culture, and may have contributed to their traction in the Low Countries. There are, however, important cultural differences between the original and receiving cultures of *comedias*. While McKendrick argued that anxiety around purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*) was what was behind the popularity of the honour-vengeance theme in many Spanish *comedias*, giving a possible explanation as to why the Spaniards thrilled at 'casos de la honra,' this particular concern did not apply to the Dutch context. It is less clear why Dutch and Flemish spectators seem to have been equally mesmerised by the honour-vengeance theme, a question that Abrahamse was also unable to answer.[42]

The *limpieza de sangre* was of no concern in northern Europe, but the consideration that all men—even Dutch and Flemish men—defined their honour in relation to their sexuality likely also applies in the Dutch-Flemish context. The Dutch adaptations of *comedias* could similarly offer an *emotional refuge* by means of a hypothetical

39 José Prades 1963, 101: 'los galanes de la comedia nueva no son acomodaticios, ni oportunistas ni venales. Sus virtudes, como sus defectos, tienen una sola raíz: la sobrevaloración de una ética rigurosísima.'

40 McKendrick 1984, 331.

41 McKendrick 1984, 332. This might also explain the increase of *chansons de geste* in sixteenth-century Spain. There was a general surge of chivalric romances throughout Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; see Van Anrooij 2004, 163–165, 173–176.

42 Abrahamse 1997, 102–103.

situation, and give space to emotions that were otherwise impossible to act upon. Yet, McKendrick's perspective is male-centric—which Jelena Sánchez and Amy L. Tigner have challenged.[43] It begs the question of whether the same appeal can be made with regards to a performed *machismo* in the Low Countries, which is the subject of Chapter 6. The Low Countries had a relatively emancipated female population, more so than did Spain, which would be less favourable towards the male definition of sexual honour, nor the sexual aggression that was associated with it.[44] Moreover, research suggests that the vengeance theme in Dutch 'home-grown' revenge tragedies was predominantly a response to political concerns with regards to 'translation of empire' (*translatio imperii*) and explored ideals of governance.[45] Similar concerns may have been at the basis of the popularity of several Dutch adaptations of *dramas de honor*.

In the following, I look at the appeal of revenge as a theme in Van Heemskerck's *De verduytste Cid* and Heynk's *Don Louis de Vargas*, while comparing and contrasting these two adaptations with Hooft's signature *Geeraerdt van Velsen*. Vos' *Aran en Titus*, an adaptation of William Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1589–1592) is used to compare the manifestation of political vengeance in this play to De Grieck's *Cenobia* and Dullaart's *Alexander de Medicis*, two adaptations of Spanish *comedias*. In line with McKendrick, I consider the dramatic manifestation of revenge as a literary answer to social and legal restrictions in Dutch and Flemish society for people to fully express their emotions.

The Socio-Literary Benefits of Vengeance in Dutch *Comedias*

In opposition to the dominant ideals about vengeance in the Dutch seventeenth century, *comedias* demonstrate that vengeance can be a positive force. I compare different perspectives on poetic justice, magnanimity, and emotional control in the three aforementioned plays: *Geeraerdt van Velsen*, *Don Louis de Vargas*, and *De verduytste Cid*. By this, I demonstrate that their adaptations from Spanish originals offer a drastic alternative to Hooft or Vondel's propagation of emotional restraint that were current in the moralistic writings of Cats and Van Beverwijck.

43 Sánchez 2012; Tigner 2012, 183–187.
44 Van der Heijden 1998, 224–228.
45 See e.g., Helmers 2016; Laureys 2020.

Revenge as a Form of Agency in the Battle against Fortune

Within the group of *dramas de honor* that were translated into Dutch, the most exemplary play is the adaptation of *El tejedor de Segovia* (1619, 'The Weaver of Segovia') by Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza. Scholars agree that the second part was written by Alarcón, but it is contested whether Alarcón is also the author of the first part.[46] Nevertheless, Dirck Pietersz Heynck condensed these two plays into one as *Don Louis de Vargas, of Edelmoedige wraek* (1668, 'Don Louis de Vargas, or Magnanimous Revenge'), which meant that he had to connect both parts in a natural way; the dialogue of the third act of the first part and the first act of the second part are consequently largely different in Heynck's adaptation than in the original.[47] And yet, Sullivan took the view that Heynck's translation conveyed the Spanish text 'with uncanny accuracy.'[48] My analysis shows, however, that Heynck adapted the play to the Dutch context to better cater to the tastes of his audiences.

In *Don Louis de Vargas*, the conflict is fuelled by passion and reason, while the protagonist's tainted *honra* (his good name and titles) is the motor behind the conflict.[49] Louis de Vargas held an honourable position at court, until another nobleman began plotting against Louis' father and had him executed. Louis self-exiled to prevent his own execution. With the play's reflexive subtitle, Heynck dramatised how the irrational passion of vengeance can still be honourable or can at least reinstate one's honour.

The legitimacy of vengeance as a form of justice, and the legitimacy of resistance to violence, were in the early modern period still heavily influenced by the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274); his thoughts appear often in the Spanish originals. He believed that God manifests his plan through natural law and gives man an ethical code. Aquinas considered every man to also be a rational being with free will to choose paths of good or evil. The principles articulated in his ethics were thought to guide man to his proper end in life, his ultimate destiny. This implies that civil and human laws are subsidiary to natural, eternal law. As such, there are situations in which

46 Von der Walde Moheno 2010, n. 9 (1086–1087). Following the eighteenth-century prints of *El tejedor de Segovia*, I refer to the play in its first and second parts, rather than as two distinct plays (see Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza c. 1728–1770 and 1736).

47 This adaptation process has been reconstructed in 2017 by Sanne Hermans in a paper, written in the context of a master course on *comedia nueva* in the Low Countries. Cf. Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza c. 1728–1770, fols. D2^{r}–D4^{v}; Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza 1736, A1^{r}–A4^{v}; Heynck 1668, 59–66.

48 Sullivan 1983, 55.

49 See also the analysis of this play by Bood 2020b, 157–159.

human laws might illegalise a certain course of action, such as vengeance, while *Providentia Dei* (Divine Providence) allows for people to choose their responses.[50]

In Spanish drama, natural law manifests as poetic justice. Fiore has made this clear for Lope's *Fuenteovejuna* (c. 1612–1614; first published in 1619), in which the populace of the town of Fuente Obejuna kill the tyrannical Comendador after he has disrupted the natural order on every level. Fiore writes that 'natural law permits the use of force, even the killing of an unjust aggressor (in this case the Comendador) to defend such goods' as limbs and faculties, liberty, chastity, and material goods of great value.[51] In *El tejedor de Segovia*, at the end of the first part, the protagonist Fernando Ramirez (known in the Dutch adaptation as Louis de Vargas) asks God if he is allowed to exact his revenge in the second *comedia*: 'Thus, it cannot be in this one, God must give me revenge in the second *comedia*.'[52] In Spain's drama, there is a prominent focus on poetic justice as an expression of Divine Providence: nothing is left to chance. Thus, transgressive characters are justly punished, as Fernando Ramirez makes explicit in his final words in the *primera parte* of *El tejedor de Segovia*.[53]

The popularity of Thomism was not maintained in Protestant countries in Northern Europe in the same way as it was in Catholic Spain. This is not to say that natural law was not discussed in Dutch humanist discourse. Grotius wrote in his *De iure belli ac pacis* (1625, 'On the Law of War and Peace') that according to natural law people had the right to resist violence.[54] In Dutch plays, however, it is not natural law that is significant but rather the three divine forces of Fortune, Fate, and the superior force of *Providentia Dei*, which exact their influence over individuals. Average spectators were, however, most likely unfamiliar with the neostoic philosophy behind these concepts, but probably understood the relationship these concepts share with Christian doctrines of free will and predestination.[55] The *dramatis personae* in Dutch plays from the early seventeenth century trust that God will help the righteous and punish wrongdoers, which implies that the individual maintains a rather passive or accepting position towards his misfortune.

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50 Fiore 1975, 8–15.

51 Fiore 1975, 19.

52 Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza c. 1728–1770, fol. D4^{v}: 'Pues no puede ser en esta, / Dios me ha de dar la venganza / en la segunda Comedia.'

53 Fiore 1975, 7–10.

54 Grotius 1625 [1939], I.3.i–I.3.ii.

55 The neostoic interpretation of Fortune, Fate, and *Providentia Dei* in *comedias* and its relationship to Christian doctrines of free will and predestination as understood by a mixed audience of Catholics and Protestants is the subject of a future publication. For more on religious thought in Netherlandish theatre, see e.g., Konst 2003, 11–15; Steenbergh 2014.

Similarities between Spanish and Dutch drama exist, but characters in Dutch plays do not consider the course of justice to be the working of natural law; rather they ascribe this function to a neostoic Fate, which had already predetermined the course of events. Fate had tightly forged together separate incidents into an inevitable chain. These events were also subject to Fortune, who as a classical goddess was the personification of Chance: her actions are completely unreliable and one cannot predict her actions. For early seventeenth-century Dutch dramatists, the sole form of defence against these forces was *constantia*, which Justus Lipsius described in *De constantia in publicis malis* (1584) as the ability to resign oneself to one's fate regardless of the circumstances. In other words, one should contain their emotions so as not to be affected by life's catastrophes. Konst has elaborately described that early seventeenth-century Dutch drama propagates that man obtains a certain psychic autonomy to be able to stand tall in a world in which nothing is certain.[56]

Fortune and fate had appeared more often in Dutch drama, especially in Coster, Hooft, and Vondel's plays from the early seventeenth century. Although the influence of fortune and fate were preferred over natural law, divine providence was the ultimate force that judged and governed all things.[57] Why, then, did Dutch playwrights prefer fortune over Thomistic natural law? Konst argued that Fortune developed from the Goddess of Chance into the tool of *Providentia Dei*, which is responsible for negative turns of fate; she is by substitution responsible for the fall of empires, the sudden deaths of loved ones, and the loss of freedom, riches, and reputation. Dutch literature is not unique in this regard, but in combination with the neostoic moral of many Dutch tragedies, Fortune is a recurrent and popular force.[58] Therefore, Fortune was a force with which Dutch theatre visitors were familiar and they understood it as God's way to interact with His creation. This long-standing practice of highlighting the role of this classical force of nature was a solution that could count on the spectators' approval.

Traces of this philosophy can also be recognised in Heynck's *Don Louis de Vargas*. And yet, it is at the same time restructured. Although the characters ascribe their misfortune to Fortune and Fate, they do not resign themselves to those fates nor trust in Divine Providence as was advised by humanist scholars Lipsius and Grotius, and moralists like Cats and Van Beverwijck. The characters in these plays rather use their agency to improve their conditions by acting on their desire for vengeance, which they

56 Konst 2003, 27–119.
57 Konst 2003, 11–13.
58 Konst 2003, 68–72.

justify with a variety of arguments. In that sense their agency is related to free will, which offers the choice to act on the desire for revenge or accept fate. From a Dutch perspective, the choice is not between good and evil *per se*, but rather between giving in to one's passions or accepting fate on rational grounds. However, the choice to act on the desire for vengeance does not have the negative consequences usually found in Dutch discourse. The result is a peculiar mixture between different perspectives on the usefulness of vengeance and how to react to misfortune. As such, the play can offer spectators consolation and show them that there are alternative forms of emotional management available that do not require self-restraint and to remain unmoved by passions.

While Sullivan argued that Heynck followed the original closely in his translation with the exception of changing some names,[59] Heynck himself said that he made several changes including 'leaving out what seemed unnatural to me, keeping and adding what seemed to be more in agreement with our temper.' He did this 'to entertain the eyes of spectators through the actions of *dramatis personae*, and through their changes in passions.'[60] What catches the eye is that Heynck explicitly states that he also changed parts of the original that were not in accordance with the Dutch temper: he changed the emotional features of the Spanish story. Alarcón is known for his superb plot construction, psychological subtlety, and ethical teachings.[61] As such, Pedro Alonso (Fernando Ramirez' alias in the second part of *El tejedor de Segovia*) 'has more the makings of a gentlemanly highwayman, a folk hero, than a desperate bandit,' although *El tejedor de Segovia* is, in essence, a bandit play. The original play had shown a moderation foreign to the genre: Pedro often threatens to take revenge for all the wrongs done to him, but never goes on a killing spree, and only makes a gesture towards robbery.[62] So, then, what remained and what changed in Heynck's adaptation to cater to Dutch spectators' tastes?

In *Don Louis de Vargas*, Heynck indeed kept most of the original plot. In line with the Spanish honour code, Louis wants his sister Lizandra to take poison so that she will not be married off to the son of a rival family, Don Julian:

59 Sullivan 1983, 55.

60 Heynck 1668, fols. *2r–*2v: '[…] daer uit latende wat, mijns bedunkens, onnatuerlijk scheen, behoudende en bydoende wat my gevoegelijker daght met onze driften over een te komen […] om d'oogen der aenschouwers door de werking der Bedrijvers, en hunne veranderingen in hartstoghten, te verlustigen.'

61 McKendrick 1989, 133–134.

62 McKendrick 1989, 134.

LOUIS. And so that this will not be, I have intended for
You to die, before he has enjoyed your company because of his lust.
I would rather sacrifice your bosom with this steel,
Than that his lechery soils your pure womb.
Thus, you will have to quickly choose this pointed weapon or this poison:
I would rather mourn your death once, than continuously your honour.[63]

This is a drastic measure and a fierce display of sexual aggression and jealousy, but it is the only way Louis believes that he can save his sister's *honor* and retain some of his agency as a disgraced nobleman.[64] In fact, it is a way to save himself as head of the family from dishonour, and specifically sexual dishonour. Lizandra obeys her brother and takes the poison, but also says that she will take an antidote, securing some agency for herself despite her sad fate. The printed text is unclear about whether Louis knows this last fact, although dramaturgically this cannot be the case.[65] Louis thinks that Lizandra is dead until they meet again at the end of the fourth act. She has not been able to protect her *honor* and has given in to Don Julian's marriage proposal. Yet, Louis rejoices at the fact that Lizandra has survived the poison, because as soon as he had made her take it, he regretted his decision. To save her *honor*, Louis decides to propose an arranged marriage between Lizandra and Garzeran, Louis' best friend and companion, instead, to which both agree in the final scene.[66]

Another change Heynck made in his adaptation is the role that Louis explicitly ascribes to fate when he describes his father's death as originating 'from fate's punishment.' In the original, the protagonist Fernando does not make the explicit link to fate but rather to the 'excessive and scrupulous severity' of fortune in one reading of

63 Heynck 1668, 35: 'LOUIS. En op dat zulx niet zy, zo heb ik vast besloten / Uw doodt, eer hy u, door zijn geilheit, heeft genoten, / 'k Heb liever aen dit stael nu t'offren uwe borst, / Als dat zijn wulpsheit hier uw zuivre schoot bemorst. / Dies zult gy strak dees pook of dit fenijn uit keuren: / 'k Wil liever eens uw doodt, als staeg uw eêr betreuren.'

64 Bood 2020a, 139–140.

65 Heynck 1668, 35–36. It is unclear whether Lizandra's statement, ''k Heb tegengift, ik zal de doodt zelf overwinnen' should be regarded as an aside. On the one hand, Heynck always indicates stage whispers by a double comma („) at the start of the verse. This is not the case here. On the other hand, this statement only works dramatically if it is regarded as an aside, because otherwise it is strange that Louis, Guarin, and Garzeran think she has died. In the original, there is no indication that Ana Ramirez is saying this as an aside; see Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza c. 1728–1770, fol. C3r.

66 Heynck 1668, 68–69, 90–91.

the word 'rigor.' Read another way, 'rigor' may instead refer to man's ultimate destiny as described in Thomistic natural law: 'the ultimate ending that things can reach [*rigor*] has been fatal.'[67] Likewise, the references to fortune in the Dutch adaptation are numerous. Louis questions, for example, 'How wickedly does changing Fortune treat me?'[68] His sister Lizaura, in turn, explains that she has been 'pendulated by Fortune as you see; her house, formerly raised high, fell so swiftly down.'[69] Don Louis and his sister Lizaura explicitly blame the unavoidable order of things, but their subsequent actions show that they do not accept fate easily and retain their agency. Vengeance is Louis' objective; in achieving it he will restore his and his sister's rightful positions in life.

The implications of Heynck's different approach to fortune, fate, and divine providence, as propagated in *Don Louis de Vargas*, become much clearer when the play is compared to Hooft's 1613 *Geeraerdt van Velsen*. Heynck had different ideas about honour, vengeance, and emotions than did Hooft, but at the same time adapted Alarcón's original in certain respects to the Dutch context. As has been well recorded in Dutch scholarship, Dutch-language plays dealt with themes that were at the time politically and religiously important.[70] The dilemmas faced are, however, less applicable to the day-to-day lives of the individual spectator. In this respect *comedia nueva* differs greatly from Dutch theatre. Spanish plays were not political in the same way that Dutch 'home-grown' plays were. Still, it must be said that the playwrights of the Spanish *Siglo de Oro* also touched upon political and social issues—such as Lope's *Fuenteovejuna* or Calderón's *El alcalde de Zalamea* (1651)—but those were always framed within a romantic plot.[71] Moreover, Spanish plays that are typically known to engage in contemporary political or social matters were often not adapted for Dutch-language stages. In this sense, it is striking that today *Fuenteovejuna* may be regarded

67 Heynck 1668, 26: 'dees wreetheit is niet door / Verradery geteelt, o neen! zy komt voor / Uyt nootlots straf, door vals en nijd'ge hoofse slangen.' Cf. Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza 1728, fol. B2r: 'no ha podido ser traycion / fiereza, y cuidado igual, rigor ha sido fatal / y de la embidia estos fines, que en los Regios camarines / corre peligro el crystal.' The three first definitions of 'rigor' in the *Diccionario de la lengua española* describe 'rigor' as 'excesiva y escrupulos severidad,' 'aspereza, dureza o acrimonia en el genio o en el trato,' and 'último término a que pueden llegar las cosas.' The Thomistic reading of 'rigor' is based on the third definition.

68 Heynck 1668, 74: 'Hoe snoodt bejegent my 't veranderlijk geval.'

69 Heynck 1668, 72: '(...) door't geval / Geslingert als gy ziet, diens huys, eêr hoog gerezen, zo schielijk nederviel.'

70 Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 217–218, 222–225.

71 McKendrick 1984, 332.

as one of Lope de Vega's best plays, but was never translated into Dutch during the early modern period.

Revenge as a Sign of an Unbridled Mind?

How, then, did Hooft perceive honour, and more importantly, what was his perspective on vengeance? In 1968, Fokke Veenstra made an exceptional analysis of how honour is represented in Hooft's *Geeraerdt van Velsen*. In the following, I use his analysis to confront how the honour-vengeance theme returns in Dutch adaptations of *dramas de honor*. As I discussed in the previous chapter, Lope and Calderón had successfully limited Fortune as an all-governing force in their oeuvre, which meant that their *dramatis personae* were more clearly confronted with a dilemma which would affect their social standing and their romantic life. In Hooft's play, the *dramatis personae* are also tortured, though not because they must make a difficult choice. There Fortune is a powerful force to be reckoned with in the same way that it had been in Sophocles' *Oedipus rex*.

While revenge is regarded to be magnanimous in Heynck's *Don Louis de Vargas*, fifty-five years earlier Hooft had condemned revenge in his *Geeraerdt van Velsen*, as vengeance was the result of unbridled passions. Additionally, *Geeraerdt van Velsen* as a representation of domestic politics had to show that vengeance had no fruitful purpose. In his play, Hooft dramatised an episode in the history of the County of Holland for the first time. It questioned whether a populace may dethrone their monarch, touching upon the sensitive issue of the Dutch Revolt's legitimacy. This meant that, according to Henk Duits, any audience would have been invested in the plot when it premiered in 1613.[72] And while Hooft's *Geeraerdt van Velsen* revolves around the greater question of whether citizens can depose their monarch, it also had an individual crisis. Geeraerdt wants revenge because Count Floris v—his liege lord—defiled his wife, an act against Geeraerdt's sexual honour. In this way, the play's theme is actually comparable to those of Spanish *dramas de honor*.

Nevertheless, it has been argued that *Geeraerdt van Velsen* was a dramatisation of *De antiquitate reipublicae Batavicae* by Grotius, in which he had argued that sovereignty had always rested with the distinct states rather than with a Machiavellian prince. Hooft had identified with this point of view through Count Floris v's declaration that he should be judged by the states.[73] That this was an anachronism was of no

72 Duits 2005, 219–224.

73 Hooft 1613, fol. C3r: 'G. Floris. Soo stelt my dan te recht voor 'tlichaem van de Staeten. / 'T gheen my mijn kransse gaf, dat oordeel van mijn krans.'

concern.[74] Geeraerdt van Velsen and his father-in-law Harman van Woerden want instead to judge the count themselves; not so much because they think they have the right to, but because they want to be sure that Floris is punished and that their desire for revenge is satisfied.

The protagonists' anger towards their liege-lord had originated in the moment that Floris convicted Van Velsen's brother for treason. Floris had, furthermore, confiscated his estate; unjustly in Geeraerdt's opinion. However, the direct reason for rebellion emerged, as noted above, when the count raped Machteld van Woerden, Geeraerdt's wife and Harman's daughter, a most serious offense against one's sense of freedom and integrity in the seventeenth century. In other words, it was the worst defamation possible in the early modern mind. As such, both men are vengeful and their actions are those of radicals.[75] Geeraerdt's remark that 'the humblest among the people is an executioner of the tyrant' is a sign that Geeraerdt lacks temperance and is consumed by his emotions, wanting revenge and being too concerned about his honour.[76] (It is, however, vindicating in light of the Dutch Revolt's success.) The only one still led by reason is Gysbreght van Aemstel, although he is too naïve to see the malicious objectives of his co-conspirators.

While looking through the lens of honour, Veenstra made clear that in the seventeenth century it was understood that nobles were inherently so because of the secret properties of the seed from which they sprouted. Because of this physic-psychic ('fysisch-psychisch') phenomenon, Reason stimulates the nobleman to follow the acknowledged virtue of his ancestors. His honour motivates him to stay away from vicious deeds and to keep up his parents' good name. According to Veenstra, Count Floris V had neglected the honour of his father, William II, by (unjustly) sentencing Geeraerdt's brother to death and by raping Machteld van Woerden.[77] Floris' honour reflects upon the whole of Holland's nobility, and by his actions, he lost it all. Despite Floris' malefactions, Sierhuis says that '[t]he play gains in complexity once we realise that Van Velsen does not simply "fall prey" to intemperance, but that he actually chooses to give in to it.'[78]

Because Machtelt's honour has been tarnished, Geeraerdt feels obliged to restore her—but especially his—good name. To speak in Reddy's terms, Geeraerdt's goal

74 Duits 2005, 222; see also Grotius [1610] 2000, *passim*.
75 Duits 2005, 210, 212–215, 218.
76 Hooft 1613, fol. C3r: 'De minste van het volck is Halsheer des tyrans.'
77 Veenstra 1968, 25–30.
78 Sierhuis 2010, 124.

conflict between the reasonable choice for legal judgement and the lust for revenge is decided in favour of the latter quite easily. Duits argues that Geeraerdt seems to express the political philosophy of the Scottish (and Calvinist) humanist George Buchanan as laid out in his *De iure regni apud Scotos* (1579), which described a rather radical politics that legitimised tyrannicide.[79] In Hooft's play, there follows, however, an immediate moral and neostoic denouncement in the spirit of Lipsius. This means that Geeraerdt is left on his own, unsupported by his wife, for whom he claimed to have undertaken the abduction of his liege-lord in the first place.[80] In *Geeraerdt van Velsen*, the irony is that Floris lost his honour through his criminal behaviour (something which should be wholly foreign to nobility), but Geeraerdt demonstrates similar ignominious behaviour in response. In sum, both men are discredited for it.

It is instantly clear that Geeraerdt undervalues virtue and reason, and that he displays behaviour unbefitting a Dutchman, and especially a Dutch nobleman. Despite that, Geeraerdt himself thinks he and his family magnanimous:

> But if you regarded me to be so weak of courage,
> Traitor, did you not think that someone of my blood,
> Prominent in higher honour, and knightly descendance,
> Who are common to behave chaste in darkness and in light,
> That someone of my stature and noble kinship,
> Held in high regard by the Country (…)
> Would bare his dagger
> To push it in your heart by also pushing it in his own breast
> In order to redeem this most-worthy Fatherland,
> And the vengeance of God, and the honour-forgotten disgrace.[81]

As Veenstra has argued, *magnanimitas*—or 'edelmoedigheid' in Dutch—included in the first place the sublimity of the noble house, which also meant that its members were considerate of their honour, and secondly their steadfastness (or Lipsius' *constantia*)

79 Duits 1985, 412.

80 Duits 1985, 412–413.

81 Hooft 1613, fol. C2^{v}. 'Maer oft ghy my al aensaecht voor soo slap van moedt, / Verrader, dacht ghy niet dat yemandt van mijn bloedt, / In hoogher eer verweent, en ridderlycke maeghen, / Die haer in duystre' en licht ghewoon zijn preutsch te draeghen (…) Dat yemandt van myn grootte' en edle swaghery / Den Lande deur ontsien (…) Zijn dagge soud' ontblooten / Om, door zyn eyghen borst oock, dy in't hart te stooten; / Tot lossing van dit allerwaertste Vaderlandt, / En wraecke vande God, en Eervergheten schandt.'

in tasks and duties performed. Influences from outside could never interfere in the tasks of the magnanimous nobleman (neither in light nor darkness, as Geeraerdt says).[82] According to himself, Geeraerdt aspires to this ideal, while Floris does not. From his next actions, we learn that Geeraerdt is neither magnanimous nor steadfast. His honour is primarily dependent on the judgement of his countrymen, his outward honour. And thus, Geeraerdt's passions are subject to public opinion.[83] This eventually leads to his tragic downfall. Hooft's definition of *magnanimitas* shows that Geeraerdt has lost sight of everything that was required of him as a nobleman.

While Harman and Geeraerdt act on their inner feelings, Gysbreght offers a judicial counter voice by always legitimising his actions according to the arguments laid out by Grotius in his *De antiquitate* and by Lipsius' *Politica* (1589).[84] Gysbreght says, for example, that tyranny should be endured when the states decide to side with the prince:

> Does the largest part of the people want to be ruled by tyrants,
> It is their judgement: thus if they endure it, then everyone
> Should endure with them, or should leave elsewhere.[85]

Obviously, Geeraerdt and Harman disagree with Gysbreght's 'reasonable' words. The clearest example of Geeraerdt's unreasonableness is demonstrated in the second dialogue with his wife, later that same evening. Gysbreght had pushed for clemency for Floris, and Machtelt (the true wronged party) does the same. Geeraerdt is irritated by Gysbreght's meticulousness and scrupulousness, but Machtelt tries, in turn, to convince Geeraerdt of his irrational behaviour:

> If a woman is allowed to express her feelings,
> Then I ask, let the fire of our sorrow cool down,
> So much, that our pain, and the exceptional hate,
> Not come before love for the commonwealth.[86]

82 Veenstra 1968, 45–49.

83 Veenstra 1968, 42–43.

84 Duits 2005, 213, 223.

85 Hooft 1613, fol. D4^{r}: 'Wil 't beste deel des volcx verheert zijn van Tyrannen / Het oordeel staat an haar: des dulden zy, elck een / Die dulde dan met haar, oft geev' hem elders heen.'

86 Hooft 1613, fol. D4^{v}: 'Indien een vrouw betaemt te seghen haar ghevoelen, / Soo bid ick laet den brandt van onse smart bekoelen, / Soo veel, dat onse leedt, en de besondren haet, / Niet boven liefde van't ghemeene best en gaet.'

Machtelt literally asks permission to speak her mind, or better yet, her feelings, through an *emotive* to call for *patientia*. It is clear that she goes cautiously forward to not further aggravate her husband. Her *honor* is not as important as the interests of the state, she argues. Although she says that they should *both* have composure, here Machtelt actually uses rhetoric: she speaks about herself and her husband as a unified front by using the inclusive 'we,' a way to ensure that her husband is made to feel responsible.[87] Her aim is to make clear that *he* should regain his reasonable strength, because *she* is, in fact, more reasonable than he is at the moment. From their discussion, the audience learns that revenge would be harmful in this situation, because Geeraerdt makes impulsive decisions.[88] The fact that Geeraerdt has sent his shield-bearer to 'Timon toveraar' ('The necromancer Timon') proves Machtelt right. Machtelt justifiably questions this decision: 'A most evil counsellor, my dear, you do consult!' Those decisions are devilish in nature, and by that Geeraerdt's fate has been sealed.[89]

Magnanimous Revenge as Poetic Justice

While Hooft saw revenge and *magnanimitas* as two opposite and irreconcilable forces, Heynck brought both together in the protagonist of his play *Don Louis de Vargas*: Don Louis has a magnanimous character, uses vengeance to restore his reputation, and even regards his revenge on his enemies to be a magnanimous act, which is nowhere disputed by the other characters or in the paratexts of the play. A closer look at the specific definition of *magnanimitas* in Heynck's play shows that it is completely different from Hooft's more generally accepted definition. This difference in definition can be explained in part by the Spanish origins of Heynck's *Don Louis de Vargas*, for Hooft was likely bound by the local, 'real' history staged in *Geeraardt van Velsen*, which may have required a more realistic, native system of values. The fiction of the Spaniards (as did the fiction of the English) perhaps allowed for greater excesses. These excesses could then at the same time offer an alternative perspective on vengeance.

In the play, De Vargas family name should be protected from any dishonour, and likewise Louis' sexual honour as *pater familias*. And yet, Heynck not only subtitled his

87 Although the trope is not explicitly discussed as such by the foremost handbook on rhetoric, i.e. Quintilianus, we may deduce from the use of the trope that it is a variation on the apostrophe; see Quintilianus 2001, IX.2.38–39.

88 Duits 2005, 213.

89 Hooft 1613, fol. D4^{v}: 'Wat quaeder raetsman, lief, daer ghy mee gaet te raede!'

play 'magnanimous revenge,' he also let several characters explicitly describe Louis' actions as such while questioning the *magnanimitas* of the rival Pelaës family.[90] This is demonstrated by Lizandra de Vargas, who fears Julian de Pelaës is irrational. She says that this is often the reason people cannot be magnanimous:

IULIAN. Give me your fair hand.
LIZANDRA. And with that I give
My soul also to you, lord. Thus, I ask do show
Now your magnanimity for my peace of mind.
IULIAN. Now that you govern my heart, how do you doubt this, my fair one?
LIZANDRA. Even though that which seems impossible, is often made possible.
It can go wrong if one leaves the path of reason.[91]

In line with the definition of *magnanimitas* in Hooft's *Geeraerdt van Velsen*, Lizandra indeed says that magnanimous behaviour can be corrupted by unbridled emotional response. As such, Lizandra verbalises an idea present in many Dutch plays: people should have rational composure and should not allow their passions to go unbridled.[92]

The Spanish dialogue of the first part is similar, but there is an important difference. Ana Ramirez (Lizandra de Vargas' name in the Spanish original) focuses on how nobility can become vile (*vil*) and villainous (*villana*), and does not mention magnanimity:

ANA. I give you the spousal hand.
Proceed as a noble.
CONDE. When I obtain
Such a divine beauty.
Do you doubt my nobility?

90 See e.g. Heynck 1668, 65.

91 Heynck 1668, 43: 'IULIAN. Geef my uw schone handt. / LIZANDRA. En met die geef ik u / Mijn ziel ook over Heer, dies bid ik doch, wilt nu / Uw edelmoedigheit tot mijn gerustheit tonen. / IULIAN. Nu gy mijn hart beheert, wat twijffelt gy, mijn Schone? / LIZANDRA. Schoon dat onmooglijk schijnt vaek mooglijk wert gemaekt, / 't Kan missen als men van het spoor der reden raekt.'

92 Konst 1993, 8–18.

ANA. Nobility,
When it evens out the impossible things,
Maybe tends to be vile, and villainous.[93]

The words closest to *magnanimitas* in this scene are *noble* and *nobleza*. The two concepts are articulated throughout the two plays in terms of blood, most exemplary as *noble sangre*, which the Pedro Alonso articulates in relation to Teodora (his sister Ana's alias) in the second play and not to himself. Alternatively, he is said to be of *ilustre sangre* by his sister.[94] I believe that the references to *noble* and *nobleza* in the Spanish should be understood in relation to the *limpieza de sangre* discussion, which in effect means that your noble blood also determines whether you are a good marriage candidate.[95]

Thus when Ana Ramirez agrees to marry Don Juan, she asks him to proceed as befits a nobleman of good breeding. This demonstrates at the same time that Ana believes that there is also an aspect of behaviour to *noble* and *nobleza*, and not solely one's blood. In this, the definition of the Dutch *edelmoedigheid* and of the Spanish *nobleza* are actually again similar. Yet, in the Dutch definition of *magnanimitas*, there exists a strong relationship between magnanimity and reason, as Lizandra shows. Therefore, it is interesting that in 1668 Heynck does not entirely articulate the desire for revenge vis-à-vis magnanimity as Hooft had done in 1613. While in the neostoic tradition the desire for vengeance was regarded as a sign of a perturbated mind, the different perspective on the magnanimity of revenge in Heynck's play is acknowledged when King Alfonso says in one of the last scenes that Louis committed righteous revenge by following natural law, receiving also the legal immunity for his actions. Through this altered perspective on magnanimity, Louis' revenge can become poetic justice:

KING. Your deeds
O brave Don Louis! deserve our clemency;
Your militant war gang has indebted me; I confess
That I owe the victory to your devoutness.
So that, although you had committed a crime,

93 Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza c. 1728–1770, fol. D1r: 'ANA. De esposa os doy la mano, / proceded como noble. / CONDE. Quando gano / tan divina belleza. / Dudais en mi Nobleza? / ANA. La Nobleza, / Si imposibles allana, / Tal vez suele ser vil, y ser villana.'

94 Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza [1619] 1990, vv. II, 523 and III, 979.

95 See also Von der Walde Moheno 2010.

I am obliged to forgive this for your service.
Now I know that you only sought righteous revenge,
And thus my favours are devoted to your bravery.
May your soldiers appear then all before me,
I want to know them and reward their loyal service.[96]

What strikes the reader's eye is that Don Louis exacts his revenge and that the king forgives Louis for seeking that revenge, although Louis' actions are, strictly speaking, illicit according to the laws of the land. Moreover, the king even rewards Louis and calls him in the final lines of the play an Atlas of his Kingdom.[97] In *Don Louis de Vargas*, this is a demonstration of poetic justice articulated through natural law.

Such interferences by a king also occur in other *dramas de honor*, but the voice of the King seems rather bleak compared to Louis' strong declaration of his own agency. While Fortune's power is demonstrated throughout *Don Louis de Vargas*, its failure to further thwart Louis is especially visible in the very last lines spoken by our hero. There, Louis concludes the play by saying that his magnanimous revenge rightfully demonstrates that no crime will ever go unpunished. It also appears as a Latin motto on the play's titlepage, where it reads that 'rarely does Retribution fail to catch up with the criminal despite her limping gait'—a quote from Horace's *Odes* 3.2.[98] This motto is Heynck's own addition to the closing scene of his adaptation and reflects a common saying in Dutch culture at that time: 'mischief rewards its master'.[99] Heynck's *Don Louis de Vargas* focuses on poetic justice, which becomes more important in the Dutch drama theory of this period. The theorist Pels argued that spectators learned the most

96 Heynck 1668, 88–89: 'Koning. Uw daden / O dapp'ren Don Louis! verdienen ons genaden; / Uw strijtbren oorlogstroep heeft my verplicht; 'k beken / Ik d'overwinning aen uw vroomheit schuldig ben. / Zo dat, of gy al schoon een misdaet hadt bedreven, / Ik ben gehouden, om uw dienst; zulks te vergeven. / Nu weet ik, hebt gy maer rechtvaerd'ge wraek gezocht, / Dies zijn mijn gunsten aen uw moedigheit verknocht. / Dat uw soldaten zich vry alle voor my tonen, / Ik wil haer kennen, en hun trouwe dienst belonen.'

97 Heynck 1668, 91.

98 Horace 2004, 3.2, vv. 31–32. The translation was taken from the edition in the Loeb Classical Library. The original on the title page of Heynck's *Don Louis de Vargas* reads: 'Raro antecedentem scelestum / Deseruit pede poena claudo.'

99 The Dutch saying is recorded by Spieghel in his *Byspraax Almanak* (Spieghel c. 1600–1625, fol. B1r): 'Tschalxken loont zijn meester'. Similarly, Rodenburgh selected a variant of this saying as the title of his *'t Quaedt syn meester loondt*. The English saying 'he who mischief hatches, mischief catches' means more or less the same. A more common version of the Dutch saying is known among others from a fairy tale told in Jan Vos' *De klucht van Oene* (1642): 'boontje komt om zijn loontje' ('little bean receives his little reward'). For this, see Stoett 1923.

from drama when the virtuous characters are rewarded and the villains punished.[100] In the context of *Don Louis de Vargas*, vengeance is emphasised as a righteous act, which had also been the moral of *El tejedor de Segovia*. This was not expressed, however, in the same conclusive and instructive way as Heynck did in his adaptation.[101]

As such, Louis emphasises that he took measures into his own hands. And unlike Fernando in Alarcón's original, Louis gives no indication that Divine Providence intervened or that the law of a king punished his enemies. God's active hand seems, in fact, to be mostly absent in *Don Louis de Vargas*, or at least His influence goes unacknowledged by the protagonist and his supporters.[102] Louis rather reflects on events in terms of Fortune, who strikes at people. His ability to act despite his misfortune and despite a failing legal system gives him the justice he was looking for. The reference to Horace's *Odes* 3.2 still implies that Fate will always punish the guilty, but this is not because Louis patiently waited for Fate to intervene; this is rather because Louis followed natural law. Vengeance can provide (poetic) justice to the magnanimous person. And the other way around, it also means that only the magnanimous person can commit an act of private revenge to obtain (poetic) justice.[103]

In this regard, Heynck's adaptation is influenced by neostoic thought; the play searches to resolve the frustration with Divine Providence's inaction on behalf of victims. *Don Louis de Vargas* offers an answer to this strict philosophy current in the Low Countries without accepting Aquinas' alternative:[104]

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100 Konst 1996, 144. While the outcome of *Providentia Dei* and poetic justice are similar, their working is different: poetic justice is a way of structuring drama, whereas *Providentia Dei* as an ordering principle of human life has more extensive implications for the protagonists.

101 Von der Walde Moheno 2010, esp. 1090–1092.

102 A good example is given by Garzeran, who doubts whether God or the King will intervene; see Heynck 1668, 58: 'Kan dit een Koning dan gedogen, / Dat een verrader hier zo god'loos voor zijn ogen / De vroomheit zelf belaegt en hoont? / En werdt den hemel dan noch niet bewogen, / Om dees te straffen, daer / Hun boosheit, als den dag zo klaer, / Ten toon staet, die verwoet geen mensch op aerd' verschoont.'

103 There are also examples where not the protagonists, but the antagonists use vengeance to receive poetic justice, such as the Duke of Mantua in Wouthers' *De verliefde stiefmoeder*, and Duke Norandino of Milan and his father-in-law Duke Fabricio of Mantua in Rodenburgh's *'t Quaedt syn meester loondt*. The obvious opposition is that within the play's logic this might be poetic justice, but as I pointed out in Chapter 4 for Wouthers' *De verliefde stiefmoeder*, it is hard to have compassion for the antagonists, because the spectators were likely already moved by Duchess Cassandra and her stepson Frederico. This opposition between vengeance as a tool in the hands of the protagonists versus vengeance as a tool in the hands of the antagonists will be the subject of a future publication.

104 For the stoic interpretation of Horace's *Odes* 3.2 see, e.g., Moles 2007, 172–173.

LOUIS. My magnanimous revenge gives here justified evidence,
That rarely will a piece of villainy continue to roam around,
Or limping punishment be able to catch up in the end.[105]

Although Fortune killed Louis' father and Fate already prescribed that he could avenge his father's death, Louis maintains his own agency, which helps him succeed in his search for recompense. Only in the end did Divine Providence see to it that Louis was rewarded. While this might be similar to the Spanish original, the focus has shifted. Meanwhile, the king seems to be nothing more than a tool of Divine Providence. In the play, the king merely ratifies what Fate already decided. Although the king indeed shows Louis mercy, this is not what Louis needs nor desires.[106] Louis' *honra*—his position at court—had been tainted, but this did not mean that he had lost his *honor*—his virtue or his *nobleza*.

Meanwhile, spectators realise that although vengeance could never be realistically approved by the authorities, Louis did receive justice and was right to look for it according to natural law. As such, Louis becomes a magnanimous *exemplum*; within the world of the theatre Louis' actions are a demonstration not of how spectators acted in real life, but of how they would like to act. While staging this *comedia*, the theatre becomes an *emotional refuge* to the spectators who are otherwise expected to reign in their emotions and accept their fates.

Vengeance and the Rule of Law

The tension between the king on the one hand and Fortune on the other is also present in Corneille's *Le Cid* and in its Dutch translation *De verduytste Cid*, where vengeance becomes a way to circumnavigate a legal system which fails to judge the guilty party. In this case, vengeance can offer the recompense that is sought.

That tension becomes clear after Don Rodrigo defeated Chimene's champion. The king resolves the conflict by commanding Chimene to marry Rodrigo despite his murder of her father; he calls it a *commandement* in French:

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105 Heynck 1668, 91: 'LOUIS. Mijn Edelmoed'ge wraek geeft hier geregte blijk, / Dat zelden schellemstuk zo voorgaan zal in 't dwalen, / Of kreuple straf die kan 't in 't eindt noch achterhalen.'

106 Bood 2020a, 140 and 2020b, 159. Bood has a diametrically opposite reading of the role of the king in Heynck's *Don Louis de Vargas*. She sees him as the highest authority in the play who can therefore rightfully grant Louis mercy.

> You see how Heaven ordained differently,
> You, having done so much for him, do something for yourself,
> And do not rebel against my command
> Which gives you a spouse loved so dearly.[107]

In Dutch, this commandment is rendered similarly with the same performative power: it makes clear that the decision of the king agrees with a certain turn of events:[108]

> You see Heaven make a very different decision,
> Having done so much for him, do now your own business,
> Do not resist my royal decree anymore,
> Which gives you a groom who you love so dearly.[109]

It is suggested that both in French and in Dutch, Heaven's will coincides with the king's will. This was completely in line with the idea at that time that the king was divinely appointed by God, which was the basis of seventeenth-century absolutism. In this form, kingship returns more often in Dutch drama, for example, as in Hooft's *Baeto*.[110] Therefore, it is not strange that the king says this. Chimene accepts the king's decision in the French version simply because he is her king: 'You are my king, I must obey you.'[111] In the Dutch translation, we read: 'And you are my King, there is no refusing.'[112]

And here it becomes interesting. Not only was the royal commandment entirely absent in the Spanish original *Las mocedades del Cid* by De Castro y Bellvís, it is nowhere suggested that the king's decision and Heaven's will are equal or converge. In the Spanish, the scene is rendered quite differently. After Rodrigo has explained himself, the king rules in his favour. When Chimene does not seem immediately happy about

107 Corneille 1637, v, vi: 'Tu vois comme le Ciel autrement en dispose, / Ayant tant fait pour luy, fay pour toy quelque chose, / Et ne sois point rebelle à mon commandement / Qui te donne un espoux aimé si cherement.'

108 Weisgerber 2008, 365.

109 Van Heemskerck 1641, fol. F8^{v}: 'Ghy siet den Hemel een heel ander schicking maken, / So veel voor hem gedaen doet nu u eygen saken, / Noch wederstreeft niet meer my Coninckklijck bevel, / Dat u een Bruygom geeft die ghy bemint soo wel.'

110 Weisgerber 2008, 365.

111 Corneille 1637, v, vii: 'Et vous estes mon Roy, ie vous dois obeïr.'

112 Van Heemskerck 1641, fol. G1^{r}.: 'En ghy mijn Coninck sijt, daer is gheen weyghren an.'

this course of events, her suitor Don Sanche and Don Rodrigo's brothers Arias Gonçalo and Peransules ask Chimene to agree to this outcome, and she answers that she will do what the Heavens order.[113] Chimene's answer in the Spanish original is not in response to what the king decided. There seems to be indeed a shift in Corneille's *Le Cid*—and therefore in Van Heemskerck's *De verduytste Cid*—towards the will of the king as society's unequivocal authority.[114]

And yet, I think that there has not yet been sufficient attention to the duel, which should give Chimene recompense and which decides Rodrigo's guilt. In Van Heemskerck's *De verduytste Cid*, I assert that it is Fortune who decides Rodrigo's fate and the king cannot ensure his courtiers abide by the legal system. In fact, I argue that the king is not actually the ultimate judge, and his voice is initially muted so that his courtiers—and especially Chimene—can pursue the justice that they think they deserve. When the king does not want to charge Rodrigo, who is, in his eyes, a hero because he defeated the Moors on the battlefield, Chimene is aggrieved because Rodrigo had also killed her father. Therefore, she asks that she may seek justice by combat. She even says that the trial by combat will be her refuge, and in a way also her *emotional refuge*:

> Will there be done so little with my complaints,
> That it seems to me a service is done by not taking notice!
> Lord King, now that you refuse justice to my tears,
> Allow then that I seek refuge in combat.[115]

The king cannot ignore this request and tries to acquit Rodrigo at first, because he does not want to punish the man who has saved Castille from the Moors. The king is willing to ignore the rule of law because he needs Don Rodrigo to fight more battles against the Moorish invaders. He is an opportunist: his public interests conflict with the personal interests of Chimene. This posed a problem that the king had hoped

113 De Castro y Bellvís 1618, 34: 'Rey. Rodrigo tiene razon, / yo pronuncio la sentencia / en su favor. / Ximena. ¡Ha! de mì impideme la verguenza. / Don Sanche. Ximena, haceldo por mí. / Arias Gonçalo. Esas dudas no os detengan. / Peransules. Muy bien os está, sobrina. / Ximena. Harè lo que el Cielo ordena.'

114 Cf. Weisgerber 2008, 365; Bood 2020b, 157; see also the analysis of *Le Cid* and *De verduytste Cid* by Bood 2020a, 158–164.

115 Van Heemskerck 1641, fol. E8r: 'Wert dan so weynig wercx gemaeckt van myne klachten, / Dat my schynt dienst gedaen met daer niet op te achten! / Heer Koninck, nu ghy aen myn tranen weygert recht, / Laet toe dan dat ick neem mijn toevlucht tot 't ghevecht.'

to solve by sending Rodrigo to the front. He did not count on the fact that Chimene would persist in her plea for justice. She cannot accept that dying in service of one's fatherland is a punishment, more so because Rodrigo was victorious, which only increased his honour and earned him the title of Cid:

> If he dies of his wounds received for the fatherland,
> My revenge is without revenge, my proposal turns against me.
> Such a great end offers me only sorrow;
> Alas! I desire his death, but do not want it to be honourable.
> I do not want that it gives him such great glory.
> I do not want him to ascend the bed of honour, but a scaffold instead;
> That he dies because of my father, and not because of the fatherland,
> So that his name remains tainted by this with his shame.
> To die for the state is not a pitiful death.
> It is to be rewarded eternal glory through a courageous death.[116]

The king is unable to make Chimene accept his initial, opportunistic judgement. In other words, the king fails to serve justice to those who demand it; he does not adequately fulfil the role of a divinely appointed, just ruler.

The king now must fashion himself in the final scenes of the play as having a divinely legal voice in order to regain some form of authority over the (quasi-)legal proceedings. Then, it becomes clear that Rodrigo regains his *honra* not because the king forgives the hero's crimes as has been argued before.[117] Rather, Rodrigo successfully defended himself against Chimene, who in the absence of sufficient legal recourse (as one should expect in a just and rational society) invoked the outdated medieval right to justice: trial by combat ('Camp-recht'). Even the king, not recognising his own legal failure, considers it 'an old custom, instated here long ago as punishment, when proof is lacking of an unproven crime.'[118] Originally, trial by

116 Van Heemskerck 1641, fol. E7^{v}: 'Soo hy van wonden sterft voor 't vaderlant verkregen, / Mijn wraec is sonder wraec, mijn voorstel loopt my tegen / Soo heerelijcken eynd streckt my slechts tot verdriet, / Helaes! Ick wil sijn dood, maer wilse eerlijck niet. / Ick wil niet dat s'hem doe so grooten roem verkrijgen, / Hem niet op 't bed van eer maer een Schavot doe stijgen, / Hy om mijn Vader sterff, en niet om 't Vaderland, / Op dat zijn naem daer door bevleckt blijf met sijn schant. / Te sterven voor den staet is geen ellendigh sterven. / 't Is door een brave dood een eeuwigh lof be-erven.'

117 Weisgerber 2008; Bood 2020b.

118 Van Heemskerck 1641, fol. E8^{r}: 'een oud ghebruyck, hier inghevoert voor desen, / Tot straf, by proefs ghebreck, van misdaed onbewesen.'

combat or by ordeal were indeed used in this way as a form of God's judgement in medieval (primarily Germanic) judicial practice.[119] During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, both civil and ecclesiastical courts were, however, coming to prefer legal proceedings under their own direction: 'the administering classes were growing more self-reliant, more confident of their ability to unravel problems instead of leaving them to God, or chance.'[120]

Although the opportunistic king tries to bend the rule of law in his favour, it is unavoidable that his initial dismissal of Chimene's request conflicts with the legitimacy and divinity that other characters ascribe to the trial by combat. This makes clear why the king has no divinely legal voice and why his will is disunited from that of Heaven in *De verduytste Cid*. The king believes that allowing his subjects to receive justice in this way will weaken the state too much. Legitimising the duel might deprive the state of its best fighters and, by extension, it undermines the state's monopoly on violence, a common concern in the early modern period.[121] In this, the king had Dutch moralists on his side. A similar argument was provided by the minister Godefridus Udemans as early as 1612 in his *Practijcke, dat is, werkelijcke oeffeninge van de christelijcke hooft-deugden* ('Practice, that is, the True Practice of the Christian Cardinal Virtues'):

> [If] these proud fighters take the sword from the Magistrate with the fist, to avenge their own grievances [...] there comes no profit from this for the Republic, but great damage, because they rob the commonwealth of a pious citizen or brave soldier, from whom the Republic could still receive noticeable service; therefore, this *devilish spectacle* ought to be prohibited on pain of corporal punishment.[122]

Furthermore, the legitimacy of trial by combat is questionable in the eyes of the king, because 'the outcome is often the spokesman of abuse, while this cruel custom,

119 Janin 2009, esp. 149–151; Kiernan 1988, 35–37.

120 Kiernan 1988, 36.

121 See also Matthey 2012, 111–135, 388–390.

122 Udemans 1640, 260–261: 'dese trotse vechters nemen den Magistraet het sweert uyt met de vuyst, om haer eyghen leedt te wreken [...] daer en komt geen profijt uyt voor de Republijcke, maer groote schade, want sy berooven het ghemeyne beste van eenen vromen Burgher oft kloecken Soldaet, daer van dat de Republijcke noch merckelijcken dienst soude konnen ontfanghen, daeromme behoorde dat *duvvelsch spectakel*, scherpelijck verboden te worden op lijf-straffe.'

unreliable to depend on, represses the innocent, and supports he who is guilty.'[123] In these words, we hear an echo of jurist Constantijn Huygens, who objected to the duel.[124] In 'Een wys hoveling' ('A Wise Courtier'), Huygens writes that 'he who has honour, can only lose her because of himself.'[125] And even then, if someone was robbed of their honour—which was obviously impossible according to Huygens—they should never demand retribution in a duel because then a bigger evil would be committed to repay another evil. Thus, Huygens rhetorically asks what one seeks 'in the murder of the creation that solely belongs to its Maker?'[126] More so than Huygens, the Utrecht jurist Paulus Voet discussed in his *De duellis licitis et illicitis* (1646, 'On Licit and Illicit Duels') that trial by combat is especially unjustified, since it runs counter to profane, religious and divine law, but is also contrary to natural law in that the weaker party could also win.[127] Here, we see an echo of the king's decision.

This decision is, however, challenged by Rodrigo's father, Don Diego, who demands that Rodrigo has the opportunity to defend himself, otherwise his glory—his *honra*—will be stained: 'spare him this favour [of clemency] and tarnish his glory.'[128] Diego makes clear that custom orders this, as do the people who might think that justice did not run its course: 'What will the people, what will envy say of this?'[129] Moreover, Don Diego believes that his son will willingly take up the gauntlet as would any nobleman at Castile's court. Huygens believed this to be a sign of 'Een sott hoveling,' ('A Foolish Courtier') who would use armed force to restore his honour.[130] Huygens' critique of the duel is, however, not explicitly echoed in *De verduytste Cid*, although the king makes an effort to offer this counter-perspective. Therefore, the king loses control over the law that is his to enforce, and also over his subjects who, led by their emotions and their sense of honour, pursue personal justice to the detriment of the common good. As discussed in Chapter 2, the duel was essentially a demonstration of emotion and symptom of unchecked wrath and ire. As such, the duel is a manifestation of unbridled passions.

123 Van Heemskerck 1641, fol. E8^{r}: 'En d'uytkomst menighmael is van 't mis bruyck de tolck, / Terwijl dees wreede wijs, onwis om op te bouwen, / D'Onschuldige verdruckt, die schult heeft 't velt doet houwen.'

124 Blom 2007, 239–240.

125 Huygens 1625, v, 66: '[w]ie Eer heeft kanse maer verliesen door sijn self.'

126 Huygens 1625, v, 66: 'in de moord / Van't maexel dat alleen sijn' Maker toebehoort?'

127 Voet 1658, 50–69;see also Matthey 2012, 390.

128 Van Heemskerck 1641, fol. E8^{v}: 'spaert dees gunst die sijnen roem sou vlecken.'

129 Van Heemskerck 1641, fol. E8^{v}: 'Wat sal het volck daer van, wat sal de nijdt niet seggen?'

130 Huygens 1625, v, 54–55.

At this point, Chimene has not received any justice and is therefore denied peace of mind. Thus, Chimene throws down the figurative gauntlet before Rodrigo's feet, while Don Sanche takes up this gauntlet on her behalf: he will be her champion. In the duel that follows, Rodrigo naturally wins, on account of his superior skill with the sword, but lets Sanche live, demonstrating his magnanimity. Relieved that he did not lose his best fighters, the king acknowledges that Rodrigo did not achieve mercy by the king's own verdict, but rather by Rodrigo's own sword:

> Time has many times praised as lawful,
> That which seemed unlawful from the onset.
> *Rodrigo* has made you [i.e., Chimene] his own through combat.[131]

In a world governed by the caprice of Fortune, Rodrigo's agency secured his victory and affirms his *honra*. For this reason, Chimene must accept that the trial by combat obliges the king to forgive Rodrigo and give him Chimene's hand in marriage. In *De verduytste Cid*, it is Fortune who decides the outcome, and not Justice. In fact, jurisprudence effectively fails to hold the guilty party accountable, which led Chimene to demand a trial by combat in the first place.

Spectators are, in turn, shown that justice will always be served, if not by earthly powers like the king, then by universal ones like Fate, Fortune, and Divine Providence. While in real life Chimene's demand of trial by combat had become an impossible solution to serve one's desire for vengeance or recompense, in the literary world of *comedia* there were no bounds to the possibilities for characters to obtain justice by these means. What moralists told the general public about the reprehensible nature of the duel did not apply in the theatre, which while staging *De verduytste Cid* or any other Spanish *comedia* could become an *emotional refuge*.

This does not mean that the king is powerless in the verdict's execution. He can actually influence when Rodrigo receives his reward (or punishment) for being victorious (or for failing), and what precisely it will be. Although he has relinquished his right to judge Rodrigo's guilt, he retains his right to ratify the outcome of the trial by combat. Chimene had agreed that the one who won the duel would get her hand in marriage, but to balance at least some of Chimene's concerns, the King postpones the wedding date: Chimene has the chance to mourn her father's death for a year before

131 Van Heemskerck 1641, fol. G1r: 'De tijdt heeft menighmael voor wettigh aen-ghepresen, / 't Gheen vry onwettigh scheen in sijn begin te wesen. / *Rodrigo* door 't ghevecht u [d.i. Chimene] sijne heeft ghemaeckt.'

she must marry Rodrigo. Meanwhile, Rodrigo is sent to the front and must oust the enemy from Castile. In a way, the king tests the hero, who must prove that he indeed deserves Chimene's hand in marriage:

> Rodrigo, meanwhile you must go to the front,
> And after you have driven the Moors from
> Our land by the violence of your stern hand,
> Bring them the war to their nest again,
> Take their cities, plunder village and farms.
> [...]
> But during the business of war remain loyal to your love,
> Come back, if it is possible, more worthy than before:
> And through your high status gain such a reputation,
> That you may be hers with pleasing honour.[132]

The wedding's postponement was not part of the original *Las mocedades del cid* by de Castro y Bellvís, nor did Rodrigo have to go to the front to first prove himself.[133] As such, Corneille's French adaptation changed in such a way that Rodrigo must actually do penance in the service of Christianity. Van Heemskerck followed Corneille's version to the letter in this respect. Through his year of 'good' deeds, Rodrigo will achieve greater worthiness (more *honra*) and this should be enough for Chimene to forgive him.[134]

Vengeance in Dutch Politics

Many Dutch adaptations of Spanish *comedias* served one or more socio-literary goals, but some were also politicised within the Dutch context. With their drastically altern-

132 Van Heemskerck 1641, fol. G1^{v}: Rodrigo, midlerwijl moet ghy ter heyrvaert heenen, / En nademael ghy hebt de Mooren uyt ons Land / Ghedreven door 't gewelt van u ghestrenghe hand, / Gaet hun tot in haer nest den Oorlogh weer toe-voeren, / Neemt hare Steden in en, plondert Dorp en Boeren. [...] Maer onder 't Krijgs-bedrijf u Lief ghetrouw wilt wesen, / Comt weder, kan het sijn, meer waerdigh als voor desen: / En door u groot bestaen verkrijght u sulcken naem, / Dat ghy haer dan mooght sijn met eeren aenghenaem.'

133 Cf. de Castro y Bellvís 1618, 33–34; see also Floeck 1969, 132.

134 See also Bood 2020b, 156–157, who argues something similar for another, earlier scene in *Le Cid* and *De verduytste Cid*.

ative perspective on vengeance, these plays could be said to react to Dutch revenge tragedies published in the same period. *Comedias* assert that vengeance could be a legitimate course of action in some specific situation, and not only when vengeance served a divine goal.

Spanish Vengeance in the Translation of Empire

That adaptations of *comedias* demonstrated an interest in political themes was not new in Dutch theatre. Hooft and Vondel already addressed political issues, and often also constitutional law, in their early seventeenth-century plays. Yet, around 1650, issues related to constitutional law were also addressed in *dramas de honor*. *Dramas de honor* had already had political significance in Spain, as stated before, but now the adaptations also gained meaning in the political context of the Dutch Republic. *Dramas de honor* were not unique in this respect, nor the first genre to address conflicts about governance in Dutch politics. As a political subject, revenge has often been discussed in the context of its most representative genre in Dutch drama: the revenge tragedy. This genre was originally introduced from England, but gradually gained increasing popularity among Dutch playwrights. I argue that several *dramas de honor* demonstrate concerns similar to those of revenge tragedies such as *Aran en Titus* by theatre director Jan Vos.

An adaptation of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, Vos' *Aran en Titus* is an example of *translatio imperii*, that is, the inheritance of Roman power. Helmers reads both the English and Dutch versions of this revenge tragedy in light of Spain's collapse as an empire. He argues that in them we should see the Gothic opposition to Rome as a parallel of the translation of power from Habsburg Spain and the Austrian Habsburgs to the Protestant bulwarks of England and the Dutch Republic.[135] Helmers explains that Vos *classicised* Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, which was in effect a *modernisation* in the Dutch context: by reverting to the authoritative standards of classical antiquity, Vos intentionally 'achieved the greatness of classical antiquity befitting an aspiring new world power,' an effort that was not lost on his early critics or Dutch administrators.[136] That is, a modern empire should not only reflect the political might of the Roman Empire, but should also emulate the height of its culture. As Stephen Greenblatt argues in *Cultural Mobility*, the idea of *translatio imperii* stimulated the appropriation of foreign cultural products. In the same way that Rome had

135 Helmers 2016, 349.
136 Helmers 2016, 354.

appropriated Greek culture, early modern states appropriated Roman culture.[137] By classicising Shakespeare, Vos politically appropriated the play, and made it suitable for the New Rome that Amsterdam considered itself to be.

However, Helmers makes clear that there is another side to the *translatio imperii*, which revenge plays in particular make obvious: all empires will eventually fall. As regards *Aran en Titus*, for instance, '[i]t is evident that all seventeenth-century Titus plays are replete with topical anxieties about the collapse of government rule and the violent anarchy that might follow it.'[138] As an unchecked emotion, vengefulness causes instability and the commonwealth is abandoned. Tom Laureys has similarly argued that Vos' *Aran en Titus* differentiates between the secular authority of Emperor Saturninus and Titus' reliance on Divine Providence. However, when Titus' house descends into carnage and mayhem, even the hero loses his trust in the divine, and loses his mind. Having lost his faith and rationality, he ceases to honour 'the divine prerogative to exact revenge' and seeks it himself, to disastrous consequences.[139] The other characters, however, misinterpret his personal vengeance, believing it to be issued from Heaven; to them, there is no hope to achieve recompense without the help of the gods.[140]

Private revenge, on the contrary, leads to a (self-)destructive chain of reactions which is not easily stopped. Within seconds, the characters destroy the foundations of Roman politics with their revenge and counter-revenge: the emperor and his general both find their deaths. Thus, revenge not only destroys the physical bodies of all the characters who hold public office, but also the body politic of Rome itself.[141] By the end of *Aran en Titus*, the once-flourishing Roman Empire is 'entirely disintegrated as a result of unbridled vindictiveness,' which as the play makes clear, can overcome every state.[142]

'Topical anxiety' about the disintegration of empire is also present in *Don Louis de Vargas*. When Louis is exiled, the Spanish state is robbed of its two most loyal servants, Louis and his father. In turn, Julian and Zuëro, his enemies, traitorously wish to deliver Castile to the Moorish king in Cordoba. When their own King Alfonso must fight the Moors, Louis comes to the rescue of the Castilian forces, saving Castile from its

137 Greenblatt 2012, 7–12.
138 Helmers 2016, 350.
139 Laureys 2020, 104.
140 Laureys 2020, 105.
141 Laureys 2020, 110.
142 Laureys 2020, 113.

downfall without a second to spare. However, despite this epic theme, *Don Louis de Vargas* is not an example of *translatio imperii*, because it lacks roots in classical history, arguably the only mode by which it could have been a successful *exemplum*.

De Grieck's *Cenobia, Met de doodt van Kaizer Aureliaen* is also replete with topical anxiety, which within the frame of *translatio imperii* serves as an *exemplum* against the collapse of government rule and the violent anarchy that might follow. The original *La gran Cenobia* by Calderón was already political, upon which De Grieck's adaptation builds and adapts. As Hildner demonstrated for Calderón's original, *La gran Cenobia* dramatises the imperative of the monarch learning the 'razón de estado de sí mismo,' the art of governing oneself, which is 'absolutely necessary to becoming a hero in the circumstances of monarchical and imperial states.'[143] Emperor Aureliaen exemplifies a self-indulgent (and thus unjust) ruler, in contrast to his antagonist Queen Cenobia, the prudent ruler of the Orient, and General Decius, a dutiful but reviled servant of Rome.[144] Within the failing judiciary governed by the divinely motivated, but arbitrary rule of Emperor Aureliaen, violence and vengeance are the only options to liberate oneself from oppression. This is explored by Dutch playwright Adriaen de Leeuw in one of the laudatory poems added as paratext to the play:

> Aureliaen, raised to monarch of the Roman Empire,
> Fights Queen Cenobia at the Euphrates;
> Her cousin Prince Lybio, moved by desire for power,
> Betrays that fighting heroine, that wonder without equal:
> Thus Aureliaen brings her to the wide-ruling Rome,
> There he brings her much defamation and shame in a victory parade.
> The reviled Decius, all his patience now lost,
> Kills in secret that surly tyrant:
> After which he is crowned emperor, and makes her his wife.
> Thus from a slave she becomes a Roman empress.[145]

143 Hildner 1982, 55.

144 Hildner 1982, 55.

145 De Leeuw 1667, fol. *2r: 'Aureliaen, tot Vorst van 't Roomsche Rijk verheven, / Bestrijdt by den Eufraat Vorstin Cenobia; / Haar neef Prins Lybio, door staatzucht aangedreven, / Verraadt die Krijgsheldin, dat wonder zonder gâ: / Dies voert Aureliaan haar na 't wijdtheerschendt Romen, / Daar hy in zegepraal haar doet veel smaat en schandt. / Gehoonde Decius, 't gedult nu heel ontnomen, / Vermoordt in 't heimelik dien norssen dwingelandt: / Waar op hy Vorst gekroont, haar maakt zijn Gemaalinne. / Zo wordt zy van slavin een Roomsche Keizerinne.'

De Grieck's *Cenobia* plays with ideas of legitimate rule and explores, like *Geeraerdt van Velsen*, the idea of tyrannicide. First, legitimate rule is discussed in light of the well-known 'sword in the stone' motif of the Arthurian romance. In *Cenobia*, Aureliaen appears in the first scene dressed in pelts and tells in a monologue about the dreams he had of Quintilius, the former Roman Emperor. Quintilius told him in these dreams that he would rule Rome. As he doubts the truth of his dreams, Aureliaen sees a sceptre and crown appear lying atop a rock: 'There reveals itself on a rock a crown with a sceptre.'[146] As in Calderón's original, Aureliaen recognises the divine nature of this appearance, but his desire for power is stronger than his fear of the divine.[147] He places the crown on his head, takes the sceptre in his hands, and beholds his image in a fountain, drawing a parallel between himself and the ill-fated Narcissus:

> Narcissus in a spring in love with the attractive
> Appearance of his limbs, left life there; but
> I, who do not aspire to fairness, nor stare at it,
> Also have a worry that drives much higher:
> I think I am made a Narcissus by my pride, to slave
> Because of this till my death.[148]

Through these reflections, Aureliaen has already shared with the audience his one weakness: he is prone to hubris. He is then found by the priestess Astrea and the Roman army. Astrea explains that after the previous emperor's death she predicted, while 'taken by the ghost of god-speech,' that Aureliaen would succeed him. This suggests that a supernatural force legitimises the monarch's right to rule.[149] Having found him, the Roman soldiers recognise Aureliaen as their new emperor.

Next, General Decius enters stage, defeated by Queen Cenobia of Palmyra. He tells his new emperor what happened and how he underestimated the queen: 'How could a brave man keep upright, who both battles beauty and bravery.'[150] He also

146 De Grieck 1667, 2: 'Daer ontdeckt zich op een rots, een kroon met een scepter.'

147 Hildner 1982, 52; Calderón de la Barca 1640a, fol. 79r.

148 De Grieck 1667, 3: 'Narcissus in een bron verlieft op d'aengenaeme / Gesteltenis zijns leên, liet daer het leven; maer / Ick die naer geene schoont en doele, noch en staer, / Hebb' oock een zorge die veel hooger komt te draven, / 'k Meyn een Narcis te zijn van mijnen trots, te slaven / Om deze tot mijn doodt.'

149 De Grieck 1667, 4: 'door den geest der godtspraek ingenomen.' See also Hildner 1982, 53.

150 De Grieck 1667, 10: 'Hoe zou een moedig man zich kunnen houden recht, / Die t'zaem de schoonheyt en de dapperheyt bevecht.'

warns Aureliaen that he should not make the same mistake, because she, a woman, will also easily defeat him.[151] Aureliaen's hubris cannot bear such an insult to his masculinity and he strips Decius of all his titles. Left behind alone, Decius promises the following: 'And that I eventually, with this my own hand, will stab with your own dagger through your intestines.'[152] He is convinced that Aureliaen will not rule long, because 'it is a common saying that tyrants never continue to live in peace. That the reviled, who can wait on time to pass, can see himself eventually become a well-avenged man.'[153]

Arrogantly, Emperor Aureliaen wages war on Queen Cenobia. When asked if the emperor will be victorious, the priestess Astrea predicts this to be true. When the battle is instead lost, Aureliaen holds Astrea accountable and throws her into a ravine. She barely survives but is saved by Decius. Together they plot Aureliaen's downfall. Meanwhile, Prince Lybio, the nephew of Queen Cenobia, was unable to accept that his aunt had instead inherited the throne he believed his higher position in the succession would grant him. And thus, he plots against and betrays her. Following his aunt's defeat of the Roman emperor, Lybio offers his services to Aureliaen: he leads the Roman soldiers to Cenobia's tent, where they rape her and take her as a prisoner. Through this ruse, Aureliaen is eventually delivered his unjust victory. However, for his betrayal, Aureliaen intends to punish Lybio by having him thrown off a cliff. Lybio's beloved Irena, Princess of Palmyra, saves him in the nick of time. Together they begin to plot Aureliaen's downfall.

Back in Rome, Aureliaen is received as emperor during a victory parade, which adds to his glory and self-aggrandisement, and should help to establish his imperial legitimacy.[154] The scene is portrayed as a pantomime in De Grieck's adaptation:

> There sounds music, while several soldiers appear, and behind them a triumphal wagon, with Aureliaen in it, with Cenobia at his feet, who is fully outfitted and has her hands bound: the wagon is being pulled

151 De Grieck *1667*, 10: 'Een vrouw, die u zelf zou verwinnen.'

152 De Grieck *1667*, 12: 'En dat ick endeling, met deez' mijn eygen hant, / U met uw eygen poock doorstoote 't ingewant.'

153 De Grieck *1667*, 12–13: ''t Is doch een zekre spreuck, en duizentmael geschreven, / Dat dwingelanden noyt gerust en blijven leven. / Dat den gehoonden, die den tijdt verwachten kan, / Zich end'ling komt te zien een welgewroken man.'

154 Hildner 1982, 55.

> by a number of slaves and prisoners, having a following of Roman noblemen.[155]

However, this victory parade also creates a smoke screen for Decius, Astrea, Lybio, and Irena to arrive in Rome undetected. In fact, Aureliaen is unaware and too proud to realise that these four wronged characters intend to assassinate him. Moreover, he continues to wrong others around him, thus losing the support of the army and his people. The four wronged characters attempt an attack on Aureliaen's life in the subsequent scenes, but only Decius is successful. Standing over the dead emperor's body with bloodied hands, Decius is caught by the imperial guard. The general is prepared to surrender for his crimes, but the soldiers' response is unexpected:

1ST SOLDIER.	They already lie down, but what has happened here?
DECIUS.	My vengefulness, Romans, killed the tyrant,
	I had to maintain my lost honour by his death;
	If I deserve something for this, see here, I surrender;
	Kill me freely, I want to die willingly,
	While I might buy glory by dying,
	It is true after all that I, because I have
	Suffocated Aureliaen in his blood, have committed a crime,
	So I deserve death because I liberated Rome.
2ND SOLDIER.	You have finished the work that we had already started.
	It is a rightful vengeance; and it is not at all
	Our desire that you are therefore in danger,
	That on the contrary we recognise you as our emperor,
	And for this we proclaim, that you freed us by breaking
	A tyrant; the holy laurel should
	Adorn Decius' head, and make him an emperor.
ALL SOLDIERS.	Long live Decius.[156]

155 De Grieck *1667*, 51: 'Daer wort een musijck opgeheven, onderwijlen verschijnen 'er eenige soldaten, en achter hun een triumfwagen, Aureliaen in den zelven, met Cenobia aen zijne voeten, die heel toe-gerust is, en de handen gebonden heeft: den wagen wordt van een deel slaven en gevangenen voortgetrocken, hebbende van achter een gevolg van Roomsche Edellieden.'

156 De Grieck *1667*, 65: 'I SOLDAAT. Zy liggen al om ver, maer wat is hier bedreven? / DECIUS. Mijn wraeck-zucht, Roomers, bracht den Dwingelandt om 't leven, / 'k Moest mijn verloren eer handthaven door zijn doot; / Verdien ick daer iet door, zie hier, ick geef my bloot; / Vermoort my vryelijck, 'k wil 't leven willig derven, / Terwijl ick koopen kon de glori door mijn sterven, / Is 't dat ick immers, om

By this, the revenge plot of *Cenobia* is foundationally very similar to that of Vos' *Aran en Titus*: when self-interest overtakes magnanimous service to the commonwealth, the state and the rule of law are in danger of collapse. However, there is one aspect in De Grieck's *Cenobia* that is unique in comparison to Vos' *Aran en Titus*. The play differentiates between Aureliaen and Decius' coronations. Just as in the original by Calderón, the adaptation by De Grieck shows how Aureliaen crowns himself after a supernatural force gifts him the crown and sceptre, while Decius is proclaimed emperor by his people for his selfless service to the state.[157] As such, the text may, within the Dutch context specifically, have supported a perspective on rule and sovereignty as something that originates with and derives from the people, which is also present in *Geeraerdt van Velsen* and *De antiquitate*.[158] The difference with Hooft's play is, however, that vengeance is condoned in *Cenobia* as a legitimate act against tyranny. In this, the *comedia* defers from the perspective offered in *Geeraerdt van Velsen*: tyrannicide is no longer seen as a radical act, but as a permissible form of justice when the rule of law is obstructed.[159] Revenge and counter-revenge stories are generally a warning against overindulgence and personal gain. *Dramas de honor* adapted from Spanish, such as De Grieck's *Cenobia*, seem to have served at times a counter-perspective, while also serving to warn against violent and arbitrary rule. As Helmers and Laureys have argued, some Dutch revenge tragedies thus legitimated the use of counter-violence and counter-revenge.

Spanish Vengeance in the Service of Dutch Patriotism and 'Oranjegevoel'

Another case in which violence and vengeance are sanctioned in the context of arbitrary rule as a means to restore order is found in Dullaart's *Alexander de Medicis* (1653), an adaptation of Diego Jiménez de Enciso's *Los Medicis de Florencia* (before 1634; published 1647). As I previously identified, the vengeance motif in Dutch revenge tragedies was sometimes used to garner support for current issues in domestic politics, and

dat ick Aureliaen / Heb in zijn bloedt versmoort, een misslag heb begaen, / Zoo ick de doodt verdien om dat ick Room verlosten. / 2 SOLDAAT. Gy hebt het werck voltooyt dat wy alree begosten, / Het is een rechte wraeck; en 't is zoo ver van daer, / Dat wy begeeren dat gy daerom loopt gevaer, / Dat wy in 't tegendeel u voor ons Kaizer kennen, / En daer voor roepen uyt, gy vryden ons voor 't schennen / Van eenen dwingelandt, den heyligen laurier / Cier Decius zijn kruyn, en maeck hem Kaizer hier. / AL DE SOLDATEN SAMEN. Lang leve Decius.'

157 Hildner 1982, 57.

158 Duits 2005, 222–224.

159 Duits 1985, 412–413.

TABLE 5.1 Primary characters in the Spanish and Dutch plays and their historical counterparts

Historical person	Enciso, *Los Medicis de Florencia*	Dullaart, *Alexander de Medicis*
Alessandro de' Medici	El Duque Alexandro	Alexander de Medicis, *Hartoog van Florence*
Cosimo de' Medici	Cosme de Medicis	Cosmus de Medicis, *Minnaar van Izabelle*
Lorenzino de' Medici	Laurencio de Medicis	Laurens de Medicis
n/a	Isabela dama	Izabelle de Pacis, *zijn [Cefio's] dochter*
n/a	Cefio viejo su padre	Cefio de Pacis

especially for royalist causes. Dullaart particularly politicised the honour-vengeance theme in his adaptation by clearly distinguishing between the dangers of private revenge and the unavoidable necessity of public revenge. As Dullaart was a known supporter of the House of Orange, the political message in his adaptation also supports the Dutch Stadtholders, and specifically Prince William III.

The Spanish original narrated the assassination in 1537 of the Duke of Florence, Alessandro de' Medici (Alexandro in the play), at the hand of his cousin Lorenzino de' Medici (Laurencio in the play; see Table 5.1). Subsequently, the narrative explores how Cosimo de' Medici (Cosme in the play) takes revenge on the assassins and ascends to the ducal throne. Notably, however, the political plot of *Los Medicis de Florencia* was reduced to an amorous history between Isabela and Cosme. The couple are secretly betrothed against the wishes of Cefio de' Pazzi, Isabela's father, who in turn opposes the tyranny of the Medici family.

While Cosme is engaged to Isabela, Alexandro and Laurencio unknowingly try to court her. The amorous and political rivalry between the three men culminates in tyrannicide at the play's dénouement. Immediately after Alexandro is assassinated, Cosme in turn kills the traitor Laurencio in response to the tyrannicide and restores legal order. The play concludes with Cosme being declared duke and his marriage to Isabela.

The Spanish plot is generally adopted in Dullaart's adaptation, although it has different political implications in the Dutch context. The Republic of Florence was a point of reference for the Dutch, and was arguably regarded with similar esteem to the Roman Republic. The Republic of Florence was one of the most powerful Italian city states of the Italian Renaissance and the Dutch, therefore, looked towards it when establishing their own republic. Depending on one's perspective, the Medici were either the instigators of this city's Renaissance, or the tyrants who prevented Florence from reaching its full republican potential.[160]

160 Helmers 2016, 361.

TABLE 5.2 Allegorical comparison of historical characters and those of Hooft and Dullaart

Historical person	Allegorical comparison by Hooft	Allegorical comparison by Dullaart
Alessandro de' Medici	Sextus Tarquinius Superbus	Julius Caesar
Cosimo de' Medici	n/a	Octavian
Lorenzino de' Medici	Lucius Junius Brutus	Marcus Junius Brutus

The latter interpretation was adopted in Hooft's 1649 historical treatise with the revealing title *Rampsaligheden der verheffinge van den Huize van Medicis* ('Disasters Following the Elevation of the House of Medici'). Although Hooft never said it explicitly, he suggested that the same disasters could befall the Dutch Republic if the House of Orange gained absolute power.[161] In his own text, Hooft condemned Alessandro's assassination, just as he had condemned the assassination of Floris V in *Geeraerdt van Velsen*: 'To kill, indeed tyrants, without lawful administration of justice, and at the sole judgement of a subject, is surely a worrisome practice.'[162] Yet, Hooft did not disapprove of Lorenzino's desire to free his home city from the Medici tyranny. This becomes apparent in the way his Lorenzino is introduced to the reader: he acts a fool to get into Duke Alessandro's good graces. In many ways, Hooft considered Lorenzino to be a failed and tragic Brutus—one of the liberators of Rome from Tarquinius' grasp—by drawing various parallels between the two (see Table 5.2). Although both men demonstrated a 'pure zeal to the praise of liberating his fatherland,' the direct reason for their rebellion boiled down in both cases to the fact that one of the royals had raped one of the two men's relatives.[163] Tarquinius' son, Sextus Tarquinius, had raped Lucretia, the wife of the king's cousin Collatinus (to whom Brutus was also related), and she killed herself in shame. Alessandro had apparently raped a cousin of Lorenzino: 'In Florence it is said that he could not bear the scorn of a cousin spoiled by Alexander.'[164]

Hooft then draws another direct parallel between Lorenzino and Brutus: 'The opposing party raised his glory to heaven, and made him a second Brutus; because the first father of Roman liberty through similar deception, (but not so hateful and

161 Helmers 2016, 361.

162 Hooft 1649, fol. C8^{v}: 'Van om te brenghen, jaa tierannen, zonder wettelijke rechtspleeging, en op enkel vonnis eens onderdaans, 't is, zeeker, een zorghlijke reegel.'

163 Hooft 1649, fol. C7^{v}: 'puiren yver tót den lóf van't verlóssen zijns vaderlandts.'

164 Hooft 1649, fol. C7^{v}: 'tót Florense gezeidt wort, dat hem in de króp stak de hóón eener nichte, onteert door Alexander.'

improper) had Tarquinius Superbus give up his advantage.'[165] Nevertheless, Hooft thought that Lorenzino made a poor judgement when he decided to kill Alessandro by assault rather than poison. If Lorenzino had been smart, Hooft writes, he would have become the next duke and ensured Florence's freedom with greater glory and less danger.[166]

With his adaptation, Dullaart responded to Hooft's nuanced reading of the conspiracy and offers an opposite interpretation. In *Alexander de Medicis*, Laurens is turned into a different Brutus, the famed friend of Julius Caesar. Initially, Brutus was a loyal confidant of Julius Caesar, but ultimately became his traitor and killer. This parallel is attested by what Alexander says to Laurens in the final moments of his life: 'Do you kill me, traitor?' and a bit later, 'Traitor, do you pay my favour so evilly and falsely?,' until he finally tells Laurens: 'You will die with me.'[167] These words certainly echo Caesar's supposed last words to that same effect: 'καὶ σὺ τέκνον' ('you too, child') which is meant as a warning that with Caesar's death, Brutus seals his own similar fate. It may also echo Caesar's famous last words according to Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (1599): 'Et tu, Brute?' ('You too, Brutus?'), which instead emphasises Caesar's disappointment with Brutus' betrayal.[168] Meanwhile, Cosmus is compared to Octavian, who was adopted by Julius Caesar as his heir and succeeded him as Augustus, the first Roman emperor. Such classical comparisons with Roman heroes and tyrants have a long tradition in Dutch literature beginning in the late sixteenth century during the Dutch Revolt.[169] I believe that the comparisons made by Dutch authors and playwrights have consequences for the status that private and public vengeance are granted in Dullaart's adaptation.

Contrary to Hooft's account of Alessandro's assassination, Dullaart shows that Lorenzino acts on behalf of his own interests: because Lorenzino cannot bear that the Duke is also pursuing Izabelle, he wants to eliminate his competition. Nevertheless, Dullaart's way of treating the play is not remarkably different from Enciso's *Los*

165 Hooft 1649, fol. C8^{v}: 'De weêrparthy verhief zijn glory ten heemel, ende maakte van hem, eenen tweeden Brutus, door ghelijke beveinstheit, [maar niet zóó haatlijk en wanvoeglijk] een voordeel aan Tarquinius Superbus hadd' afghezien.'

166 Hooft 1649, fol. D1^{r}.

167 Dullaart 1653, 82: 'Vermoort ghy my, veraar? [...] Verraâr, / Betaalt ghy my mijn gunst zoo schelms en valsch? [...] Ghy sterven zult met my.' Cf. Jiménez de Enciso 1647, fol. 242^{v}: 'Tu me matas? [...] O traydor, / que bien me pagas ingrato, [...] Pero oy morirás conmigo.'

168 Ziogas 2016, 135. Ziogas proposes a reading that disconnects those words from Elizabethan theatre and Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (1599) in particular. In the Dutch context, however, the Shakespearian interpretation of Caesar's famous last words suffices.

169 Spies 1994, 151–152.

Medicis de Florencia. Enciso had already presented the characters as black and white: Cosme is the hero without a blot on his escutcheon; Laurencio is an ambitious traitor without any virtue; Duke Alexandro is noble but naïve; and Cefio is a mortal enemy of the Medici and as a republican repudiates all forms of dynastic tyranny.[170] Dullaart retained these basic character traits in his *dramatis personae*. Lorenzino's character as a deceptive opportunist is emphasised when he uses Cefio's hate of the Medici and his fear of losing his only daughter to the Duke's lusts for his own self-interest.[171] This might suggest that Dullaart responded to Hooft's perspective on the House of Medici as an analogy for the House of Orange by using that same analogy.

As mentioned above, the hero of both Enciso's original and Dullaart's version is Cosmus. Furthermore, his childhood in Dullaart's adaptation bears an obvious resemblance to Stadtholder-King William III's childhood (and, indeed, Octavian's), a parallel that becomes increasingly important when Cosmus seeks vengeance later in the play. Therefore, Cosmus describes his troubled youth to Izabelle:

> You know, dear soul, that after the sad death
> Of Jan de' Medici, my father, full of bravery,
> Who, after many heroic acts, had sacrificed
> His pious and noble blood for the Holy Church.
> I, being small and young of age, then moved,
> With my mother, to Trebbio Castle in Mugello, in the time
> When our family was so persecuted and hated.
> Captain Otto was moved by my mother's misfortune
> And my innocence, and hid us from their eyes.[172]

Although Enciso's original features almost the same monologue, Cosmus' words received a new interpretation in the Dutch context.[173] When William II died of small pox in 1650, five of the seven States of the Dutch Republic decided to leave the office of

170 Cotarelo y Mori 1914, 62–63.This representation is understandable within a Spanish context, as Alessandro was married to Margaret of Parma, the Governor of the Netherlands between 1559–1567, and thus the Duke was related to Emperor Charles V and King Felipe II of Spain.

171 For the characterisation of his *dramatis personae*, see Dullaart 1653, esp. 16, 33–36.

172 Dullaart 1653, 16: 'Ghy weet wel, waarde ziel, dat na het droevig sterven / Van Jan de Medicis mijn' Vader, vol van moet, / Die, na veel heldendaân, zijn vroom en edel bloet / Heeft voor de Heilge kerk geoffert met zijn leven. / Ik, zijnde klein en jongh van jaren, heb begeven / My, met mijn moeder, toen na Trebie, in die tijdt / Toen ons geslacht zoo wiert vervollegt en benijt. / Den Hopman Otto wiert met moeders ramp bewogen / En mijne onnozelheit, en school ons uit hunne oogen.'

173 The original Spanish monologue is found in Jiménez de Enciso 1647, fol. 219^{v}.

Stadtholder vacant indefinitely, which came to be known as the First Stadtholderless Era (1650–1672). The young William III was born just days after his father's death and raised by his mother, the English Princess Royal Mary Stuart.

William II died at an unlucky moment. Stuart supporters believed that he could reinstate Charles' son, Charles II, as King of England, if he could rouse support from the States General in The Hague, and thus end the English Civil War. Helmers has argued that several Dutch plays propagate the political hopes of the exiled Stuart party in the Dutch Republic, including Dullaart's own martyr play *Karel Stuart of Rampzalige Majesteyt* ('Charles Stuart or Disastrous Majesty', written 1649), which responded to the contemporary situation in England.[174] I argue that Dullaart's *Alexander de Medicis* should be interpreted similarly: it also thematises the dangers of pursuing private interests and personal vengeance over the public good and legal restitution. Like *Karel Stuart*, *Alexander de Medicis* was first published in 1652 and premiered onstage in 1653, in the middle of the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654) fought between the Dutch Republic and the Commonwealth of England that formed after the execution of Charles I in 1649. It is possible that Dullaart's adaptation of Enciso's *Los Medicis de Florencia* was, like *Karel Stuart*, a propagandist play for both the House of Stuart and the House of Orange. The play condemns tyrannicide in reaction to Charles I's execution, and also justifies vengeance in service of a royal cause.[175] More broadly, however, the play is part of a larger Orangist movement that began to take shape in the 1650s to instate William III as stadtholder of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelre, and Overijssel.[176] As Dullaart was a known supporter of the Stuarts in England, he must have also been an Orangist, as their causes were united by marriage.[177] Therefore, Dullaart's version serves multiple functions as politicised theatre.

If spectators recognised the similarities between Cosmus, William III, and Octavian, then several of Cosmus' actions have important political messages and demonstrate that the House of Orange, like Cosmus, can restore legal order and offer stability by establishing a new *pax romana*. The newly proclaimed Duke Cosmos does not exact vengeance for the murder of his predecessor Duke Alexander de Medicis. Instead, he declares:

174 Helmers 2011, 226–227.

175 Hoenselaars and Helmers 2016.

176 Pollmann 2014, 27, 30; Ebben 2014, 60.

177 Helmers 2011, 224. Furthermore, William II of Orange was Mary Stuart's husband; William III of Orange was their son and married Mary II Stuart, who together became king and queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland after the Glorious Revolution in 1688.

COSMUS. Such I accept, to punish the betrayal
According to its merits; your oath and loyalty we believe. [...]
I will not rule this state peacefully, until the punishment
Has reconciled his death, and until all our enemies
Are destroyed.[178]

Cosmus presents his decision to bring Laurens to justice not as retribution or restitution, but rather as reconciliation. Unlike the original by Enciso, Dullaart's adaptation does not feature Cosmus' retaliation against Laurens; we only learn that he intends to do so before he can fully become Duke of Florence.[179]

Dullaart changed the plot of *Alexander de Medicis* in such a way that Cosmus is first declared duke and then makes his decision to kill Laurens. This makes Cosmus' decision an act of justice and not merely a violent response, as it had been in *Los Medicis de Florencia*. There, Cosme acts immediately when he learns that Alexandro has been assassinated by Laurencio. He kills the traitor and only then does the old man Cefio announce that the whole of Florence accepts Cosme's rule. He describes the people's reaction as 'el popular aplauso' ('the popular applause') and says that the people yell 'Cosme viva' ('Long live Cosme'), which is not only a legitimation of Cosme's rule but also the people's pardon of his act of vengeance against his cousin.[180] In Dullaart's Dutch version, this act of vengeance is instead embedded within a legal institution and is therefore effectively camouflaged as an inevitable and necessary form of public vengeance against a criminal.

While Cosmus may be presented as a ruler who justly punishes criminals, he also shows to be a merciful ruler when he must judge the old man Cefio de Pacis (that is, Cefio de' Pazzi, a fictional son of Guglielmo de' Pazzi). Comparable to the original, Cefio relates at the beginning of the play why he hates the House of Medici by recalling the events leading to the real-life Pazzi conspiracy of 1478:

Laurens and Julius, two heads of a prideful nature,
Who, by their great authority and offices, completely degenerate,
Taunted the blood of our august lineage; much more valued

178 Dullaart 1653, 84–85: 'COSMOS. Zulx neem ik aan, om het verraadt, na de waardy, / Te straffen, uwen eedt en trouw gelooven wy. [...] 'k Zal deze staat met rust niet heerschen, voor de straf / Zijn doodt verzoent heeft, en voor dat al ons vyanden / Verdelgt zijn.'

179 This was technically true as Lorenzino was ahead of Cosimo in the line of succession.

180 Dullaart 1653, 84–85; Jiménez de Enciso 1647, fol. 242^{v}.

> And higher raised than their father's.
> But because the noble blood cannot bear
> The slanderous scorn, we assembled our complete house
> And decided among ourselves to avenge that defamation,
> And to liberate us from them and their rule.[181]

The Pazzi family successfully killed Julius, but they had not expected that the irrational rabble of Florence would take counter-revenge on their family afterwards:

> But the imprudent populace, seeing Julius beaten,
> Yelled: let us wet our sword in the blood of the Pazzi.
> Then they fell inveterately on us and our people,
> And they exterminated our house with their cruel dagger.
> My friends lost their lives there so helplessly:
> Such that one could not hear in all of Italy
> Whether one of the House of Pazzi had survived.
> I, who fled it all, arose anew as a Phoenix from his ashes.[182]

Cefio's historical account helps contextualise the new conspiracy in both the original and the adaptation, while his monologue also presents Laurens' and Cefio's actions throughout the play as a repetition of that past conspiracy, something of which both the Spanish and Dutch audiences are made aware.[183] Meanwhile, Cefio also speaks about the wounded honour that he must restore for his family. This private motivation to retaliate against the Medici becomes Cefio's main motive to assist Laurens in this second conspiracy; his nephew's promises of freedom and a return to the true republic shore up his agreement to assassinate Duke Alexander.

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181 Dullaart 1653, 8–9: 'Laurens en Julio, twee hoofden trots van aart, / Die, door hun groot gezagh en ampten, heel ontaart / Beschimpten 't bloet van ons deurlugte stam; veel waarder / En hooger afgedaalt als dat van haren vader. / Maar mits het edel bloet geen lasterzieke hoon / Kan dulden, hebben wy al ons geslagt ontboôn, / En onderling bestemt ons, van die smaat, te wreken, / En haar van 't zelven en van 't heerschen te versteken.'

182 Dullaart 1653, 8–9: 'Maar 't onverstandig graau, ziend' Julio verslagen, / Riep: laten wy ons zwaart in 't bloet der Pacen laven. / Doen vielenze, als verwoet, op ons en op ons volk, / En roeide ons geslagt uit met haar wreede dolk. / Mijn vrienden 't leeven daar zoo weereloos verlooren: / Zulx dat men deur geheel Italje niet kon hooren, / Of een van Pacis stam noch in het leven was. / Ik, die 't ontvlood, rees als een Fenix uit zijn asch.'

183 Jiménez de Enciso 1647, fol. 217r.

When Laurens mentions Alexander's attempts to seduce his daughter Izabelle, Cefio is quickly convinced, because a Medici will never have his daughter as wife. Cefio's acceptance is understandable as he explained himself and his motives at the play's beginning.

After Alexander's death, Cosmus can also easily forgive Cefio for his actions, since they were not those of an ambitious traitor, but rather of an aggrieved man who was robbed of his family's honour and feared losing his daughter as well. Therefore, Enciso's Cosme punished Cefio in a particularly interesting way:

> Give me, great Cefio, a hug,
> that in this way I punish you,
> let the past remain the past.[184]

In the Dutch adaptation, Cefio gets a similarly strange punishment:

> Lord Cefio, rise, because I am so angry with you
> That I will forgive the suffering endured, and I want to forget it all.[185]

Both Enciso and Dullaart stress that an act of vengeance can ultimately be forgiven, if the desire for vengeance was justified (or at least understandable) in the first place.

Dullaart used Cosmus' compassionate and magnanimous character to show that like Cosmus, young William III may also be a just ruler of the Dutch people were he to be installed as stadtholder. He too could bring the stability and strong authority that Cosmus provided. We can see that spectators are meant to be won over to the Orangist cause. Cosmus becomes a second *pater patriae* in succession to his namesake Cosimo de' Medici "the Elder" (1389–1464).[186] Likewise, William III could become a new *pater patriae* to the Dutch, just as William "the Silent" of Orange had been. Revenge is, then, a politicised motif that can be used to show that Cosmus/William III is a hero and the saviour who protects the state from chaos. His revenge is a just form of vengeance, which serves to defend the state. More importantly, Cosmus shows his ability to

184 Jiménez de Enciso 1647, fol. 243r: 'Dame, gran Cefio, los braços, / que desta suerte os castigo, / lo passado sea passado.'

185 Dullaart 1653, 85: Heer Cefio, staat op, 'k ben zoo op u gebeten, / Dat ik 't geleede leedt vergeef, en wil vergeten.

186 Dullaart 1653, 8.

refrain from vengeance when it best serves the state, just as William III would do. This should appeal to Orangist sentiments (still known today as 'oranjegevoel') among the general population and enforce a form of patriotism by supporting the return of the Prince of Orange as stadtholder of the majority of the Dutch Republic's states.[187]

Conclusion

As this chapter shows, vengeance was a controversial subject in the Low Countries, which made it no less appealing. With the Bible prohibiting revenge and defining it as God's sole right, Dutch moralists established in their writings an *emotional regime* that fiercely condemned any form of private vengeance or its associated passions, in favour of composure and accepting one's fate or, if need be, following legal procedure through the judicial courts. As part of this *emotional regime*, these moralists also reinforced the auto-image of the Dutch as characteristically unvengeful, because of their phlegmatic nature and their supposed stoic composure. In Dutch tragedy, vengeance was rejected as a viable solution to dishonour or personal aggrievance, and the genre instead propagated either absolute rule, the characters' emotional self-conquest, or their exile as alternatives.

On the basis of the same texts, Dutch scholars have repeatedly concluded that Dutch culture was not at all vengeful in contrast to Spanish culture. Likewise, several Spanish scholars have connected the honour-vengeance theme in *comedia nueva* to the supposed regularity of vengeance carried out in Spanish society. McKendrick has demonstrated that while Spanish culture has been regarded as particularly vengeful, this is actually a distorted and overgeneralised representation of a *topos* in dramatic culture. The honour-vengeance theme played an important role in the Spanish theatre because the honour code reflected Spain's longing for military hegemony and grandeur on the European stage. The stage *caballero* represented this desire by the way he imposed his sense of honour onto himself and those in his vicinity. Together with the anxieties about a loss of social standing if accused of having *mala sangre* ('impure' Jewish or North African blood), the Spaniard continuously experienced a form of social insecurity, for which he must (over-)compensate. In *dramas de honor*, purity of blood was also preserved by the virtue of a family's women. This was something that *all* Spanish men recognised. The only satisfactory reparation

187 Pollmann 2014, 27, 30; Ebben 2014, 60.

for sexual dishonour was bloodshed, although in real life this was an impossible route to take, since legal institutions demanded a civil form of reconciliation, even in Spain.

The truth is that Dutch and Flemish spectators adored the honour-vengeance theme for very similar reasons. This dominant pattern in *comedia nueva* also functioned exceptionally well in the Low Countries. Although Dutch moralists and jurists created an auto-image that socially and legally criminalised acts of vengeance, the anxieties about loss of honour and the subsequent desire for recompense were not any less among people in the Low Countries than they were in Spain. Dutch adaptations of *dramas de honor* staged the honour-vengeance theme in a way that enabled spectators to cope with their own social anxieties; they offered a drastic alternative to the restraint so insistently vocalised by Dutch moralists. Further, with their sensational representation of unbridled passions and spectacular acts of vengeance, these adapted *dramas de honor* served as the opposite of the morality of restraint seen elsewhere in contemporary Dutch theatre.

Vengeance then becomes in the Dutch adaptations a way for characters to regain some of their agency within a world governed by Fortune: Heynck showed spectators the usefulness of revenge as a tool to repay dishonour in his 1668 play *Don Louis de Vargas*. When Don Louis loses his social position, his vengeance is the only thing that keeps him going and offers him the justice he sorely misses. As such, vengeance is presented as a form of poetic justice and a tool in the hands of the protagonists to implement God's Divine Providence. Heynck even turned revenge into a magnanimous deed, when carried out by the protagonist, which differentiates his play from Hooft's earlier *Geeraerdt van Velsen*, which was itself inspired by neostoicism and fit the *emotional regime* of its period. Magnanimity is not regarded as a call for composure in times of misfortune, but rather to behave loyally and honourably. Don Louis is concerned with his public honour, which in Hooft's *Geeraerdt van Velsen* was seen as a sign that Geeraerdt was no (longer) magnanimous.

Don Louis needed, and was right, to take vengeance because his legal environment failed to satisfactorily punish the right people. Likewise, a judicial failing is also the source of vengeance in *De verduytste Cid*, where the king will not abide by the law in order to protect his own political interests. By his failure to pass judgement, Chimene turns to bloodshed instead, invoking the right to trial by combat. By this, she lets Fortune decide who wins as a form of divine judgement. Because of his failure to uphold justice, the king symbolically loses his divine right as judge in his kingdom, although he retains the ability to facilitate punishment or reward according to Fortune's favour. *De verduytste Cid* shows that Chimène was in her right to pursue

recompense for her father's death; the fact that Rodrigo wins the fight and wins by this Chimène's hand in marriage is because Fate wanted things to turn out this way.

With the alternative perspective on vengeance as occasionally permissible, there are also means to show that retaliation can be effective in politics. By engaging with *translatio imperii*, the *dramas de honor* warn against arbitrary, self-interested rule. In such cases, violence and vengeance are sometimes needed to restore the rule of law. De Grieck's *Cenobia* demonstrates that vengeance can help to restore order when a ruler is unwilling or unable to maintain it. Then, as the play shows, tyrannicide might be the only solution, although it was summarily condemned by Hooft in *Geeraerdt van Velsen*. Otherwise, some *dramas de honor*—and specifically Dullaart's *Alexander de Medicis*—were used as tools of domestic politics to gain popular support for the House of Orange, and further to demonstrate that a ruler can use violence in service of the state, but only when he uses it lawfully. In the play, Cosmus de' Medici shows himself to be a moderate ruler who only resorts to violence when it is unavoidable. He is, moreover, a compassionate and magnanimous ruler because he is able to forgive the pursuit of vengeance by other characters. By drawing parallels between Cosmus and Prince William III, the play advocates, furthermore, for the return of William III as Stadtholder of the Dutch Republic, asserting that he alone could ensure stability and prevent the fall of the Dutch trading empire.

Despite the different means of legitimation within Dutch adaptations of Spanish *comedias*, enacting revenge remained difficult in the Dutch Republic and Habsburg Netherlands. Vengeance could be defended in some instances, but was at least as often rejected as a viable solution, something that should only be used in moderation. It is as McKendrick argued: on the stage, more is possible than in real life. This is what fascinated the Spaniard, the Dutchman, and the Fleming alike about theatre. What if you did as the characters did? What if you used violence to take revenge? What would happen then? Those questions have no unequivocal answer, but are fascinating nonetheless.

CHAPTER 6

Fake It Till You Make It

Emotional Rebellion in Dutch Comedias

> A woman is falling at your feet,
> Let your Princely heart
> Move you to compassion,
> Austere and high Monarch,
> By this rain from the eyes
> Coming from my anxious bosom.[1]

Such is the way that Duchess Celia starts her heartrending song in Rodenburgh's *Celia en Prospero*, an adaptation of Lope's *El Molino*. Found only in the Dutch text, Celia's song forms an indictment against the authority who had imprisoned her lover Count Prospero only moments ago.[2] Celia tries to move the king to compassion with her tears so that he will set Prospero free. Celia's song reflects Lope's advice in his *Arte nuevo* to 'Paint soliloquies in a way / That every reciter is transformed, / And, by changing himself, changes the auditor.'[3] In other *comedias*, women must change their costume to gain any agency at all: Margareta in Heynck's *Veranderlyk geval* must dress as a man to be able to see her fiancé Karel, who has been taken away from her. Cross-dressing was very pleasing according to Lope:

> Let ladies not disregard their good name,
> And if they change costume, let it be in such a way
> That it can be excused, because the male disguise
> Tends to be very pleasing.[4]

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1 Rodenburgh 1617b, fol. D2^{r}: 'Een Vrou u valt te voet, / Laet uw Prinslik gemoed / Door dese oogens regen / Uyt mijn benaude borst, / Gestrengen, hoogen Vorst, / U tot me-ly bewegen.'

2 Cf. the dialogue between the king and the Duchess Celia in Lope de Vega 1604c, fols. 153^{r}–153^{v}.

3 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 274–276: 'los soliloquios pinte de manera / que se transforme todo el recitarte, / y con mudarse a sí, mude al oyente.'

4 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 280–283: 'Las damas no desdigan de su nombre, / y, si mudaren traje, sea de modo / que pueda perdonarse, porque suele / el disfraz varonil agradar mucho.'

Lope gave this advice as way to entertain his audience, but disguise and soliloquies could have even transformative and emancipatory effects on characters and spectators, both male and female alike. As I argue in this chapter, this emancipatory effect plays a major part in the success of *comedia nueva* in the Low Countries. In previous chapters, I explained that the contents of the adaptations often subverted society's norms with regards to honour, love, and vengeance. This is illustrated by the characters' rebellion against society in many *dramas de honor* and *comedias de capa y espada* (including *comedias palatinas*). In these chapters, I also described how in *comedia nueva* the protagonist is emotionally torn between the public and private. Characters look for ways out of their dilemmas, with the choice between acting on their feelings or keeping them to themselves: either speaking out against the *emotional regime* or falling in line with that regime. As such, the *real* choice was between speech and silence, resulting in the characters' emotional suffering.

Emotional suffering becomes clear in drama when the *dramatis personae* are explicitly faced with that aforementioned choice. In the previous chapters, I explained that the decision could be elaborated upon at length in a discussion with other characters or, as I discuss in this chapter, when characters explore how they can eliminate the choice through other means. While characters are emotionally suffering, it is their rebellion against an authority figure that is characteristic of *comedia nueva*. Through the discussion of several modes of rebellion, this chapter illustrates this claim.

I call the actions of characters in these plays *emotional rebellion*, which I understand as an extreme and literary alternative to Reddy's *emotional refuge*. I explicitly discuss Lope's 'best practices' with regards to soliloquies and disguise as acts of *emotional rebellion*: this occurs where or when a character acts purposely against the social norm. In these cases, characters take their emotional suffering a step further than seeking an *emotional refuge* by the more subversive nature of their acts. Although a refuge in Reddy's words 'may shore up or threaten the existing emotional regime,'[5] in *comedia nueva* I understand acts of rebellion as conscious, voluntary, and goal-oriented acts against the regime, with the preconceived aim of undermining that regime. Often a refuge is a public institution or organisation, either official or clandestine: in Reddy's discussion of the French Revolution, these refuges might include cafés, salons, Freemasonry, secret brotherhoods, et cetera. They offer a safe space to experience otherwise suppressed emotions. As such, refuges can be a breeding ground for political and social unrest.[6] I consider that while an *emotional refuge* assumes a safe haven, where unrest

5 Reddy 2001, 129.

6 Reddy 2001, esp. 149.

ferments within protective boundaries, an *emotional rebellion* surpasses this point of seeking cover and instead implies an open confrontation with the regime.

In fiction, such anxieties can be more extreme than in reality, and are represented explicitly as emotional conflicts, as seen in *comedia nueva*. A rebellion becomes an active, voluntary act against the regime. I argue that for fiction the concept of *emotional rebellion* usefully describes events which have radical and far-reaching consequences. A rebellion itself could, thus, be understood as a refuge, which is fully considered for its extreme implications. This happens in literature especially when characters explicitly discuss their motivations and express their emotions. A rebellion necessitates, furthermore, that individuals are willing to risk exposure and failure, sometimes resulting in penalty or death. The concept is very much applicable to theatre, as I demonstrate in the following discussion. Within *comedia nueva*, Wouther's *De verliefde stiefmoeder* shows that *emotional rebellion* can deliver a sense of freedom, but can also have dire consequences: in the play the stepmother Cassandra and her stepson Frederico act on their forbidden love for each other and are consequently issued a gruesome death by authorities, namely the duke and his court. Of course, the term rebellion suggests an unauthorised insurrection against a lawful (political) regime, which indeed it is, from a dominant perspective. From the perspective of the rebels, however, rebellion is always necessary to gain a sense of liberty, be it emotional or otherwise.

For Dutch spectators of adapted *comedias*, the *emotional rebellion* of individual characters likely had different effects. As discussed in previous chapters, Dutch society enforced an *emotional regime* of moderation and restraint, enabling the theatre to become an *emotional refuge*. In the theatre, characters of *comedias* then offered a drastic alternative by means of their *emotional rebellion*. Thus, we see that seventeenth-century *comedias* did not necessarily provoke rebellious thoughts and emotions in the audiences, but rather offered them respite from their daily lives while they witnessed hypothetical situations in which protagonists rebelled against injustice.[7]

7 Yet, I have considered in a 2019 conference paper presented at a conference in Ottawa, Canada, of the Australian Society for the History of Emotions that the *emotional refuge* of the theatre can turn into *emotional rebellion*, such as is shown by the case of the romantic-nationalistic opera *La muette de Portici* (1828, 'The Mute Girl of Portici'), which loosely narrates the historical uprising against the Spanish viceroy of Naples of 1647. After a performance of the opera in Brussels on 25 August 1830, riots broke out signalling the start of the Belgian Revolution.

TABLE 6.1 The roles of emotional regimes, emotional refuges, and emotional rebellion in the seventeenth-century Low Countries

Society	enforces	an *Emotional Regime*
Reaction: Theatre	offers	an *Emotional Refuge*
By means of: *comedia nueva*	stages	an *Emotional Rebellion*

In this chapter, the theatrical devices of soliloquies and disguise take centre stage. For the sake of this study, soliloquies are explored in song and monologue, including stage whispers. Disguise is addressed through examples of cross-dressing and social masquerade (i.e., using the 'mask' of another, either higher or lower social class). I demonstrate how all four devices contribute to *emotional rebellion*, which is a crucial part of *comedia nueva*. Lope never explicitly elaborated on songs in his *Arte nuevo*, but Gustavo Umpierre's study on music and song in Lope's work reveals that music was intrinsic to *comedia nueva*, appearing in an average of four songs per play. Aristotle stated that 'song-making is the most important of the sensory resources,' and so it is no surprise that Lope included song in his oeuvre. Moreover, Lope also advised using polymetric verse in particular.[8] Apart from songs, monologues also contribute to the establishment of *emotional rebellion* by means of dramatic irony. Monologues reveal intentions and (e)motives, but also help steer the character's emotives towards a secretive and often deceptive rebellion.

Emotional rebellion is, however, impossible without the help of the *gracioso*, a product of the tragicomic, or even of the melodramatic, and a native character of *comedia nueva*. The *gracioso* is a witty and mischievous comic type, but as a truth-speaker he is endowed with remarkable power. Monica Leoni writes about the *gracioso* in relation to *commedia dell'arte* figures such as *arlecchino* and *mezzetino*, suggesting a reading of the stock character as a comic type that uses 'his foolery to communicate with those beyond the stage, coaxing the spectator to cross the dramatic threshold and join him in the resolution of the comic plot.'[9] The dramatic forms of soliloquies and disguise are consequently always influenced, enhanced, or ridiculed by the *gracioso*, whose main purpose is to reflect on the actions accompanying soliloquies and disguise. These devices are deployed to problematise emotions, which the *gracioso* communicates to the audience. So, while the characters perform their *emotional rebellion*, it is the *gracioso* who can and will transpose and communicate that rebellion beyond the stage.

8 Umpierre 1975, 1; Aristoteles 1997, sec. 1450^{b}16; Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 305–318.

9 Leoni 2000, back cover; Charney 1991, 174.

This chapter outlines how *emotional rebellion* is established in the Dutch adaptations of Spanish *comedia nueva*. Subsequently, I offer three separate readings of *emotional rebellion* as it occurs in this popular genre, arguing that audiences found emotional respite through the *dramatis personae*'s performance of *emotional rebellion*.

Emotional Rebellion in Spanish Drama

The Juxtaposition of Voices

For my conceptualisation of *emotional rebellion* as a literary mode in *comedia nueva*, I draw particularly on the work of Michail M. Bakhtin on heteroglossia and Judith Butler on gender performance and cross-dressing. If *emotional rebellion* is to succeed, the dramatic text should be polyphone in form and allow characters a performative space of reorientation. By polyphone drama, I mean to say that dialogical conversation is not the only, nor the dominant form in drama, but that other forms of speech have equal standing and function with the same authority as does the dialogue. Music is, therefore, not just an 'intermezzo,' but becomes a structural part of the action while concentrating and intensifying emotions. Drama, then, becomes polyphone when multiple voices are heard next to one another, though obviously in an insoluble conflict for dominance. With the establishment of a polyphone discourse, characters can estrange themselves from a preconceived, 'status quo' position in the text, through which they question habits, ordinances, or laws. The conflict is made visible when characters express their inner feelings. In other words, characters take the *(emotional) liberty* to express their emotives, which they can then use to express suffering. In a frame of conflict, the utterance (that is, emotive) is expressed vis-à-vis other utterances.

Bakhtin writes that there exists in every text an authoritative or normative voice of one character who represents society. He calls this the authoritative discourse: 'it is, so to speak, the word of the fathers. Its authority was already *acknowledged* in the past.'[10] In *comedia nueva*, he is often the king, but sometimes a prince, duke, duchess, or simply an old man. Lope wrote in this regard that 'if the king should talk, you should imitate as much as possible the royal gravity; if the old man should talk, ensure a reasonable modesty.'[11] Since the king is considered to be the voice of judgement and

10 Bakhtin 1981a, 342.

11 Lope de Vega 1609, vv. 269–271: 'Si hablare el rey, imite cuanto pueda / la gravedad real; si el viejo hablare, / procure una modestia sentenciosa.'

representative of God on Earth, Fiore argued that the king's voice is dominant and represents 'natural law.'[12] Therefore, it is no surprise that the king solely uses the rhythmic and compelling tone of the Alexandrine meter in the Dutch adaptations, as he does not need a different voice than the dominant one. The Alexandrine meter represents 'natural speech' in all Dutch-language drama. However, the voice of rebellion is expressed against the authoritative voice and seeks to undermine it, therefore other forms of speech are selected to present it, such as songs.

The voice of authority is partly accepted because of its historical significance and can even be innate to a woman in an authoritative position. In De Fuyter's *Verwarde hof*, for instance, Matilde causes a conflict of power, as she initially transfers all her power to her new husband Carel—which was common for female monarchs to do, and even expected, in early modern Europe—but she quickly realises her mistake when Carel reveals himself as a tyrant.[13] In other instances, women are aware of the authority with which the monarch speaks, or they acknowledge its existence while also clearly disagreeing with that authority. This can be witnessed in Rodenburgh's *Celia en Prospero*, where Prince Aristippus of Spain banishes Count Prospero from court, so that he can marry Duchess Celia himself. Celia tries to plead her case through a song before the king.[14]

Men are generally more obliging giving in to the demands of those of higher rank, but they suffer as much as the women in *comedias*. In Heynck's *Veranderlyk geval*, Karel seems to accept the loss of his love, but reading between the lines, it is clear that he is actually suffering emotionally. He copes with his lovesickness by appealing to the Christian (and neostoic) virtues of temperance, justice, prudence, fortitude, and perseverance (*constantia*). Through these means he establishes an *emotional refuge* for himself, but in the course of several scenes he realises that he cannot persevere in his new-found philosophy. Still, he will not undergo full transformation as does his fiancée Margareta.[15] That is not to say that men never rebel: in *Celia en Prospero*, for example, it is actually Count Prospero who is first emotionally rebellious. He ignores his banishment from court by Prince Aristippus, instead remaining while dressed as a miller. This way, he can draw near his beloved and stay with her without the fear of discovery.[16]

12 Fiore 1975, 2–5, 99–102.

13 De Fuyter 1647.

14 Rodenburgh 1617b.

15 Heynck 1663, vv. 1397–1492, 1617–1748a, 1981–2067.

16 Rodenburgh 1617b, fol. C3^{r}. Apart from Prospero, also Aristippus and Celia dress up as miller's servants.

The 'Incorporated' Voice of Rebellion

In *comedia nueva*, the king's voice is structured opposite alternative voices: it is a conflict between different voices—a 'polyphony' in Bakhtin's words—which all operate on the same level. The king's voice is just one of the many possible perspectives on reality. In Spanish drama, the king's authoritative voice is juxtaposed with dissenting voices and, still, the allowance for speech is distributed unequally among characters. Dissenting voices must find other means to establish an opposing position, they are not initially allowed to speak freely, and they seek a means to appropriate a form of *emotional liberty* by looking for ways to express their own free will (*libre albedrío*). Through this challenging juxtaposition, characters begin an exhilarating process of emancipation, the success of which is not yet proven and just might fail.

As such, characters seek to give voice to suppressed feelings and then refocus them with force as emotives. To that aim, *comedia nueva* offers a range of different dramatic devices, and especially soliloquies and disguise. Because of their nature, in reference to novels, Bakhtin calls these kind of deviant literary forms in a text 'incorporated genres.' He identifies short stories, lyrical songs, and poems in particular. Bakhtin says of these genres that they 'usually preserve within the novel their own structural integrity and independence, as well as their own linguistic and stylistic peculiarities.'[17] These 'incorporated genres' become carriers of alternative voices. These voices speak autonomously; as described by Bakhtin, 'each character's speech possesses its own belief system, since each is the speech of another in another's language.'[18] Although music is natural to drama, I argue that the songs in *comedia nueva* have the same effect as the 'incorporated genres' in novels.

We see these effects, for example, in Rodenburgh's *Celia en Prospero* where a song serves the function of an alternative voice, because as a song the text assumes its own structural integrity and independence, as well as its own linguistic and stylistic peculiarities.[19] I maintain that these theatre songs function in a similar way to what Looi van Kessel argued for melodrama. According to him, melodrama is not only 'a popular theatrical and film genre,' but also 'a narrative mode that employs aesthetic excess to foreground ethical struggles of a world in which the social codes must continuously be renegotiated.'[20] I contend that in *comedia nueva* song performs this very

17 Bakhtin 1981a, 320.

18 Bakhtin 1981a, 321.

19 This has also been argued for Rodenburgh's *Casandra en Karel* by Van Marion and Vergeer 2016, 49–52.

20 Van Kessel 2019, stelling 4.

same function and offers the characters a way to reflect on their situations as well as renegotiate the status quo. In many ways, Dutch adaptations of *comedias* are, in fact, melodramas as defined by Emily Allen:

> In a standard melodramatic plot, the play initially establishes the virtue of the long-suffering hero and/or heroine (along with the base intentions of the villains), dispatches the hero in such a way as to leave the heroine vulnerable to the villain's wiles, produces a crisis in which the forces of evil look certain to triumph over those of good, and finishes with a spectacular turn in which good and evil receive their just desserts.[21]

These *topoi* are recognisable in *comedia nueva* and the fact that the heroes' emotional struggles are often embodied and vocalised by way of music demonstrates the strong presence of this narrative mode in *comedias*.[22]

In Rodenburgh's *Celia en Prospero*, Duchess Celia uses song as a vehicle to express her emotions, but also to voice her grievances with regards to Prince Aristippus' behaviour. Her song before the king, Aristippus father, expresses hope that he will release her lover Prospero from prison. She sings that princes should not abuse their power and terrorise their subordinates, although Aristippus has done exactly that. The double commas, normally indicating a stage whisper, might signal that Duchess Celia is transgressing her socially situated position as a woman, thus immediately of lower rank than the king, by declaring how a prince or a king ought to behave:[23]

> The wanton violence
> Puts justice completely
> In tyranny's hands.
> You, who waves the sceptre,
> Let reasonable modesty
> Still reign in your lands.
> „ What are the princes, Lord,

21 Allen 2006.

22 See also the lemma 'Melodrama' in Bratton 2010.

23 See also McKendrick 2004, 16. She argues that female silence was 'a perceived condition of male dominance' and that access to language and speech has always been the weapon of emancipation: women were given a voice and visibility, becoming spokespersons for their whole sex.

„ Who wilfully accept
„ Lust above honour?
„ They are princes in appearance,
„ But alas! these are,
„ Rightly tigers on the earth.
Your son has now fed
The heat of his blood
Now that he has imprisoned my count.
The abuse of Aristippus' hatred
Wants to kill Prospero,
Because his anger grew.[24]

The next few strophes offer a lament about Aristippus' tyranny and his desire that Celia leaves Prospero for him. She relates that she is emotionally oppressed, that she and Aristippus are persecuted, and what she will do if her lover is harmed. Moreover, the duchess uses this moment to also share her thoughts on matters of state, which are now being neglected, and which resemble many of the ideas present in the contemporary Dutch Republic about limiting the power of monarchs:

If his highness believes
I will ever abandon my
Thoughts towards Prospero;
How? If I would separate from
My loyal wedded husband,
I must hate myself then.
Yet, if the Prince tries
By the power of his prowess
To take his life away,
The time left to me
I will in spite of the Prince

24 Rodenburgh 1617b, fol. D2r: ''t Baldadige geweld / Rechtvaerdicheid gantsch stelt / In tyrannijes handen. / Ghy die de scepter zwayd, / Laet redenens beschayt / Doch heerschen in uw landen. / „ Wat zijn de Prinsen, Heer, / „ Die luste boven eer / „ Moed-willichlik aenvaerden? / „ 't Zijn Prinsen in de schijn, / „ Maer, lacy! zulken zijn, / „ Recht Tyg'ren op der aerde. / Uw zoon heeft nu gevoet / De hetten zynes bloed / Nu hy mijn Grave boeyden, / Het misbruyck zijnes haet / Nu na zijn leven staet, / Vermits zijn toren groeyden.'

Use to mourn in sorrow.
And this tyranny
Which I suffer unjustly
Is lamented by high Heaven:
„ Although the Princes are gods
„ On earth, it is prohibited
„ to plague their subject.[25]

In the final two strophes, she pleads her case and tries to win the king over to the side of justice. Meanwhile, Celia also draws in the audience with strategic use of her emotional desperation:

You who wields the sceptre
And governs your people
So wise and mild:
Let your reckless son
Not tarnish your crown
By mischief so wanton.
I pray your Majesty,
But give such order
To set Prospero free.
If power disallows it,
Then be moved by the tears
Which rise from these eyes.[26]

The song was most likely sung to a contemporary melody—probably the one by Petrus Datheen or Jan Utenhove—of the Magnificat a beloved song among both Protestants

25 Rodenburgh 1617b, fols. D2r–D2v: 'Zo zijne hoogheid acht / Ik immer mijn gedacht / Tot Prosp'ro zal verlaten, / Hoe? zoud' ik scheyden van / Mijn echte trouwen man, / 'k Most dan mijn zelven haten. / Doch zo de Prinse tracht / Door krachte zijnes macht / Zijn leven hem te nemen, / Mijn over-bleven tijd / Zal ik de Prins ter spijt / Bedroefdelik beweenen. / En dese tyranny / Die 'k onrechtvaerdigh ly / Den hooghen Hemel klaghen, / „ Al zyn de Princen Goon / „ Der aerde, 't is verboon / „ Hun onderdaen te plaeghen.'

26 Rodenburgh 1617b, fol. D2v: 'Ghy die de scepter vuurt / En uw gemeente stuurt / Zo wijs'lijk, en goedadich: / Laet uw vermeet'len Zoon / Niet smetten uwe kroon / Door moed-wil dus baldadich. / 'k Bid uwe Majesteyt, / Doch gheve zulk bescheyd / Om Prosp'ro vry te stellen. / Vermoghen niet ghebeen, / Beweeght u door 't gheween / Welk uyt dees ooghen wellen.'

and Catholics.[27] The choice for this melody is also revealing, as the Bible text reflects on God's mercy and His aversion to *superbia*, as well as His tendency to aid those most in need. Moreover, the Magnificat shows that God gives help to the virtuous, especially those who demonstrate the four Cardinal Virtues.[28]

Celia's song has the intended effect: the king is immediately moved and even falls in love with her. He orders Prospero released from prison, only to learn that he died, or that is what the nobleman Rufino reports to the king. Angered by this news, the king disinherits his son and banishes him from his realm. As such, Celia is released from the Prince's terrorisation.[29] We can see from this example that such independent voices may also refract the intentions of others, and constitute a second language next to the authoritative language, as Bakhtin argues for the twentieth-century novel.[30] In this case, however, language is more specifically understood as the language of specific groups with their own belief systems (such as that of Celia and Prospero against Aristippus).

Like songs, monologues are moments that stand out in the text, since there is only one character onstage who shares his or her thoughts with the audience. In this regard, the incorporation of poetic forms other than dialogue also entails interruption and disruption. Manfred Pfister attests with respect to monologue, but the same can be said for songs: as interference, the device can express 'themes such as the disruption of communication and the isolation and alienation of the individual.'[31] Isolation and alienation are forms of displacement that foster a negative effect, but in *comedia nueva* they often happen voluntarily and bring about a so-called social-gender performance, which challenges and changes the natural law ethics. Characters in *comedias* can either use monologues or songs to this aim and examples of both are discussed further in this chapter. As we have seen, natural law dictates that society should be organised according to scholastic ideals of reason, logic, and faith. Fiore writes that '[t]he unjust ruler is considered by natural law to be more than a violator of human rights. He is rebelling against the divine system by which God rules the world.'[32] Although people

27 See the *Liederenbank* for the strophe form of the Magnificat (3A 3A 3b 3C 3C 3b), which corresponds with the strophe form of Celia's song.

28 See *Luke* 1:46–1:55.

29 Rodenburgh 1617b, fols. D3^{v}–D4^{r}.

30 Bakhtin 1981a, 315.

31 See Benjamin 1969, 151 about the idea that interruption is a fundamental device of all structuring; for monologue understood as interruption, see Pfister 1988, 134.

32 Fiore 1975, 2–5, 99–102.

may demand a restoration of former rights from unjust rulers, this does not extend to those who exceed social or gender boundaries. They rather carve out a position in life for themselves.

Gender Crossing and Social Masquerade

In addition to soliloquies, disguise can also have emancipatory effects on characters in *comedias*. As in the Spanish originals, women sometimes dress up as men and cross gender boundaries in the Dutch adaptations. In *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler writes about the transgression of gender boundaries that all acts and gestures are essentially *performative*. The essence or identity that these acts and gestures generally claim to express are '*fabrications* manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means.'[33] Butler uses the term 'gender performativity' to describe a 'decidedly public and social discourse,' which she identifies as the public regulation of gendered bodily expressions. These differentiate an inner psychology from an outer presentation, and 'so institutes "integrity" of the subject.'[34] She continues that acts and gestures, as well as articulated and enacted desires, 'create the illusion of an interior and organizing gender core,' which is 'discursively maintained for the purposes of the regulation of sexuality within the obligatory frame of reproductive heterosexuality.'[35]

Here we may return to Bakhtin's 'word of the father,' the authoritative voice which forces his worldview upon the protagonists. If the protagonists are to subvert that voice, they must revert to other means than their natural voice—the verses uttered in the Alexandrine meter—to challenge him, and in the process rebel against him. Song and monologue are two means, as discussed above, and cross-dressing and social masquerade are two others. Cross-dressing, social masquerade, and more generally disguise, are clear *modi* that cause disruption and interruption, as Pfister says for monologue in drama. It is no surprise, then, that cross-dressing and monologue go well together in *comedia nueva* and generate agency for all characters that embrace them.

In an early modern context, gender limits were extremely complicated. Those limits were not only the result of an imposed gender politics, but also of dress codes and sumptuary laws around social class as decreed throughout Europe. In England,

33 Butler 1999, 173.
34 Butler 1999, 173.
35 Butler 1999, 173.

for example, no woman was permitted to wear 'cloth of silver in kirtles only,' except those who had the appropriate rank. Nor could anyone who did not meet an income of 500 marks wear headdresses, netherstocks, jerkins, hose, and doublets of specific materials, according to historian Marjorie Garber.[36] Another injunction across the whole of Europe was biblical in nature: as mandated by Deuteronomy, neither men nor women shall wear garments of the other sex, for those who do are an abomination in the eyes of God.[37] Again, anti-theatricalists maintained that gender was a fixed category, since in their opinion cross-dressing 'could literally "adulterate" male gender,' as Laura Levine describes.[38] The age of self-fashioning—as the Renaissance is generally considered to have been today—brought about an anxiety 'that "being" has never been any more than an imaginary language construct.'[39] Levine argues, furthermore, that this anxiety stemmed from the fear that masculinity was indeed a changeable category and that 'costume was constitutive (that there was no essence beneath the costume).'[40]

In early modern Europe, wearing certain dress was as much a form of social performativity as it was a performance of gender. The implications of this are tremendous for early modern society at large, and for theatre specifically, as one of the Renaissance's most important cultural manifestations and representative arts. In light of early modern sumptuary codes, Garber sees cross-dressing as a transgression of boundaries, either of gender or of class. When these boundaries are crossed, they reveal that there is no real difference between class and gender, and further, that this disruption is radical:

> Transvestism was located at the juncture of "class" and "gender", and increasingly through its agency gender and class were revealed to be commutable, if not equivalent. To transgress against one set of boundaries was to call into question the inviolability of both, and of the set of social codes—already demonstrably under attack—by which such categories were policed and maintained. The transvestite in this scenario is both terrifying and seductive precisely because s/he incarnates

36 Garber 1992, 25–28. The mark was a unit of account in premodern England equal to two-thirds of a pound sterling. 500 marks is thus about £333.50.

37 Garber 1992, 28–29; Dekker and Van de Pol 1989, 99–100; see also *Deut.* 22:5 for the religious interdiction.

38 Levine 1994, 10.

39 Levine 1994, 11.

40 Levine 1994, 20.

> and emblematizes the disruptive element that intervenes, signaling not just another category crisis, but—much more disquietingly—a crisis of "category" itself.[41]

The cross-dresser could, therefore, choose the garments of another class, the dress of the other gender, or both, and criticise how society limits the opportunities in life of anyone who is not male, rich, and noble. Women in *comedia nueva* especially call into question the limitations on their gender as well as their social class. For example, in *Sigismundus, Prinçe van Poolen*, after Rosaura has for a third time changed her costume, and now appears before Sigismundus as a shieldmaiden, she says that she will no longer endure that Duke Astolfus, the man who left her in search of power, ignores her. She thus rebels against the limitations of her gender:

> See here, a female human, aggrieved, repudiated,
> Who continuously tries to strip a traitor's heart
> From that which she desires most, and has possessed a long time.[42]

Women overturn these limitations on their class and gender by means of their performative dress as McKendrick, Jelena Sánchez, and Amy Tigner made clear for the Spanish originals.[43] Female characters employ cross-dressing specifically as part of a social-gender performance with the effect of a social metamorphosis: women, who are considered to be domestic and passive, transgress social notions through which they grasp speech and agency of their own.

Unlike in England and Spain, where sumptuary laws prohibited burghers from wearing 'noble' garments, comparable sumptuary laws did not exist in the Low Countries. However, ministers from the Dutch Reformed Church repeatedly warned in their services and publications against excess, the display of wealth, and wearing dress not fitted to one's gender, as did others in Europe.[44] In general, European theatre endured ongoing scrutiny from religious officials: they condemned the practice of cross-dressing by male actors to be able to play female parts, since this would surely lead to immorality. For that very reason, women were allowed to perform in Spain

41 Garber 1992, 32.

42 Vrye Lief-hebbers 1654, 1705–1707: 'Ziet hier een vrouwe-mensch, verongelijkt, verstooten, / Die een verraders hert geduurig tracht t'ontblooten / Van 't geen' zy hoogst bemind, en lang bezeten heeft.'

43 McKendrick 1984, 324–326, 331–332, and 1989, 194–195; Sánchez 2012, 31–32; Tigner 2012, 174.

44 Levine 1994, 19–21; Albach 1996, 235; Duits 1996, 179; Groenendijk 1989, 142, 144–145, 148.

by 1587.[45] Such was believed to be the power of cross-dressing that for males playing female roles, 'costume could actually alter the gender of the male body beneath the costume,' says Levine.[46] Dutch Calvinist ministers, among whom notably Godefridus Cornelisz Udemans, Gisbertus Voetius, and Petrus Wittewrongel, protested that during theatre performances male actors adulterated their gender, which could only lead to immorality and entertainment of the flesh ('vleeschelick vermaak').[47]

Therefore, women were contracted for female roles. In 1655, actress Ariana van den Bergh was the first woman to be paid for taking on female roles in the productions of the Amsterdam Public Theatre.[48] This had, however, different consequences altogether: it gave women a forum permitting, and even promoting, cross-dressing, making the effect of these transgressions only greater. The Calvinist ministers condemned this new practice as well, stating that women actors only promoted promiscuity.[49] Terry Castle asserts, like Garber, that fears generated by the masquerade are particularly related to the belief that cross-dressing by women would eventually lead to female sexual freedom and female emancipation in general.[50]

In Van Germez' *Vervolgde Laura*, first performed in 1645, to escape persecution from the king, Laura dresses as a (male) page. Given it was staged prior to Ariana van den Bergh's 1655 entrance to the theatre, the part of Laura was initially played by a man acting in the role of a woman, who dresses as a man. When male actors played female roles, the transvestite costume made their stage gender again correspond with their own gender, at least before 1655. Such is also the case in Rodenburgh's 1617 play *Ialoersche studenten*, in which several burgher daughters impersonate male students in order to confront several 'other' male students: men dressed as women, dressed as men. Such '[t]ransvestite theater recognizes that *all* of the figures onstage are impersonators. The notion that there has to be a naturalness to the sign is exactly what

45 McKendrick 1989, 49; Sánchez 2012, 32; Tigner 2012, 169–170.

46 Levine 1994, 3.

47 Duits 1996, 179; Groenendijk 1989, 142, 144–145, 148.

48 Albach 1996, 235–237; Van Marion 2021, 5. Note that this is the year in which women were allowed to perform onstage at the Amsterdam Public Theatre. It is unclear when women were allowed onstage in the Habsburg Netherlands, and if similar restrictions existed in Antwerp and Brussels. Furthermore, travelling theatre companies consisted of both men and women who performed together whenever allowed; the restriction on women only applied to the official institution of the Amsterdam Public Theatre, which was closely monitored by religious officials. See also Blom and Van Marion 2021, 27–28.

49 Duits 1996, 179; Groenendijk 1989, 142, 144–145, 148.

50 Castle 1986, 33; Garber 1992, 133–141.

great theater puts in question,' writes Garber.[51] After 1655, cross-dressing by male actors makes space for female acting. When an actress plays a woman onstage who disguises herself as a man, this meant that she was, in fact, a real cross-dresser, as actress and as character, effectively making the cross-dressing act real rather than suggested. Through this, theatre promotes emancipation and creates new realities which are yet to be considered, yet to be explored, and yet to be created.

Comedias set aside certain morals in favour of the possibility of such a new reality, one in which people are not (emotionally) restrained by social or gender boundaries: it created the emotional liberty to be one's true self. As a *comedia urbana*, Rodenburgh's *Ialoersche studenten* is set in the city of Leiden. The women are exploited in this play, turning them into nothing more than glorified prostitutes. To fight the accusation, they rebel: they not only change their gender through dress, but they also choose to dress as students, thus, ascending to the same social position of the men who have been using them for their lustful self-interests. Since students were allowed to wear rapiers, the women can also challenge the men to a duel, which they do, although the duel is prevented when the women's identities are revealed.[52] According to early modern conceptions of natural law, this was permissible, as the men prevented the women from engaging in further impropriety, enabling them to pursue happiness in a peaceful and orderly manner. Therefore, the women in their male disguise are allowed to defend their honour by all rights that come with their appropriated status as students and that are not intrinsically wrong.[53] It was clear that the circumstances called for the women to take extreme measures of *emotional rebellion*, but these measures are still controversial, as they also result in an otherwise undesirable situation where the women are fully emancipated.[54] When the women finally make the men admit their feelings for them, they make their social change permanent, even after they have laid aside their disguises. Their new social position allows them to marry the

51 Garber 1992, 40.

52 Rodenburgh 1617c, fols. G2^{v}–G3^{r}.

53 Fiore 1975, 100–101.

54 It could be argued that in the early modern period it was undesirable that women took up arms, because this was inappropriate for their gender. That in reality the view towards women warriors was more nuanced proves the case of Kenau Simonsdochter Hasselaer (1526–1588/1589), who fought for the side of the Dutch rebels during the Siege of Haarlem by the Habsburg forces (1572–1573) and was laurelled after in the seventeenth century as a female hero. See Kloek 2014, 180–219. Also in other writings of the Dutch Revolt, women are praised for their participation in the defense of the city, such as in the Siege of Alkmaar (1573). See Van Foreest 1573.

students.[55] It is a recurrent theme in *comedia nueva*, and cross-dressing and duelling are the tools that facilitate the characters' new social realities.

The result is not merely that characters perform their opposite gender, but that they also express social class through their clothing. As a theatre practice, disguise then strengthens a 'kind of displacement, substitution, or slippage,' but also a 'category destabilization' as stated by Garber, but it never becomes comedic or burlesque.[56] In *comedias*, women must usually emancipate themselves in order for them to enjoy the same rights as their male counterparts. In *comedia nueva*, women are confronted with how society treats them as having no identity except for the one bestowed on them by their families as daughter, wife, mother. Realising that they too are in every respect fully human despite what society may believe, women offer by their actions a strong reflective counterview to the male preoccupations seeking to control women's sexual behaviour.[57] And they do so with vigour through cross-dressing and social masquerades. As Garber astutely questions:

> *Did* clothes, in fact, make the man—or woman? Was 'self-fashioning'—the 'forming of a self'—that achievement so consistently claimed as one of the chief distinguishing features of the Renaissance, in fact at the mercy of *fashion*? Of *clothing*?[58]

There are enough examples where women dress up as men of higher nobility to be able to move more freely, but in early modern theatre the opposite—women dressing up as men of lower nobility—are also prevalent.

In Serwouters' *Den grooten Tamerlan* (Amsterdam 1657, 'The Great Tamerlan'), for example, female cross-dressing and the *gracioso's* absurdism go hand in hand, when Maächa dresses up as a male fool, as a *gracioso*, in order to save her beloved Sultan Bayaset from the Rebel-King Tamerlan. The mask of the *gracioso* gives her a form of emotional freedom, unrestrained from social or political expectations. In a way, what she does is as absurd as the character of the *gracioso* that she impersonates. She was originally of noble birth, but uses the unique power of truth inscribed on the *gracioso* to rebel against the now tyrannical Tamerlan.[59] Yet, Tamerlan does not realise that

55 Rodenburgh 1617c, fol. G3^{v}.
56 Garber 1992, 36–37.
57 McKendrick 1984, 317–318.
58 Garber 1992, 31–32.
59 For this specific quality of the *gracioso*, see Leoni 2000, 3–5; Gómez 2006, 112–113.

Maächa is not who she says she is. He disregards her words as those of a nonsensical fool. That gives her the opportunity to aid Aurelia (Bayaset's wife) to poison Tamerlan and finish their rebellion together—however, Bayaset commits suicide with the file that Maächa had actually given him to free himself, thus rendering their rebellion essentially fruitless.[60]

Sometimes, however, women characters can begin an emotional rebellion by dressing as women. In Questiers' *Den geheymen minnaar* (1655, 'The Secret Lover'), Constantia and her lady-in-waiting Sabina appear on stage dressed as shepherdesses at the beginning of the second act.[61] Thus, they stay true to their biological gender. They do so to admire Emperor Ottho of Germany, whom Constantia was forbidden to see by her secret lover Fredericus out of fear that the emperor would fall in love with his beloved. Knowing that as a housewife she must obey men, Constantia is unprepared to also let her knowledge-hungry eyes be 'enslaved' by a man, not even her jealous lover.[62] An adaptation of Lope's *Si no vieran las mujeres* (1637, 'If Women Had Not Looked'), Questiers' play demonstrates the same preoccupation with female liberty as the original. Perhaps Questiers specifically adapted this play by Lope because it features a self-aware woman, who knows very well what space she, as a woman, has to move around freely, and knows the consequences of overstepping the limits of her gender. The latter is a recurrent topic in Questiers' oeuvre;[63] the tone of the playwright's dedication to Catherine of Sweden (the seventeenth-century abdicated queen of Sweden) in *Den geheymen minnaar* underlines this further. In it, Questiers praises the queen's knowledge and scholarship, which set her apart as a remarkable woman.[64]

In approaching her source, Questiers took the liberty to adapt the opening scene of Lope's *comedia*, in which Constantia and Sabina appear on stage while on a hunt. While the stage directions of the original mention that Isabela (Constantia's name in the Spanish original) appears on stage with an arquebus in hand, Sabina mentions in Questiers' adaptation that her lady is instead holding a hunting bow and arrows, and thus more resembles Artemis, goddess of the hunt.[65] Nevertheless, both Isabela

60 Serwouters 1657, 42, 53–54, 56–57.

61 Questiers 1655, fol. C2^{r}: 'Constantia en Sabina in Harderinne kleeren, met Ergasto de Huysman.'

62 Questiers 1655, fol. B2^{r}: 'Wat moeyten men ook doet het al verlooren is, / En nu te meer, nu 't al, behalleven de oogen, / De man gehoorzaam is, en in het juk geboogen; / Dus wil ik mijn gezicht gebruyken altijdt vry, / En dat niet stellen in een nieuwe slaverny.'

63 See e.g., Van Deinsen 2010, esp. 76–79.

64 Questiers 1655, fol. A2^{r}.

65 See Lope de Vega 1637, fol. 271^{v}; Questiers 1655, fol. B1^{r}.

and Constantia are emancipated women who clearly know how to handle a weapon. This is reflected in Constantia's actions when, still disguised as a shepherdess, she goes to admire the emperor, who is staying in the next village while hunting with his company. She defends her choice by saying that she 'will not be a woman, or I will see the emperor';[66] for Constantia, the choice to see the emperor in his full glory is linked to her curious nature as a woman, thus, she goes to see him also as a *woman*. Her social masquerade as a shepherdess is only necessary because Fredericus is a jealous man.

Subversive Acts: Female—or Male?

Jelena Sánchez similarly explored the power that some female characters wield in the *comedia de capa y espada* when they either cross-dress or use female masquerade (that is, purposely acting as the perfect ideal of femininity as perceived by men) with the aim of creating their own freedom. Sánchez calls these women *tramoyeras*. *Tramoyeras* are ingenious women 'with a particular faculty for invention and deception,' who transgress notions of femininity and procure a degree of individualism, embodying a 'combination of female agency, sexual mobility, theatrical masquerade and socio-historical substance.'[67] Her argument follows the *tramoyera* as a spokesperson in poetic debates among Spanish playwrights on the benefits of theatre and the role of women therein, as well as the *tramoyera's* power as a sexualised, unique woman whose actions subvert patriarchal power structures. Sánchez contends that the *tramoyera* calls into question the socio-economic roles of men and women. To this end, the *tramoyera* could use the female masquerade, which produces a perfect image of the woman in public life, while she tries to manufacture a new reality when in seclusion.[68]

The ideas as presented in this chapter resonate with Sánchez' thesis. Yet, simultaneously, this chapter argues for a view that sees cross-dressing specifically as an emotionalised act and, thus, as a form of *emotional rebellion*. I also differentiate between the specific concerns of women's roles in *comedias* in Spain and their roles in *comedias* in the Low Countries. One such difference is the importance of song, monologue, and masquerade in the Flemish-Dutch adaptations as a means to establish the kind of *emotional rebellion* I discuss. Sánchez sees *comedia de capa y espada* specifically as a

66 Questiers 1655, fol. B3^{r}: 'Ik zal geen vrouw zijn of ik zal den Keyzer zien.' Cf. Lope de Vega 1637, fol. 273^{r}: 'O ver, o no ser muger.'

67 Sánchez 2012, 4–12.

68 Sánchez 2012, *passim*.

woman-centric genre that produces female agency.[69] The same claim can be made about the Dutch-language *comedias* on the basis of the above presented material. However, I do not use Sánchez term *tramoyera*, because the *emotional rebellion* which is the subject of this chapter is not solely performed by *tramoyeras* in Dutch-language *comedias* (nor in the Spanish originals for that matter). Prospero, for one, proves in Rodenburgh's *Celia en Prospero* that men can be likewise rebellious in seeking the right to marry someone of their choosing and employ similar techniques.

Yet, Sánchez' insights about the *tramoyera* are important for our understanding of *comedias* in the Dutch context. According to Sánchez, the transvestite woman in *comedia nueva* provides an artistic wonder which engages and mesmerises the audience, as through cross-dressing a woman positions herself 'on top.' Sánchez says, furthermore, that this 'has the potential to psychologically arouse the spectators' and, as such, the 'audacious role adopted by an actress excited and mesmerised playgoers and kept them coming back for more female licentiousness.'[70] Such female emotional freedom as it is thematised in *comedias* is not available in canonical 'home-grown' tragedies such as *Gysbreght van Aemstel*, *Geeraerdt van Velsen*, and *Jeptha*, and also not in comedies like Bredero's *Moortje* (1615).

Following Sánchez' position about the unique role of the *tramoyera* in the Spanish *comedia nueva* to subdue and destabilise patriarchal structures,[71] we can see how the adaptations are an immediate reaction to traditional female roles, as well as to cross-dressing roles in 'home-grown' plays. Unlike the passive and emotionally instable women who must be saved from their own emotions—one can think of Jan Konst's discussion of Filopaie, as well as Marco Prandoni's analysis of Badeloch's emotions[72]—the women in Dutch *comedias* spring into action when dressed as men, or by using the transfiguring force of music and song. In contrast, when cross-dressing occurs in 'home-grown' plays, it is generally a deceptive element in comedies that corrupts men and oppresses women.

In *Moortje*, a comedy based on Terence's *Eunuchus*, the character Writsart uses cross-dressing in the context of Shrove Tuesday (he dresses as a black slave girl) as a means to indulge his lust for the orphaned Katryntje, entering her house and raping her. To protect the girl's honour, Writsart marries Katryntje. In Hooft and Coster's *Warenar* (1617), an adaptation of Plautus' *Aulularia*, Ritsart likewise disguises himself, this time

69 Sánchez 2012, 1.
70 Sánchez 2012, 39.
71 Sánchez 2012, 2–4.
72 Konst 1993, 20–30, 117–120; Prandoni 2007, 128–148.

as a wedding guest, to rape a girl. Van Stipriaan describes the masquerade of Writsart in *Moortje* and Ritsart in *Warenar* as 'a bizarre combination of festive circumstances, innocent costume rituals, villainous deception, and scandalous behaviour,' which enable a warped 'happy ending,' at least from a male point of view, when the men marry the women to supposedly protect their honour and virtue, and mitigate their own crime.[73] With regards to these plays, Van Stipriaan argues that the dynamics of judgement and deception take centre stage: there is more attention for the way that these two rapists deceive themselves and others to succeed in their goal, rather than for the reprehensibility of their act.[74]

However, compared to the way that cross-dressing is generally used in *comedia nueva*, the disguise of Writsart in *Moortje* and Ritsart in *Warenar* becomes nothing more than an abuse of male power, something that women in the Dutch adaptations of *comedias* explicitly act against. When women in *comedia nueva* employ either soliloquies or disguise, they are given a voice and their emotions are finally allowed to exist. Through this, women command an undeniably fascinating presence, which I believe contributed to *comedia nueva's* success in the Low Countries, as much as it did in Spain.

Emotional Rebellion as a Model

To summarise, *emotional rebellion* functions in two specific ways in the Dutch adaptations of *comedia nueva*. In this kind of Hispanic drama, *emotional rebellion* is established when the text is polyphone *and* when the text allows for social-gender performance. Polyphone discourse is established through soliloquies (songs or monologue). Social-gender performance is established through disguise, and can either take the form of cross-dressing or social masquerade. The *gracioso* reflects on and influences the polyphone discourse and the characters' social gender-crossing, by indicating that the acts by these women—or men—are exceptional, and that the spectators should pay attention (Figure 6.1).

In what follows, I apply this model and demonstrate more closely how acts of *emotional rebellion* occur in Dutch-language *comedias*. I read three individual scenes, each from another of the following plays, and I discuss how these plays at large foster *emotional rebellion*. I discuss scenes from Heynck's *Veranderlyk geval*, De Fuyter's

73 Van Stipriaan 1996, 228.
74 Van Stipriaan 1996, 228.

Verwarde hof, and *Spaensche comedie, de mislukte liefde, en trouw van Rugero prins van Navarren* by the anonymous author with the acronym E.D.S.M. (Antwerp c. 1660).[75]

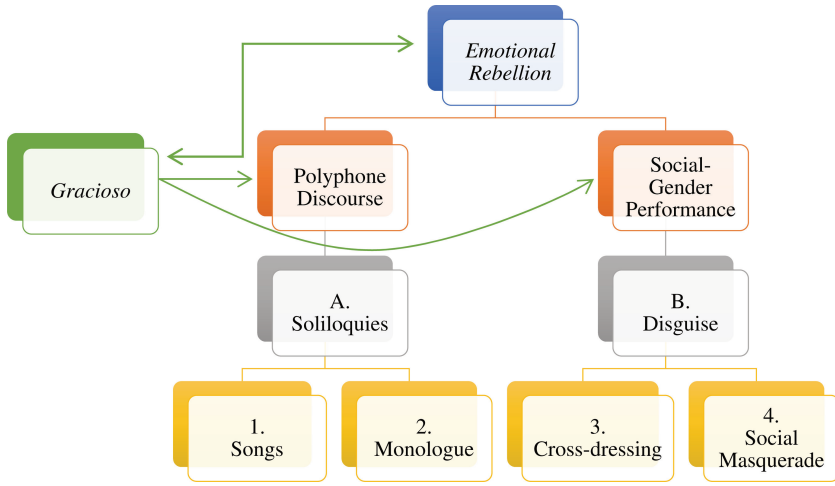

FIG. 6.1 Different forms of *emotional rebellion* in *comedia nueva*

Strange Strophes: Sung Rebellion in *Veranderlyk Geval*

Veranderlyk geval by the Amsterdam playwright Heynck premiered on 12 March 1663 in the Amsterdam Public Theatre. Between its premiere and 1672, the play was performed 35 times, an average of 3.5 times per year. From its first performance, it was a perennial favourite, ranking at number 1 in the top 50 'main plays' performed in the Amsterdam Public Theatre during that period. Overall, the play was performed 196 times before 1788, ranking it third in the popularity charts, making it the all-time most popular Spanish play in the Dutch Republic.[76]

75 The oldest available print of *De mislukte liefde* is the print of 1674, printed by one S.V.B. in Amsterdam. The printer mentions, however, that the text had already been a success in Antwerp theatres for thirteen or fourteen years by that time: 'over 13 a 14 jaren onbegrepen t'Antwerpen vertoont niet sonder ongemeenen toeloop.' Yet, the printer also seems to suggest that the text was never printed in Antwerp: 'noit even (naer best weeten) gemeijnt door den druck gemaeckt.' The former may have been an attempt to lend the play greater appeal. See E.D.S.M. 1674, fol. A2r.

76 My ranking method is relative, taking the date of premiere as the starting date and then counting until 1672. Overall, *Gysbreght van Aemstel* is evidently the most performed play as it was programmed every year until 1968. *De verduytste Cid* was in absolute numbers performed more than *Veranderlyk*

That popularity was not without cause. Heynck had, in his own words, made a rhymed adaptation of an original Spanish play, 'sometimes doing what [he] then thought proper; not so much overseeing a precise reproduction, but according to [the customs of] our present-day theatre, making it appear somewhat agreeable in the eyes of spectators.'[77] He does not reveal his source text, but research has shown that the hypotext is *Mudanzas de la fortuna y firmezas del amor* (c. 1649, 'Changes of Fortune and Steadfastness of Love') by the Andalusian playwright Cristóbal de Monroy y Silva, which Jacob Baroces, a member of Amsterdam's Sephardic Jewish community, translated in prose for Heynck.[78] As this section shows, Heynck catered to the tastes of the audience with his alterations, demonstrating his awareness of current fashions. Evidently, the play did not meet any of the agreed-upon rules of playwriting. As such, it is a successful example of how the Dutch appropriated Spanish emotional figures.

The plot thematises steady and everlasting love, as clearly indicated by the subtitle, but the play specifically identifies how social class can be an obstacle in the path of true love, unless one remains doggedly persistent. Rather than painting the protagonists as lovesick, as was customary on the seventeenth-century Dutch stage,[79] Margareta and Karel have an eternal and true love for each other, one worth fighting for despite social division. The lovers are two orphans who were raised by the herdsman Albano. In fact, many years ago, Albano had taken care of two pregnant women: the queen and the sister of the king. The king was, however, banished, but recently regained his throne and now, not knowing the fate of his wife nor sister, looks for an heir at Albano's farm. Karel is proclaimed heir, but it is not revealed that Margareta is the King's niece. The lovers are separated by the social elevation of Karel. He leaves for court, while Margareta is left behind. In the few scenes I focus on here, Margareta undergoes a process of emotional change. Her initial emotional suffering is a passive

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geval, at 230 times before 1768, of which 77 performances were between 1641 and 1662. The *Cid* had a head start of 21 years; between 1641 and 1672, it was performed 103 times, averaging 3.2 times per year. After the premiere of *Veranderlyk geval*, its popularity was surpassed, as Heynck's play was performed 35 times between 1663–1672 and *De verduytste Cid* 26 times, thus ranking it number two in the same period.

77 Heynck 1663, fol. A2^{v}: 'daar af en toe doende wat my toen goet dacht; niet zozeer lettende op een naukeurige navolging, als wel, om het na ons hedendaaghs Tooneel eenigsins aangenaam in d'ogen der aanschouwers te doen schynen.'

78 The source text was discovered by Frans Blom; see Blom and Van Marion 2021, 74–75. The Biblioteca Nacional de España holds a copy of the play that was published in 1649 (i.e., de Monroy y Silva 1649). There seem to be no older copies, which leads me to conclude that this is the *editio princeps*. This edition might well be the direct source text of Heynck's *Veranderlyk geval*.

79 See Van Marion 2016.

acceptance of her agreement to their separation. Before long, Margareta will come to realise that this separation is too difficult to bear. Instead, she decides to act and to transform her suffering into an *emotional rebellion*.

Refuge and Rebellion through Song

This process starts when the page urges Karel to say his goodbyes and enter the awaiting carriage. Karel says to Margareta that his heart will always belong to her, although he is leaving her. She replies that her heart will always follow Karel. Karel leaves the stage. Margareta begins her first agonising song.[80] No similar reflection is present in the Spanish original, which makes the appearance of the song in the Dutch adaptation significant for our understanding of *emotional suffering* and *rebellion* in the Dutch theatre context.[81] In the song, reference is made to a huntsman who robs a turtledove of her loving spouse. As a lovebird, the turtledove is a symbol of true love, making the song a strong metaphor for separated lovers. With this metaphor now explained, we can see how the King impersonates the huntsman, Margareta the female turtledove left behind, and Karel her male counterpart (the caught bird):

> Thus the turtledove begins mourning,
> When the huntsman, unexpectedly,
> In the middle of the horrible night,
> Longing for the hunt, comes to disturb her nest;
> By which she, before she can think or guess it,
> Misses her loving spouse, her life,
> And fears for what will happen to him.
> [...]
> Likewise they despite my sorrow

80 The strongest indication that this passage must have been sung, is the Liederenbank, which says: 'possibly sung passage, 1st act. By Margareta, princess. Strophes separated by white. First verse of the two last couplets are indented.' See also Van Marion & Vergeer 2014, 174 and Van Marion & Vergeer 2016, 51 for their treatment of songs in the work of Hispanophile playwright Rodenburgh, who inserted songs into his *Vrou Iacoba* (1638), *Casandra en Karel*, and many other plays. In all cases, explicit reference to a passage being sung is absent, as is the case here. See Grijp & Meeus 1996, 123;they offer a guiding principle to recognise songs in theatre. A prerequisite is that a text is strophic. Some other indications are that the typography deviates from that of the spoken text, and that the strophes are irregular (and thus characteristic of song). This applies to all nine songs in *Veranderlyk geval*.

81 Cf. Heynck 1663, vv. 633–655; Monroy y Silva 1649, fols. F6r.–F6v.

Are going to rob me of my Karel
At the most unanticipated moment before I know it.
Oh sadness! Oh sorrow! Oh heart's pain! Oh pain!
Alas! Who will be and can be my comforter in the end?[82]

At this stage, Margareta's song is a reflection of her inner suffering, an *emotional suffering*. The emotives that follow upon the song make that all the more apparent: 'Oh sadness! Oh sorrow! Oh heart's pain! Oh pain!' As a dramatic device, this song offers Margareta a safe vehicle to express her sorrow. As such, her suffering is enveloped in a song, wherein she finds *emotional refuge*. I argue that as inherent part of the dramatic action, songs in the Dutch *comedias nuevas*—being interspersed with emotives—are in all cases indictments against the course of events. In this song, Margareta currently finds refuge, but that refuge will eventually develop into a rebellion in the following scenes.

An especially important moment in the play is Margareta's second song in the middle of the third act, as it will mark a change in her behaviour. In the original *Mudanzas de la fortuna*, Margarita re-enters stage 'as male, with rapier, under cover of night' ('de hombre, con espada, y rodela de noche'). She begins a monologue, saying that like the moon, tears confuse her ('llantos que me deshazen'), jealousy keeps her awake ('zelos que me desuelan'), and pains fight her ('penas que me combaten'). If only she could find him. If only he could find her. Live is worth nothing without Carlos ('estando sin èl, no es mucho').[83] It would be better if she were not to see him, nor to talk to him, but she asks an unknown power permission to do otherwise:

I know well, Carlos of my eyes,
That I must not see you, nor talk to you,
[...]
Out of breath I come to see him,
Without life I come to look for him,
Permit me to see my love.[84]

82 Heynck 1663, vv. 633–639, 651–655: 'Zo raakt de tortelduif aan 't treuren, / Wanneer de jager, onverwacht, / In 't midden van de nare nacht / Op roof belust, haar nest komt steuren; / Waar door zy, eêr zy 't denkt of gist, / Haar lieve gâ, haar leven mist, / En vreest voor 't geen hem zal gebeuren. [...] Gelyk men hier nu tot myn leet, / Op 't onverzienste eêr ik het weet, / My van myn Karel gaat beroven. / O droefheit! ô verdriet! ô hartenleet! ô pyn! / Helaas! wie zal in 't ent, wie kan myn trooster zyn?'

83 De Monroy y Silva 1649, fol. F8^{r}.–F8^{v}.

84 De Monroy y Silva 1649, fol. F8^{r}: 'Bien se, Carlos de mis ojos, / que no he de verte, ni hablarte, [...] sin aliento vengo à verle, / sin vida vengo à buscarle, / permiteme vèr mi dueño.'

The text is disruptive here. Monologue is already considered to be a disruptive element in and of itself, but in the Spanish original, the monologue's verses are also disruptive in terms of rhyme. The whole monologue and the next few scenes are composed in so-called *versos sueltos* (blank verse) or *silvas*, a baroque strophe form in Spanish, which is a variant of *vers libre* (free verse). *Silvas* consist of seven- to eleven-syllable lines, of which the majority are rhymed, but there is no fixed order of rhyme, nor a fixed number of lines.[85] Moreover, Lauer asserts that *silvas* are typically used in Spanish drama for emotional scenes.[86] What does the form mean for conveying emotion? It is striking, at least, that this night-time scene uses a typical verse form absent in any other scenes. In general, Spanish drama uses polymetric verse. Here the unpredictability of the verse form, or use of blank verse, renders the monologue disruptive and signals a peculiarity in the text. Something is happening here. The spectator quickly realises this and is alerted. Free verse has often been characterised as *poésie parlante*, as poetry that uses the rhythm of the natural voice, to stress the contents or the peculiarity of the contents, rather than the artistic form.

Does the cover of night that appears in this scene allow, then, for normal speech? Can Margarita finally speak freely with her lover? Can Carlos finally meet with his beloved without fear of discovery? Do they both break free from the limitations on their behaviour and emotions, and does the fracture in the text represent that breaking free of the straitjacket that is the *emotional regime*? Is this, then, a manifestation of *emotional rebellion*? I think it is. And, this disruption is enforced by Margarita's seclusion on stage: it appeals to the *topos* in Spanish drama of women in mountainous or otherwise rough terrain, who in their seclusion can reveal their true thoughts and feelings.[87] This particular interruption continues until the play's two antagonists, Federico and Count Arnesto, re-enter stage; until then, the lovers are only accompanied by Carlos' confidant, the *gracioso* Mengo.

With this knowledge, let us return to Heynck's adaptation and how he interpreted this particular scene. In *Veranderlyk geval*, Margareta likewise enters stage cloaked—in 'manne kleeding' ('male dress')—and under the cover of night, but rather than delivering a monologue, she begins another song (vv. 941–970). The song functions as a counterpart or response to a few verses that Karel had already sung in vv. 810–816, expressing that Margareta is perfect and governs his soul, which makes it impossible for him to instead love Porcia, whom he is supposed to marry. Like Mar-

85 De Monroy y Silva 1649, fols. F8r.–G1v.

86 Lauer 2002.

87 Kaufmant 2010, 68–79.

gareta's song, Karel's song is also an invention of Heynck. In the Spanish, Carlos uses rhymed monologue.[88] We could, actually, interpret both songs as extreme manifestations of monologue. Understood as an 'incorporated genre,' the songs then strongly demarcate *emotional rebellion*. Margareta's song in particular is an example of that kind of rebellion. It does two things: it intensifies her emotions and also condenses them, partly because Heynck summarised the lengthy monologue of eighty lines in the Spanish original into two strophes of fifteen lines each in his Dutch version.

It is remarkable that Heynck chose to insert a song at the specific moment that De Monroy de Silva disrupted his drama. As said, Heynck's source was a prose translation delivered by Baroces, the man who delivered Dutch translations of *comedias* to sate the Amsterdam Public Theatre's ongoing need for new material.[89] Did Baroces in his prose translation indicate the rupture in the Spanish text? Or did Heynck see the unusual nature of this passage himself and realise its affective potential? Perhaps he and Baroces conversed about the adaptation and how to interpret certain aspects of the text, including the disruption of rhyme in the Spanish original. The answers to these questions are lost to time, but the inclusion of song at this specific moment is well-chosen and intensifies the polyphone discourse of *Veranderlyk geval*, which merits a closer inspection.

The intensification of the polyphone discourse through song spotlights Margareta while she explains to the audience (and must perhaps justify to herself) her masculine appearance and what she is doing so close to court. Here, the theatre song is again an excellent means for Margareta to subvert what is considered to be the natural order, but it also fits with Spanish ideals concerning the dramatic use of music. Umpierre writes about Lope's plays specifically that major and life-changing decisions 'are projected and dramatically "enlarged" through the use of songs;' they signal, like a *nota bene*, to spectators that this juncture in the plot is crucial to the action that follows.[90] Something similar to what Umpierre describes for the Spanish originals (as it applies more broadly, and not only to Lope's work) also happens here in

88 The original Spanish text makes clear that everyone leaves stage except for Carlos. After Carlos monologue of eight verses, Mengo enters stage with a 'vilette,' a note or short letter, notifying Carlos of a lady's desire to meet at night; see De Monroy y Silva 1649, fol. F7^{v}. This scene happens immediately before Margareta's song; see Heynck 1663, vv. 913–940.

89 See Jautze, Álvarez Francés, and Blom 2016, 32–35, and Blom and Van Marion 2017, 166–168, 173 for Baroces' role in the cultural industry of Amsterdam. Heynck 1663, fols. A2^{r}–A2^{v} references Baroces' role in translating the source text of *Veranderlyk geval*: 'in Vaarzen heb gebracht; na dat het my uit het Spaans door d'E I. Barokus was vertaalt […].'

90 Umpierre 1975, 20.

this Dutch adaptation. In the first strophe, Margareta compares Karel to the golden sun and herself to the silver moon—like Apollo and Diana. The moon sets after her brother, tailing him always. They are separated by night and day. The first strophe of the Dutch song follows the tenor of the original Spanish monologue:

> Now that the golden sun departs,
> And the earth covers itself with mists,
> And gives the silver moon the usual sign,
> Who in turn and according to her duty,
> So elegantly ignites Heaven
> With a bright light of a thousand torches,
> To thus look for her brother,
> Whom she loves, with care and consideration,
> Until she finds him again in the morning;
> Likewise, I dare to become braver
> To follow my lover.
> Would I find him just as Diana,
> What joy and happiness I would find!
> If I found myself in my beloved,
> It would bind together more securely heart and soul.[91]

Margareta is clearly anguished in her separation from Karel. However, her tone changes in the Dutch text and she explicitly reflects on her costume change:

> Troubled by this sorrowful state,
> I have changed myself in this
> Costume; because I could not bear my suffering any longer.[92]

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91 Heynck 1663, vv. 941–955: 'NU dat de goude zon vertrekt, / En 't aartryk zich met nev'len dekt, / En geeft de zilv're maan 't gewonelyke teeken, / Die op haar beurt en na haar plicht, / Den Hemel met een helder licht / Van duizent fakkelen zo cierlyk gaat onsteeken, / Om zo haar broeder, die zy mint, / Met zorg en voordacht op te zoeken, / Tot zy hem 's morgens weder vint, / Zo derf ik my nu ook verkloeken, / Om mynen Minnaar na te gaan, / Vond ik hem meê gelyk Diaan, / Wat zouw ik vreugt en blydschap vinden! / Ik vond my zelf in myn beminde, / 't Zou hart en ziel noch vaster t'zamen binden.'

92 Heynck 1663, vv. 956–958: 'Bekommert in dees droeve staat, / Heb ik my zelf in dit gewaat / Verandert; want ik kon myn lyden niet meer dragen.'

It is even more interesting that this specific passage cannot be found in the Spanish text. In Dutch, Margareta repeats and explicates her act of cross-dressing in her singing, and links it specifically to her emotional suffering. Her emotives become therefore self-exploring and self-altering, which is the third characteristic of emotives according to Reddy. By means of enjambement, Margareta emphasises her metamorphosis (for in the original Dutch text the verb 'veranderen' is placed in enjambement). Although she is unable to bear her suffering, she still feels that people are suspicious of her actions. Furthermore, her fears and the possibility of dying from lovesickness have threatened her into extremity. And yet, her constant love for Karel does not allow her to be moved by worldly troubles:

> While the suspicion, the fear, and death,
> Threatened me in this high distress,
> My steadfastness does not esteem any worldly troubles.[93]

So, if she cannot speak to Karel, then at least she might be able to see him. That, to her, is enough. Her gender-crossing enables her in this endeavour and she finds a renewed freedom:

> And whether or not I will speak
> To my Karel, it is enough to behold
> The place where he enjoys his peace;
> So much power has his love and loyalty
> Over me; who between hope and fear,
> Like a parentless orphan,
> Begs heaven with grim laments,
> Because he appears to languish from sorrow,
> Not knowing what fate awaits him.[94]

What becomes clear is that Margareta's masquerading as a man helps her overcome her feelings of sorrow, refocus her emotives, and redirect herself to action. The implications of Margareta's emotives can be better understood when we compare her song to

93 Heynck 1663, vv. 959–961: 'Wyl d'achterdocht, de vrees, en doot, / My dreigden in dees hoge noot, / Doch myn Stantvastigheit en acht geen werelts plagen.'

94 Heynck 1663, vv. 962–970: 'En of ik juist myn Karel niet / En spreek, 't is my genoeg t'aanschouwen / De plaats daar hy zyn rust geniet; / Zo veel vermach zyn liefde en trouwe / Op my; die tusschen

a similar scene in the nineteenth-century opera *Fidelio* (1814) by Ludwig van Beethoven. Jonathan Goldberg has shown for Beethoven's only opera that the *Melodram* between the cross-dressing Fidelio and Rocco during Rocco's imprisonment is a unique intersection that elicits agency and questions ideas of identity. Characters either speak or sing in the other scenes of *Fidelio*, but in this scene specifically they speak in dialogue with the music (*recitativo* in opera), creating a speech-like rhythm: Leonore, the wife of Rocco, is dressed during this prison scene as the male Fidelio. She is not a wife coming to rescue her husband Rocco from prison, but 'rather, she is someone committed to freedom for anyone unjustly deprived of freedom'—which applies to Karel as well—'Anyone male, that is.'[95] According to Goldberg, 'apparently, the commitment voiced here is one only a man can make and act upon,' and thus Lenore's cross-dressing is not only justified, but necessary. The music underlines that fact.[96]

Despite their similarities, the emancipatory scene in *Veranderlyk geval* is simultaneously different from the prison scene in *Fidelio*, which can be placed in a literary tradition stemming back to the early modern period. In other seventeenth-century *comedias*, moments of emancipation such as that in *Veranderlyk geval* are typically featured during a prison scene (as in *Fidelio*). We see this, for example, in Isaak Vos' *Gedwongen vrient*. There, Princess Luzinda comes to rescue Astolfo from a Bohemian prison, to which end she dresses up as a male slave. As such, she can pass by the prison ward unnoticed. Meanwhile, her brother's chamberlain Ortenzio, who poses as an Armenian merchant, distracts the prison ward. He is aided by Lizaura, Astolfo's sister, who poses as a female slave and Prince Turbino, Luzinda's brother and Lizaura's fiancé, who poses as a messenger. Although the script of *Gedwongen vrient* gives no typographical indication that music was used during this scene, seventeenth-century prison scenes were typically musical in nature according to Natascha Veldhorst.[97] In *Veranderlyk geval*, Karel may be regarded to be psychologically imprisoned by the straitjacket of the court, although he is not physically imprisoned.

Nevertheless, I think it is useful to interpret Margareta's identity performance in *Veranderlyk geval* similarly to Leonore's in *Fidelio* and Luzinda's in *Gedwongen vrient*, as in each a wife fights, through cross-dressing, for a love that is taken from her. In

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hoop en vrees, / Gelyk een ouderloze wees / Den hemel smeekt met nare klachten, / Daar hy van droefheit schynt te smachten, / Niet wetende wat lot hem staat te wachten.'

95 Goldberg 2013, 556.

96 Goldberg 2013, 556.

97 Vos 1646, fols. $D4^{v}$–$E3^{v}$. For the musical prison scene in the Dutch Republic and its wider European context, see Veldhorst 2004, 89–93, 97–100.

this, the actions of these three women resonate in early modern literature. Garber discusses a 1620 pamphlet *Haec vir* published in England in which 'the "mannish woman" is permitted to speak her piece, and offers a strong assertion of women's rights—an assertion which is complicated rather than clarified by the fact that she offers this opinion when cross-dressed as a man.'[98] Garber, thus, queries '[i]s to be free and verbal, then, necessarily to be dressed like man?'[99] Like Leonore, Margareta creates space to move and act freely, but she also appropriates a political efficacy reserved for men in order to cloak her female vulnerability. The male costume activates her and enables her to draw near to Karel without the risk of being caught by courtiers. As such, we should understand the song as a moment that marks reflection and change from a search for *emotional refuge* into an act of *emotional rebellion*.

The Extratemporal Space of Rebellious Songs: Bakhtin's Chronotope

This act of *emotional rebellion* results from one special characteristic of dramatic song in these adapted plays. As said, songs are the sole moments that the rhythmic and compelling tone of the Alexandrine meter is interrupted in Dutch *comedias*, much like prose does in the Spanish originals. Furthermore, the characters deliver their songs only when they are isolated from other *dramatis personae* (with the exception of a *gracioso*, such as Mengo). Margareta's *emotional rebellion*, therefore, takes place in a temporal-spatial vacuum. Despite this vacuum, Umpierre writes that in Spain, songs could often influence the action directly without being an actual part of the action themselves. They stir up the characters to suddenly act or react, which has a decisive importance to the development of the plot. Furthermore, songs can 'regulate the development of the action by quickening its pace, slowing it, or helping bring it to an end.'[100]

The temporal-spatial vacuum is a literary mode which can be understood as a regulation of time and space that works in contrast to authoritative voices in the play. I argue that Margareta's *emotional rebellion* is made possible because her song creates a specific 'time-space' which Bakhtin called the *chronotope*. Bakhtin makes clear that through the literary-artistic *chronotope*, time becomes a tangible, visible object:

98 Garber 1992, 31.
99 Garber 1992, 31.
100 Umpierre 1975, 55.

> Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movement of time, plot and history. This intersection of axes and fusion of indicators characterizes the artistic chronotope.
>
> The chronotope in literature has an intrinsic generic significance. It can even be said that it is precisely the chronotope that defines genre and *generic* distinctions, for in literature the primary category in the chronotope is time.[101]

Margareta's song exists in what Bakhtin considers more specifically to be a bucolic-pastoral-idyllic *chronotope*: she summons images of the natural and the mythical, including the *topos* of Apollo and Diana. Bakhtin says that the bucolic-pastoral-idyllic *chronotype* that 'is a very small but very concrete and condensed lyric-epic chronotope,' in which a 'specific and cycled (but not, strictly speaking, cyclical) idyllic time functions,' a blend of natural, cyclical time and the less structured, measured passing of time associated with a pastoral life.[102] It is a non-historical and almost eternal time 'of intimate lovers' scenes and lyric outpourings, a time saturated with its own strictly limited, sealed-off segment of nature's space, stylized through and through.'[103] The setting of Margareta's song represents an alternative to the corruption and political games at court.

Bakhtin's idea of a bucolic-pastoral-idyllic *chronotope* does not include the nocturnal aspect of this scene, however. I suggest introducing another specific kind of *chronotope*, which Bakhtin does not describe as such, but which exists simultaneously, and only in this sole instance: a nocturnal *chronotope*, which in a prolonging way intensifies Margareta's reflections, but also places them outside the 'time-space' of the rest of the plot. However, as the name suggests, the nocturnal *chronotope* transpires explicitly under the cover of night. In the *comedia nueva*, the night is a time especially for scenes of intimate lovers, as it generally is in early modern literature. Veldhorst has argued that in early modern stage songs the darkness contrasts the light of the lover who is serenaded. Moreover, the coldness of night expresses the lamentable situation of the suitor standing outside alone shivering and unlucky in love.[104] At the same time, we must see the night as a time, when things that must remain hidden

101 Bakhtin 1981b, 84–85.
102 Bakhtin 1981b, 103.
103 Bakhtin 1981b, 103.
104 Veldhorst 2004, 113–116.

during the day can finally be revealed at night, when mysterious or unexplainable things happen. The night has its own logic and expresses a sense of timelessness: the nocturnal song enables Margareta to break free from the drama and conceal her from the prying eyes of others. Then, she can successfully start her *emotional rebellion*. The song foregrounds Margareta's rebellious voice and places it opposite of the rhythmic voice of the king's Alexandrines.

Still, it can seem somewhat counterintuitive to interpret this as an act of *emotional rebellion*, for Margareta sings and performs her cross-dressing in the depths of night. Does she really take any risk then? Does she really try to overturn the *emotional regime*? In a sense, no. While the cover of night might hide her actions from other characters, there is one group who still witnesses Margareta's cross-dressing: the audience can see how the night produces a peculiar sort of freedom, which Margareta uses to act more forcefully and with more confidence than she did before. Moreover, the night offers space and time for Margareta to reflect on her emotions and to urge herself to undertake action. As such, Heynck's description of Margareta's character is transformative in every sense.

As regards transformation in *comedia nueva*, Lope recommended playwrights present 'lovers with those passions which greatly move whoever listens to them,' and to manage 'soliloquies in a way that every reciter is transformed, and, by changing himself, changes the auditor.'[105] Lope's concept of transformation stems from the musical theory of the sixth-century philosopher Boethius. Boethius says 'that music is related to us by nature, and that it can ennoble or debase our character,' for which reason music is innate to mankind.[106] He claims that 'nothing is more consistent with human nature than to be soothed by sweet modes and disturbed by their opposites.'[107] As such, people can be instructed through music; it affects and remoulds the mind according to its own character. A compelling rhythm forces people to action and a temperate rhythm can calm the 'raging and excessive desire of a perturbed mind.'[108] Music disciplines the body and calls, from time to time, for an involuntary response, be it tears or laughter.[109] Boethius' authority was unquestioned in Europe, as Veldhorst discussed in *De perfecte verleiding* (2004).[110] His extensive influence can be

105 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 274–276.
106 As cited in Bower 1967, 31.
107 As cited in Bower 1967, 32.
108 As cited in Bower 1967, 43.
109 As cited in Bower 1967, 34, 42, 43.
110 Veldhorst 2004, 20–24.

felt in *comedia nueva* and in the oeuvre of its authors, as Umpierre has argued for Lope de Vega in Spain and Van Marion and myself for Rodenburgh in the Dutch Republic.[111] As an exemplary adaptation of a *comedia*, the songs in *Veranderlyk geval* are no exception. They are unique carriers of emotional language and have a life-changing dramatic function for the characters who use them.

Margareta's song and the cross-dressing that occurs with, and flows from it, mark a change in spirit and disposition as Boethius described. Song is a disruptive element, which enables the *dramatis personae* to explore their own feelings and share them with spectators, both changing their own minds and those of the audience. In that sense, Margareta performs her *emotional rebellion*; song helps her find a *chronotopic* moment of safety, in which other characters cannot interfere. She needs that *chronotopic* moment as a means to make a successful inner and outer transformation. With regards to her actions, time does not exist, if only momentarily.

Newly Found Agency for a Woman

During her self-exploratory moment, Margareta alters her emotional state. However, soon that moment will evaporate into thin air, as if it never existed. It is as if the music's resonance creates a visionary, hypnotising intersection, something that music was known to do according to the early modern mind.[112] The opportunity for rebellion remains limited in time and space and vanishes as quickly as it appeared and, thus, it is imperative that Margareta acts soon.

What happens next is the direct consequence of Margareta's transformative song. Now male in appearance, she has cast off her female corset. The audience witnesses this, figuratively speaking, during her song. Now, they witness Margareta acting in an empowered way. Directly after her song, Karel and Mengo enter stage. Margareta hides and watches the men discussing the pleasures of courting women. When Karel goes about his own way, Margareta bullies Mengo into fleeing:

MARGARETA.	If you are not going away, I swear to you, I will make
	You fall from these heights into the abyss.
	[...]
	I say to you, be gone quickly.
MENGO.	My lord, I am going now.[113]

111 Umpierre 1975, *passim*; Van Marion & Vergeer 2014, *passim*, and 2016, 49–55.

112 Veldhorst 2002, 24.

113 Heynck 1663, vv. 1022–1023, 1029a–b: 'MARGARETA. Zo gy niet door en gaat, ik zweer het u, ik doe / U

Now that Mengo has left stage, Margareta can impersonate him, still dressed as a man, and begins the social masquerade of a *gracioso*. To make it a fully successful mimicry, she distorts her voice before Karel, which she makes clear to the audience through an aside, or stage whisper (expressed by the double comma):

MARGARETA. „ I am hoping
„ That by changing my voice he will not recognise me.[114]

This impersonation of Mengo offers Margareta a second layer of emotional freedom: as a *gracioso*, Mengo is endowed with the power of truth and is not restricted by any social or emotional expectations, as Leoni and Gómez identified for the *gracioso* in general.[115] Karel proclaims his love for Margareta, not realising that he is not saying this to his servant, but to Margareta instead. Margareta-Mengo's strategic reply ensures that Karel will elaborate upon his musings over her beauty, which s/he answers by saying that s/he must be at least as beautiful as Margareta, which, of course, beneath her costume she is indeed.

Karel's disclosure soon must make way for action, however. Frederico and his confidant Arnesto have been looking to kill Karel. Having disguised themselves as well, they find Karel and Margareta-Mengo. Both lovers courageously defend themselves against the assassins who flee after the fight, pursued by Margareta-Mengo. Karel is amazed by how bravely 'Mengo' defended himself. As a *gracioso*, it was atypical for 'Mengo' to dive headlong into a fight. When the real Mengo returns, he is therefore amazed by his master's amazement. As a true *gracioso*, he fled from Margareta and he would have certainly fled from a sword fight: 'I will never in my life fight if I can outrun it, at least if I am still the same Mengo.'[116] Consequently, Margareta's bravery compares favourably with Mengo's. She appears to be at least as brave as her lover, and braver than most other men, Mengo, Frederico, and Arnesto included. This is also made clear to Karel when Margareta re-enters and again confronts Mengo while still trying to pass herself off as him:

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van dees hoogten af tot in den afgront rollen. [...] Ik zeg u, flux van hier. / MENGO. Myn heer, ik ga nu al.'

114 Heynck 1663, vv. 1040b–1041: ', Ik wil hopen / „ Dat door 't verand'ren van myn stem hy my niet kent.'

115 Leoni 2000, 3–5; Gómez 2006, 112–113; Hernández Araico 2002, 160–162.

116 Heynck 1663, vv. 1105–1106: 'Ik vecht myn leven niet als ik 't ontlopen ken, / Indien ik anders noch de zelfde Mengo ben.'

KAREL. Who are you?
MARGARETA. Who I am? Your servant Mengo, Milord.
MENGO. What the deuce! Am I not Mengo any longer?
Who are you then? Speak, and without deceiving.
MARGARETA. A servant of the Prince.
MENGO. You must be lying.
KAREL. How! Are you Mengo?
MARGARETA. Lord, do you doubt me?
KAREL. Who of you two is my true servant, how should I understand this?
Here hides deception.
MENGO. Would I in distress then change
From one person into two? Or are we ghosts of each other?
MARGARETA. „ My ruse has failed, now that I cannot hide myself any longer.
MENGO. If he is Mengo, then what devil am I?[117]

Margareta realises that she cannot keep up her ruse, now that Karel suspects that he has been deceived. She cannot reveal her real name for fear of what the unidentified assassins (whom the audience knows are Frederico and Arnesto) might do, if they hear that it was she who fought them off. Karel gives her a diamond as a thanks, but also so that when they later meet he will recognise her. She, then, quickly leaves stage, after which Karel and Mengo also call it a night.

Frederico and Arnesto are also amazed that Mengo defended himself so ferociously. Their failed attempt to assassinate Karel means that Frederico will coerce Albano into lying to the king that Karel is not a prince after all, but that Margareta is, in fact, the true heir. With those plans in place, they will bring Karel to his downfall. Margareta raises her station, which negates her previously found emotional freedom, at least until Karel regains his courage to defend his love for Margareta.

117 Heynck 1663, vv. 1109–1118: 'KAREL. Wie zyt gy? / MARGARETA. Wie ik ben? uw dienaar Mengo, Heer. / MENGO. Hoe drommel is 't hier, ben ik Mengo dan niet meer? / Wie zyt gy dan? spreek op, en zonder te bedriegen. / MARGARETA. Een dienaar van de Prins. / MENGO. Dat zulje moeten liegen. / KAREL. Hoe! zyt gy Mengo? / MARGARETA. Heer, wel twyffelt gy daar aan? / KAREL. Wie is 't dan van u bey, hoe zal ik dit verstaan? / Hier schuilt bedrogh. / MENGO. Zou ik in noot dan wel veranderen / Van een in twee, of zyn wy geesten van malkanderen. / MARGARETA. „ Myn list heeft uit, nu 'k my niet meer verbergen kan. / MENGO. Indien hy Mengo is, wat duivel ben ik dan?'

Disguised Deceit: A Ruse as Rebellion in *Verwarde Hof*

While Margareta used the emotive force of her songs as a means of *emotional rebellion*, other *comedias* cannot rely on that same theatrical device as they do not include any. How do characters then give voice to their *emotional suffering*? De Fuyter's *Verwarde hof*, a *comedia* without any stage songs, demonstrates clearly how the protagonist Matilde uses female masquerade to establish her *emotional rebellion*.

Verwarde hof premiered on 19 September 1647, also in the Amsterdam Public Theatre. The first printed edition of the play was advertised as *Lope de Vega Carpioos Verwerde-hof*, capitalising on the Spaniard's established fame garnered as a result of Rodenburgh's three popular plays *Casandra en Karel*, *Celia en Prospero*, and *Jaloersche studenten* (all 1617), as well as through Germez' *Vervolgde Laura* and Vos' *Gedwongen vrient*. For sixteen years, De Fuyter's adaptation was the most popular *comedia* in the Dutch Republic, with an average of 3.1 annual stagings until the premiere of Heynck's *Veranderlyk geval* in 1663. Yet, the author of the original play *El palacio confuso* (1640, 'The Confused Court') was not Lope, but rather the Andalusian playwright Antonio Mira de Amescua, although the printer Johannes Jacot led people to believe otherwise.

The Dutch adaptation deals with a conflict of power at the Sicilian court. Queen Matilde has recently come to power after the death of the late king, her uncle. According to the laws of her kingdom, in order for her to retain power she must marry. She falls in love with Carel, who as a stranger appears at court and, thus, has no rank, but is quickly given one by Matilde. Impressed by the man, Carel is made a marquis and marries Matilde. Having now become king, he is handed all his wife's power according to medieval and early modern law of *iure uxoris* ('by right of his wife'): Carel gains 'the right to *possess* all his wife's lands during marriage.'[118] Therefore, he expels all male nobles who opposed his social elevation and his marriage to Matilde, and redistributes their offices among the general population, showing his tyrannical side. The Queen must restore order—albeit a different kind of order than the male-dominated natural order that Carel represents—and regain her power. Here, she is presented with a rare opportunity. Overall, Matilde's endeavours and rebellion to regain control of the kingdom test the limits of female agency, female power, and the female freedom of a *tramoyera* figure: she uses female masquerade to counter the male order of her husband, presenting herself as the perfect wife before Carel. Meanwhile, she plots against him with

118 Emanuel 2004, 121.

several confidants in seclusion. Although *Verwarde hof* seems to address a conflict of power, it is also a traditional Spanish conflict between *honra* and love: having chosen for love, Matilde loses all power. She cannot have both. Her rebellion is very much emotional at its core, for it repudiates the premise that a woman's marriage (love) negates her right to wield power (*honra*), and thus overthrows the 'natural order.'

Trickery Fit For a Queen

At the beginning of the second act, Count Pompeo secretly returns to court to tell Matilde that he has come across a young shepherd, Hendricus, who is Carel's spitting image. This inspires Matilde to engineer a cunning ruse to fool Carel and his servants, and thus gain back her throne. When the Count goes offstage to bring the shepherd, Matilde, now in total seclusion, makes clear in a short soliloquy that there is no way back; she must go ahead with her rebellion to save her people and her kingdom. Although the queen does not frame it as such, I argue that her rebellion is inherently emotional because it originates from her conflict between public honour (her inability to rule only as queen-regnant) and private love (her love for Carel). This conflict has reached the point at which it obstructs affairs of state and forces her to take action against her husband, who she as a wife has vowed to care for and love. For this very reason, Matilde stresses her duty as a 'raatsvrouw' ('councilwoman') which takes precedence over her duty as a loving wife, basically eliminating her emotions from the equation:

> Oh shepherd! If with you live so many talents
> Of praiseworthy prudence, just as your similarity seems
> To the king, then the talent is demonstrated in your words;
> As such, I will by my ruse create within the court
> A confusion; it is too late to condemn the things
> I am doing: I take the opportunity of the ruse as a councilwoman
> In order to save my people and the oppressed state.[119]

119 De Fuyter 1647, fol. B2r: 'ô Harder! zoo by u soo veele gaaven woonen / Van loffelijck verstant, als uw gelijckheyt lijckt / Den Koninck, soo het gaaf uyt uwe reeden blijckt; / Soo zal ick door mijn list, in't hof bestaan te maaken / Een warringh, 't is te laat om mijn gedaane saaken / Te vloecken, 'k neem de list als raatsvrouw nu te baat / Tot reddingh van mijn volck, en de onderdruckten staat.'

The fact that Matilde as a woman chooses deception as her tool to overcome her husband's tyranny recalls the *topos* of the trickster woman in art and literature,[120] although here Matilde's actions are not presented as misleading or fraudulent, but rather as a necessary evil when other means are unavailable.

In the next scene, Count Pompeo presents Hendricus who, at least for now, is dressed in shepherd's clothes. Amazed at the herdsman's similarity to her husband, the queen takes this opportunity to unfurl her plot. First ensuring that nobody at court has yet seen Hendricus,[121] he re-enters stage in royal attire ('in Koninklijke gewaat').[122] Matilde gives the imitator a plumed hat so she herself can tell him apart from Carel. Spectators already know that this will play an important part in the plot. The queen explains to Hendricus that she must surmount nature itself—that is, the 'natural law' which designates a king God's representative—to extinguish the fire of Carel's *superbia*. In Spanish, the queen explains to Enrico that the plumed hat is necessary to distinguish them, and argues that artifice ('la industria') usually conquers nature ('la naturaleza'):

> Yes,
> The signs [i.e., the plumes] are necessary.
> Enrico, artifice usually
> Triumphs over nature
> And we behold both
> Continuously in their rivalry.
> [...] May
> Fortune and catastrophe
> Trample misery,
> And may they give us a battle,
> In which artifice is the defence
> Against the rigour of his [Carlos'] hands,
> And against the rotation of his wheel.[123]

De Fuyter's adaptation diverges only in the slightest from the Spanish original, as De Fuyter rephrases the whole passage simply as: 'I must surmount Nature itself by

120 Examples are provided in Bleyerveld 2000.

121 De Fuyter 1647, fol. B2^{v}: 'heeft oock een / Van 't hof dees kneght gesien?'

122 De Fuyter 1647, fol. B2^{v}.

123 Mira de Amescua [c. 1628] 2014, vv. 1037–1042, 1064–1070: 'Sí, / necesarias son las señas. / Enrico, la

means of the deceit of my councils, and I must subdue the all-too-harmful fire of his *superbia*, and by my skilful ruses tame this monster.'[124] It is a succinct translation, and yet, De Fuyter chose to move the perspective from an abstract situation to Matilde's specifically. The queen in Mira de Amescua's version ascribes the trickery to a depersonalised situation, whereas in the Dutch, Matilde takes responsibility for her own decisions and the actions that follow, adding to her sense of *emotional rebellion*.

Under normal circumstances, the queen cannot commit such an act, but the extraordinary situation compels her to. The plot? Hendricus shall act as a second king and will negate all of Carel's decisions:

> Venerable Queen, with this I want to demonstrate
> That as long as this ruse will live on in your bosom,
> *Sicily* will from now on have two kings:
> One with the intent of decay, the other to protect
> Her life. From now on, all that the first monarch decrees,
> I will on your order nullify and dissolve;
> So that, by this deception his all-too-high pride
> By such confusion will fall down before your feet.[125]

Matilde sends for the King's secretary, after which she leaves stage. Now Hendricus is left behind. Being on his own, like Margareta was in *Veranderlyk geval*, Hendricus can reflect on his costume change through one of the play's rare soliloquies. This time, however, the masquerading character has only changed his social status through his disguise, and not his gender: here, the *emotional rebellion* is established through social masquerade. The new anti-king says that only yesterday he was a shepherd and today he displays a royal grandeur:

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industria suele / vencer la naturaleza / y a cada paso miramos / a las dos en competencias. […] Puedan / la fortuna y la desdicha, / atropellando miserias, / darnos batalla campal, / que la industria es la defensa / contra el rigor de sus manos, / contra el girar de su rueda.'

124 De Fuyter 1647, fol. B2^{v}: 'Ick moet door listigheyt mijn raaden, de Natuer / Zelfs overwinnen, en het al te schad'lijck vuer / Syns hooghmoet dempen, en door mijn verdighe listen / Dit monster temmen.'

125 De Fuyter 1647, fol. B3^{r}: 'Hooghwaardige Vorstin, hier mee wil ick betoonen / Dat al soo langh dees list u boesem sal bewoonen, / *Sesilien* voortaan twee Coninkx voeren moet, / Den eenen tot bederf, Den andren tot behoet / Haar's leeven. Nu voortaan al wat dees vorst sal binden, / Sal ick op u bevel, te niet doen en ontwinden; / Op dat door dit bedrogh sijn al te hoogen moet / Door sulcken warringh komt te vallen voor u voet.'

> Yesterday, I was still a shepherd, raised
> In fields, woodlands, where despised people live,
> And now I stand here to show everyone
> The greatness and awe of a king, from which condition it will appear that
> When the body sleeps, the soul flees from it;
> I will likewise, while he rests, be his shadow and soul,
> I will break his great violence, and by this, my very
> Similarity in appearance I show to *Sicily*
> That pride must flee for her deception and violence;
> We will divide the light like *Castor* and *Pollux*;
> Divide the light of his power: I begin to perform my role.[126]

Hendricus' final words are conspicuous: he explicitly states that he will *perform* his role as king, but he also says that his performance will demonstrate that arrogance must yield to the ruse that made him the King Carel's equal. The monologue compares to the original Spanish text in El *palacio confuso*, of which the scene in *Verwarde hof* is a secure translation.[127]

Much like Margareta and the women in *Ialoersche studenten*, Hendricus' costume change transforms him. While Margareta changed her gender to activate only herself, the anti-king's social crossing also enables Queen Matilde to emancipate herself. Apparently, only a man can give Matilde her freedom and power, and only a queen can elevate her subjects. Unlike Margareta, Matilde is the orchestrator but not the executive; this might be due to her suspended royal status, which prevents her from expressing her own agency. Her rank as consort gives her, however, the benefit that she can still order others in her stead. While in this state of being royal but mostly powerless, Matilde seems unable to successfully express her emotions and lets others speak on her behalf. In *Veranderlyk geval*, Margareta had taken the emotional liberty to give voice to her emotives through song. As such, her singing voice competed with the Alexandrine meter of the dialogue and that of the king. In *Verwarde hof*, there are

126 De Fuyter 1647, fol. B3^{v}: 'Ick was noch gisteren een Harder, opgevoedt / In velden, bossen, waar verachte lieden woonen, / En nu staan ick al hier, om yeder te vertoonen / De grootheyt en 't ontsagh eens Conincks, by aldien / Wanneer het lichaam slaapt, 't de ziele gaat ontvlien; / Zal ick terwijl hy rust sijn schaauw, en ziele weesen, / Ick sal sijn groot gewelt verbreecken, en door deese / Mijn gelijckheyt, aen *Secilien* doen sien / Dat d'hooghmoed voor 't bedrog, en haar gewelt moet vlien; / Wy sullen g'lijck *Castor* en *Polux* 't licht verdeelen, / 't Licht deelen van sijn macht, 'k begin mijn rol te speelen.'

127 Cf. Mira de Amescua [c. 1628] 2014, vv. 1129–1148.

no songs to accomplish this effect. Instead, Matilde must be an authoritative voice in her own right, which is only silenced momentarily, but seeks to cancel out the authoritative voice that Carel unjustly appropriated. To this end, she lets Hendricus refute everything that Carel orders. It is a subtle and cunning way of emotionally rebelling against an authority, when you are yourself silenced.

Madness through Deception & Lost Love through Confusion

While Matilde wants to teach her husband a lesson in humility, Hendricus, now dressed as anti-king, meets the beautiful Helena, Princess of Salerno. His disguise complicates his relationship with the princess, as she thinks he is Carel, the king. Carel is married to the queen, which is another complicating factor, for Helena has no desire to be the king's mistress. In that sense, their stations in life prevent them from being together, at least as long as Hendricus impersonates the king, but as shepherd he is also unable to be with the princess: while his status as king could in theory allow Hendricus woo a princess, his impersonation of Carel binds him to Matilde and separates him from Helena. He faces an impossible dilemma: whether he remains the king, or reveals his true identity, he would still lose Helena. The confusion becomes only greater, because the real Carel is not charmed by the princess, saying that she has deceived herself. Helena is confused by the king's volatile behaviour and she rejects Hendricus when he reappears to her in the king's apparel; he responds, 'Helena, with these words, you will destroy and kill your king's heart.'[128] Between his duty to Matilde and his love for Helena, Hendricus must suffer until the end of Matilde's plot against her husband.

Before long, Hendricus must receive Carel's servants and accomplices in audience. He lifts the banishment of the nobility and grants them new titles and offices. After a little while, Carel summons his servants and learns that they all think he granted them new titles, and Duke Frederico, who Carel hates, claims that Carel has lifted his banishment from court. He is incensed, but his servants object that 'what happens here originates in his commands.'[129] He orders his servants arrested alongside the returning nobles, but this command is refused by other servants, who again claim that the king refutes himself.[130] Matilde and Hendricus must wait until everyone

128 De Fuyter 1647, fol. C2^{r}: '*Helena*, door dees woorden / Sult gy u Coninckx hart vernietighen, en moorden.'

129 De Fuyter 1647, fol. B5^{v}: ''t geen hier gebeurt, grijpt oorspronk uyt u last.'

130 De Fuyter 1647, fols. B5^{r}–B6^{v}.

at court agrees that Carel is an unreasonable tyrant, and moreover, that Carel has lost his mind. Although Carel initially thinks that the Queen has tricked him, he eventually succumbs to her gaslighting and likewise believes that he has gone insane.

King Carel sees his madness as a loss of reason caused by his own emotional overindulgence. This makes him, essentially, an unreasonable animal, a beast. Humanists such as Coornhert and Vossius, like the stoics before them, defined humanity by our ability to reason.[131] At the same time, these intellectuals stressed that man risked losing his reason—and thus control over his senses—if he gave in to his emotions: 'If he was not careful man would return to beast, being solely driven by his *inclinatio animalis*, the pre-emotional state dominated by natural (animal) tendencies and impulses.'[132] As such, this effectively renders the king a madman. His fear is that he has lost his ability to reason, the one thing that separates man from animal:

> How do I resemble by my display,
> Essentially an example of the Babylonian King,
> Who had to stand in the pastures
> Like a beast, until he had satisfied Heaven?
> [...] Gods, send
> Me again on the path of reason, give me a sign
> Of your mildness, of which everyone must speak.[133]

Having reached her goal, Matilde proclaims that a madman cannot rule, and thus regains control of the Kingdom of Sicily; her rebellion is successful. Carel concludes that he has lost his kingdom to an Amazon warrior-queen: 'my kingdom becomes the kingdom of an Amazon, now that women rule, and advise subjects and the crown.'[134] In Spanish, Carlos says: 'The women rule, Sicily is already a kingdom of amazons.'[135] I

131 Konst 1993, 11–16.

132 Vergeer 2020d, 108.

133 De Fuyter 1647, fols. C5^{r}–C5^{v}: 'Hoe ben ick soo gelijck door dese mijn vertooningh, / In wesen 't voorbeeldt van den Babyloonsen Coningh, / Die op't begraasde veldt so langh te wey most gaan / Gelijck een beest, tot hy den Heemel hadt voldaen. [...] Gooden stier / My weder op het padt van reeden, doet my teecken / Van u mildadigheyt, daar elck een af moet spreeken.'

134 De Fuyter 1647, fol. C7^{r}: 'mijn Rijck wort't Rijck eens Amasoon, / D'wijl vrouwen heerschen, en berichten volck en Croon.'

135 Mira de Amescua [c. 1628] 2014, vv. 2132–2133: 'Las mujeres gobiernan, ya es Sicilia / un reino de amazonas.'

believe that the tone of the original and the adaptation is similar, and yet different. In the Spanish, Mira de Amescua focuses on women in general, whereas in Dutch, De Fuyter specifies that Carel has lost his kingdom to one Amazon in particular, namely Matilde. Matilde uniquely resembles an Amazon and it strengthens her position as warrior-queen among other women. She is remarkably different from other women (and men).

As a symbol of sexual freedom and female emancipation in general, the Amazon was to the early modern man a female knight, a warrior, a heroine, who represented a fluid gender, regardless of her 'true' sex. The Amazon oversteps the limits of her gender, enabling her to celebrate her extraordinary nature. In Spanish drama in particular, the Amazonian woman is a capable ruler and fighter, until she is ultimately conquered by a man due to her womanly desires for love. Most *comedias* follow a similar pattern in which the Amazon is tamed through marriage, writes Kristin Connor.[136] The fact that Matilde cannot be domesticated is, for Carel, reason enough to turn the rather positive figure of the Amazonian woman in the early modern period into a negative one. Now, her 'queer' identity makes Matilde equally dangerous to the 'natural order' in which men rule over women.[137] Carel recognises the change in his wife's posture and, thus, his description of Matilde signifies her reversal from a passive woman into a sexualised, emancipated woman capable of fighting her own battles. She does not need a man to defend her, because now she *is* a man, or at least she *resembles* one as an Amazonian queen.

Yet, with her emancipation, Matilde does not get her husband back, nor does she want him: she does not desire to know him as he is now. When asked about the damaged diplomatic relations with the Papal States, she *erases* him:

Ludovicus.	In this [writing], it is petitioned that henceforth the name
	Of *Carel* be nullified entirely,
	Both in writing and in public affairs,
	So that this state may return to its previous situation.
Matilde.	I allow this, because I do not know any *Carel* anymore.[138]

136 Connor 2016, 509.

137 Shepherd 1981, 13–17; Wahrman 2004, 36–37.

138 De Fuyter 1647, fol. C7r: 'Ludovicus. In deese [geschrift] wort versocht dat zy van nu voortaan / De naam van *Carel* gans en al te niet gedaan, / Soo wel in schriften als in openbaare saaken, / Op dat dees staat weer in haar voor'ge stant mach raaken. / Matilde. Dat staa ick, toe, want ick geen *Carel* meer en ken.'

It is an act of *damnatio memoriae*, a punishment for traitors in ancient Rome whereby a person was literally erased from official accounts and, thus, from history. Again, this is a form of cancelling out the authoritative voice, but also of claiming authority of one's own, and it happens in the Spanish original as well.[139] It is as if Carel was never king, or simply never *was*.

The Ruse Unmasked

Before Matilde will reaccept Carel as her husband and king-consort, several things must first change. During his tyranny, Carel had fallen in love with Porcia, who, in turn, was in love with Carel's opponent Frederico. Furthermore, the former king still desires the crown. He thinks, therefore, that he has but one option: to kill Matilde. This would mean that he would inherit the Crown of Sicily, and that he can marry Porcia. This course of action is quickly prevented by Hendricus, who presents himself as Carel's own 'Ghost of Christmas Future.' A surprised Carel asks himself whether it is a dream or a haunting by some ghost:

CAREL.	Who are you?
HENDRICUS.	I am you.
CAREL.	What are you looking for; tell me: where to?
HENDRICUS.	I am looking for my grave.
CAREL.	Because of what?
HENDRICUS.	Because of injustice.
CAREL.	How! Are you then already dead?
HENDRICUS.	The insatiable jaws of death
	Are vomiting my dead soul again,
	To make you aware of the disobedience
	That you have committed,
CAREL.	To whom?
HENDRICUS.	To her Majesty.
	Hendricus exits.[140]

139 Mira de Amescua [c. 1628] 2014, vv. 2125–2128.

140 De Fuyter 1647, fol. C8ʳ: 'CAREL. Wie zijtge. / HENDRICUS. 'k Ben u selfs. / CAREL. Wat soecktge, segh waar heen? / HENDRICUS. Ick soeck mijn graf. / *Carel*. Waar door? / HENDRICUS. Door ongerechtigheen. / CAREL. Hoe! zijtge dan al doodt? / HENDRICUS. Des doodts onsab're kaaken / Mijn af-gesturven geest weder bestaan te braaken, / Om u te maaken kond u ongehoorsaam-

Carel has an epiphany: he must remain faithful to the queen. He must first tell Porcia, however, that he will stay loyal to Matilde. At this moment, the play changes from a tragedy about the abuse of power and hubris into a comedy about the intricacies of love and the restoration of relationships within a new social reality.

The fifth act opens at night, during which the different love plots are tested and rearranged. The nocturnal *chronotope* returns, and is again a time 'of intimate lovers' scenes and lyric outpourings, a time saturated with its own strictly limited, sealed-off segment of nature's space, stylized through and through,' as it was in *Veranderlyk geval*.[141] Here, however, the scene is a farcical balcony scene during which Matilde poses as her lady-in-waiting Porcia. Although Carel had previously suited Porcia, he now discloses to the woman he believes to be Porcia that he actually loves Matilde. This love evaporates when in the following scene Carel learns that his 'Ghost of Christmas Future' is actually a shepherd's son, Hendricus. Lisardus has come looking for his son who has since been kidnapped by Count Pompeo. When confronted with Carel, Lisardus thinks he is his own son, Hendricus. Carel now understands the trick the queen had played on him. Paradoxically, the night reveals everything and illuminates that which was dark before.

The twins Hendricus and Carel—for they are, in fact, twins—meet again, but now with their rapiers raised. They both claim their position as king, an impasse which should be resolved by a duel. When the courtiers happen upon them, they try to determine who the real king is, because there obviously cannot be two kings. Matilde can still tell them apart from the plumes on their hats. However, Lisardus is asked to decide who of the two is his son. He chooses wrongly, claiming Carel. Having lost everything, Carel kneels before the queen and asks her to kill him for his sins. In turn, she forgives him and asks him to stand. He refuses, saying that it befits him to kneel for a queen. Now, Lisardus reveals that he should actually stand, as it does not befit a prince to bend before the queen. The old shepherd explains that Hendricus was entrusted to him at birth by the previous queen, while she presented her other son (that is, Carel) to the king, who fearing the oracle that his son would rule like a tyrant, had thrown this son from the cliffs, echoing the legends surrounding the Tarpeian Rock in Rome. Apparently Carel survived and returned to court. Carel is reaccepted into his position as king, but he is not *the* king. Matilde will retain her full powers, even over Carel's love:

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heydt / Diege hebt gepleeght, / CAREL. Aen wien? / HENDRICUS. Aen haare Majesteyt. / *Hendrick binnen.*'

141 Bakhtin 1981b, 103.

POMPEO. I swear, and confess
That Carel is our monarch and rightful king,
CAREL. And no one but Madame will govern this soul.[142]

This results in a new social reality, in which Matilde can reign absolutely in her capacity as woman, and she will be aided by her loving King-Consort Carel.

Failed Feelings in Flanders: Love and Rebellion in *De Mislukte Liefde*

In Antwerp, the *Spaensche comedie, de mislukte liefde, en trouw van Rugero prins van Navarren* was translated and adapted by an anonymous playwright identified only as E.D.S.M. The play premiered in 1660 or 1661 in the Almoner's Theatre. It offers a third form of *emotional rebellion* not found in other *comedias*: the female lover, Johanna, rebels against her male suitor, Rugero, who neglects her and pursues another match. Here, the rebellion is not instigated against the authoritative voice of a king, but rather against the self-serving interests of a male suitor. Although Johanna and Rugero are of equal rank—she is the Princess of León, he the Prince of Navarra—their families oppose the love match because their kingdoms are at war. Because Rugero and Johanna are infatuated with each other, they made a drastic decision: they eloped so that they could be together. However, Johanna's family claimed that Rugero had abducted the princess, making it impossible for Rugero to return to Navarra.[143] He realises that their elopement has shattered his reputation (*honra*) and Johanna's virtue (*honor*). When a new love interest presents itself on their arrival in Barcelona, the prince is tempted to leave Johanna. Therefore, Johanna must find her voice and defend her honour, not only from Rugero, but from the rest of Spain.

De mislukte liefde thematises how one can be stuck in an unhealthy love relationship that forces disregard of both *honor* and *honra*. It explores how *honor*, *honra*, and *amor* can be harmonised when a love match, although suitable in terms of social rank, is impossible unless the lovers abandon their social positions to live together in lifelong exile. Under these conditions, a partnership with someone of a different social rank might offer a more attractive solution to the protagonists. Rugero is unwilling to give up his status and tries to secure his reputation before marrying Johanna, which

142 De Fuyter 1647, fol. D8v: 'POMPEO. Ick sweere, en bely / Dat *Carel* onsen Vorst, en reghten Coninck zy, / CAREL. En niemant als me-Vrouw, sal deese ziel gebieden.'

143 See E.D.S.M. 1674, vv. 1027–1043.

she will not accept, believing that love alone is enough. The failed lovers must accept their own and each other's ambitions, goals, and interests, before they can move on to pursue new loves. To do this, I suggest, Johanna must find her own voice and agency by standing defiantly against the man who swore to defend her honour.

Unexpected Opportunities in Barcelona

The plot is set in motion when the Count of Barcelona is caught by a python: his servants try to rescue him, but fail. The desperate Count promises that he will give his daughter's hand in marriage to whomever succeeds in saving him: 'He who will free his monarch, can count my child as his spouse and can count himself the heir of my county.'[144] Rugero kills the snake and he may, as promised, marry the Count's daughter, Rosimunda; this is an offer he cannot refuse without losing his honour in the eyes of the Count of Barcelona. But, it poses a problem for Rugero—who introduces himself to the Count as Sanchio, a simple herdsman—for he already promised to marry Johanna, the Princess of León. He tries to excuse himself from the betrothal by arguing that as a shepherd and a stranger, his status would diminish the Count's honour, as well as Barcelona's prestige. The Count remains resolute in the matter: 'It will not be, you will be a companion, and will order my people to protect your cattle.'[145]

When Johanna learns that Rugero has been brought to court, she desperately tries to learn whether the agreement was made of his own free will or whether the Count had forced him. The audience meets Johanna for the first time in male dress, here as a shepherd. She goes by the name of Mirtillo and calls Sanchio (i.e., Rugero) her brother. At this point it is not yet clear that Johanna and Rugero were meant to be married and an audience may accept what Mirtillo (i.e., Johanna) says to the courtiers about the relationship that s/he and Sanchio have as the truth. However, the monologue that follows after her/his conversation with one of the nobles at Barcelona's court makes clear that there are deeper emotions at play, which force her/him to act. Johanna's love for Rugero is oppressive, and leaves her no choice but to follow the prince of Navarra to court. First, however, she begins a lamentation in which she rhetorically addresses Rugero/Sanchio:

144 E.D.S.M. 1674, vv. 21b–22: 'Wie vry sijn vorst sal stellen, / hem sal mijn kindt tot gae, tot erf mijn graefschap gellen.'

145 E.D.S.M. 1674, vv. 123b–124: ''t Sal niet sijn, gy medgesel sult gaen, / en sal mijn volk u vee bevelen gaed te slaen.'

> […] what kind of disaster has the Count brought you?
> Imprisoned? Then what evil can you have done?
> That you flee from me? What reason can be given by me?
> Ah Sanchio! Ah my soul! Ah unexpected fate!
> My miserly misfortune's fate shouts already most horribly
> With fear and pain at me. Did you make yourself public?
> Did our love and flight become known to the Count?
> Everything passes through my mind; […]
> Will you not do it? Why do I linger? Can I leave León,
> My father's kingdom, for you? What will I henceforth not hate?
> My Sanchio! I follow you. It is love that forces me. Floreel
> May take care of her cattle. I am governed by heaven.[146]

Johanna experiences *emotional suffering* and tries to maintain her relationship with Rugero by following him to court. She has not yet given up hope that she will marry the prince of Navarra and is prepared to fight for her love. Johanna, however, is not the only one emotionally suffering. She leaves stage immediately after her soliloquy,[147] and we are confronted with an angry Rosimunda who has no desire to marry the shepherd Sanchio.

In what follows, Sanchio (that is, Rugero) is confronted by his fiancée Johanna (posing as Mirtillo) who has also arrived at court. After an audience by the Count of Barcelona, Rugero and Johanna are left alone and Johanna makes clear that she is furious that Rugero is now heir to the County of Barcelona and will marry another woman. She tells him:

> Ungrateful man! Was it not I who suffered in order to be yours?
> Was it [too] little? That for you I left a kingdom and crown,

146 E.D.S.M. 1674, vv. 176–183a, 185–188: 'wat voor ramp den Graef ter handt u broght? / gevangen? dan wat quaedt kan sijn van u bedreven? / dat gy my vlucht? wat reen kan sijn van my gegeven? / ach Sanchio! ach mijn siel! ach onverwacht geval! / mijn gierich ramp spoets lot belt op het schriklijkst al / met vrees, en leedt my in. Oft gy u kenlijk maekte? / oft ons liefd, en vlucht den Graef ter ooren raekte? / al hael ik int gedacht; […] Dan laet gy 't? wat ik drael? kan ik Leon verlaeten / mijns vaders rijk om u? wat sal ick voorts niet haeten? / min Sancio! 'k volgh op 't spoor. t'Is liefd die dwingt. Floreel / mach sorgen voor haer vee. Ik d'hemel my beveel.'

147 Strictly speaking, it is not entirely clear from the edition that she leaves stage. However, since she re-enters stage later in the text, I deduce that she must have left after her soliloquy. See E.D.S.M. 1674, vv. 188–189, 320–321.

> My born happiness? And cast off the goodwill of my parents?
> Yes, I lost also honour because of you? Now that I have no shame,
> I have chosen the being of a man, being a woman, for you?[148]

If Rugero chooses to marry Rosimunda, this poses a risk for Johanna, because she will be left alone, away from home, without a man to defend her or her honour. Now her *emotional suffering* intensifies as she realises that she is about to be abandoned by the man she was supposed to marry. However, his marriage to Rosimunda will actually bring Rugero back to a position of honour and power and he seems eager to marry Rosimunda instead of Johanna. The exiled prince chooses his honour and reputation over his love for Johanna. In turn, Johanna must find a way to cope with her anxieties: she chooses to stand up to the man who is about to abandon her.

Cross-Dressing for Female Freedom

When the Count reappears, both Sanchio (Rugero) and Mirtillo (Johanna) are outfitted in suits of armour and Johanna, like *Verwarde hof*'s Matilde, becomes an Amazon, here defending the County of Barcelona against the Moors at the southern border.[149] This costume changes her posture entirely, as Garber and Levine identify in other cases of gender-crossing in early modern history and literature. Although she initially dressed as a man for Rugero, Johanna now wants to be a man *emotionally*, saying that she wants to stop herself from crying, to take revenge, and to speak more forcefully. Beginning to accept her new-found agency, Johanna is fed up with Rugero's delay in breaking his engagement to Rosimunda. She begins to rebel against her fiancé. Now, Rugero is afraid that she will tear her clothes and reveal her 'true' identity to the world. Johanna, however, is angry and proclaims that she wants her freedom. Here, we see how Johanna's *emotional rebellion* starts to take form:

> JOHANNA. No, rogue! I neither sigh, nor lament:
> But I see through your lying words, cursing the sweet flattery;

148 E.D.S.M. 1674, vv. 451–454: 'ondankbre! was 't dan niet, dat 'k lee, om d'u te wesen? / was 't weynich? dat 'k om u een rijk, en kroon verliet / myn aengebooren gluk? En oudrêns jonst verstiet? / ja miste self ook d'eer om u? nu 'k schaemt verlooren, / heb 't wesen van een man, vrou sijnde, om u verkooren?'

149 See E.D.S.M. 1674, vv. 593–613.

I want to be a man according to this attire; put on foolishly because of you?
If I were a woman in appearance, then I creased my glory's duty
By the long regretted consequences; I want to be a man to shore up
The tears and the woe done for nothing because of you.
If I were a woman then this soul credulously let you go unbridled;
I want to be a man who steers himself to hate and vengeance.
Thus, I leave the weak heart, as a defenceless tool,
And the crying to the woman; I swear that I testify as a woman
What a humiliated woman can do. To your veiled arguments,
You see, I answer in the best way.

RUGERO. Preserve I pray, preserve the clothes,
Johanna!

JOHANNA. Traitor! Let go.

RUGERO. What if you tear your clothes?
And you lose your virtue?

JOHANNA. The vengeance [of my family], which will not reach me,
But is aimed at you, shall thus serve my interests.
I want to be known in public; not endure your anger;
Nor keep the court in the dark any longer. Let go, and use no violence.
I do not tolerate your tartness any longer; I want to be
Restored to my freedom.[150]

Johanna feels that her love for Rugero has now become a restraint on her ability to move freely and it has, in fact, become tyrannical and oppressive. However, Rugero

150 E.D.S.M. 1674, vv. 902–919a: 'JOHANNA. Neen schalk! ik sucht, noch schrey: / Maer schou uws loogentaels, en vloekend 't soet gevley, / 'k wil man sijn naer dees dracht, om u dwaes aengetrokken? / was 'k vrou in loghtigheyt, en gon'k mijns roems plicht krokken / door 't lang berout gevolg; 'k wil man sijn in 't getraen / te stutten, en den wee voor u om niet gedaen. / Was 'k vrou in dat dees siel licht g'looflijk u gonk vieren, / 'k wil man sijn in die self tot haet, en vraek te stieren. / Dies laetend 't week gemoedt, als weereloos getuyg, / en 't schreijen voor de vrou; u sweer, dat 'k vrou betuyg / wat spijtge vrou vermach. Op u verbloemde reden, / sie daer; soo antwoord 'k 't best. / RUGERO. Spaer bidde, spaer de kleeden / Joanna! / JOHANNA. Vraer! laet los. / RUGERO. Wat dat g'u kleeren scheurt? / en u ten vlacken geeft? / JOHANNA. de vraek die niet gebeurt / my was aen u, sal 'k best voor my te weeg dus brengen. / 'k Wil sijn int openbaer; noch uwe boosheyt g'hengen / 't Hof langer onbewust. Laet af, en spaer gewelt. / Ik dul u vinnicheen niet langer; 'k wil erstelt / in mijne vryheyt sijn.'

manages to calm Johanna, thus ending her *emotional rebellion*. It will return, however, when the Count of Barcelona presses ahead with the wedding of his daughter and Sanchio.

Having begged the Count agree to a marriage between her and Rugero, Johanna resolves to leave court and end her own life as a form of protest. She is willing to take her rebellion to the ultimate extreme, but this is prevented by Bellardo, the long-lost son of the Count of Barcelona who, disguised as a pilgrim, comes across Johanna while looking for his exiled love, the Princess of León (i.e., Johanna herself). He recognises her under her disguise and proclaims that he will be loyal to her and love her eternally, unlike Rugero:

BELLARDO. Princess! Please stay alive.
Bellardo is your slave. Let this water provide you help.
JOHANNA. Bellardo! Count! Oh friend! Shame makes me speechless,
And heavy sadness makes me soulless. Fate has taken
Rugero—alas! chosen as groom over you—from me:
Your princess has come to reason as you see.
This is the happiness of foolish love! The payment of voluptuous youth!
And the retaliation of my own sinfulness is a source of joy!
Not that Rugero has slept with me, I can swear by heaven
On my virtuous soul, which can least hurt my honour
and respect.[151]

Johanna cannot believe that Bellardo is willing to forgive her for eloping with Rugero. She says that he should exact vengeance, because she disobeyed her parents and abandoned her duty to her homeland. That is something Bellardo will not do, saying that she has nothing to be afraid of. Johanna replies that her cross-dressing has already erased her fears and gave her the bravery of a man. By this, the princess makes explicit

151 E.D.S.M. 1674, vv. 1657b–167a: 'BELLARDO. Infante! sorght voor 't leven. / Bellardo ist u slaef. Laet hulp dit nat u geven. / JOHANNA. Bellardo! Graef! o vrindt! de schaempte maekt my stom, / en sielloos 't swaer verdriet. Ruger tot bruydegom, / voor u verkooren laes! heeft 't ramps lot my ontnomen: / reen; dat tot 't geen gy saght, is u princers gekomen. / Dits 't gluk van domme liefd! den loon van wulpsche jeugt! / en d'eygen sinlijkheyts vergeldinge tot vreught! / niet dat Ruger bequam, ik mag 't by d'hemel sweeren, / ied op mijn kuysche siel, 't welk minst mijn eer kan deeren, / oft achtbaerheyt.'

that she has gone through a complete metamorphosis, from a timid and passive girl into a strong and independent woman:

JOHANNA. Because my malice
Demands vengeance, and rightfully so; do you want to accept the verdict
Of mercy, gratefulness, and duty? No, Count! It is not the right choice.
I disrespected myself, my parents, and you, yes, even the fatherland.
Thus guilty, the light, which I must hate with so much cause,
And which you came offering, I leave in your hands.
[...]
BELLARDO. Freely the fearful heart saves itself
From fear and pain. Hither you may go safely;
And accompanied by your count you may freely endure all disaster.
JOHANNA. Bellardo! The robe at least makes the heart masculine;
I only fear myself.
BELLARDO. That shock makes you praiseworthy,
And makes me offer the soul.[152]

Having found her confidence, she breaks off her (already broken) engagement to Rugero. Johanna frees herself from the yoke that represents her love for Rugero and promises herself to Bellardo. Meanwhile, Rugero thinks that he will still marry the princess, although he is also still promised to Rosimunda. Johanna tells him, however, that 'this Johanna is engaged. Speak compliantly, if you are wise. Because I have my husband alongside me.'[153] The Princess becomes the architect of her own fortune,

152 E.D.S.M. 1674, vv. 1685–1697a: 'JOHANNA. daer vraek mijn dertelheden / vereyschen, en met recht; wilt gy in 't vonnis treden / van gnade, dank, en plicht? neen Graef! t'is misverstandt. /'k Dee my, mijn ouders, u te kort, ja 't vaderlandt. / Dies schuldigh 't licht, 't welk moet met soo veel reden haeten, / en gy my schenken quamt, laet 'k in u handen laeten. [...] BELLARDO. vry 't vreesich hert verschoont / Voor angxsticheyt, en smert. Hers veylig meugt gy treden; / en met u Graef verselt vry allen ramp ontleden. / JOHANNA. Bellardo! 't gwaedt altans maekt mannelijk 't gemoedt, / 'k schrik enklyk voor my self. / BELLARDO. dien schrik u prysen doet, / en offren my de siel.'

153 E.D.S.M. 1674, vv. 1783–1784a: 'die Janna is verlooft. Spreek schiklijk; sijt gy wijs. / Want 'k mijnen man hier heb.'

and because Rugero will marry Rosimunda, Johanna tells him: 'I took care of my honour, while no better was allowed.'[154]

In fact, this also settles the issue of Rugero's commitment to two women. The Count of Barcelona rejoices when he learns that his son, Bellardo, escaped the Moors' captivity, that Mirtillo is actually Johanna, Princess of León, and that she and Bellardo are now engaged, and, finally, that his soon-to-be son-in-law Sanchio is, in fact, Rugero, Prince of Navarra. The *comedia* resolves with two diplomatically favourable marriages and order is restored. While one love failed, it was in favour of two new loves. This time, creating a new social reality was unnecessary; it needed only a little adjustment. In the end, the Flemish *comedia* *De mislukte liefde* differs from *Veranderlyk geval* and *Verwarde hof*. In *De mislukte liefde*, the protagonist rebels against her lover, and not against an oppressive man who tries to separate them. As such, *De mislukte liefde* can be said to warn its audience's women to choose their partner wisely.

Conclusion

As this chapter shows, *emotional rebellion* occurs when protagonists no longer accept their *emotional suffering*. When individuals begin their *emotional rebellion*, they simultaneously demonstrate that an *emotional refuge* cannot provide enough sanctuary from the restraints of an oppressive *emotional regime*. In *comedia nueva*, *emotional rebellion* is needed to create new social realities. I argue that this rebellion can either be expressed through soliloquies or disguise. Soliloquies can comprise either monologues or songs, while disguise can involve cross-dressing or a (gendered) social masquerade.

In *Veranderlyk geval*, song is an important vehicle for Margareta to establish her *emotional rebellion*, as is her cross-dressing as a *gracioso*; in *Verwarde hof*, Matilde uses female masquerade and Hendricus relies on monologue and social masquerade to establish his own rebellion. In *De mislukte liefde*, Johanna also employs cross-dressing to instigate a rebellion against her male suitor, creating space for movement and the agency she needs to protect her own honour. The three plays differ in terms of their structuring of *emotional rebellion*, although they each use the same familiar devices to do so. Other plays in the corpus of *comedia nueva* fall somewhere along this same spectrum. Some plays are more like Heynck's *Veranderlyk geval* in their use of song, such as *Casandra en Karel*, *Celia en Prospero*, *De verliefde stiefmoeder*, and *Don Louis de Vargas*. Other plays are more like De Fuyter's *Verwarde hof*. Further, Van Germez'

154 E.D.S.M. 1674, v. 1792: 'Ik sorgde voor mijn eer, terwijl niet beter moght.'

Vervolgde Laura, *Sigismundus prince van Polen*, and *Den grooten Tamerlan* exemplify the importance of gender-bending and social-crossing in navigating and empowering emotional expression and agency in seventeenth-century theatre.

I have here recognised in theatre that *emotional rebellion* is a means to gain emotional freedom within the bounds of an *emotional regime*. This is not to say that this concept must remain limited to the confines of theatre, however. Reddy's distinctive concepts of *emotional regime*, *emotional refuge*, and *emotional liberty* are socio-historical and political-historical categories. *Emotional rebellion* might fit alongside this threesome to categorise the extreme, norm-breaking actions of those unable to cope with an oppressive regime. As of now, I have only used this concept to illustrate similar acts of rebellion in *comedia nueva*, and it is true that the impact of a staged—that is, theatrical—rebellion on society, broadly writ, is limited. However, we can look at it differently: it is possible to see theatre and *comedia nueva* as a testing ground, an *emotional refuge*, where literary acts of rebellion and their appropriate emotions or *emotives* were rehearsed before the eyes of spectators.

Theatre harbours an affective force which influences both actor and spectator, as is also argued by Elly Konijn in her dissertation on actors and emotions, and Jan Konst for Dutch seventeenth-century tragedy.[155] Likewise, in the early modern period, playwrights and anti-theatricalists alike believed that drama could influence the mind of both spectator and actor.[156] Some playwrights defended their craft by claiming its capacity for moral instruction; they represented emotions as dangerous, even life-threatening, and restraint of the passions the one life-saving solution.[157] Others, like Jan Vos, embraced the entertaining capacity of emotions: the overt display of emotions guaranteed a play's success,[158] but as I posit in this chapter, such plays could also bring into question the impossibility of avoiding an emotional life, and love in particular. The characters in *comedias* express many *emotion claims*, which criticise social norms and challenge amorous taboos. Female characters in particular can emancipate themselves by drawing attention to the inequity and unfairness that exists within the romantic engagements (and entanglements) in these *comedias*. Here, for spectators, it is possible, and even likely, that they will be influenced by the drama's performative aspects. After all, drama moulds feeling. When an actor displays the fictional emotions of rebellion, the audience might also be touched by a subtle, but prolonged, process of emotional release.

155 Konijn 1994, 20–28; Konst 1993, 163–234.
156 See, e.g., Levine 1994, 10–15.
157 Konst 1993, 6–30.
158 Vos 1667, fol. *3r.

CHAPTER 7

Touchy-Feely

The Embodied Expression of Emotions in Dutch Comedias

When Queen Joanna enters stage in the second act of De Graef's *Joanna Koningin van Napels*, she is faced with an ultimatum to either marry Prince Andreas, the power-hungry royal from Hungary, or face an occupation by Hungarian forces. This ultimatum also implies that she must abandon her long-time lover Prince Lodewijck of Taranto. Which choice should she make? Joanna is emotionally conflicted and emotionally suffering. She embodies her emotions through the use of her singing voice, which for the moment must offer her some emotional relief, an *emotional refuge*. A significant part of her feelings are enveloped in physical language, language that originates in or is related to the queen's body, and also demonstrates the conflict between the Queen's Two Bodies: the natural body and the body politic, between which lies a tension. On the one hand, the queen is a woman with personal, embodied desires and ambitions; on the other, she is a political, symbolic, and 'eternal' figure with a duty to her subjects.[1] Therefore, Joanna must reconcile the existence of her two bodies, and copes with her internal conflict through an emotionally expressive song.

The audience thus hears the queen sing that her soul, in pining for her lover, is being dissolved ('versmelt') in her own tears. She fashions her emotions as a chemical reaction between her inward soul and the outward expression of her body's tears. The fact that her tears are explicitly also 'salty' only adds to the severity of those emotions. Spectators can almost taste the tears on her lips:

JOANNA. I have tested your loyalty by a ruse,
And I shall highly reward your loyalty;
After I will crown with this crown
The head of him for whom my soul laments
Melted in sad and salty tears.[2]

1 For the philosophical-political concept of the King's Two Bodies in premodern European politics, see, e.g., Kantorowicz 1957, 7–15. For a specific application of the concept to Lope's *La reina Juana de Nápoles*, see Salvi 2005.

2 De Graef 1664, 14: 'KONINGIN. Ick heb door list uw trouw beproeft, / En zal uw trouw op 't hooghst

Her tongue is chained, love has stung her like a bee, her heart must be reined in like a horse, her bosom can only be unlocked by a key, and her passion burns in the flames of Troy's fiery love as was discussed in Chapter 3 in reference to Joanna's song. The queen's emotions are embodied, physical. Spectators must have found this one of the most touching and relatable scenes in the play. How were these embodied emotions portrayed by actors on stage considering that these emotions had to be convincing in order to engage and move spectators?

Queen Joanna's language is interspersed with references to her body. The body is generally already a reference point for the construction of emotional language: as pain manifests itself in a specific place in the body, we produce language that is suitable to describe the pain's physical effect. To describe how emotions are constructed as embodied, I rely on Scheer's concept of *emotional practices*: these are emotional behaviours that we have learned at a young age and are, as such, recognisable within our own cultural context.[3] Thus, Queen Joanna's emotional practices had to be understood by the Dutch audience. To ensure the power of her emotions is conveyed, she expresses her inner conflict between doing what is socially expected of her as queen, and what she desires as an individual woman. She is aware of the taboo associated with excessive, unrestrained emotions: love has carried her away to a place unknown ('Waer toe heeft my de min vervoert?') and she desperately seeks someone capable of restraining her (overly) loving heart ('Wie kan een minnend hart betoomen?'), providing an outlet for the suffering that has resulted from her 'goal conflict.'[4] Her song reflects how the body (and her body in particular) is socially situated within her culture—that is, the Dutch culture, which counts here as an *emotional regime*—where emotional excess is always deemed dangerous and undesirable. This, of course, echoes the many inner struggles demonstrated in *dramatis personae* on the Dutch stage.[5]

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beloonen; / Naer dat ick met dees kroon zal kroonen / Het hooft, om wien mijn ziel bedroeft / Versmelt in droeve zilte tranen.'

3 Scheer 2012, 200; Reddy 2001, 118–122, 125–126.

4 De Graef 1664, 14.

5 Konst 1993, 31, 35–38, 44, 50–53. Outside of theatre, this is also attested by Sierhuis. When Hooft grieves at losing his wife and only child in a letter to his friend and poet Tesselschade Roemers, he denounces Seneca's stoicism, which he had so ardently propagated in his plays *Geeraerdt van Velsen* and *Baeto*. Instead, Hooft 'places love as embodied, and grief, being coterminous with memory, as constitutive of identity.' The same emotional struggle between mind and body is reflected in Roemers' own commemoration of her husband and daughter's deaths written eleven years after Hooft's letter. According to Sierhuis, 'Her poem fashions grief and tears simultaneously into an inescapable fact of embodied life, and as a form of self-imposed spiritual servitude, a paradox invited by the double dualism of soul versus body and spirit versus flesh' (2016, 343–344).

Naturally, Joanna's conflict was staged by an actor who displayed the Queen's emotions and brought the 'goal conflict' to life, in turn affecting audiences: contemporary humoural theory assumed that passions circulated both within and between bodies. This meant that within the confined space of the theatre, the actor's emotion transferred, like a contagion, to 'the bodies of the spectators in a quite material view of the operations of affect, based on agreement of the spirits and humours of actor and audience,' as Kristine Steenbergh argues.[6] Her assessment follows that of Katherine Rowe concerning the relationship between emotions and the humours:

> These sympathies occurred between bodies as well as within them. Thus a playgoing audience that recognized the *topos* of 'weeping queens' would have understood conformation of their own humors as the logical extension of the emotion script. The active spirits in a player's body were understood to move an auditor's mind by a kind of classical *enargeia*, passing through the eyes and ears to excite similar physical motions.[7]

Within the framework of this belief system, Lope wrote that the playwright should 'paint' soliloquies in such a way that every speaker is transformed, and in turn moves the auditor, by being moved themselves.[8] We can, therefore, see that theatre is a medium that relies on *emotion language*, spoken by an actor using both voice *and* body to communicate with spectators. By drawing on Scheer regarding this bodily aspect of theatre, and by following Erika Fischer-Lichte's considerations of theatre as performative medium, I focus in this chapter on theatre as an *embodied medium* to explain how Dutch adaptations of *comedias* were so effective at harnessing emotion, a quality which contributed to their outstanding popularity.[9]

In theatre, the actor's gestures, movements, and expressions all actively draw attention to the character's emotional conflicts. Furthermore, these gestures, movements, and expressions must be 'larger than life' to be clearly visible to spectators, and also because actors express certain *bodily* emotions that are otherwise supressed outside the safe and controlled space offered by the theatre. Emotions are not only the 'habits emerging where bodily capacities and cultural requirements meet,' as

6 Steenbergh 2014, 99–100.

7 Rowe 2003, 58.

8 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 274–276.

9 Fischer-Lichte 2000; 2014, 18–46; Ramakers 2004, esp. 127–128.

Scheer puts it, but the gestures, movements, and expressions that outwardly express them can also explicitly and intentionally deviate from the 'automatic movements, impulses, and activations [… and] learned practice, acquired through mimesis' that are part of each actor's stagecraft.[10] That is to say, spectators see the actor's body and the emotions that it showcases; they can both recognise and interpret it as something that produces and coveys meaning on the basis of familiar cultural codes and modes of expression. These codes and modes have been recorded many times in books of acting, rhetoric, the meaning of gestures, art, and simply in daily life.[11] With his or her technical training on how to use the body during acting, an actor can convey a purely emotional message, or even moralistic message about how emotions should be handled. Indeed, the body can be disciplined in such a way.[12] This is, at least, what Rodenburgh argued in response to other playwrights who he believes only cared that their audiences cheered and laughed: 'I regard it much more laudable that eyes are tearing up at the sad examples and that hearts are moved by moralising acts.'[13]

Dutch adaptations of *comedia nueva* are fortified with embodied emotions. By foregrounding specific emotions in an embodied way, playwrights could problematise their position, role, and permissibility in Dutch and Flemish culture. Emotions that are embodied and expressed by an acting body can effectively foreground these emotions in spectators, reminding them of their own lived experiences of these emotions. From this perspective, I also discuss the performances of actor (and playwright) Adam Karelsz van Germez, Ariana van den Bergh, and Susanna van Lee, who arguably contributed to the success of *comedia nueva* in the Low Countries. I am primarily interested in the techniques that these actors used and how their performances may have affected spectators.

Further, in the discussion that follows I consider how actors may have embodied the emotions vocalised and visualised in Van Germez' *Vervolgde Laura*, Vos' *De beklaagelycke dwangh*, and finally Wouthers' *De verliefde stiefmoeder*. I discuss how emotional language is converted into corresponding physical gestures, body movements, and poses, and draw on the slightly earlier work of rhetoricians Jan van Mussem in

10 Scheer 2012, 202.

11 This is the argument that Ben Albach follows in his study of Dutch comedians in the Low Countries and beyond (1977, 38–39). See, furthermore, Fischer-Lichte 2014, 33–34.

12 This concept is also current in Kuijpers and Van der Haven 2016, 7–8. They consider early modern emotions in the context of the military and the battlefield, and how disciplining, drilling, and allocution contributed to emotional management among troops.

13 Rodenburgh 1619, 189: 'ick achtet veel lofbaerder dat de ooghen traenen door droeve voorbeelden, en de herten bewegen door stichtige bedryven.'

Rhetorica, dye edele const van welsegghene (1553) and Matthijs de Castelein in *De const van rhetoriken* (1555), and painter Karel van Mander in *Het Schilder-boeck* (1604). This contemporary evidence demonstrates that the emotional practices in *comedias* drew on a common cultural experience. The success of *comedia nueva* in the Low Countries also relied heavily on the performances of theatre stars, who with their fame helped *comedias* become what I believe to be the most significant seventeenth-century genre in terms of its embodied expression of emotions.

Van Germez: The Spirited, Young Lover

The play *Vervolgde Laura*—an adaptation of Lope's *Laura perseguida* and Rotrou's *Laure persecutée*—by actor and playwright Adam Karelsz van Germez is a good starting point to discuss how Van Germez brought the textual emotions of his character Prince Orantee alive. Not only was Van Germez 'one of the most eloquent actors of his time' according to Brandt, he also interpreted the role of the spirited, young lover numerous times while acting in many *comedias* adapted from Spanish, and also in his own *Vervolgde Laura*.[14]

Being the most famous actor in his time, Van Germez often performed the leading role in *comedias*. According to the *Parsonaadjeboek* ('Book of *Dramatis Personae*') of the 1658/9 theatre season, some of his roles in addition to Prince Orantee in *Vervolgde Laura* had included Count Lodewijck in Rodenburgh's *Cassandra en Karel* (1617), Don Rodrigo in Van Heemskerck's *De verduytste Cid* (1641), Count Astolfo in Vos' *Gedwongen vrient* (1646), Prince Carel in De Fuyter's *Verwarde hof* (1647), Count Henryck in Vos' *De beklaaglycke dwangh*, King Anthony in De Wijse's *Voorzigtige dolheit* (1650), and Duke Alexander in Dullaart's *Alexander de Medicis* (1653).[15] Many of these plays had already premiered many years before Van Germez' roles were recorded in the 1658/9 *Parsonaadjeboek*. Ben Albach expects, therefore, that Van Germez played those 'young lover' roles beginning sometime between 1640 and 1650, although he was already well into his forties.[16] Being the star that he was, he regularly performed the protagonist in the Dutch adaptations of Spanish *comedias*, which could have had enormous impact on the genre's importance and popularity.

14 Albach 1946, 50; 1977, 39–41. The quote reads in Dutch: 'een der welspreekendste Tooneelspeelderen van zijn tijd.'

15 See the *Parsonaadjeboek 1658–1659*, inv.nr. 429 in the Stadsarchief Amsterdam.

16 Albach 1977, 41.

Van Germez was also considered the most skilled of all the actors enlisted by the Amsterdam Public Theatre. As such, he must have known how to construct emotions textually in his own *Vervolgde Laura*, but more importantly, also how to act these emotions convincingly. His colleagues said more than once that he was a serious actor, dedicated to his job, with a resonant, sonorous voice, with which he deeply moved his audience.[17] Reyer Anslo writes, for instance, in his introduction to Van Germez' *Klaagende Kleazjenor, en doolende Doristee* (1647) that 'his tongue, which is so sorrowful and adept in speech, makes everyone cry, and breaks stone and steel.'[18] He compares the actor to Rome's legendary Roscius and Greece's Polus, both renowned for their eloquence. While Polus apparently generated genuine tears by appearing onstage with the his late son's urn in his hands, Van Germez did not need any such aids.[19] He says himself in his *Eduard, anders stantvastige weduwe* (premiered 1656; published 1660) that 'what the common man calls happiness was never in me.'[20] Albach concludes, therefore, that his melancholic nature resonated in his voice.[21] That melancholia apparently affected the audience time and again. Fellow actor (and *comedia* author) Leon de Fuyter describes in a sonnet added to Van Germez' *Vervolgde Laura* that his colleague 'pricks the hearts, and tickles them through the ears.'[22]

Embodying the Emotions of 'Vervolgde Laura'

With his vast experience, it was only natural that Van Germez played Prince Orantee in his own *Vervolgde Laura*. In this role, the actor had to display a full range of emotions, which culminate in a monologue in the fifth scene of the fourth act. Therefore, an analysis of this specific monologue demonstrates how Van Germez' emotional acting convinced his audience and moved them to compassion and empathy for the Prince. The monologue is fourteen verses long, and is therefore reminiscent of the classical sonnet.[23] In Spanish drama, the sonnet was used by characters expecting an

17 See Albach 1977, 39–41, 80–81, and Blom 2021a, 72, 92.

18 Anslo 1647, fol. A4^{r}: 'zijn tong altijd, zoo droef en wel ter taal, doet huylen al het volk, en barsten steen en staal.'

19 Anslo 1647, fol. A4^{r}.

20 Van Germez 1660, fol. A3^{r}: 'het geene den ghemeenen man gheluk noemt, was nooit in mij.'

21 Albach 1977, 40.

22 De Fuyter 1645, fol. *8^{r}: 'd'herten prikt, en kittelt door 't gehoor.'

23 This sonnet in *Vervolgde Laura*, however, is not in the same form as the Petrarcan sonnet, which often rhymes *abba abba cdc dcd*.

impending event;[24] in Petrarch's hands, the sonnet expressed the cruelty of a desired lover, whose rejected suitor speaks in verse. As an adaptation from the Spanish by way of the French *Laure persecutée*, Van Germez's *Vervolgde Laura* follows Rotrou's text in its application of both of these uses of the sonnet. The suitor is here Prince Orantee, and Laura is supposedly the cruel lover; Orantee speaks the monologue while expecting a renewed encounter with Laura, thus following the Spanish use of the sonnet as well.[25] By reciting the sonnet in this play, Van Germez could express the requisite emotions through the use of both his voice and his full body. He laments:

> I am finally alone here. I can now freely pour out
> My sorrow and love without hesitation! Oh my heart,
> How do you hang in the scales with the pointer between both!
> My honour uses force to take me from here!
> Because as I see her there, however great my anger,
> I fall silently to earth before her feet. Certainly,
> A gaze from her would disarm me.
> And if I lament, it will be through tears. How honour
> And love make me look dejected! It will surely happen, as I approach her,
> That she receives mercy: because such an enemy shows that he
> Is inclined to make peace, when he is the first to visit. What to decide
> In the face of the evil that transports me? Shall I expose myself
> Before this door until the day finds me? I am ashamed!
> Speak to her, though with a fake voice, and name.[26]

24 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, v. 308: 'el soneto está bien en los que aguardan.'

25 In Lope's original *Laura perseguida*, Orantee speaks in *redondillas*, which are traditional octosyllabic stanzas made up of quatrains with a rhyme scheme of *abba (as per* Thacker 2008, 117). For the original monologue, see Lope de Vega 1614, fol. 19r. Lope writes in his *Arte nuevo* that *redondillas* are used for affairs of love; see Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, v. 312. In the French intermediate text, Rotrou had already restructured Orantee's monologue into fourteen lines, thus resembling a sonnet.

26 Van Germez 1645, 54: ''k ben eindelijk hier alleen. nu mag ik vry mijn smert, / En liefde, zonder schroom uitstorten! ô mijn hert, / Hoe hangd gy in de waeg met d'eev'naer tusschen beyde! / Mijn eer gebruikt geweld om my van hier te leiden! / Want zo ik haer dar zien, hoe groot mijn gramschap is, / 'k Val stom ter aerden voor 'er voeten neer. gewis / Een lonk van haer zou mijn de wapenen ontrukken. / En zo ik klaeg het zal door tranen zijn. hoe drukken / My, d'eer, en min! 't gaet vast, zo 'k haer genaek, dat zy / Gena verwerft: want zulk een vyand, toont dat hy / Tot vreede neigd, die eerst bezoekt. Wat dan besloten / In 't quaed dat my vervoerd? zal ik my hier ontblooten / Voor deeze deur tot my den dag hier vint? ik schaem / My! spreek 'er aen doch valsch van stem, en naem.'

This sonnet-resembling monologue strikes at a precarious moment in the play: although the prince thinks that his beloved Laura has been unfaithful, he is still drawn to her home. He feels sorrow that the woman he was going to marry betrayed him; he cannot fully believe what has happened as he still loves her; and he is also prepared to forgive her if she would appear before him. To navigate these inner conflicts, Van Germez had to alternate between intense and contradictory emotions in just one short, passionate monologue. When the prince enters stage, he is caught in an internal emotional conflict between his love and his sorrow. As he is alone, no obstacles stand in the way of his full expression of those emotions. He not only invokes his heart in this moment, but also uses vivid language to illustrate how his heart balances between his emotions. Meanwhile, Orantee's honour equally pressures the prince to leave his place outside Laura's home, before he gives in to her beauty or begins to cry. Both his honour and his love bring him pain.

How, then did Van Germez manage to express in just fourteen verses these very distinct emotions in succession or even at the same time? Apparently, love, sorrow, and honour are incompatible. Surely, it cannot have been an easy task, but he was a man of practice and experience. Yet, practice and experience are not tangible, but treatises and depictions in the visual arts (prints and paintings) are. Van Germez' acting may have benefitted from what was written on the expression of emotions in these contemporary sources. This is attested by Van Germez' colleague, Thomas Gerritsz de Keyser, with whom he worked early in his career. De Keyser was a member of a famous family of painters and architects; he was the nephew of architect Hendrick de Keyser. Albach convincingly suggests that De Keyser was probably familiar with Karel van Mander's *Het Schilder-boeck* and the treatise therein on how to properly depict emotions. For centuries, excerpts from 'Den Grondt der Edel vry Schilder-const' have been quoted by actors who deepened their knowledge of expression, gestures, and emotions through its pages. Therefore, it may very well be that Van Germez also learned how to express emotions from Van Mander's *Het Schilder-boeck*.[27]

Alternatively, or perhaps additionally, Van Germez may have also consulted *Rhetorica, dye edele const van welsegghene* by the Fleming Jan van Mussem, a reprint of which was made in Gouda in 1607. Van Mussem had collected the teachings of Cicero and Quintilian and made them available in Dutch for aspiring speakers, but its audience undoubtedly also included rhetoricians and actors at the beginning of their careers.[28] Van Mussem wrote, for instance, that pronunciation originates 'in the stirring of the

27 Albach 1977, 38–39.
28 Albach 1977, 38–39.

body, which is nothing else than a movement of the limbs and the countenance which gives a good semblance of the truth to all the things you say.'[29] We can see, then, how Van Germez could have honed his art by taking notice of how to demonstrate emotions, through both word and action, according to Van Mander, Van Mussem, or both.

But no other work was known as well to rhetoricians than Matthijs de Castelein's *De const van rhetoriken* (1555, 'The Art of Rhetoric'). This booklet was part of the collections (or archives) of many rhetoricians' chambers well into the seventeenth century, as *De const* was the rhetoricians' handbook on poetry writing, and how to properly use rhetoric in both text and speech.[30] In it, De Castelein tells the aspiring rhetorician that his body should be able to demonstrate emotions convincingly: 'The body must be especially good / With tears, with moans, with voice, with eyes. / Therefore, every actor has his own style.'[31]

The rhetorical style of acting described in Van Mussem's *Rhetorica* and De Castelein's *De const* remained the gold standard throughout the seventeenth century. This has consequences for our perception of *comedia nueva* on the Dutch stage; we must consider that the Dutch acting style differed from the style that Lope had intended for *comedia nueva*. In his *Arte nuevo*, Lope wrote that when delivering a soliloquy the actor should himself be moved in order to move spectators, as I discussed earlier.[32] Thacker argued on the basis of this advice that 'the transformation of the lover through the poetry that he or she speaks seems to suggest that—at least on some occasions—Lope favoured a naturalistic style of performance in which the empathic response of the public was the goal.'[33] This naturalistic style of acting would only become common in the Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century with actors such as Marten Corver and his students. Corver broke with the Dutch acting tradition of his own teacher, actor Jan Punt, by pursuing a more natural, more realistic style under the influence of new French acting and theatre theories.[34] In the seventeenth century,

29 Van Mussem 1607, 23: 'int roeren des lichaems, twelcke anders niet en is, dan een bestier der ledenen ende des Aenschijns bijden welcken dat een goet schijn der waerheyt geeft, al tgene datmen seggende is.'

30 Van Dixhoorn 2009, 189–190.

31 De Castelein 1986, strophe 175: 'Veel behendicheits, moet den lichame dooghen / Met tranen, met suchten, met vooyse, met ooghen, / Diueersche personagen maken diueersche actie.' My translation is largely based on that of Bussels 2010, 242.

32 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 274–279.

33 Thacker 2008, 116.

34 Albach 1946, 115–128.

the gestures of actors were, however, still the highly stylised movements outlined by rhetorical models, according to Albach.[35] This is also attested in an account by De Brune de Jonge, who writes that *decorum* makes acted emotions more pleasurable to watch:

> While someone who truly cries, or who is truly angry, is seen during common incidents and expositions; in the imitation, however, some dexterity and swiftness is applied, because it comes about more appropriately: we take no pleasure in the first, at the same time that the second strangely entertains us.[36]

These rhetorical models certainly also gave Van Germez a point of reference when he had to act out the emotional conflict at the monologue's start, which might have otherwise been hard to convincingly express.

Thus, the delivery of Orantee's monologue by Van Germez could be analysed in the light of these treatises, which instructed the actor on the appropriate gestures and facial expressions to convey the love, sorrow, and honour that are uttered in the monologue. When Orantee expresses how his heart is weighed down by both love and sorrow, Van Germez may have embodied Orantee's emotions of love with a kind, smiling appearance as was described by Van Mander:

> The depiction of the affect of love is built
> With a kind, smiling countenance,
> With embraces, and arms encompassed,
> And by making the heads hang bending
> Towards each other, like they are poured full of love,
> With the right hands folded in each other.[37]

35 Albach 1946, 57; 1977, 40–41.

36 De Brune de Jonge 1644, 344: 'Dewijl dan yemand die waarlix weent, of gram is, in gemeene voorvallen, en vertoogen gezien wort; in de nabootzing daarentegen, zoo zy gevoeghlijker wijze geschiet, eenige behendigheid en gaauheid te pas komt: scheppen wy geen vermaak in't eerste, daar ons het tweede zonderling verlustigt.'

37 Van Mander [1604] 1969, fol. 23r: 'T'affect der Liefden uytbeeldinghe bouwen, / Met een vriendelijck toelachend' aenschouwen, / Met omhelsinghen, en aermen omvanghen, / En de hoofden toeneyghende doen hanghen / nae malcander, als vol Liefden doorgoten, / Met de rechte handen in een ghesloten.'

However, Prince Orantee mentions at the same time that he is afflicted by his honour and feels despair, sorrow, and also compassion. How Van Germez could have expressed honour is a matter for conjecture, because Van Mander and Van Mussem do not discuss it as such. The combination of love and sorrow that Orantee wants to simultaneously communicate shows that his emotions are not simple or singular, but rather complex and contradictory. The prince's inner emotional conflict limits the actor in exactly how kind the expression on his face can be to communicate his love under such conditions. Then, it also becomes clear that an actor can never fully learn acting from a book or other regulations, as Albach rightly observed.[38] This demonstrates why *comedia nueva* needed an actor like Van Germez, who had enough experience to take on such a role. Roles like Prince Orantee required the actor to effectively transcend Van Mander's descriptions on conveying basic emotions.

Van Germez perhaps combined Van Mander's instructions to depict love alongside fear, sorrow, and compassion. Van Mander ascribes comparable expressions and gestures to all three passions. The master painter describes that sorrow, fear, and compassion are best illustrated as follows:

> Now, to make a sad countenance, full of pity,
> And inward passion, without the running
> Of tears, as happens sometimes,
> One should raise the left eyebrow
> With the left eye half closed,
> And let the nasolabial fold
> Be pulled up and shortened in the same way:
> This way, one shall depict a fearful being.
> The head shall also hang down to one side,
> The cheek raised towards the previously mentioned eye
> Shall pull the mouth open on that side.[39]

38 Albach 1977, 38–39.

39 Van Mander [1604] 1969, fol. 26^{v}: 'Om nu een droef ghelaet, vol medelijden, / En inwendighe passy, sonder storten / Der tranen, te maken, alst beurt somtijden, / Salmen de wijnbrauwen ter slincker sijden / Met d'ooghe half toe wat om hoogh' opschorten, / En laten derwaert trecken en vercorten / T'vouken, dat van de neuse loopt in wanghe, / Soo salmen uytbeelden een wesen banghe. / T'hooft sal oock hanghen eensijdich ghestopen / De wanghe nae t'voornoemt ooghe verheven / Sal op die sijde den mondt trecken open.'

At the same time, emotional torment is shown through the actor's placement of their hands on their torso:

> The one hand will touch the bosom on the heart,
> And the other will be attached to its same shoulder:
> Thus, with the inward turned outwards, positioned
> Such as to clutch or to protect something,
> To fully wear out an oppressed mind.[40]

Alternatively, to express abject despair:

> The hands on the heart, lying crossway,
> The head pushing a shoulder, yes like also
> The body's securities are used to do,
> As the red clouds make wet the pale cheeks
> With tepid rain.
> The hands together with fingers intertwined,
> Contrary to each other, like West and East,
> The face shall look dejectedly upwards to the beyond.[41]

When actors wanted to indicate tears, they should do as follows:

> To force or grapple the tearing eye,
> Sometimes a hand or a handkerchief comes forward,
> And the head, with sad wetness burdened,
> Will be firmly supported by the hand,
> And this is held up with the elbow;
> Yes, all limbs should nearly
> Lie limp or hang,

40 Van Mander [1604] 1969, fol. 26v: 'D'een handt op t'herte den boesem sal nopen, / En d'ander haer eyghen schouder aencleven, / Soo met t'binnenste uytwaert ghewent, even / Ghestelt, als om yet te vatten oft schutten, / Om een gheperst ghemoedt wel uyt te putten.'

41 Van Mander [1604] 1969, fol. 26v: 'De handen op't herte, cruyswijs gheleghen, / T'hooft druckend' een schouder, jae vry soo mochten / Oock al s'Lichaems borghers wel mede pleghen, / Als die roode wolcken met laeuwen reghen / De bleycke wange-velden nat bevochten, / De handen t'samen met vinghers doorvlochten, / Contrary van een, als Westich en Oostich, / Sal t'Aenschijn elderswaert op sien mistroostich.'

As if dead or riddled with disease.[42]

Van Germez certainly had to make use of his full body. Yet, alongside all these physical movements, the emotions must be enforced by proper use of the voice, at which Van Germez was especially skilled, according to the abovementioned testimonies. Van Mussem says 'that one cannot find a better pronunciation nor describe one, than to pronounce and relate something in a way which does not resemble artifice, but comes directly from the mind and heart.'[43]

While preparing the text from which Van Germez would develop *Vervolgde Laura*, translator Jan Hendrik Glazemaker already found the emotions of love, sorrow, and honour in the French *Laure persecutée* (1639) by Jean Rotrou.[44] Rotrou had translated Orantee's lamentation in Lope's *Laura perseguida* quite freely and with more focus on the Prince's internal emotional conflict.[45] However, Van Germez adapted the monologue even more by including shame: right before the prince decides to knock on Laura's door again, he deliberates whether he should expose his true feelings to Laura. If he confesses his love to her, it could result in him losing face. Thus, he feels ashamed, as his emotional exposure also involves a potential loss of honour.

The emotion of shame is more elaborately constructed in the Dutch text than by the reflection 'C' est trop delibrer' ('It's too much to consider') found in Rotrou's adaptation. Van Germez differs here from the French and adds the embodied expression of 'ontblooten' to the Dutch text. The Dutch verb 'ontblooten' indicates that Orantee is about to lay his soul and inner thoughts bare for Laura to take full control over. Therefore, it is only natural that shame could follow this vulnerability, particularly

42 Van Mander [1604] 1969, fol. 26^{v}: 'Om de tranend' ooghe drucken oft dwaden, / Sal somtijts handt oft doeck daer comen vooren, / En t'hooft, met droeve vochticheyt beladen, / Sal de handt behulpelijck staen in staden, / En dat met den elleboogh onderschooren, / Iae alle leden souden schier behooren / Daer slappelijck te ligghen oft te hanghen, / Als doot, oft gheheel met sieckten bevanghen.'

43 Van Mussem 1607, 25: 'datmen gheen beter uyt-Sprake vinden noch beschrijven mach, dan een sake uyt-tespreken ende te vertellen sulcker Wijse dat niet een versierde sake en gelijckt, maer geheelijc uyten sin ende uyter herten te comene.'

44 Cf. Rotrou 1639, 97–98: 'En fin, me voicy seul, et je puis librement / escouter mon amour, et mon ressentiment; / Mon coeur, entre les deux, également balance, / Honneur, pour m'arrester, use de violence: / Car si j'ose la voir, quel que soit mon courreux, / Tu me verras muet tomber à ses genoux; / Un seul de ses regards m'arracheroit les armes, / Et si je me plaignois, ce seroit par des larmes: / Si j'ose l'aborder, son pardon est certain; / L'ennemy qui visite a la grace à la main: / Queresoudrais-je donc au malqui me transporte? / Attens-je que le jour me treuve à cette porte? / C'est trop delibrer, levons-nous, parlons-luy, / Mais d'une fausse voix, et sous le nom d'autruy.'

45 Cf. Rotrou 1639, 97–98; Lope de Vega 1614, fol. 19^{r}.

if he is rejected as he fears he will be. From his experience as an actor, Van Germez may have felt it necessary that Orantee expressed his shame more explicitly. This way, the embodiment of shame during his performance would probably have elicited more compassion from the audience. In this regard, Van Germez' adaptation can be considered a stronger text in the way that it theatrically employs emotions than either Rotrou's adaptation or even Lope's original.[46]

Van Mussem writes in his *Rhetorica* about eliciting compassion that 'this one should best learn from women, such as striking with the hands, nodding with the head, sometimes keeping everything still. And always with a mournful and miserable countenance.'[47] When Van Mussem writes, furthermore, that a sorrowful way of speaking is especially something that should be learned from women, it begs the question of how Dutch actresses embodied emotions in the productions of *comedia nueva* on the Dutch stage.

Embodied Emotions as Comic Relief

Sporadically, Van Germez also played a supporting role, especially in the newer adaptations dating from the mid-1650s as he grew older. Thus, the *Parsonaadjeboek* of 1658/9 records that Van Germez played the court master Alberto in Rodenburgh's *Celia en Prospero* (1617), one of the two citizens in *Sigismundus* (1654), the emperor's friend Narces in De Grieck's *Den grooten Bellizarius* (1658), or one of the three Hebrews in Serwouters' *Hester* (1659). Another minor role that Van Germez interpreted was that of the messenger in *Gysbreght van Aemstel*, which he apparently did convincingly and with much *pathos*.[48] Van Germez was apparently an earnest actor whose stage presence bore considerable *gravitas*.

The *comedia nueva* is, however, no tragedy. As discussed in Chapter 6, the genre staged the *gracioso* as its ubiquitous clownish figure. The *gracioso* offered comic relief to counterbalance the gravity of sorrowful and lovesick characters. When the *gracioso*

46 This also contradicts the opinion that Van Germez' plays have little poetic value; see e.g. van der Aa 1878, 56. More recently, Porteman and Smits-Veldt asserted that *Vervolgde Laura* is more sober than the 'liberal' plays translated from Spanish, mistakenly believing that *Vervolgde Laura* was originally a French play (Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 389).

47 Van Mussem 1607, 25: 'dat salmen best aen de [van de] vrouwen leeren, als slaen metten handen, knicken metten hoofde, somtijts al stille houden. Ende altijts met rouwigen ende beroerden Aenschijnr [sic].'

48 See the *Parsonaadjeboek* 1658–1659, inv.nr. 429 in the Stadsarchief Amsterdam; see also Blom 2021a, 92.

Guarin, his master Don Louis, and Don Garzeran must flee court fighting in Heynck's 1668 *Don Louis de Vargas*, the *gracioso* draws a laugh: Don Garzeran is wounded, but says he will survive. When Guarin also screams of pain, Don Louis, concerned, asks why he holds his stomach; it turns out that the *gracioso* is just hungry, although he acts as if it is a mortal wound:

> My hollow stomach, my Lord, screams continuously murder and fire;
> I hardly dare speak as to not upset my intestines,
> My head starts spinning, then appears that phantom before me.
> There is another: the earth moves and tears apart,
> Oh Santiago, oh! Preserve me from the danger.[49]

He thus comically and disproportionally upends the gravity of Garzeran's wounds. Likewise, hunger is Clarín's main motivation to do everything in *Sigismundus*: when he and Rosaura almost reach the tower in which Sigismundus is imprisoned, Clarín is uplifted, thinking that he has seen the signboard of an inn. He creates a word play with 'bear,' which is traditionally used in Dutch for a place where they serve food and as an informal way of saying that you are hungry, such as in the expression 'hungry as a bear.' The joke unfolds thus:

Rosaura.	We reach
	A house, I believe, unless it is the dark
	That has deceived my eyes.
Clarín.	There is no objection:
	Because there, I am sure, I see the Bear hanging out,
	Unless my hunger [bear], which dances, makes me ravenous,
	And blurs my sight.[50]

49 Heynck 1668, 30: 'Mijn holle maeg, mijn Heer, die roept vast moordt en brandt; / Ik derf nauw spreken om mijn darmen niet te storen, / Mijn hooft wert yl, dan komt my dit dan dat te voren. / Daer weêr aen, d'aerdt beweegt en scheurt zig van elkaêr, / Och Sante Jago, och! Behoedt my voor 't gevaer.'

50 Vrye Lief-hebbers 1654, vv. 38b–43a: 'Rosaura. Wy naken / Een huysingh, soo my dunckt, 't en zy de duysterheyt / Mijn oogh bedroghen heeft. Clarín. Daer is gheen swarigheyt: / Want ginder, 't is

When the *gracioso* later sees Sigismundus appear before his eyes in animal hides, he exclaims, 'Did I not say that the bear resides there?'[51] This provokes the audience's laughter as they recognise the humorous word play of the *gracioso*, as well as his cowardice throughout the scene.

Who played these comic roles? Being the melancholic actor that he was, Van Germez certainly never took on these light-hearted roles of the *gracioso*. We only have the division of roles for the theatre season 1658/9 and therefore do not know who played the role of Guarin in *Don Louis de Vargas*, but we do know this for Clarín in *Sigismundus*. In this theatre season, Clarín was brought to life by Jan Meerhuijsen. That season Meerhuijsen sometimes also played opposite Van Germez: in *Verwarde hof*, he was Barlovento, a *gracioso* and the servant of Van Germez' Carel.[52] Meerhuijsen was apparently able to bring the right levity to the role to balance Van Germez' gravity.

Van den Bergh and Van Lee: The Beauty of the Female Body

That audiences saw female actors was not a given on the early modern Dutch stage. As described in Chapter 6, before 1655 women characters were played by men in the Amsterdam Public Theatre. This changed when Ariana van den Bergh was contracted. In need of new and skilled actors to modernise the productions in the city's theatre, Van den Bergh's husband Jillis Nozeman was approached by the theatre directors to hire his wife who had already gained lots of experience as a member of the travelling theatre company of the 'Nederduytsche Comedianten,' to which group both Nozeman and Van den Bergh belonged.[53] She was soon joined by Susanna van Lee.[54] It is generally argued that they 'primarily performed in the so-called tender or soft roles of young women whether in love or not.'[55] With the arrival of female actresses

gewis, sien ick den Beir uyt-hangen, / 't En zy dat mijnen beir, die danst, my doet verlangen, / En schemeren 't ghesicht.'

51 Vrye Lief-hebbers 1654, v. 64a: 'Seyd'ick niet dat den Beir daer uyt-hongh?' See also the analysis of Clarín in Blom and Van Marion 2021, 24, 41–43.

52 See the *Parsonaadjeboek* 1658–1659, inv.nr. 429 in the Stadsarchief Amsterdam.

53 Blom 2021a, 278–279.

54 Ariana van den Bergh is better known by her married name, Ariana Nozeman (Juffr. Noseman). However, I choose to call her by her maiden name. The same applies to Susanna van Lee, who returns in the theatre accounts as Juffr. Eeckhout.

55 Nozeman 2014a. See, furthermore, the *Parsonaadjeboek* 1658–1659, inv.nr. 429 in the Stadsarchief Amsterdam.

onstage, *comedia nueva* now enjoyed even more popularity in the Amsterdam Public Theatre than before, as Blom and Van Marion have demonstrated.[56]

The popularity of *comedia nueva* had always been dependent on female roles. When from 1587 onwards women were allowed on Spanish stages, '[t]he conflation of female role and female player endowed the characters on stage with an illusion of reality which the participation of boy actors could never have achieved,' as Tigner asserts.[57] The choice to bring women onstage brought, furthermore, a specific aesthetic with it, because Italian and Spanish plays often featured cross-dressing women, an element of *comedias* I explored in depth in my previous chapter.[58] While '[w]omen's normal dress would have covered the body nearly entirely, encasing it in a kind of cage' (in part because of the structured fashions of this time), cross-dressing ensured that the natural female body was now revealed by fitted trousers, leather waistcoats, and long—and sexy—riding boots, while the soft skin was also shown more.[59] The eroticisation of the female body would have undoubtedly aroused the male senses and captured the gaze of a large portion of male spectators. For female audience members it could have had a vicarious emancipatory effect, as they watched actresses move more freely, in public no less, appropriating the behaviour of their male counterparts.[60]

With this in mind, it is not without reason that Lope wrote that women disguising as men is often very pleasing.[61] The potential of women's freedom in *comedia nueva* is almost unlimited, which begs the question of what kind of roles Dutch actresses interpreted. Van den Bergh performed some parts in the theatre season of 1658/9, including the 'Spanish' roles of Chimène in Van Heemskerck's *De verduytste Cid*, Rosaura in Vos' *De beklaaglycke dwangh*, Rosaura in the Amsterdam production of Schouwenbergh's *Sigismundus* (1654), Constantia in *Den geheymen minnaar* by female playwright Catharina Questiers,[62] Clorinde in Questiers' *Casimier*, and Aurelia in Serwouters' *Den grooten Tamerlan*. The city magistrate showed special interest in the performance of both female artists by attending the première of Questiers' *Casimier*

56 Blom and Van Marion 2021, 27–28; Blom 2021a, 299–301, 337–339; Van Marion 2021.

57 Tigner 2012, 172.

58 Tigner 2012, 172.

59 Tigner 2012, 175. This attire was, for instance, worn by actress Julia Akkermans in her role of Rosaura in the 2016/2017 production of Calderón's *La vida es sueño / Het leven is droom* by the Haarlem based theatre company Toneelschuur Producties. The Dutch translation was provided by Eric Coenen and the play was directed by Olivier Diepenhorst.

60 Tigner 2012, 169, 172, 175–176. See also McKendrick 2004, 16–19.

61 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 28–283.

62 Transl. of Lope de Vega, *Si no vieran las mujeres*.

on 25 October 1656.[63] These roles are, for the better part, also the female leads, the lovers of the male protagonists, which only shows how essential Van den Bergh was as a skilled actress in the first years that women were contracted by the *Schouwburg*.

Simultaneously, Van Lee interpreted at least as many roles as her colleague, performing in roles such as Laura in Rodenburgh's *Celia en Prospero* (1617),[64] Donna Urraca in *De verduytste Cid*, Dionisia in *De beklaaglycke dwangh*, and as the heroine Hester in the blockbuster *Hester oft verlossing der jooden* (Amsterdam 1659, 'Esther, or Liberation of the Jews') by Serwouters.[65] Like those played by Van den Bergh, most of these roles were young women who fall in love with the male protagonist. This resulted in the frequent occurrence of an onstage triangle between the 'main' female lover often played by Van den Bergh, the male lover many times interpreted by Van Germez, and Van Lee's character.[66]

It is also said that Van Lee was very beautiful, which explains why she played characters who fall in love with the male protagonist and are able to successfully seduce him, at least until he returns to his "true" love.[67] This dynamic is apparent for Van Lee's performance as Queen Esther, who was chosen by Ahasuerus for her fabled beauty. However, this view of Van Lee is too myopic, as Van Marion has recently pointed out. She was indeed a master at portraying sensual roles, but the actress was also an entertaining comedienne, deftly playing the roles of spinster, neighbour, or some niece.[68] Van Lee also interpreted the role of the noblewoman Maächa in *Den grooten Tamerlan*, who disguises at one point as a *graciosa* to move freely among the court of the tyrant Tamerlan.[69]

The Composition of Emotions in 'De beklaaglycke dwangh'

An example of the onstage love triangle between Van den Bergh, Van Germez, and Van Lee can be found in Vos' *De beklaaglycke dwangh*, an adaptation of Lope's *La fuerza lastimosa*. The play opens with an encounter between the two lovers (played by Van Germez and Van Lee) in a forest. The scene is a display of pronounced feelings of love between Dionisia and Henryck: 'Like magnets they are drawn to each other,

63 Transl. of Antonio Enríquez Gómez, *Engañar para reinar*.
64 Transl. of Lope de Vega, *El molino*.
65 Transl. of Lope de Vega, *La hermosa Ester*.
66 See also Albach 1977, 74–75.
67 Blom and Van Marion 2021, 27–28; Blom 2021a, 299–301, 337–339; Van Marion 2021.
68 Van Marion 2021, 28.
69 See the *Parsonaadjeboek* 1658–1659, inv.nr. 429 in the Stadsarchief Amsterdam.

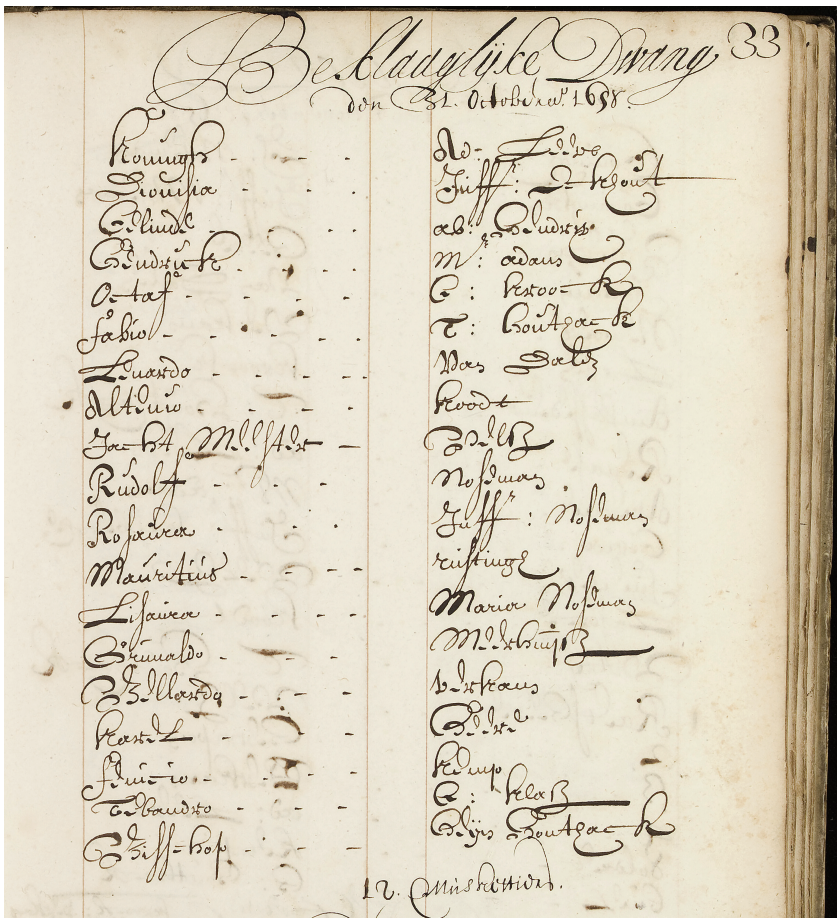

FIG. 7.1 The division of roles in Isaak Vos' *De beklaaglycke dwangh* during the performance on 31 October 1658 in the Amsterdam Public Theatre
PARSONAADJEBOEK 1658–1659, INV.NR. 429, STADSARCHIEF AMSTERDAM

she the beautiful daughter of the king, he the loyal subject of the ruler.'[70] However, Henryck is a mere count, and he considers the crown princess untouchable. The princess assures him that love knows no difference in station when lovers long as ardently for each other as they do. And indeed, Henryck and Dionisia proclaim their love for each other:

70 Blom 2021a, 234.

DIONISIA. Control
Yourself: What I say I swear to you, and shall also keep.
Am I not yours?
HENRYCK. Happiness has conquered
My heart. Oh Madame! My soul is completely moved
By joy because of your favour; yes, it is so passionate
That she cannot give my tongue permission, according to *decorum*,
To thank you for your good deed, to which I am obliged:
Yet, what my tongue withholds is communicated by my face.[71]

Presumably, Van Germez as Henryck, and Van Lee as Dionisia, embodied this display of love with the proper embraces. Meanwhile, they would have both appeared with kind, smiling faces, which is also stressed by Henryck in the final verse cited above. Their heads also lean toward each other, their right hands folded together as was required by Van Mander.[72] Before they leave each other's presence, Dionisia invites her lover to visit her during the night.

Before Henryck can make his move, however, he is imprisoned through the interference of his jealous adversary Oktavio (played by actor Cornelis Krook), who wants Dionisia for himself; not because he loves her, but because in his hubris he fancies himself a king beside her. With Henryck imprisoned, Oktavio will visit Dionisia's chambers and spend the night with her. As discussed in Chapter 2, the scene was acted out by means of a *tableau vivant*. The next day, Oktavio leaves court and sends a message to the king, played by fellow *comedia*-author and actor Adriaen Bastiaensz de Leeuw, who was himself 'a very good and prudent actor without misplaced wisdom.'[73] It reports that Henryck can be released from prison. Again a free man, everyone congratulates him on his night with Dionisia, which oppositely shames him; knowing it is untrue, he thinks it a cruel joke. In this mood he returns to Bristol. There, he rekindles his relationship with Rosaura—played by Van den Bergh—with whom he had two children eight years earlier, although he had never married her, because he

71 Vos 1648, fol. A5r: 'DIONISIA. Betoomt / Uw: wat ick segh dat sweer ick u, en sal 't ook houwe. / Ben ik uw aygen niet? HENRYCK. De blijtschap heeft my hart / Verwonnen. Och Me-vrouw! mijn ziel door vreugde wart / Heel op getrocken door uw gunst; jaa soo gedreeven / Dat sy mijn tongh, naer eysch, geen Oorelof kan geeven / Om u te dancken, voor uw weldaan, als verplight: / Doch 't geen mijn tongh verswijght dat melt u mijn gesight.'

72 Van Mander [1604] 1969, fol. 23r.

73 As per Pels 1689, fol. *3r: 'een zeer goed verstandig Speeler zonder waanwysheid.'

had to serve his king in London. They marry, and it is visualised by means of a *tableau vivant*, also discussed in Chapter 2.

These and other *tableaux vivants* were highly stylised, thus illustrating the action by focusing attention on a specific event or moment in the play. Albach writes how the actors had to adopt graceful positions, for which reason Albach says that the Spanish *comedia* required a mannered form of acting, stylised through and through: 'the acting remains despite the fierce emotions "schilderachtig" [i.e. picturesque].'[74] Van Germez and his colleagues Van den Bergh and Van Lee showcased big passions: love, hate, sorrow, and vindictiveness. This picturesque style of acting originates from both classical rhetoric and the visual arts. After all, the actors had to continuously interrupt their acting to perform in one of the many *tableaux vivants* in Dutch theatre, as Albach explains.[75]

These *tableaux vivants* were then not only spectacular elements in the adaptations of *comedias*, as discussed in Chapter 2, but the actors could also use them to focus attention on the play's central theme through their postures and expressive poses. Albach writes:

> the showcasing of oneself in a role as part of a group that poses as if they have to be painted, requires a special ability to consciously adopt postures and well-considered gesticulation, such as we still know today from the art of the ballet.[76]

As such, actors needed knowledge about how to use their bodies in an expressive way—and moreover, one they could hold in absolute stillness for the *tableau*'s duration—by turning and twisting it in counterpoised positions. This so-called *contrapposto* is the basis of Van Mander's theory about posture and gesticulation in his *Het Schilder-boeck*, and it applies both to the visual arts and the stage.[77]

The importance of the marriage *tableau vivant* becomes clear when Dionisia is faced with Henryck upon his return to court with his reunited family. She is outraged that Henryck first presumably spent the night with her and has now left her for another woman. Dionisia cannot bear the sight of that traitor: 'The Furies appear all three before my eyes. A drop of this cursed venom was enough. Oh cruel Father, did it

74 Albach 1977, 41. He gives no further proof of this claim.
75 Albach 1977, 38.
76 Albach 1977, 38.
77 Albach 1977, 38–39.

have to be a cup completely filled?'[78] While saying this, Van Lee must have acted out the anger that Dionisia is feeling in this moment by putting the main focus on her eyes. Particularly relevant here, Van Mander wrote:

> Anger: in the head, two burning coals
> Hide beneath two dark eyebrows,
> That raise over, bulging [and] sparking high.[79]

One might ask, though, how clearly this could be seen from the auditorium. The instructions given by De Castelein in *De const* were much clearer. He says that anger is displayed by the movement of the arms and stamping of the feet:

> Then there is the raising of the arm and,
> Certainly when expressing indignation about someone,
> The stamping of the feet, such as Tullius [Cicero] clearly wrote.
> And in everything the eyes need to indicate this.[80]

Compare this to Van Mussem, who says that the orator should display ire or vindictiveness 'with a somewhat slower movement of the arms and countenance.'[81] So, we see how anger required seventeenth-century Dutch actors to have perfect mastery of both facial expression and bodily gestures. We may assume that Van Lee possessed both. Dionisia's angry outburst surely had effect. Not knowing what troubles his daughter, the king asks her for an explanation, but the words are stuck in Dionisia's mouth for the shame that has befallen her. With tears in her eyes, she instead writes down how Henryck has stolen her honour in that night. Silently, she gives her father the letter containing the ominous revelation.

Now it is the king's turn to burn with anger. Wanting revenge, he thinks of a ruse: he asks Henryck for advice on how to deal with the offence, reading aloud the words that his daughter wrote while feigning that this happened at the court of the

78 Vos 1648, fol. C1^{v}: 'De furien alle drie verschijnen voor mijn oogen. / Een droppel waar genoegh van dit vervloeckt fenijn. / O wrede Vaader, most het juyst een beecker zijn / Ten boordevol?'

79 Van Mander [1604] 1969, fol. 27^{v}: Den grammen in't hooft twee brandende colen / Doen onder twee doncker wijnbrauwen schuylen, / Die over dweers vonckende hoogh uyt puylen.'

80 De Castelein 1986, strophe 177. The translation is largely based on Bussels 2010, 241: 'Dan comtere des arems ophef en risijnghe, / Principalick op eenighs persoons verpisijnghe: / Stampijnghe van voeten, zoo Tullius blye screef / En van als moet de ooghe doen de wisijnghe.'

81 Van Mussem 1607, 24: 'met wat tragher roeringe des Arms ende Aenschijns.'

Danish king, rather than at his own. Henryck thinks it an outrage and rules that the offender should kill his own wife and marry the woman whose honour was stolen in order to restore it again. Pleased with the solution, the king reveals now that the people involved are actually Dionisia and Henryck himself. The king orders Henryck to follow his own advice to kill his wife and marry Dionisia. In that moment, the 'fuerza lastimosa' or 'lamentable obligation'—to which the play's title refers—is born, driving forth the rest of the plot's events.

Henryck is heart-stricken by the command and sinks deeply into an inner struggle, which is only resolved by Rosaura when she accepts her fate. In a heart-breaking scene, Rosaura says goodbye to her children, Mauritius and Lisaura, while Henryck laments what he is about to do. In the Spanish original, the mother says to her children:

> Children, today I call you here
> as witnesses of my intention,
> which I want to make into a will:
> you are well next to me.
> [...]
> Pray to God that he hears
> my request, so that after
> they killed me here,
> souls would come out of me,
> like sparks of fire!
> Children, today I die, today my life ends,
> [...]
> I have no goods to bequeath;
> only you, nothing more;
> and although I ready myself to let you go,
> I will never release you
> From the place where I have placed you,
> because I carry you in my soul,
> where my love for you resides.[82]

82 Lope de Vega 1611a, fols. C1^{v}–C2^{r}: 'hijos oy os llamo aqui / por testigos de mi intento, / que quiero hazer testamento, / bien estays juntos a mi. [...] Pluguiera a Dios que mi ruego / oyera para que luego / que me mataran aqui, / salieran almas de mi, como centellas del fuego. / Hijos, si oy muero, oy acaba mi vida, [...] Bienes que mandar no tengo, / soys lo vosotros no mas, / y aunque a daros me

The emotionality of the Spanish scene is quite literally transposed to the Dutch adaptation, where Rosaura even invokes the genre of funerary poetry by availing herself of language also found in Vondel's famous and heartrending poem 'Kinderlyck,' which he wrote for his dead son Constantijn in 1632, only a decade before this play's first performance.[83] Vondel writes: 'Little Constantine, the blissful child, the little Cherub, ridicules from up there the vanities down here with a friendly eye.'[84] In a similar fashion, Rosaura expresses the hope that when she dies, she is guided by the happy shrieks of her children who are here addressed as little angels who will also fly to heaven. Rosaura finishes her motherly words of wisdom by giving her children some consolation, which Sonja Witstein identified as one of the five returning elements in funerary poetry.[85] Thus, Rosaura will always comfort her children with her presence until the day that Mauritius and Lisaura will die themselves:

> Oh, come here my dear children,
> So that you may ease your mother's pain a little.
> Come, join me by my side, witnesses, that I silently
> Can explain to you my very last will.
> I wish you here now [by my womb], where you lay secure before
> Beneath the heart, so that when I am pierced through,
> And my soul leaves me, both your souls too,
> Would fly as fiery sparks upward, with happy shrieks
> To Heaven; Oh! I end now my life.
> [...]
> You are my legacy, which I will leave behind:
> Innocent angels, how can my sorrows help you,
> Now that my premature death gives you to a stepmother?
> And although I die, I will be steadily by your side,

prevengo, / no os apartare jamas / de donde a poner os vengo. / Porque es el alma adonde / os llevo, y amor esconde.' With thanks to Alexander Samson for helping me translate the more peculiar bits of this fragment.

83 Van Marion 2018, 31–41; Pollmann 1930, 68–77; Witstein 1969, 111, 302, 305.

84 Vondel [1632] 1929, 388: '*Constantijntje*, 't zaligh kijntje, / Cherubijntje, van om hoogh, / D'ydelheden, hier beneden, / Vitlacht met een lodderoogh.'

85 Witstein 1969, 106–112. The five elements are *laus* (laudation), *iacturae demonstratio* (demonstration of loss), *luctus* (lamentation), *consolatio* (consolation), and *exhortatio* (exhortation to demonstrate the same bravery and mentality as the deceased). Rosaura's monologue meets all five requirements of funerary poetry.

As long as you are alive; my spirit will roam beside you,
And will watch over you, until you too will die.[86]

When Rosaura has shared her last words with her children, her son Mauritius does not understand why his father must kill her. His mother can only reply that she was born for misfortune; the king's decree is, after all, a lamentable obligation:

ROSAURA. I go and die alone because of a lamentable obligation,
MAURITIUS. Where are you going, dear mother, why do you scare us?
HENRYCK. She goes through her death up high with the chosen?
MAURITIUS. Ah, why do you kill her?
ROSAURA. Because I was born
For misfortune.
HENRYCK. Fabio, take them away from my sight
Because not only my arm, but also my heart succumbs to them.
ROSAURA. A last kiss: farewell, my innocent lambs,
How they do tear you from me! *Fabio exits with the children.*[87]

This scene was so impressively emotional that it was also visualised in the frontispiece of the 1662 reprint of the play (Fig. 7.2). The scene is a display of motherly love. Van Mander explains how to portray a mother's affection for her children through the example of a Greek vase depicting a nymph nursing a baby satyr. While describing the scene on the vase, the painter says that the love between a mother and child can

86 Vos 1648, fols. C6^{v}–C7^{r}: 'Ach, komt hier mijn lieve kind'ren, / Op dat g'uw Moeders druck een weynig moogt vermind'ren. / Komt, voegt uw aan my zy, getuygen, dat ick stil / Aan uw verklaaren magh, mijn alderlaatste wil. / Ick wens uw nu ter plaats, daar ghy wel eer beslooten / Laaght onder 't hart, op dat wanneer ik werd doorstooten, / En my de ziel verlaat, oock uwe zielen bey, / Als vuur'ge voncken, na om hoog, met bly geschrey / Ten Hemel vloogen; ach! ick endigh nu mijn leeven. […] Gy sijt het Errifdeel, dat ick sal afterlaaten: /Onnoosel Eng'len, wat kan uw mijn sorgen baaten, /Nu mijn onrijpe doodt, uw aan een Stief-moer geeft? /En of ik sterf, ick sal soo langh als ghy hier leeft, / Gestadigh by uw sijn, mijn geest sal om uw swerven, /En neemen uw in aght, tot dat ghy ook sult sterven.'

87 Vos 1648, fol. C7^{r}: 'ROSAURA. Ik gaa en sterf alleen door een vervloeckte dwangh, / MAURITIUS. Waar gaat ghy Moeder lief waarom maackt ghy ons bang? / HENRYCK. Sy gaat door haare doodt om hoogh by d'uytverkooren? / MAURITIUS. Agh waarom doodt ghy haar? ROSAURA. Om dat ick ben gebooren / Tot onluk. HENRYCK. Fabio, brenght hun uyt mijn gesight / Daar niet alleen mijn arm, maar ook mijn hart voor swight. / ROSAURA. Nogh eens gekust voor't laatst: vaar wel onnoosle Lamm'ren, / Hoe rucktmen uw van my! / *Fabio met de Kinderen Binnen.*'

FIG. 7.2 Rosaura bids her children farewell. Henryck, his rapier bared to kill his wife, is torn with sorrow. Oktavio, in the background, oversees the scene. Frontispiece to *De beklaaglycke dwangh*
AMSTERDAM: BROER JANSZ BOUMAN, 1662

be recognised if the mother looks at her offspring 'so tender and softly with her / Eyes.' Her appearance should be as though she 'would entirely destroy herself' as a result of the sweet pain of love she feels, which is revealed by her gestures. With one breast she nurses the child, while the child lays its tender hand on the other breast of its mother, 'looking at the mother with all its strength, / Fearing that she might be taken from him.'[88] While the child in Van Mander's story did not truly have to fear its mother's departure, Mauritius and Lisaura will actually soon be robbed of their mother.

88 Van Mander [1604] 1969, fol. 24^{v}: 'soo teerder en sachtelijck met haren / Ooghen'; 'gants soude

While Van Mander discussed the picturesque love as depicted on the vase as a rhetorical expression of emotion, in *De beklaaglycke dwangh* Van den Bergh acted opposite her own daughter Maria Nozeman who played Rosaura's daughter Lisaura: for an audience this was, of course, even more spectacular than what any rhetorical instruction could hope to achieve.[89]

Fig 7.2 also shows Henryck, his sword bared, overwhelmed by sorrow. Henryck's sorrow is indeed in line with Van Mander's description of this emotion: to display tears, the actor could simply place his hand or a handkerchief before his eyes, which I also discussed in the context of Van Germez' performance of Orantee in *Vervolgde Laura*.[90] Apart from tears, Van Mander also advises that sorrow is implied when the hand supports the wet face and the limbs are weak or hanging, as described in the passage above.[91] The weakness that Van Mander ascribes to the sorrowful body is also verbalised by Henryck to make clear the toll it takes on him:

> I hardly know what I am doing
> When my hand arms itself to close the eyes
> Of my beloved, my heart starts to scare:
> And again when my heart takes courage stoutly and quickly;
> Thus, my arm startles and shakes and its strength faints;
> Thus, everything I do is for nought and lost.
> Oh, if only I would die in this place, or if only I were never born:
> Alas![92]

The emotional scene overtakes the immediacy of the king's command: Henryck's 'anxious spirit suffocates' ('benoude gheest verstickt') him and prevents him from killing his wife. Therefore, Henryck's servant Fabio proposes that he instead sends Rosaura away in a boat, which was visualised in a *tableau vivant* (see Chapter 2). As in so many other *comedias*, Rosaura survives her dangerous exile and eventually comes to

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brenghen te nieten [haer selven]'; '[d]e Mamme aensiend' uyt al zijn vermoghen, / Vreesend' ofse hem mocht worden ontoghen.'

89 Albach argues the same for Vondel's *Jeptha* (1659), in which Gillis Nozeman likely played the role of Jephthah, while his wife Van den Bergh played Jephthah's wife Filopaie. Their daughter Maria Nozeman possibly portrayed their daughter Ifis (1977, 76).

90 Van Mander [1604] 1969, fol. 26^{v}.

91 Van Mander [1604] 1969, fol. 26^{v}.

92 Vos 1648, fol. C7^{v}: Ick weet nauw wat ik doe / Wanneer dat mijne handt zigh waapendt om de blicken / Te sluyten van mijn lief, begint mijn hart te schricken: / En weder als mijn hart sigh moedight kloeck en gaau, / Soo schrickt en beeft mijn arm en sijne kraght word flaauw, / Dies alles

the rescue of her husband, after which father, mother, son, and daughter are reunited. And they lived happily ever after.

The Embodiment of Emotions on the Flemish Stage

Another, more controversial mother was found in the Habsburg Netherlands. For the most part, it is still unclear which actors performed in *comedias* staged in Antwerp and Brussels. Yet, one of the paratexts added to the frontmatter of Antonio Wouthers' *De verliefde stiefmoeder* contains one of the few accounts that we have of the brilliance that actors brought to the stage of Antwerp. According to this same laudatory poem, the actors portraying the star-crossed lovers Cassandra and Frederico met similar applause as their peers in Amsterdam, despite the fact that Cassandra is Frederico's stepmother, a relationship that was actually considered incestuous according to the laws of that time.[93]

It is unclear if Cassandra was portrayed by an actress or a boy, although one may presume that innovations developed along a similar trajectory as in Amsterdam, considering the increasing acceptability of women onstage in other European centres, as discussed in Chapter 6. Nevertheless, the performance was apparently convincing; its reception by Antwerpian spectators having witnessed the elaborate, pitiful love affair is presented as exceptionally positive in one particular laudation. It was, apparently, a hit:

> Your piece (Sir) for its illustrious Verses
> Is requested by all of Antwerp,
> For you have charmed them by this brilliant work,
> And you make unsuccessful
> Hatred & Rage:
> Ever since Cassandra entered the Theatre
> Everyone is keen on having a Stepmother.[94]

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wat ick doe om niet is een [sic] verlooren, / Och, sturf ik op dees plaats, of waar ik noyt ghebooren: / Helaas!'

93 As recorded in *Groot placaet-Boeck* 1658, fol. X4^{r}.

94 Wouthers 1665b, fol. π3^{v}: 'Vostre piece (Monsieur) pour ses illustres Vers / Est demandè par tout Anvers, / Car vous l'avez charmé par ce brillant ouvrage, / Et faites aller de travers / La Haine & la Rage: / Depuis que Cassandre a partut sur le Theatre / Chacun est amoureux d'avoir une Marastre.' This quote was also discussed in Chapter 4.

Whomever performed the role of Cassandra must have been a commanding and elegant presence, according to this testimony. In the same introduction as the above verses, it is, furthermore, recorded that 'as Frederico and Cassandra make the Theatre echo with applause and cries, the audience celebrates to the heights of Wouther's star's rise.'[95]

How, then, did the actors represent the incestuous love between stepmother Cassandra and her stepson Frederico? The characters' love affair is the subject of one conversation between the two lovers, which begins when Frederico says that 'the catastrophe and the misfortune, which rages in my bosom, / Is endless, Madame.'[96] While Frederico is ashamed to say what ails him, Cassandra already knows that it is love that troubles her stepson, specifically the love that he carries for her. Frederico confirms that this is the case: 'the cruelty shown to me / Was the cause for my melancholy.'[97] Cassandra thinks, however, 'That love builds on courage, but not on a sorrowful affliction.'[98] Therefore, she tells him the story of Stratonice and her stepson Antiochus. From Cassandra's description of Antiochus' lovesickness, we can learn how Frederico's body was apparently similarly affected. As so often happened to lovers on the early modern stage, Antiochus, and thus also Frederico, is portrayed as a besotted patient suffering from lovesickness or love melancholy:[99]

CASSANDRA. Antiochus, a prince born from an illustrious stem,
Was seduced by his stepmother's beauty to be in love [with her],
And this one melancholy made him very ill.
FREDERICO. If he died, he did the right thing:
Because I must be miserable because of my love.[100]

Cassandra continues her story, making clear that Antiochus' symptoms betrayed the prince and that the court physician Erasistratus could quickly deduce that Stratonice was the cause of Antiochus' deteriorating health. The symptoms are clear, as per

95 'Door Got, natuur en reen' 1665, fol. π3ᵛ: 'want als sy [Frederico and Cassandra] 't Schouburg daveren, / En treuren doen, om 't seerst uijttrompen sy u [Wouthers] klaveren.' This quote was also discussed in Chapter 4.

96 Wouthers 1665b, 27: 'Den ramp en't ongeluck dat in mijn boesem woet / Is eyndeloos Mevrow.'

97 Wouthers 1665b, 27: 'de wreetheyt my bewesen / Was oorsaek van mijn druck.'

98 Wouthers 1665b, 27: 'Dat liefde bowt, op moet, maer niet op droeve quael.'

99 Van Marion 2016, esp. 47–51.

100 Wouthers 1665b, 27: CASSANDRA. Antiochus een prins uyt hoogen stam geboren, / Wirt door sijn Stiefmoers schoont tot hare min bekoren, / En d'enklen druck deed' hem een groote siekt' uytstaen. /

Cassandra's words: flickering eyes and a fiery visage. Having diagnosed these two illuminating symptoms, Cassandra says that she recognises them in her stepson as well:

CASSANDRA.	Fearful, the father looked for a way to cure his son Through the power of herbs, but the illness maintained itself. His love remained hidden; nonetheless, the sparkling fire In the eyes was soon discovered by Erasistratus: On his order, the ladies of the court were sent to The Prince's quarters, but when the stepmother entered Antiochus countenance ignited with a new flame. Thus, his love became known.
FREDERICO.	This solution was highly praised.
CASSANDRA.	Frederico, do not deny that I also saw such in your countenance.[101]

Flickering eyes and a fiery visage are also something that the Flemish master painter Van Mander had identified as the embodied symptoms of love melancholy: 'but slight contrition / Transformed the countenance with a rose-coloured redness, / Because of a painful shame and a bareness of the heart.'[102] Furthermore, the painter notes when discussing the same Antiochus that the prince 'lay ill in bed, and wanted to die by depriving / Himself of physical food.'[103] This is something that was considered to be a general characteristic of lovesickness in the early modern period, as Van Marion explored in light of plays that echo the contemporary ideas of physician Johan van Beverwijck in his *Schat der gesontheyt* and *Schat der ongesontheyt* (and which I discuss in Chapter 4).[104]

FREDERICO. Soo hy gestorven is, hy heeft seer wel gedaen: / Want ick rampsaliger door mijne min moet wesen.'

101 Wouthers 1665b, 27: 'CASSANDRA. Den Vader socht beanxt sijn Sone te genesen / Door kracht van kruyden maer de sieckte hiel haer stant, / Sijn liefde bleef bedekt: nochtans wirt strax den brant / In d'oogen flikkerend' van Erostrat bevonden: / Door sijn gebot sijn in des Princen sael gesonden / De Juffers van het hof, maer toen de Stiefmoer quam / Antiochus gelaet ontstak door nieuwe vlam. / Dus wirt sijn min bekent. FREDERICO. die vont was waert gepresen. / CASSANDRA. Fredrico loochent niet dat'k sulks sag in u wesen.'

102 Van Mander [1604] 1969, fol. 23^{r}: 'maer lichte wroeghen, / Door pijnelijcke schaemt, en s'herten blootheyt, / Verwende t'Aenschijn met een Roose rootheyt.'

103 Van Mander [1604] 1969, fol. 23^{v}: 'Lach cranck te bedd,' en wilde, met te derven / Lichamelijck voedtsel, hem laten sterven.'

104 Van Marion 2016, 47–48.

We can imagine that an actor can hardly produce those symptoms. However, Van Mander identifies other symptoms that prince Antiochus displayed when his stepmother entered the same room:

> Then, his pulse beat as a sickened artery,
> The voice faltered with stammering,
> The countenance fiery red, sweating more heavily:
> In sum, no sign was missing in him
> Of all the things that Sappho relates in writing.[105]

When consulting Van Mander's *Het Schilder-boeck*, the actor would realise that the inner characteristics of love melancholy were nearly impossible to act outwardly, but the broken voice and stammering were symptoms that the actor playing Frederico could easily imitate. The raised heartbeat might have been illustrated by its necessary consequence: heavy breathing and a heaving chest. This gives an indication as to how such an important emotion in this *comedia nueva* might have been enlivened on the Dutch stage.[106]

We can, therefore, see how many of the emotions displayed in the *comedias* examined here were probably conveyed onstage. Portraying Orantee in *Vervolgde Laura*, Van Germez expressed emotions in a similar fashion to Van den Bergh and Van Lee in D*e beklaaglycke dwangh*, or the anonymous actors in D*e verliefde stiefmoeder*. The performers used similar acting styles to represent emotions in at least three different Spanish *comedias*, although at the same time individual actors relied on their varying rhetorical skills to display emotions. Analysis of the performance practices of these three *comedias* shows that a number of movements, poses, facial expressions and vocal effects were employed, and were recognisable to the audience through a shared literary and artistic culture. This familiar visual and vocal language was used to express emotions—and, based on the praise of actors and playwrights alike, it was done with great success—on the stages of the Low Countries, and thus also in performances of Dutch adaptations of *comedias*.

105 Van Mander [1604] 1969, fol. 23^{v}: 'Doen sloech zijnen Puls als beroerde ader, / Den voys werdt ghebroken met een ghestamer, / T'Aenschijn vierich root, sweetende bequamer: / Summa, gheen teycken aen hem daer en faelde, Van al wat Sappho schrijvende verhaelde.'

106 For the role of love melancholy in the Spanish originals, see Scott Soufas 2014, esp. 302–304.

Conclusion

Let us return to the character with whom this chapter began: Queen Joanna. Her emotions were enveloped in song, which conveyed to the audience members that Joanna was heart-stricken by love. But how did the emotions of love and sorrow that Queen Joanna displayed in her heartrending song compare to the emotional expression in all of the Spanish plays? How unique was Joanna's conflict between her love and her duty? Moreover, how did the Dutch actress playing Joanna embody the queen's emotions on stage? And how did the actress give rise to the conflict between the Queen's Two Bodies: the body natural and the body politic? In this chapter, I argue that the actors played a pivotal role in the transmission of emotions to the audience, in *moving* spectators.

As far as Joanna's emotions are concerned, both her love and her sorrow were felt deeply in her soul. In this, her emotions were not only a product of her mind, they were also embodied. This chapter has made clear that *comedia nueva* is not only a highly embodied genre in itself, but that theatre in general relies heavily on the use of a performing body. By focusing on the expression and embodiment of love, honour, fear, and other emotions by actors onstage, it is clear that bodily rhetoric was essential. As such, it became clear that an actor like Van Germez could rely on Van Mander's *Het Schilder-boeck* and Van Mussem's *Rhetorica, dye edele const van welsegghene* for instructions on how to perform the often contradictory emotions expressed by characters, and thus experienced by actors and their captive audience. I examined the construction of emotions by actors in performances of Van Germez' *Vervolgde Laura*, Vos' *De beklaagelycke dwangh*, and Wouthers' *De verliefde stiefmoeder*. These three plays show that actors needed a high degree of control over their movement, speech, and emotions to properly interpret the inner conflicts so important in *comedias*, although Van den Bergh was given space to also produce onstage genuine emotions when acting opposite her own young daughter in *De beklaagelycke dwangh*.

When applying these insights to Queen Joanna's emotions in her song, we see that Van Mander gives instruction on expressing both love and sorrow, while Van Mussem explains how to elicit compassion and empathy from the audience. The Dutch actor portraying Joanna probably expressed the queen's love with a kind, smiling face, while her sorrow was conveyed by holding a hand or a handkerchief before her eyes to simulate tears. Meanwhile, her body feigned weakness, her limbs loosely draped as though deathly ill, the result of a true lovesickness. In this way, the embodied emotions of Joanna were communicated to, and if convincing enough, mirrored back by spectators through an embodied transmission of emotions, a contagious exchange of physical feeling in the Amsterdam Public Theatre.

Conclusion

Comedia Nueva: *A Theatre of Emotions?*

In the Low Countries, *comedia nueva* was for a period of time the most popular theatrical genre. In this study, I endeavoured to explain that popularity. Basing my methodology largely on Reddy's ground-breaking study *The Navigation of Feeling*, I hypothesised that we can ascribe the genre's success to the manifestation of emotions in these plays which, in comparison to 'home-grown' plays, offered audiences a drastic alternative. In its adapted Dutch form, *comedia nueva* offered a reprieve from the strict emotional, social, and moral expectations of the early modern cultural environment: in the theatre, it was okay to indulge in emotions associated with love, honour, and vengeance in the ways that characters displayed them in *comedias*. Through offering this safe alternative environment for the expression of forbidden emotions, by staging Spanish *comedias*, Dutch and Flemish theatres offered an *emotional refuge* from the conditions that existed outside the theatre within the staunch neostoic or phlegmatic *emotional regime* reinforced by contemporary philosophers and moralists.

I discussed how the audience's emotional relief could only be achieved because *comedias* effectively brought spectators pleasure, instilling in them a sense of wonder and fascination. Dutch psychologist Nico Frijda called these *responding emotions*; the plays further evoked *complementing emotions* such as joy and sadness, and compassion and fear.[1] These emotions are contingent upon thematic features, which means for *comedia nueva*, and theatre more broadly, that these passions and precisely the way they were displayed by characters and the actors portraying them, influenced how the spectators' own emotions were produced. That is, to see sorrow makes the spectator sorrowful, and to witness joy brings forth joy, in an almost contagious process of emotional transmission.[2]

Taking that *comedias* offered spectators an emotional release and evoked emotional response, I identified eight different aspects of these Dutch *comedias* and their staging which I believe helped produce in spectators both responding and complementing emotions. These are:

1. A baroque preoccupation with illusion, including the exotic *mise-en-scène*, which creates tragicomic distance;

1 Frijda 1986, 356.
2 Cf. Heinsius 1611, 12–13.

2. Spectacle, including the duel, *tableau vivant*, theatre technologies, and tricks of sound and light;
3. Employment of the best Dutch actors and actresses who relied heavily on the embodiment of *emotional practices* built on cultural norms and notions of emotional expression in early modern Dutch society;
4. High frequency of, and emphasis on, the emotions dedication, desire, fear, hatred, honour, hope, love, loyalty, offense, and wonder in comparison to their manifestation in Senecan-Scaligerian plays, Horror and Spectacle plays, and Vondel's plays;
5. Emotional conflict between two insoluble emotions—predominantly between honour and love, or more generally between public interests and private desires—in the protagonist lovers;
6. Multiple dramatic reversals of mood from one extreme to the other (*peripeteias*) established through *woelingen* in *comedias*, in contrast to the singular *peripeteia* in 'home-grown' plays, by which *comedias* could effectively engage and move spectators;
7. Positive representation of vengefulness and legitimised display of vengeance onstage in response to emotional conflicts between honour and love, and as a drastic alternative to the contemporary morality of restraint, thus establishing an *emotional refuge* in the theatre;
8. Manifestation of subversive and emancipatory acts of characters in the form of disguise (cross-dressing and social masquerades) and soliloquies (monologues and song) as a form of *emotional rebellion*.

We can see these eight aspects as the ingredients of successful adaptations of Spanish *comedias* for the Dutch stage. Dutch adaptors kept pleasurable elements in the Spanish originals and added or altered certain events or themes that were more agreeable in the eyes of Dutch and Flemish spectators, such as *tableaux vivants*, song, *woelingen*, and convincing modes of performance by actors. Heynck put it nicely when he wrote in the preface of *Veranderlyk geval* that he had not simply translated Spanish plays, but rather offered an adaptation, 'sometimes doing what [he] then thought proper; not so much overseeing a precise reproduction, but according to [the customs of] our present-day theatre, making it appear somewhat agreeable in the eyes of spectators.'[3]

3 Heynck 1663, fol. A2^{v}: 'daar af en toe doende wat my toen goet dacht; niet zozeer lettende op een

Popular Aspects of *Comedia Nueva*

My discussion of different theatrical modes, features, and interpretations throughout this study, summarised in the eight points above, show how these elements all worked together to contribute to the appeal of *comedia nueva* in the Low Countries. They can be divided into two groups: aspects that originated in the performance of *comedias* and thus appealed to the eyes of spectators (aspects 1 to 3), and aspects that originated in the plot structures and events of *comedias* and appealed to the emotional state and well-being of spectators (aspects 4 to 8).

Performance Aspects

The baroque preoccupation with illusion (aspect 1), which was discussed in Chapter 1, shows how theatre-makers continuously reinvented the Dutch stage. In fact, from architectural and technological perspectives, Dutch theatres underwent considerable development during the seventeenth century. While the original stage designs were relatively simple, later in the seventeenth century the refurbishment of the Amsterdam Public Theatre (1638) and the opening of the Brussels Public Theatre (c. 1650) facilitated more grand productions, such as the two parallel adaptations of Calderón's *El mayor encanto, amor*. While the Spanish original had played with magic and illusion in a way that amazed spectators within in the Buen Retiro palace gardens, a found environment which enforced the illusion of Circe's world, the Dutch adaptations by De Grieck in Brussels and De Leeuw in Amsterdam relied on stage machinery, changements à vue, and stage props: the live animals from the original production were, for example, replaced by actors in animal costumes.

It is clear, however, that not all adaptations were as elaborate as De Grieck's *Ulysses in't eylandt van Circe* and De Leeuw's *De toveres Circe*. Many playwrights played with the theatrical and dramatic space available in the earlier theatres of Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Brussels by representing a variety of spaces and distant places in simultaneous stage setting (*décor simultané*). This use of the so-called polytopic stage created the illusion that the play represented different spaces in contemporaneous time. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, this was apparently enough to create the desired illusion for spectators. I also underlined that the distant and exotic places

naukeurige navolging, als wel, om het na ons hedendaaghs Tooneel eenigsins aangenaam in d'ogen der aanschouwers te doen schynen.'

represented in *comedias* heavily contributed to this experience, and created a sense of illusionistic-geographical distance which, in some plays, also offered tragicomic distance and comic relief.

In Chapter 2, I elaborated on the ways that the baroque illusions in *comedias* created pleasure and wonder by means of spectacle (aspect 2). Using the concept of *imagineering*, I argued that the spectacle inherent to Spanish *comedias* mesmerised the Dutch spectators gathered in the theatres of Amsterdam, Brussels, Antwerp, and Lier. This concept highlighted that the creation of spectacle depended on a collaboration of theatre-makers and the audience. The spectacle was engineered through the employment of both traditional and new techniques to create the desired theatrical effects and encouraged audiences to imagine other (im)possible worlds. When Rodenburgh introduced *comedia nueva* to the Low Countries in 1617, he needed to translate the spectacle in the Spanish originals into a Dutch vernacular understood by his audiences, while keeping in mind the technical possibilities of the rhetoricians chamber The Eglantine. Rodenburgh solved this by adding *tableaux vivants* to his four adaptations. As a theatrical device, it had proven its use to rhetoricians since the fifteenth century, and was a well-established method of *imagineering* gripping scenes that could move audiences with fascination, horror, wonder, and admiration. Meanwhile, the duels that were already part of the Spanish plots would offer much-needed action onstage.

I asserted that the introduction of *comedia nueva* to the Low Countries consequently led to a surge of spectacle. Later in the seventeenth century, more elaborate *comedias* with more extensive stage machinery (*tramoyas*) were introduced on Flemish and Dutch stages. This also meant that more complex stage machines were needed in these theatres, and thus theatres in Brussels and Amsterdam were remodelled and stage machinery was installed. The driving force behind all structural alterations was, in the end, always the spectators. They loved to be mesmerised by the spectacle in the Spanish plays, and therefore demanded more. In sum, in addition to the illusions made possible by architectural and technological improvements, the Dutch adaptors of *comedia nueva* expanded their adaptations with elements of spectacle popular in Dutch 'home-grown' plays: *tableaux vivants* and contrafacts (music).

The embodiment and enactment of emotions by star actors (aspect 3) is the third aspect I considered in relation to the performative power of the adaptations. As discussed in Chapter 7, *comedia nueva* was a highly embodied genre. That made it well suited to star actors like Van Germez for the roles of spirited, young lovers, as well as the first actresses Van den Bergh and Van Lee, who took the demanding roles of beautiful and emancipated women in these adaptations. Not only were these parts ideal for these actors, but the actors were ideal for these parts: their fame contrib-

uted to the widespread popularity of the genre. By looking at the enactment and embodiment of love, honour, anger, and fear through the lens of *emotional practices*, I demonstrated that the bodily rhetoric of actors was pivotal to the transmission of emotions on stage. Actors and actresses relied on Dutch cultural norms of emotional expression to move spectators to empathic engagement. Furthermore, actors could rely on various contemporary textual and rhetorical sources to embody the often-contradictive emotions that characters cycle through within a single *comedia* scene. I illustrated how the concepts of *emotional practices* and the embodiment of emotions are complementary to Reddy's concept of *emotives*, and emphasise how theatre relies equally on text and the acting body.

Plot Aspects

In the context of plot elements, I first discussed the frequency of various emotions in *comedia nueva* in comparison to other dramatic genres current in the Low Countries by applying the Historic Embodied Emotions Model (HEEM) which classifies and quantifies emotions in early modern Dutch drama (aspect 4). By comparing Dutch adaptations of Spanish plays to Vondel's plays, Senecan-Scaligerian plays, and 'Horror and Spectacle' plays, I identified in Chapter 3 that ten emotions—dedication, desire, fear, hatred, honour, hope, love, loyalty, offense, and wonder—often occurred more frequently in *comedias*. From this collection of ten emotions, I also deduced that emotions honour, love, offense, and hatred—emotions typically associated with acts of vengeance—were more important in Spanish drama than in any of the other three genres examined. As such, the quantitative method showed that the Dutch *comedia* adaptations, just as the Spanish originals, may have focused more on these emotions than did the Senecan-Scaligerian plays, Vondel's plays, and even the Horror and Spectacle plays. As such, *comedia nueva* may have offered spectators an engagement with, and release of, emotions that were less apparent in other genres that were performed in the theatres of the Low Countries.

The next two chapters looked more closely at the specific construction of these ten emotions throughout Dutch adaptations. Emotional conflicts experienced by the star-crossed lover protagonists (aspect 5) was discussed in Chapter 4. In Dutch adaptations of *comedias*, the conflict between love and honour, is expressed as an emotional conflict between private desires and public duty. This conflict between the private and the public characterised Spanish *comedia nueva*, and subsequently also Dutch adaptations. Thus, through *comedias*, spectators were offered what Reddy calls an *emotional refuge* from dominant morality (the *emotional regime*) surrounding sex and marriage

in Dutch society as propagated by writers like Cats. *Comedias* brought to the fore, and addressed in their own literary way, society's taboos surrounding socially inappropriate love, jealousy, and unjust rulership through protagonists facing impossible dilemmas and antagonists who tried to control or appropriate their love. Despite controversial plotlines and characters, I hypothesised that spectators were inevitably moved to empathy for the lovers who had to navigate their feelings in society and manage their emotions accordingly to achieve their goal to be together.

Through this analysis, I identified five standard *comedia nueva* plot types that were popular in the Low Countries: 1) *comedias* about forbidden desires; 2) *comedias* in which protagonists are falsely accused of some crime or moral failing to prevent them from pursuing their love interests; 3) *comedias* in which an antagonist is jealous of the protagonists' love and becomes delusional because of his overwhelming passions; 4) *comedias* in which an antagonist—a male family member of the female protagonist—is overprotective and disapproves of the protagonists' love; and 5) *comedias* in which antagonists abuse their power, by which they prevent protagonists from maintaining a love relationship.

I looked at the multiple dramatic reversals and *woelingen* in *comedias* (aspect 6) in Chapter 4 as well. I argued that the adapted *comedias* substantially differed from 'home-grown' plays in the way that emotions were rendered. Unlike the 'oogenblikkige beweeging' of emotions in Senecan-Scaligerian plays, or the singular 'staetveranderinge' (*peripeteia*) in Vondel's plays, the plot structures of Spanish plays rather offered multiple *agnitios* (recognitions) and *peripeteias* (dramatic reversals) in several different protagonists and antagonists. The *comedias* are characterised by their continuous rise and fall. Moreover, characters often reflect on these dramatic reversals by expressing their inner conflicts in the form of *woelingen*. All these *woelingen* had to engage spectators. While Vondel's plays presented characters who have *woelingen* related to an ethical dilemma of a public nature, the characters in the Spanish plays experience *woelingen* related to their personal desires, ambitions, honour, duty, and sometimes also reason. Compared to the modest and evenly-tempered nature of Vondel's plays, the adaptations of Spanish *comedias* overturned the dramatic model of Aristotle which was otherwise the established format of especially Vondel's theatre.

I addressed the appeal of vengeance (aspect 7) in Chapter 5, where I showed that vengeance was a controversial subject in the Low Countries, which made it no less appealing. With the Bible prohibiting revenge—an extension of judgement and Divine Providence, and thus solely the right of God—Dutch moralists established an *emotional regime* that fiercely condemned any form of private vengeance. In Dutch tragedy, vengeance was generally rejected as a viable response to dishonour or personal

grievances: instead, the genre propagated either absolute rule, the characters' emotional self-conquest, or their exile. Dutch adaptations of the *dramas de honor* staged the honour-vengeance theme in a way that enabled spectators to cope with their own social anxieties, offering a drastic alternative to the restraint so insistently vocalised by Dutch moralists. As such, the theatre could become an *emotional refuge*, where spectators could temporarily rid themselves of the yoke with which they restrained their passions. With their sensational representation of unbridled passions and especially spectacular acts of vengeance, these adapted *dramas de honor* provided the opposite to the morality of restraint characteristic of Vondel's high art.

In Chapter 6, I introduced the concept of *emotional rebellion* to discuss the manifestation of subversive and emancipatory acts of characters in *comedia nueva* (aspect 8). To effectively analyse the self-conscious and transformative reflections on love and honour of characters in *comedias*, Reddy's concept of the *emotional refuge* is insufficient, in my opinion. As literature makes conflicts explicitly dichotomous, the reactions of the characters are also more extreme. Therefore, I introduced the concept *emotional rebellion* to describe this literary *topos*. I particularly looked at forms of disguise (cross-dressing and social masquerade) and soliloquies (monologue and song). I argued that *emotional rebellion* occurs when characters could no longer accept their *emotional suffering*, nor find relief within an *emotional refuge* from the restraints of their *emotional regime*.

In *comedia nueva*, *emotional rebellion* is needed to create new social realities. Through the establishment of a polyphone discourse, characters use song or monologue as a rejection of the authoritative voice of a ruler, or more generally, of patriarchy. Meanwhile, cross-dressing offers women more freedom of movement, both literally and symbolically. By dressing as men, these women realise that they hold as much agency as their male lovers, for whom they undertook cross-dressing in the first place. As such, cross-dressing has an emancipatory function in *comedia nueva*. Moreover, social masquerade helps high-born men and women move among the general population undetected, a position from which they rebel against authority and work to restore their honour and reputation. By introducing the concept of *emotional rebellion*, I considered the theatre, and *comedia nueva* specifically, as a testing ground, an *emotional refuge*, where rebellion and their appropriate emotions, or *emotives*, were rehearsed before spectators' eyes.

The Varieties of Pleasure and Wonder

The *comedias* that I discussed in this study demonstrate how various overlapping aspects were used to entertain spectators, but these aspects are not common to every single *comedia*. Here, in closing, I use Wittgenstein's metaphor of family resemblances (*Familienähnlichkeiten*) to assert that the more of those eight aspects were present in an adaptation, the more likely it was to have been popular in the Flemish and Dutch theatres.[4]

One aspect behind the popularity of *comedia nueva* was that Lope de Vega made endless variations on the same successful theme.[5] This equally applies to the available forms of spectacle, frequency of emotional expression, and subversive yet entertaining forms of deception and disguise. In this study, I have discussed many of these variations and argued that they brought pleasure, admiration, wonder, and awe. Considering all aspects together, it is possible to see how often they appear in the ten most popular *comedias* of the period 1638–1672. Basing the popularity of these plays on findings in the ONSTAGE database, and ranking them according to their position in the popularity charts from their premiere onwards (relative ranking),[6] makes apparent that aspects 1 (illusions & exoticism), 2 (spectacle), 3 (acting), 5 (emotional conflicts), 6 (dramatic reversals), and 8 (*emotional rebellion*) contributed most significantly to the popularity of the *comedia* adapted for the Amsterdam Public Theatre (Table 8.1).[7]

At the same time, aspect 4 (frequency of emotions) was probably also an important contributing factor. However, quantitative data does not exist for all plays. Aspect 7 (appeal of vengeance) seems to particularly add to the excitement offered by aspect 5 (emotional conflicts) when the irreconcilability of certain conflicts is emphasised within the play's plot.

A 'Home-Grown' Comparison

How unique are the eight aspects I identify as being characteristic of *comedia nueva*? Are they exclusive to the Dutch *comedias*? In this study, Dutch adaptations of Spanish *comedias* were discussed in relation to Dutch 'home-grown' plays by authors such

4 Wittgenstein [1953] 1958, §66–67 (31–32e).

5 Rey Hazas 1991, *passim*; Ramón Muñoz 2015, 54–55.

6 The ranking includes all plays, not only *comedias*, hence the ranking is not strictly ordinal.

7 See the introduction for an explanation of why I use a relative ranking system.

TABLE 8.1 Presence of eight characteristic aspects in the Amsterdam Public Theatre's top ten *comedias*, 1638–1672, based on ONSTAGE data

Rank in onstage	*Comedia* adaptation	Premier year	Identified aspects
1	Heynck, *Veranderlyk geval*	1663	1, 2, 5, 6, 8
3	Van Heemskerck, *De verduytste Cid*	1641	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
4	De Fuyter, *Verwarde hof*	1647	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8
5	Vrye Lief-hebbers, *Sigismundus*	1654	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8
5	I. Vos, *Gedwongen vrient*	1646	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8
6	I. Vos, *De beklaaglycke dwangh*	1648	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
6	Serwouters, *Den grooten Tamerlan*	1657	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8
8	Rodenburgh, *Casandra en Karel*	1617	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
9	Van Germez, *Vervolgde Laura*	1645	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8
11	Serwouters, *Hester*	1659	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8

as Hooft, Bredero, Coster, and Vondel. Although it was not my aim to exhaustively compare *comedias* to 'home-grown' plays, I still found several differences between these two groups of plays.

Part of this difference—and perhaps a partial explanation for the popularity of *comedias*—originates in the tragicomic nature of *comedia nueva*. Lope wrote about the plays of the Spanish *Siglo de Oro* that they were like 'the Minotaur of Pasiphaë,' a mix of tragic and comic, which thus resembled nature and particularly delighted his audiences.[8] As such, *comedias* include both popular tragic characteristics and popular comic characteristics: on the one hand, *comedias* are tragic because they deal with an emotional conflict that has potentially catastrophic results for individuals and the state, they consist of dramatic reversals from one extreme to another, and they are peopled with many high-born characters who can fall very far down the social ladder; on the other, *comedias* are comic because they include such deceptive acts as cross-dressing, in them there appear typical comic characters such as the *gracioso*, and many of the emotional conflicts revolve around a pair of lovers, who ultimately marry. However, the aforementioned dramatic reversals in *comedias* were different

8 Lope de Vega [1609] 2003, vv. 174–180.

from that in a typically Dutch play, such as Vondel's *Jeptha*. I showed that in Vondel's play the *peripeteia* was singular and only occurred in the main protagonist, whereas the *comedias* staged multiple of such reversals in various characters.

As spectacle became a more important factor in entertaining theatregoers in the course of the seventeenth century, *comedias* became more popular, since many of them relied heavily on spectacle. At the same time, Vondel became less popular: Vondel established emotions through *enargeia* rather than through spectacle, whereas *comedias* were staged with duels and *tableaux vivants*, stirring emotions in spectators. This could explain Vondel's diminishing popularity in the 1660s, encouraging theatre director Jan Vos to add new and spectacular *tableaux vivants* to Vondel's plays with the aim of creating more spectacle. The heavy reliance on spectacle in *comedias* reflect the tastes of theatre audiences in the mid-seventeenth century, as Vos wrote himself a spectacle play: *Medea*, a horror which relied on spectacle produced with artifice and flying machines ('kunst- en vliegwerk'). Although I believe that people still agreed that Vondel wrote ingenious dramas, his plays no longer met the tastes and expectations of spectators in the 1660s.

Likewise, vengeance became a very popular theme in Dutch theatre in the seventeenth century. Hooft was one of the first to thematise this subject in his historical *Geeraerdt van Velsen*, but he clearly denounced acts of vengeance with the argument that it would undermine the state. In later plays, vengeance becomes a more appealing subject; it had not become less controversial, but fascinated spectators nonetheless. In this study, Hooft's *Geeraerdt van Velsen* was therefore compared to several *comedias*, and especially to Heynck's *Don Louis de Vargas*. Although Hooft's *Geeraerdt van Velsen* staged an emotional conflict that involved honour and led to vengeance, love was not a factor as in the *comedias*. Characters in the *comedias* seek revenge because they feel their honour tarnished by of a love entanglement. The character Geeraerdt, on the other hand, was led by his hatred for Count Floris V, which resulted in a conflict between his duty to his liege lord and his desire to avenge himself and restore his honour. The play shows Geeraerdt's psychological decay. In its clear moral denouncement of vengeance, *Geeraerdt van Velsen* differs from the positive representation of vengeance in *Don Louis de Vargas*, in which the protagonist's vengeance ensures that poetic justice is achieved. The large number and variety of such emotions in the Dutch adaptations of *comedias* challenged the auto-image of the Dutch as phlegmatic or stoic, which was many times adopted and confirmed by 'home-grown' plays like *Geeraerdt van Velsen*. This suggests that there existed a need for emotional relief among Dutch and Flemish populations, which was created by means of a fictional reality in which love and honour are continuously in conflict, and in which outrageous reactions,

such as vengeance, became possible. Therefore, Jan Vos' *Aran en Titus* and Dullaart's *Karel Stuart*, in which revenge and counter-revenge are staged as spectacular events, became particularly popular revenge tragedies alongside the *dramas de honor*. They were, essentially, a cultural manifestation of the anxieties existing around arbitrary rule and the societal decay.

With the increasing popularity of *comedia nueva* in the seventeenth century, another of their considerable differences from 'home-grown' plays is the prevalence of cross-dressing. As a form of deception, cross-dressing does not occur in Vondel's oeuvre at all, nor is deception as dominant in Vondel's plays as it is in the *comedias*. Vondel preferred to show deception as a corruptive act committed by villainous people, such as Vosmeer in *Gysbreght van Aemstel* or Delilah in *Samson*. Where it concerns other 'home-grown' plays, cross-dressing occurs primarily in Bredero's *Moortje* and Hooft's and Coster's *Warenar*. Yet, I argue that in these 'home-grown' comedies, cross-dressing is a racist and sexist form of deception in comparison to the physically, socially, and most important to my study, emotionally emancipatory nature of cross-dressing and other forms of disguise in *comedia nueva*.

A Theatre of Emotions

At the beginning of this study, I set out to explore and explain how and why *comedia nueva* could become—at least for a time—the most popular theatre genre in seventeenth-century Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Brussels. Hypothesising that much of *comedia nueva's* popularity was rooted in the way that various emotions were represented in this genre, I asked whether *comedia nueva* could be considered a 'theatre of emotions.' It is clear that this was indeed the case. Not only did *comedias* present more emotions than most other contemporary plays, but love and honour were much more important within them than in other genres in Dutch theatre. Moreover, the abundant spectacles in *comedias* captivated spectators, drawing them back to the theatre again and again, and they must have been wonderstruck by the technical innovations that adaptors of *comedia nueva* employed. At the same time, these Spanish plays, with their alternative social realities, offered a different kind of comic and emotional relief from the moral restraints in Dutch society.

I contend that in scholarship of Dutch historical literature, and especially in studies of Dutch theatre, we have too often focused on a myopic perception of literary quality, examining and re-examining literary trends from Hooft, Vondel, and Vos, always placing drama at centre stage. Rather, if performance and the intended (and

where possible, reported) effects of this literature on an audience are added to analysis, we may also begin to say something about reception. This study has demonstrated various ways that we can build an impression of the overwhelming effects that *comedia nueva* had on Dutch and Flemish audiences. Here, I have aimed to promote inclusion of early modern Dutch theatre in international discussion about cultural exchange, particularly in the arts. Finally, with my specific focus on emotions in Dutch theatre, I hope that we continue to explore the interplay between the creation of literature and its consumption by audiences in the early modern period.

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Abbreviations

BML	Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon
BNE	Biblioteca nacional de España
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
EHC	Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience (Antwerp)
KBR	Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België / Bibliothèque royale de Belgique
KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek van Nederland
KNAW	Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
SBH	Stadsbibliotheek Haarlem
UBA	Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam
UBG	Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent
UBL	Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden
UBU	Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht

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Summary in Dutch

Nederlandse samenvatting

De Spaanse *comedia nueva* was in de zeventiende eeuw een van de populairste theatrale genres van de Nederlanden. In vertaling en/of bewerking werd dit genre opgevoerd in de theaters van Amsterdam, Antwerpen, Brussel, én zelfs in kleinere steden als Lier. In deze studie zoek ik naar verklaringen voor deze populariteit. Die populariteit schrijf ik toe aan het emotionele effect van deze uit het Spaans vertaalde toneelstukken. Ik baseer me hiervoor op William M. Reddy's studie *The Navigation of Feeling* uit 2001. Het succes van dit genre in de Nederlanden is naar mijn mening te danken aan de specifieke manifestatie van emoties in deze tragikomedies die zo een drastisch alternatief boden voor emotionele voorschriften die te vinden zijn in het werk van de dichter Jacob Cats en de arts Johan van Beverwijck; dit in tegenstelling tot de inheemse toneelstukken van onder andere Joost van den Vondel, Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft en Samuel Coster. Waar Nederlands toneel van origine een beheersing van de emoties als centrale boodschap heeft, presenteren de uit het Spaans vertaalde *comedias* een overdaad aan emoties. Op die manier bood de *comedia nueva* de Nederlandstalige bevolking een emotionele ontlading *(emotional refuge)* voor emotionele en sociale verwachtingen die zowel in de Republiek als in de Habsburgse Nederlanden bestonden. Dit betekende dat in het theater het toegestaan was om toe te geven aan emoties als liefde, eergevoel en het verlangen naar wraak, ook al was dit van korte duur en kon dit slechts binnen de muren van het theater. Op deze manier boden de *comedias* een zogeheten *emotional refuge* voor een emotionele moraal die buiten het theater werd opgedrongen en die ik karakteriseer als ofwel een neostoïsch ofwel een flegmatisch *emotional regime*.

In hoofdstuk 1 betoog ik dat het barokke spel met illusie ervoor zorgde dat het publiek zich volledig kon overgeven aan de fictionele werkelijkheid. Dit hing samen met ontwikkelingen in het theaterleven in de Nederlanden, maar ook met de manier waarop de Nederlandse en Vlaamse bewerkers van de *comedias* en de theatermakers de Spaanse stukken op het toneel brachten. Hoewel aan het begin van de zeventiende eeuw het toneel nog vrij simpel was, volgden de ontwikkelingen en inzichten in theaterarchitectuur elkaar in rap tempo op. Met de opening van de Amsterdamse Schouwburg in 1638 en vervolgens de opening van een publiek theater in Brussel rond 1650 en een theater in Antwerpen in 1661 werd er steeds meer mogelijk, zeker toen de Amsterdamse Schouwburg in 1665 verbouwd werd tot een echt baroktheater naar Italiaans model. Er konden zodoende grotere producties op het toneel worden

gebracht. Het spel met illusie maakte het mogelijk om exotische en verre buitenlanden geloofwaardig op het toneel te brengen. De idee werd gecommuniceerd dat er schijnbaar een geografische afstand bestond tussen de realiteit van het publiek en de fictiewerkelijkheid op het toneel. Die afstand betekende dat het publiek op een comfortabele manier afstand kon nemen wat een komische ontlading bij de toeschouwers bewerkstelligde.

In hoofdstuk 2 bouw ik voort op de inzichten uit hoofdstuk 1 en stel dat de barokke illusies die de *comedias* creëerden, moesten zorgen voor plezier en verwondering door middel van spektakel. Aan de hand van het begrip *imagineering* (een neologisme samengesteld uit de Engelse woorden *imagining* en *engineering*) heb ik kunnen beargumenteren dat het spektakel in de Spaanse *comedias* het Nederlandse en Vlaamse publiek beving. Het spektakel bevorderde dat het publiek zich de fictionele wereld van de *comedia* makkelijker kon voorstellen. Dit gebeurde zowel aan de hand van meer traditionele als nieuwe theatertechnieken die theatermakers actief inzetten om het publiek te enthousiasmeren. Vanaf het moment dat Rodenburgh de *comedia nueva* in de Nederlanden introduceerde, was het *tableau vivant* het geijkte middel om toeschouwers te verleiden. Verder bleken muzikale scènes (liedjes en contrafacten) enorm geliefd. De duels van de originele stukken werden gehandhaafd en zorgden op die manier voor de benodigde actie.

In hoofdstuk 3 stel ik de frequentie vast van verschillende emoties in de *comedias*. Ik tel hoe vaak verschillende emoties als liefde, eer en wraaklust worden geuit in de bewerkingen uit het Spaans en vergelijk die aantallen met de aantallen in drie andere genres die veel opgevoerd werden in de Amsterdamse Schouwburg. Ik vergelijk de Spaanse stukken met Vondels drama, het zogeheten Senecaans-Scaligeriaans toneel en het gruwel- en spektakeltoneel van onder meer Jan Vos. Ik kan daardoor laten zien dat over het algemeen tien emoties vaker voorkomen in Spaans toneel dan in een of meerdere van de andere toneelgenres. Deze emoties zijn in alfabetische volgorde angst, beledigd (zijn), eergevoel, haat, hoop, liefde, toewijding, trouw, verlangen, en verwondering. De kwantitatieve methode geeft een goede indicatie dat de Nederlandse bewerkingen, precies als de Spaanse originelen, de nadruk leggen op de onderwerpen liefde, eer en wraak.

In hoofdstuk 4 ga ik in op de emotionele conflicten die de geliefden continu ervaren. Het conflict tussen romantische liefde en eer (zowel deugd als reputatie) of tussen de persoonlijke verlangens en de plichten jegens de familie of het land staan constant op gespannen voet met elkaar. Deze conflicten worden telkens geënsceneerd als een emotionele spanning tussen de privéverlangens van de personages en de publieke zaak. Dit conflict is archetypisch voor de *comedia nueva* en wordt als zodanig

overgebracht in de Nederlandse bewerkingen. De toeschouwers wordt een *emotional refuge* geboden tegen de dominante moraal (het *emotional regime*) met betrekking tot seks en huwelijk in de Nederlandse samenleving van de zeventiende eeuw, zoals die werd verwoord door Cats en Van Beverwijck. Ondertussen doorbrak de *comedia nueva* taboes door expliciet ongelijke huwelijken en jaloezie in de liefde te bespreken, terwijl het genre door emotie verblinde tirannen op het toneel bracht. Die despoten probeerden telkens de liefde tussen twee minnaars te beheersen, te manipuleren of te onderdrukken.

Ik heb vijf standaard plotlijnen geïdentificeerd die veelal in de Nederlandse adaptaties te vinden zijn: er zijn 1. *comedias* over verboden of incestueuze seksuele verlangens; 2. *comedias* waarin de protagonisten valselijk beschuldigd worden om te voorkomen dat ze hun liefdesinteresses kunnen nastreven; 3. *comedias* waarin een antagonist jaloers is op de liefde die bestaat tussen de protagonisten en als gevolg waanzinnig wordt van de overweldigende passies; 4. *comedias* waarin een antagonist—een familielid van het vrouwelijke hoofdpersonage—overbezorgd is en de liefde tussen de protagonisten daarom afkeurt; en 5. *comedias* waarin de antagonisten hun macht misbruiken, waardoor de geliefden (al dan niet met opzet) ervan worden weerhouden bij elkaar te zijn. Al deze plotlijnen berusten vaak op bedrog en het spel met illusie, terwijl er vele dramatische omwentelingen plaatsvinden.

In veel van deze plotlijnen is eer en wraak een belangrijk thema zoals blijkt in hoofdstuk 5. De aantrekkingskracht van wraak blijkt enorm in de Nederlandse bewerkingen, hoewel eerwraak een controversieel onderwerp was. Terwijl de Nederlandse tragedie wraak over het algemeen afwees als een destructieve oplossing voor schande of smaad, brachten de Nederlandse bewerkingen van de zogeheten *dramas de honor* vaak het eerwraakthema op het toneel en boden het publiek zo tijdelijk verlichting van sociale en psychische spanningen. In de *dramas de honor* werd dit bereikt door wraak voor te stellen als een houvast wanneer het noodlot de personages naar het leven staat. Dan behouden de personages de *agency* die hen door de maatschappij is ontnomen. Verder wordt wraak oogluikend toegestaan wanneer het een middel is in de handen van een edelmoedig personage. Wraak blijkt ook in de *comedias* een alternatief te kunnen zijn voor een normale juridische procedure, als de koning niet in staat blijkt recht te spreken. In een politieke context kan wraak zowel het politieke systeem aantasten als nodig zijn om de vrede te bewaren. De Nederlandse bewerkers van de *comedia nueva* selecteerden enkele *comedias* om juist deze twee visies op wraak over te brengen op hun publiek en het te waarschuwen voor het gevaar van politieke omwentelingen.

In hoofdstuk 6 introduceer ik het begrip *emotional rebellion* om zo de manifestatie van subversieve en emanciperende handelingen van de hoofdpersonages in de

comedia nueva te kunnen bespreken. Ik kijk in het bijzonder naar vormen van vermomming (*cross-dressing* en sociale maskerade) en naar de alleenspraak (monologen en liederen). Ik betoog dat *emotional rebellion* ontstaat op het moment dat de personages hun emotionele lijden niet meer kunnen verdragen of verlichting kunnen vinden in de vorm van een *emotional refuge*. Bovendien stel ik dat *emotional rebellion* soms een drastische handeling is die nodig is om een nieuwe sociale realiteit te vestigen. In de adaptaties kunnen personages hun liederen ten gehore brengen of hun monologen uitspreken, wanneer ze zichzelf afzonderen. Dan functioneren de liederen en monologen als een klacht tegen de autoritaire stem van een machthebber die hen onderdrukt. Ondertussen biedt *cross-dressing* met name vrouwen de vrijheid om vrijelijk te bewegen en iets te doen aan hun benarde situatie. Door zich als man te verkleden realiseren deze vrouwen zich dat ze even handelingsbekwaam zijn als hun mannelijke geliefden voor wie ze zich in de eerste plaats als man verkleedden. *Cross-dressing* heeft daarom een emanciperende functie in de *comedia nueva*. De sociale maskerade wordt echter vooral door hooggeboren mannen en vrouwen gebruikt als een middel om zich te begeven onder de gewone bevolking en zo te verdwijnen in de anonimiteit. Vanuit die nieuwe positie beginnen ze te rebelleren tegen de autoriteit die hen vaak heeft verbannen, terwijl ze er alles aan doen om hun eer terug te winnen.

In het laatste hoofdstuk (hoofdstuk 7) bespreek ik hoe de steracteurs die in dienst waren van de Amsterdamse Schouwburg, bijdroegen aan de populariteit van de *comedias*. De *comedia nueva* was in grote mate een lichamelijk (*embodied*) genre en zoals gebruikelijk in theater drukten de acteurs de emoties uit door te refereren aan hun eigen lichaam. Ik bespreek hoe dichter en acteur Adam Karelsz. van Germez de rol van jonge minnaar op zich nam, terwijl de eerste vrouwelijke actrices Adriana van den Bergh en Susanna van Lee de rollen van aantrekkelijke én geëmancipeerde vrouwen op zich namen. Door een aantal van hun rollen te bespreken demonstreer ik hoe met name liefde, eergevoel, woede, en angst door deze acteurs werden uitgebeeld. Aan de hand van het concept *emotional practices* maak ik duidelijk dat de lichamelijke retorica die de acteurs hanteerden van onmiskenbaar belang was voor de succesvolle overdracht van emoties op het toneel. De acteurs en actrices gingen uit van culturele noties die bestonden in de Nederlandse cultuur omtrent de uiting van emoties om het publiek te vervoeren.

Dit betekent dat ik in deze studie in totaal acht aspecten identificeer die hebben bijgedragen aan de populariteit van de *comedia nueva* in de Nederlanden: 1. het barokke spel met illusie, 2. spektakel, 3. steracteurs en -actrices, 4. hoge frequentie van emoties zoals liefde en eergevoel, 5. emotionele conflicten die draaien om liefde en eer, 6. de aantrekkingskracht van wraak, 7. de vele dramatische omwentelingen, 8. de subver-

sieve en emanciperende handelingen van de personages. Deze acht aspecten komen in de meeste *comedias* voor en kunnen zodoende als de ingrediënten voor een succesvolle bewerking van een Spaanse *comedia* worden gezien.

Curriculum Vitae

Tim Vergeer was born in 1992 in Amsterdam. He graduated from the Etty Hillesum Lyceum in Deventer with a gymnasium diploma in 2011. Subsequently, he began his study of Dutch Language and Culture at Leiden University, where he obtained his Bachelor of Arts in 2014, also having completed the Honours College Art and Literature. In 2016, he successfully completed a Research Master's in Literary Studies *cum laude*, in the Medieval and Early Modern Studies track at Leiden University, while also participating in the Leiden Leadership Programme. Vergeer continued with the Master of Arts Dutch Language and Culture, specialising in Historic Dutch Literature, which he finished *summa cum laude* in 2017.

In 2017, Vergeer obtained funding from both the NWO (Dutch Research Council) and FWO (Research Foundation Flanders) to conduct doctoral research. Joining the Leiden University Centre for the Arts in Society (LUCAS), he completed the present study under the supervision of Prof. Wim van Anrooij and Dr. Olga van Marion.

Vergeer has published in various peer-reviewed journals, including *Anuario Calderoniano*, *De zeventiende eeuw*, and *Interdisciplinary Literary Studies*. He has furthermore co-edited several volumes, such as *Van Constantijntje tot Tonio: Het dode kind in de Nederlandse Literatuur* (2018) with Rick Honings and Olga van Marion. During the course of his PhD, he has taught several courses in the Dutch Language and Culture Bachelor Programme at Leiden University, participated in a teaching exchange at Charles University in Prague in November 2021, attended international conferences, organised academic events, and served as editor of the *Leiden Arts in Society Blog* and the *Journal of the LUCAS Graduate Conference*. He has also participated in various executive committees, including Leiden University's LGBTQ+ Network as a board member, the LUCAS PhD Council as chairperson, and the LUCAS Advisory Body as a PhD representative.

Vergeer's ongoing research interests are rooted within the intersection of race, gender, and queer studies in historical Dutch and European literature and theatre, with particular focus on the seventeenth century. Moreover, together with Olga van Marion, he was recently awarded a Gold Medal of scientific excellence by Teylers Tweede Genootschap. He is currently a lecturer within Utrecht University's Department of Languages, Literature, and Communication and a lecturer at Leiden University's Centre for the Arts in Society.