

Lustful Love and Atrocious Angst

The Affective Operations of the *Comedia Nueva*
and Senecan-Scaligerian Playwriting in
Amsterdam 1617-1672

A Comparative Analysis of Dramatic Structure

Timothy Vergeer
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Master Thesis

Research Master Literary Studies
Dutch Golden Age

Supervisor: dr. Olga van Marion
Second Reader: prof.dr. Paul J. Smith

Leiden University
June 2016

De toontze Vreeschoudt van bitter Staatkeakeel.
De troonen Zyn van goudt maar sflibbrigh in't genaaken.

Witensson, Jan Vos, Tobias van Donselaar, Ioannes Serwouters,
in Leyden.



Haar rollen druipen meest van traanen, bloedt en ja
Dees worden loogh en droef, die luyg en sly gezongt
Cornelis van der Kruysen, en Dirck Vennekoel, tegenwoordig regt

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Introduction

As the supreme political and cultural power in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Habsburg Spain became an inspirational source of cultural experimentation and innovation throughout Europe.¹ Despite the black legend of the Spanish Empire, Spanish culture was also surprisingly introduced in countries such as the Dutch Republic (in which country, Hispanophobia has been traditionally considered to be part of its founding narrative). As such, Miguel de Cervantes and Pedro Calderón were two important Spanish writers who were celebrated in Spain and beyond, but none surpassed Lope de Vega (1562-1635), the architect of the *comedia nueva*. The *comedia nueva* has been characterized by a diverging dramatic structure and was enthusiastically received by the Spanish audiences. It has long been known that Lope's plays were translated into Dutch, either directly from Spanish or from French by the use of a French version of the Spanish text. In addition, recently the digitization of the financial administration of the Amsterdam Public Theatre has revealed that the *comedia nueva* was immensely popular in the Dutch Republic between 1640 and 1672,² and even before 1640 a dramaturg such as Theodore Rodenburgh translated Lope's plays from 1617 onwards, when he became "chair" of one of the chambers of rhetoric in Amsterdam. For this reason, I think it would be exciting to explore the way the *comedia nueva* functioned alongside the existing tradition, which was dominated by the (*Terentian-Plautan-)**Senecan-Scaligerian* plays in the early 1600s.³

¹ Parts of this Master Thesis (especially from chapters 1 and 2) will be published in a special issue of *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 32.2 (2016) on the cultural exchange of Iberian theatre in the Dutch Republic and beyond with Olga van Marion as co-author. See the forthcoming article under: Van Marion and Vergeer 2016.

² It concerns the ONSTAGE-database of the University of Amsterdam (UvA), which incorporates the full financial administration of the Amsterdam Public Theatre from 1638 until 1772.

³ In this Master Thesis, the adjective *Senecan-Scaligerian* refers to a native Dutch tradition regarding plays composed on the basis of Senecan tragedy, but influenced by the poetics of Julius Caesar Scaliger. This tradition originated with the

so-called Dutch chambers of rhetoric. Moreover, Scaliger had argued that comedies were best if they reached back to the works written by Terence and Plautus. As such, *Senecan-Scaligerian* is strictly speaking not a right description of the Dutch plays in the corpus. A better description would be *Terentian-Plautan-Senecan-Scaligerian*, for then I would also refer to the comedies, which are part of the corpus. This is, however, an unwieldy term, wherefore I will refer to both tragedies and comedies as *Senecan-Scaligerian*, since it is a better accepted term in Dutch Golden Age Studies. Furthermore, *Spanish*, *Iberian* and *Hispanic* will refer to the translated and adapted plays written by Lope de Vega and his *comedia nueva*.

In his manifesto *Arte Nuevo de Hacer Comedias en Este Tiempo* (1609, *The New Art of Writing Plays in This Time*), Lope de Vega explained that he broke with the three unities of space, time and action, since the “vulgar” Spaniard cared nothing about them:

[...] and I write in accordance with that art which they devised who aspired to the applause of the crowd; for, since the crowd pays for the comedies, it is fitting to talk foolishly to it to satisfy its taste.⁴

Being a ‘writer for the eyes’, Lope de Vega earned international recognition for his differentiating work, which led to a new found vibrancy. The vibrancy of the *comedia nueva* must have pleased the Dutch audience, since the plays generated high revenues. The Amsterdam Public Theatre was sold out, while the Spanish plays did not answer to the patriotic paradigm⁵ and more importantly, they were written by someone belonging to the enemy. Considering that the revenues of the Amsterdam Public Theatre benefitted the Amsterdam City’s Orphanage and the Men’s Retirement Home, the Amsterdam Public Theatre Board stimulated the introduction of the *comedia nueva* on the Dutch stage.

As a playwright Lope de Vega introduced a new and typical poetics, which differed greatly from the Senecan art of writing plays. Therefore, it would be a good place to start with the dramatic structures in the translated and adapted *comedias*. In this research, I will conduct an analysis of the aberrant build-up and dramatic structuring in several translated and adapted Spanish plays, comparing them to an equal amount of Senecan-Scaligerian plays. Since Lope wrote ‘in accordance with that art which they devised who aspired to the applause of the crowd’, the choices he made regarding the dramatic structures of his plays originated with his desire to accomplish as much pathetic effect on his intended audiences. The question by which this Master Thesis research is inspired, regards the reasons why the Dutch audiences payed for attendance of performances of plays by playwrights such as Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft, Joost van den Vondel and Gerbrand Adriaensz. Bredero, as well as the translated and adapted plays by Lope de Vega. Especially the establishment of affects interest me, which concept can give me a way to effectively deal with both the Iberian and Senecan-Scaligerian plays, while it conceptualizes popular taste through its combination between intended and established effects. As such, researching the affective operations of Dutch theatre traditions may disclose the

⁴ De Vega 2009, 24-25. See also the Spanish original in De Vega 2003, ll. 45-48:

[...] 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.

⁵ Schama 1987, 67-68.

formula of popular theatrical plays. In this Master Thesis, I will, therefore, explore how the dramatic structures of the Iberian and Dutch plays contributed to the establishment of affects. This exploration can also give answers to the questions why the *comedia nueva* was introduced in the Dutch Republic and how both traditions functioned alongside each other generating high revenues through their affective operations.

Lope de Vega: His Legacy and the *Comedia Nueva*

Born on November 25th 1562, in Madrid as Félix Lope de Vega Carpio, he would become the most productive playwright of all time and he is generally ranked as the best writer in Spanish dramatic literary history. He was educated by the Jesuits at what would become the *Colegio Imperial*. He was apparently a precocious student learning Latin at the age of five and writing his first play at the age of twelve.⁶ By the time of his death his contemporaries believed him to have written 1800 secular plays and 400 religious plays; presently around 340 plays can be ascribed to Lope, which is still ten times as many plays as Shakespeare has written in his life.⁷ Lope's popularity knew no bounds in Spain: the common man idolized Lope to such extents that a beatific verse ('I believe in Lope de Vega all powerful, poet of heaven and earth...'; a parody of Catholic ritual) circulated in Spain, that Lope's picture hung in almost every home and that 'es de Lope' (in English: 'it is Lopean') became synonymous for 'it is excellent', in reference to anything at all.⁸ However, Lope had an irregular life, which was characterized by a succession of intimate adventures becoming involved with a number of women, sometimes married, and having several illegitimate children. After his death in 1635 the abundant autobiographical information in his fictions had rendered Lope mysterious and intangible: he had become a legend of some sorts.⁹ Understandably, his funeral was a national affair with over 150 funeral orations and lasted nine days.¹⁰

In Lope's lifetime, the Spanish Empire knew a Golden Age of Spanish political and cultural supremacy during the reigns of three consecutive monarchs: Philip II (1556-98), Philip III (1598-1621) and Philip IV (1621-65). Lope lived and worked in Madrid, which was the capital of a world empire and a magnet of the world's gold and its people.¹¹ As such, Madrid had a vibrant theatre life having built a dozen commercial *corrales* or playhouses by the mid-sixteenth

⁶ Samson and Thacker 2008, 5-6; Edwards 2008, ix.

⁷ Edwards 2008, x.

⁸ Hayes 1967, 21.

⁹ Samson and Thacker 2008, 5-7.

¹⁰ Hayes 1967, 21.

¹¹ Edwards 2008, vii.

century (in comparison: around the same time London had built seven playhouses; Amsterdam had its first and only permanent theatre a century later). Moreover, Spain's theatre life stretched beyond its capital and apart from Madrid and its court, Lope's *comedias* were also performed in Alcalá, Sevilla, Valencia and Barcelona.¹² Lope de Vega, whom Miguel de Cervantes attributed the epithet 'the prodigy of nature' (in Spanish: 'el monstruo de la naturaleza'), was the creator of the national Spanish drama: the *comedia nueva*.¹³ As a playwright, Lope staged practically every type of character he had ever met, heard about or read about. This included rogue, royalty and even deities. He was not afraid to stage morons, bullies, bandits, pimps, whores, parasites and other vagrants in his plays. Lope presented people he met on the street to his audiences and by contrast he portrayed nobility and royalty.¹⁴ His sources included Spanish chronicles, ballads and proverbs, and Herodotus, Ovid, Horace, Boccaccio, Bandello, the Bible and work by other playwrights. Yet, especially Spanish folklore was many times the main source for his plays.¹⁵ Unsurprisingly, his *comedias* were immensely popular in Spain and would become well-known throughout Europe.



Figure 1 Luis Tristán de Escamilla, *Portrait of Félix Lope de Vega*, 1614, oil on canvas, 66 x 70 cm. The Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

¹² Ruano de la Haza 2008, 41, 47-49.

¹³ Samson and Thacker 2008, 1, 4.

¹⁴ Thacker 2008, 112-113.

¹⁵ Thacker 2008, 112-113 and Hayes 1967, 63-66.

Methodology: Cultural Transfer and its Economics

It can be said that the popularity of the *comedia nueva* in Spain was amongst other things due to its affective operations and this applies to its rising popularity in the Dutch Republic as well. Lope's poetic views regarding popular taste and the transposition of the *comedia nueva* in the Dutch context raises, however, some important methodological questions concerning the comparison of the affective operations of the Spanish *comedias* with the Dutch Senecan-Scaligerian dramatic tradition and the way in which these plays generally affected their audiences. The *comedia nueva* was imported to Amsterdam and would become a coherent part of the programming every theatre season. Simply comparing both traditions would be troublesome for several reasons, which I will discuss in this paragraph.

In the past, 'comparative studies had assumed national cultures in distinct exchange relations', explains Germanist and Renaissance scholar Stefanie Stockhorst in her introduction to *Cultural Transfer through Translation* (2010). Although 'they had assisted at the emergence of an international perspective', Stockhorst continues, they 'tended to focus on similarities and differences, while grey areas of transcultural contamination usually went unnoticed'.¹⁶ Transfer studies, however, uses the insights gained in postcolonial studies that "nations" or "cultural areas" are in fact dynamically interrelated systems.¹⁷ As such, transfer studies and the concept of *cultural transfer* as developed by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner from the 1980s on, can offer a functional framework to understand the dynamical relation between the *comedia nueva* and the Senecan-Scaligerian plays in the Dutch Republic.¹⁸

Cultural transfer as a concept integrates the cultural dynamics 'of both the original and the target cultures of the very transmission process', which *comparison* does not, says Stockhorst.¹⁹ Additionally, transfer studies uses a comprehensive concept of culture, including both objects and immaterial artefacts such as thoughts and discourses.²⁰ Though, transfer studies understands culture as a double concept, while lacking a suitable terminological alternative. In Stockhorst's words:

¹⁶ Stockhorst 2010, 19.

¹⁷ Espagne and Werner 1985, 504 and Stockhorst 2010, 19.

¹⁸ Cf. for instance Espagne and Werner 1985; Espagne and Werner 1988.

¹⁹ Stockhorst 2010, 19-20. Cf. also Henke 2008 and Henke and Nicholson 2014. These last two studies on respectively transnational exchange and transnational mobilities in Early Modern theatre can be

methodologically placed within the framework of comparative studies; regrettably the grey areas of transcultural exchange, transfer and contamination are still ignored in these studies. In addition, the focus of both studies is primarily on the *commedia dell'arte* and its influence on Shakespearian theatre. The Dutch examples stand out by the relative little attention they are given.

²⁰ Stockhorst 2010, 20.

On the one hand, ‘culture’ (c_1) – as in ‘national cultures’ – serves as a contextual framework, while on the other hand, ‘culture’ ($c_{2[.1]}$) stands for material and ideal artefacts generated within this framework. Thus, in the process of cultural transfer, certain specimens of a ‘culture’ ($c_{2[.1]}$) are being conveyed from one ‘culture’ (c_1) to another ‘culture’ (c_1'), where agents of (c_1') as, for instance, translators, adapt the transferred good ($c_{2[.1]}$) to the new context, so that a slightly or sometimes even substantially different cultural product ($c_{2[.1]}'$) emerges.²¹

This process of adaptation and acculturation, I will typically characterize by the Dutch denotation of *verdietsing*, a concept which means as much as transforming something foreign into something Dutch (through plain translation, adaptation and acculturation to Dutch tradition). However, I will regard the transmission process as a given. Where transfer studies are invested with the study of the transmission process of cultural products ($c_{2.1}$) from one culture (c_1) to another (c_1'), I rather wish to look at the other side of the spectrum: I will conduct an analysis of the dynamics between the transferred goods ($c_{2.1}'$) and those goods ($c_{2.2}$) native to the target culture (c_1') in the context of one culture, that being of the receiving culture (c_1'). I draw this notion from the fact that the transfer process always happens in the context of a receiving culture (c_1'). This culture (c_1') will always already consist of a collection of cultural products ($c_{2.2}$), native or otherwise. The adaptation of cultural products ($c_{2.1}'$) in a new context (c_1') and the interaction with products already present ($c_{2.2}$), is equally interesting. As regards the Spanish plays by Lope de Vega, I will look at the dynamics between these plays ($c_{2.1}'$) and plays by Dutch playwrights ($c_{2.2}$) in the context of the Dutch Republic (c_1').

Yet, in the last decade, one of the creators of the *cultural transfer* method had grown critical of it: Michael Werner along with sociologist Bénédicte Zimmermann, perceived the concept of *cultural transfer* as too simple to explain the encounters between cultures (whether these are disciplinary, interdisciplinary, regional, national or international). Their foremost point of criticism concerns the analytic model, which is based on the fixed process of introduction, transmission and reception. Werner and Zimmermann, however, argue that when two cultures or entities meet, a cross-section emerges (wherefore the name of their method is *histoire croisée*) and both entities are affected, which has to be taken into account.²² Although *histoire croisée* has been presented as an improvement on the method of *cultural transfer*, their natures

²¹ Stockhorst 2010, 21. The numbers in brackets are additions of my own to distinct $c_{2.1}$ (native artefacts

from culture A/ c_1) from $c_{2.2}$ (native artefacts from culture B/ c_1').

²² See Werner and Zimmermann 2006, 30-50.

differ. In line with Leonor Alvarez Francés (who wrote her Master Thesis on the cultural transfer of Lope's *El Amigo por Fuerza* in the Dutch Republic), I argue that *histoire croisée* lacks the 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 an answer for a different set of circumstances'.²³ In the case of the *comedia nueva*, the exchange relation was indeed one-way traffic, for the *comedias* were imported by the Dutch, but not re-transferred to Spain.

As such, it can be said that Dutch culture as a whole functions as a large sponge, which is always soaked through by influences from other cultures. Such a process of cultural transfer could be characterized by two concepts introduced by Dutch cultural historian Herman Pleij. In his 1988 book *De Sneeuwpoppen van 1511* and again in his 2002 article 'Restyling Wisdom, Remodeling the Nobility, and Caricaturing the Peasant', he argues that Dutch late-mediaeval bourgeois culture consisted of the *adaptation* and *annexation* of specimens from other milieus and eras. Just as transfer studies understands transfer as always entailing transformation,²⁴ the Dutch bourgeoisie adopted elements from old and new popular and elite culture, while looking for useful elements from those cultures to use for their own interests and ambitions. According to Pleij, the eagerness for adaptation and annexation are significant cultural principles of the bourgeoisie, which correspond with the principles of her *raison d'être*.²⁵

[The bourgeoisie] borrowed whatever [they] needed from cultures past, present, high, and low to reinforce, embody, and foster [their] interests and ambitions. Nor is it a coincidence that this passion for annexation and adaptation speaks directly to the very origin of the middle class as a social group. The middle class came into existence by acquiring raw materials obtained or produced elsewhere, by managing any processing or refining of such materials, and finally by trading them. This initiative, deeply related as it was to the instinct for survival, was pursued unhindered by traditions, codes, inherited authority, or threats with material or spiritual power. It is in the literature of the late Middle Ages and early modern period that this set of virtues was assembled, tested, and propagated, creating an ample playground for new morals and convictions.²⁶

I mention Pleij, since his theories demonstrate that cultural transfer is intrinsic to Dutch culture, was rooted in the Late Middle Ages and continued to be a useful tool throughout early modern

²³ Alvarez Francés 2013, 12.

²⁴ Stockhorst 2010, 8.

²⁵ Pleij 1988, 331; see also Pleij 2002, 689-693, 704.

²⁶ Pleij 2002, 704; see also Pleij 1988, 331.

times. Still, Werner and Zimmermann have made several valid points concerning the methodology of *cultural transfer*, which I will take into account.

First, Werner and Zimmermann make a strong case for approaching cultural exchange relations as having a complex and multidimensional character. Exchange relationships bring into play ‘movements between various points in at least two and sometimes several directions’. These relations of cultural exchange may ‘crisscross and engender a number of specific dynamics through various kinds of interrelationships’. An analysis establishing a point of departure and a point of arrival is, therefore, not adequate.²⁷ In the case of the exchange of the *comedia nueva*, this means that in a number of cases French functioned as a transfer-language: French playwrights translated Lope’s oeuvre as well, after which several Dutch playwrights translated and adapted the French versions, in which case I will call them “transfer-texts”. Strictly speaking, we are then dealing with cultural transfer from French culture to Dutch culture – so artefacts (c_{2.1}) are transferred from Spanish culture (c₁) to French culture (c₁’) producing adapted artefacts (c_{2.1}’). Subsequently, they are transferred again from French culture (c₁’) to Dutch culture, which culture might be characterized as (c₁’’) producing adapted artefacts (c_{2.1}’’). Whenever I have included plays which have been translated from French, I have done so, since the plays concerned were popular, produced high revenues and were staged many times over during the seventeenth century. Though, I am aware that above mentioned process could “pollute” (for the lack of a better word) the original Spanish plays, wherefore I will also take into account the French adaptation.

Another important point of criticism made by Werner and Zimmermann concerns the awareness that approaching an object from the perspective of cultural transfer isolates it from other processes at work. Werner and Zimmermann had, therefore, proposed a method of pragmatic induction, which rejects the generic and pre-established nature of context and integrates a reflection on the principles governing its definition. In Werner’s and Zimmermann’s words, the lazy usage of context is replaced by ‘an analysis of the manner in which individuals actually connect themselves to the world, the specific construction of the world and the elements of context produced by this activity in each particular case, and finally the uses arising from such construction’.²⁸ Since this Master Thesis uses an extensive corpus, the objects of study are less vulnerable to be researched in isolation. Moreover, the transfer process of the *comedia nueva* will be related to poetical, literary, cultural and historical

²⁷ Werner and Zimmermann 2006, 37-38.

²⁸ Werner and Zimmermann 2006, 47.

developments in Amsterdam between 1617 and 1672 and the roles played by the translators and adaptors.

An important possible, often unforeseen and extreme effect of cultural transfer entails the shifting boundaries in the cultural system of the receiving culture (c_1'), such as Espagne and Werner explain. This is arguably also the case in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic regarding the *comedia nueva*.²⁹ This thesis will only deal with Dutch theatre culture, which in effect is a rather narrow field of research when trying to show the shifting boundaries in the Dutch cultural system. Theatre dominated, however, cultural-literary expression in the seventeenth century, very much like Hollywood productions hold this status today, wherefore the boundaries in the Dutch cultural system could indeed have shifted during the seventeenth century.

Espagne and Werner explain that cultural transfer originates from the understanding that the transfer of cultural products is mostly a reconstruction of the receiving culture (c_1'), which by importing foreign ideas responds at a specific native situation [in German: Konjunktur].³⁰ Regarding the Dutch Republic, I would argue that the economic and political situations are responsible for the cultural transfer of the *comedia nueva* to the Dutch Republic, as I will discuss extensively in this Master Thesis. According to art historians Karolien De Clippel and Filip Vermeulen, what got transferred in the seventeenth-century depended on a variety of factors, amongst which ‘the ingenuity of middlemen, the impediments caused by borders and barriers, obstacles such as transaction and opportunity costs including tariffs, guild regulations, the creativity of artists themselves, the medium – visual, text or verbal – and geo-political factors such as war’.³¹ Since the *comedia nueva* might very well have contributed to the shifting boundaries in the Dutch cultural system, it is justifiable to focus my research on the period between 1617 and 1672. Both years mark important events in Dutch literary history: in 1617, the Amsterdam playwrights parted ways because of poetical differences and the transposition of Spanish plays by Theodore Rodenburgh into Dutch. This schism was only permanently restored when the new Amsterdam Public Theatre was opened in 1638. Between 1617 and 1638 one deals with the initial phase of cultural transfer regarding the *comedia nueva*.

After 1638 the Amsterdam theatre scene was professionalized and particularly the years between 1648 and 1672 can be characterized as the grand phase of the *comedia nueva* and its cultural transfer. On the one hand, the Peace of Westphalia of 1648 was an important incentive for playwrights to transfer the *comedia nueva*, like the Twelve Years’ Truce of 1609-1621 had

²⁹ Espagne and Werner 1985, 508.

³⁰ Espagne and Werner 1985, 505.

³¹ De Clippel and Vermeulen 2015, 7. See also Henke 2008, 6-8.

been the first incentive for cultural transfer. The immense importance of geopolitics for the transfer of the Spanish *comedias* to the Dutch Republic is for example attested by Joris de Wijse in his Dedication to *Voorzigtige Dolheit* (1650, an adaptation of Lope's *El Cuerdo Loco*): 'it is a general ingratitude to compensate such favours [as your husband has shown me] by the means of words and paper (which I have borrowed from Spain in times of peace)'.³² On the other hand, cultural agents such as Theodore Rodenburgh (between 1617 and 1638) and Jan Vos (from 1648 onwards) played a pivotal role in the cultural transfer of the *comedia nueva*. In 1672, war broke out between the Dutch Republic and France, England, Cologne and Münster, wherefore the Amsterdam Public Theatre was temporarily closed, marking the end of the *comedia nueva*'s popularity in the Dutch Republic for almost a decade.

In the protocapitalist society of the Dutch Republic and especially in a city like Amsterdam – which was then the financial capital of the world – making money was considered to be one of the main objectives in life. More importantly, the artistic production in Amsterdam (art and literature) was governed by the capitalist principles of Dutch society. In the case of the Amsterdam Public Theatre, the shareholders were the regents of the Burgerweeshuis (cf. City's Orphanage) and the regents of the Oudemannenhuis (cf. Men's Retirement Home). As regents of charity institutions, they benefited most from high profits.³³ The Board of Directors of the Amsterdam Public Theatre was, therefore, charged with the responsibility to increase the profits, whenever possible. Hence, the plays by Lope de Vega and the typical aberrant dramatic structure he employs would have pleased them much, since Lope de Vega wrote 'in accordance with that art which they devised who aspired to the applause of the crowd'.³⁴

Corpus

To successfully conduct a structure analysis, the corpus has been composed out of twenty plays. Of either part of the corpus I have selected ten plays. This means that ten plays will be adapted and translated Spanish plays by Lope de Vega and ten plays will be original native Dutch plays. I have chosen for a wide range of texts spanning from 1612 to 1671. As such, the corpus covers

³² De Wijse 1650, *2r.-v.; in Dutch it says: de letteren en 't papier, (die ik Spanje in tijdt van vrede ontleende) tegens zulke gunsten op te weegen, waar een ongemeene ondankbaarheid.

³³ Cf. Boers 2012; Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2013, 371.

³⁴ De Vega 2009, 24-25.

most of the Golden Age playwriting in the Dutch Republic and both phases of the cultural transfer of the *comedia nueva*.

In the selection of the Spanish plays of the corpus, three major criteria were leading: **first** and foremost, the plays in the corpus must have been popular, meaning the plays should have produced high revenues and should have been staged regularly (several times per year, for a fairly large amount of years). The ONSTAGE-database (of the University of Amsterdam) will be conclusive in this matter.³⁵

Second, the plays should preferably have been adapted or translated directly from Spanish, without the use of a French example (as to prevent as much “pollution” as possible in the transferring process). The plays translated by Theodore Rodenburgh have certainly been translated and adapted using the original Spanish sources.³⁶ Kim Jautze, Leonor Alvarez Francés and Frans Blom were in most cases able to identify a technical translator by the name of Jacob Baroces, who was a Sephardic Jew living in Amsterdam and who was a native speaker of Spanish. He translated the plays by Lope de Vega into Dutch prose, after which the playwrights transformed the translated texts into plays.³⁷

Third, I have always selected the oldest version of the text as long as it was printed in Amsterdam. These versions might be considered to be the most authorized versions of the texts. On the one hand, the author will have been more likely to have commissioned the printing of his play; on the other, versions printed in Amsterdam can be related to the chambers of rhetoric *De Eglentier*, *Het Wit Lavendel* and the *Nederduytsche Academie* before 1638, and the Amsterdam Public Theatre from 1638 onwards. This ensures the use of an “authorized” edition, which was printed closely to the original date of premiere. As such, the Spanish part of the corpus consists of the following plays:

Translated by Theodore Rodenburgh

Rodenburgh, Theodore, *Casandra Hertoginne van Borgonie, en Karel Baldeus* (adaptation of: *El Perseguido*). Amsterdam, Cornelis Lodewijksz. van der Plasse, 1617 (1617a). [66 performances, #78]

³⁵ I have listed the ranking of every play with regards to the amount of stagings recorded in the ONSTAGE-database and with regards to their overall popularity. Yet, the database does not offer data from before 1638. This means that the ranking knows a discrepancy in the case of plays written at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This applies to over half the plays in the corpus.

³⁶ Smits-Veldt and Abrahamse 1992, 237-239. Theodore Rodenburgh was a diplomat, trader and a polyglot who spoke many languages, amongst which Spanish. See also Abrahamse 1997, 167-179.

³⁷ Jautze, Álvarez Francés and Blom 2016. Furthermore, in this Master Thesis I will list the adaptors as the “authors” of the plays. This makes it easier to reference the plays, when discussing them.

Rodenburgh, Theodore, *Hertoginne Celia en Grave Prospero* (adaptation of: *El Molino*).

Amsterdam, Jacob Pietersz. Wachter, 1617 (1617b). [19 performances, #241]

Rodenburgh, Theodore, *Jalourse Studentin* (adaptation of: *La Escolástica Celosa*). Amsterdam,

Willem Jansz. Stam, 1617 (1617c).³⁸ [10 performances, #348]

Translated by Jacob Baroces

Graef, Hendrick de, *Joanna Koningin van Napels, of Den Trotzen Dwinger* (adaptation of: *La Reina Juana de Nápoles*). Amsterdam, Jacob Lescaille, 1664. [16 performances, #268]

Vos, Isaak, *Gedwongen Vrient* (adaptation of: *El Amigo por Fuerza*). Amsterdam, Jan van Hilten, 1646. [98 performances, #40]

Vos, Isaak, *De Beklaagelycke Dwangh* (translation of: *La Fuerza Lastimosa*). Amsterdam, Adam Karelsz. van Germez, 1648. [158 performances, #8]

Translated by an unknown Dutch translator

Asselyn, Thomas, *Den Grooten Kurieen, of Spaanschen Bergsman* (adaptation of: *La Amistad Pagada*). Amsterdam, Jacob Lescaille, 1657. [29 performances, #178]

Wijse, Joris de, *Voorzigtige Dolheit* (adaptation of: *El Cuerdo Loco*). Amsterdam, Jan van Hilten, 1650. [78 performances, #63]

Translated by the use of a French transfer-text³⁹

Blasius, Joan, *De Malle Wedding, of Gierige Gerard* (translated from Spanish into French by François Le Métel de Boisrobert as *La Folle Gageure, ou les Divertissements de la Comtesse de Pembroc*; adaptation of: *El Mayor Imposible*). Amsterdam, Jacob Lescaille, 1671. [130 performances, #18]

Germez, Adam Karelsz van, *Vervolgde Laura* (translated from Spanish into French by Jean Rotrou as *Laure Persécutée* and translated from French into Dutch prose by Jan Hendrik Glazemaker; adaptation of: *Laura Perseguida*). Amsterdam, Johannes Jacott, 1645. [65 performances, #82]

³⁸ I am aware of the existence of a Leiden edition printed in the same year by Bartholomeus Jacobsz de Fries. However, on the basis of criterion 3 I have selected the Amsterdam edition, which has a slightly different title.

³⁹ These two texts are translated from French (French was used as a transfer-language). In this case, their popularity was decisive. Not including them in the corpus would give results not reflecting popular taste.

The Dutch part of the corpus will consist of original native Dutch plays written by Joost van den Vondel, Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft, Gerbrand Adriaensz. Bredero, Samuel Coster, Reynier de Bondt, Theodore Rodenburgh and Gijsbrecht van Hogendorp. All the plays are original Dutch plays, meaning that these plays are not free adaptations of foreign novels or other foreign plays. The four leading criteria in the selection of the Dutch part of the corpus were: **first**, similar to the Spanish part of the corpus the plays should have been popular. Once again, the plays should have produced high revenues and should have been staged regularly. The ONSTAGE-database will also be conclusive in this matter.

Second, the plays should originally be Dutch and should not be translations or adaptations of foreign novels and plays (as to prevent a comparison between Spanish culture and any other culture but the Dutch). This criterion does not apply to plot lines adopted from classical Roman or Greek plays and epics. I consider the classical literature to be part of a transnational European heritage, after which playwrights throughout Europe modelled their plays (the process of emulation and intertextuality). Therefore, I will “ignore” that some plays are adaptations of classical plays or epics in addition to the practical reason that it would be hard to include any comedies in my corpus like Hooft’s *Warenar* and Bredero’s *Moortje*, as well as tragedies, such as Vondel’s *Gysbreght van Aemstel* and *Palamedes*, which are all important plays in Dutch literary history.

Third, to be able to use the most “authorized” edition, I have always selected the oldest version of a text printed in Amsterdam. This criterion compares to the third criterion of the Spanish part of the corpus. **Fourth**, I have selected a variety of theatrical genres including tragedies, comedies and tragicomedies, which selection might be effectively compared to the tragicomic *comedia nueva*. Therefore, the following plays make up the Dutch part of the corpus:

Tragedies

Hogendorp, Gijsbrecht van, *De Moordt Begaen aen Wilhem [...] Prince van Oraengien*.

Amsterdam, Cornelis Lodewijcksz. van der Plasse, 1617. [16 performances, #269]

Hooft, Pieter Cornelisz., *Geeraerd van Velsen*. Amsterdam, Willem Jansz. Blaeu, 1613. [58 performances, #93]

Hooft, Pieter Cornelisz., *Baeto*. Amsterdam, Willem Jansz. Blaeu, (1617) 1626.⁴⁰ [10 performances, #341]

⁴⁰ According to the editor of the modern edition, Henk Duits, Hooft had finished *Baeto* already in 1617. However, due to political tensions during

those years, the play was not performed or published until 1626. See Duits 2005, 230.

Vondel, Joost van den, *Palamedes oft Vermoorde Onnooselheyd*. Amsterdam, Jacob Aertsz. Colom, 1625. [33 performances, #157]

Vondel, Joost van den, *Gysbreght van Aemstel*. Amsterdam, Willem Jansz. Blaeu, 1637. [454 performances, #1]

*Comedies*⁴¹

Bredero, Gerbrand Adriaensz., *Moortje*. Amsterdam, Cornelis Lodewijcksz. van der Plasse, 1617. [32 performances, #162]

Coster, Samuel, *Teeuwis de Boer en Men Juffer van Grevelinckhuysen*. Amsterdam, Cornelis Lodewijcksz. van der Plasse, (1612) 1626. [31 performances, #171]

Hooft, Pieter Cornelisz. and Samuel Coster, *Warenar*. Amsterdam, Willem Jansz. Wijngaerts, 1626. [127 performances, #19]

Tragicomedies

Rodenburgh, Theodore, *Vrou Iacoba*. Amsterdam, Dirck Cornelisz. Houthaek, (1636) 1638. [10 performances, #340]

Bondt, Reynier de, *Beleg en Ontset der Stadt Leyden*. Amsterdam, Jacob Lescaille, 1660.⁴² [304 performances, #2]

Approach

The research has been divided in three parts and divided in three chapters. Chapter 1 conducts a close-reading of Lope de Vega's poetics and the Senecan-Scaligerian poetics. The Dutch adaptation of Sir Philip Sidney's *The Defence of Poesy* (1595) by Theodore Rodenburgh titled *Eglentiers Poëtens Borst-weringh* (1619) shows on several levels major influences of Lope de Vega's *Arte Nuevo*. This can primarily explain how Lope's thoughts and plays were first transferred from Spain to the Dutch Republic in the early 1600s. Lope's *Arte Nuevo* and Rodenburgh's *Poëtens Borst-weringh* will be compared to the poetical ideas of Julius Caesar

⁴¹ In the case of the Dutch comedies, I have always selected those plays which are based on the poetics of Terence and Plautus (and thus, described by Scaliger as comedies). See also Van Stipriaan 1996, 47-48.

⁴² Since I will only be using editions printed in Amsterdam, the first Amsterdam edition is the one from 1660. However, the play was first printed in Leiden in 1645.

Scaliger (*Poetices Libri Septem*, 1561)⁴³ and of the humanist Daniel Heinsius (*De Constitutione Tragoediae Liber*, 1611).

Furthermore, I will look into Gerbrand Adriaensz. Bredero's introduction to *Griane* (1616) and Samuel Coster's introduction to *Isabella* (1619), for in these literary works they oppose Rodenburgh's poetic views regarding *decorum* and the negligence of the classical poetics. Additionally, I will look into Jan Vos as a theatre director and the way he introduces spectacle on the Amsterdam stage. Vos' views on the establishment of affects will prove to correspond with Lope de Vega's poetic views. That way, I will have a framework which can be used as a functional heuristic tool to compare and contrast the Spanish and Dutch plays.

In Chapter 2, I will apply the insights from chapter 1 on the corpus by the means of a structure and comparative analysis: I will compare and contrast the plays through their macrostructure, meaning that I will conduct an analysis of the build-up of the acts, the employment of the three unities within the corpus and the contamination of the tragic and the comic in the plays (including the contamination of highborn and lowborn characters). Furthermore, I will discuss intrigue, particularly by the means of cross-dressing.

The structure and comparative analysis will be expanded in chapter 3 by focussing on the microstructure of the plays: I will discuss the choruses, songs and the tableaux vivants in the plays of the corpus. In this chapter, I will try to give an overview of the use of song and the tableau vivant in the Spanish and Dutch plays; this way, I will discuss the two foremost theatre resources in the Dutch Golden Age.

The conclusion will summarize the results of this Master Thesis and I will discuss the way in which this Master Thesis can contribute to further research into the affective operations of plays in the Dutch Republic and on the Amsterdam Public Theatre's stage linking the affects to popularity and popular taste, for which reason we may get a better idea why the Theatre Board made the decision to stage certain plays year after year.

⁴³ In this case, I will use the edition of 1607, for that edition will probably be the one used by the Dutch playwrights.

CHAPTER ONE

‘In Defiance of Art’

Poetics:

*The Comedia Nueva versus
Senecan-Scaligerian Playwriting*

In the same year the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Empire agreed to a truce of twelve years starting in 1609, Lope de Vega published his *Arte Nuevo de Hacer Comedias en Este Tiempo*. This manifesto disclosed the art – or rather lack of art – by which the Spanish *comedias* were written. A decade later, rhetorician and diplomat Theodore Rodenburgh (1574-1644) published the *Eglentiers Poëtens Borst-Weringh*, which is generally considered to be a free adaptation of Sir Philip Sidney’s *The Defence of Poesy* (1595) and Thomas Wilson’s *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), but which also proves to be heavily influenced by Lope’s *Arte Nuevo*. As will be discussed in this chapter, Rodenburgh played a pivotal role in the years of truce, when it became fashionable for the first time to translate and adapt Spanish *comedias* into Dutch. In this regard, De Clippel and Vermeylen say that ‘it is important to keep in mind that cultural exchange and transfer denotes exchange between cultures, and this requires individuals acting as mediators and frequently instigators of exchange, objects and ultimately ideas’.¹

In this chapter, I will discuss Rodenburgh’s extraordinary literary position to act as a mediator of Spanish culture, which is partly due to favourable circumstances and a combination of factors in Amsterdam, which were a first incentive for the cultural transfer from 1617 onwards. Not unimportant is Rodenburgh’s vast knowledge of languages, amongst which Spanish. During his diplomatic mission to Madrid on behalf of the Guinea traders’ company from 1611 to 1614, he likely saw the original Spanish *comedias* performed.² Subsequently, Rodenburgh either must have owned or must have thoroughly studied an edition of Lope’s *Arte Nuevo* during these years for him to have been able to write so authoritatively on Lope’s plays, which booklet he also explicitly references in the *Borst-Weringh*.³

This chapter will disclose both the poetic views of Lope de Vega, its adaptations by Rodenburgh and his opponents’ poetics at the *Nederduytsche Academie* during the initial phase

¹ De Clippel and Vermeylen 2015, 8.

² Smits-Veldt and Abrahamse 1992, 236-237.

³ Rodenburgh 1619, 47.

of the cultural transfer of Spanish plays. The poetics of men like Coster, Hooft and Bredero will be associated with the classical poetics as advocated by humanists Julius Caesar Scaliger and Joseph Justus Scaliger. Both the chamber of rhetoricians *De Eglentier* and the *Nederduytsche Academie* tried to draw audiences – ultimately by the use of affects – which will be a focus point in discussing the Spanish and Dutch poetics.

The second phase begins in 1638 with the opening of the commercially based Amsterdam Public Theatre. Under the guidance of glazier-poet Jan Vos, who was member of the board of directors for nineteen consecutive years (1647-67) and chair for seventeen of those years (1649-67), spectacle was introduced as a central part of performances and he aimed to excite the audiences through fascination, horror and (I argue) also affects.⁴ Unsurprisingly, the popularity of the *comedia nueva* reached its climax during those years, which I will discuss in this chapter as well.⁵ As such, it can be said that Jan Vos is another individual who helped accelerate the popularity of the *comedia nueva* in the Dutch Republic.

1.1 The Poetics of Affect

The first question to be answered is why we should use our modern concept of *affect* to describe the emotional effects of my corpus plays on the Dutch audiences. In other words: what is the added value of describing emotional effects in terms of *affects*? One could convincingly argue that the rhetorical *pathos* is both a sufficient and historical accurate concept to describe the emotional effects of certain rhetorical tropes and topos in seventeenth-century plays.⁶ Furthermore, concepts such as the Latin *movere* and the *sublime* as formulated by Edmund Burke in the eighteenth century and rethought many times over in modern scholarship,⁷ could successfully characterize the effects of theatre plays. Moreover, classical authors as well as sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scholars have written extensive tractates on the emotional quality of drama. These scholars include Julius Caesar Scaliger and Daniel Heinsius, who's poetics form the backbone of my analysis of the Senecan-Scaligerian drama.

⁴ Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2013, 378-379.

⁵ See the ONSTAGE-database (> analysis > stagings of plays translated out of Spanish in Amsterdam's public theatre).

⁶ See i.e. Konst 1993. In his dissertation, Konst has analysed a fair amount of (Senecan-Scaligerian and Aristotelian) tragedies from the seventeenth century

according to the concept of *pathos*, focussing on the *passiones* (*hartstochten*) in these plays. My approach differs from his in the sense that I will try to move the attention towards the effects on the audience, rather than the portrayal of these passions by the *dramatis personae*.

⁷ See i.e. Burke 1757, but also Van Eck [et al.] 2012.

Yet, I argue that both the Dutch and Spanish poets had aims, which could be typified as different interpretations of our modern concept of *affect*. As such, by using the concept of *affect* I can disclose the poetic aims of authors whose plays are part of the corpus, such as Rodenburgh, Hooft, Bredero and Vondel, while I will also focus on the *intended* effects on the auditor. Applying *affect* to the corpus plays means that I can reconstruct the emotional interaction between *text* and *reader*. In a way, discussing the dramatic structure in relation to *affect*, means that I could formulate several hypotheses regarding the popular taste in the seventeenth century: we know how often the plays were performed and the amount of profit made of these performances. The combination between on the one hand an analysis of the affective operations of certain dramatic elements in the plays and the profits on the other, could be regarded as popular taste.

My conceptualization of the term *affect* stems from the work of literary scholars Ernst van Alpen and Frans-Willem Korsten, who have discussed this concept independent from one another. I will combine their interpretations, reflect on their definitions and formulate a more specific and operational definition, which can be applied to drama. First, *affect* is a sensitive challenge; preferably one of extreme, positive and negative responses – particularly in the baroque.⁸ *Affect* has almost always a positive connotation, even when the experience is repulsive or revolting.⁹ In Van Alphen’s words, an *affect* is an ‘effective trigger for profound thought [...] because of the way in which it grasps us, forcing us to engage involuntarily’.¹⁰

This forceful engagement brings about abhorrence and fascination. As I will discuss in this chapter, abhorrence, fascination and forceful engagement are all qualities of Senecan-Scaligerian drama. Because of this involuntary engagement, *affect* is often understood as sublime.¹¹ The *sublime* – in its original conceptualization by the eighteenth-century Irish philosopher Edmund Burke – is something which is incomprehensible, something which escapes our understanding. It is horrific, religious, simultaneously ugly and beautiful. The *sublime* delivers pain and pleasure at the same time, and it provokes ambivalent emotions. Thence, the *sublime* leads to an experience, which you cannot escape, and which evokes desperation; the subject is caught by the work of art resulting in his or her fascination.¹²

As such, *affect* has reached its goal when thoughts on the work of art keep revolving in one’s mind. Regarding Dutch seventeenth-century drama, this constant revolving has been typified

⁸ Korsten 2002, 137-141.

⁹ Korsten 2002, 136.

¹⁰ Van Alphen 2008, 22.

¹¹ Korsten 2002, 139.

¹² Burke 1757, 13-14, 41-42, 126-127.

as *gewoel*: in 1682, Geeraardt Brandt, the biographer of Joost van den Vondel (lauded by the epithet ‘Prins der Poëten’ [Prince of Poets]), wrote that Vondel’s plays were deemed of lesser quality during the years 1649-72. Brandt attests that especially Spanish plays were staged in the Amsterdam Public Theatre, ‘which plays pleased the masses through their employment of *gewoel* and the quantity of action (while the auditor would marvel about the vain chitchat and activity)’.¹³ Brandt’s use of *gewoel* is striking. It means as much as the infinite revolving of corporal and mental sensations, especially where it concerns love, lusts or baffling emotions. Often it also involves hesitation and apprehension in the characters’ moods, while having to deal with an excitatory dilemma, which often revolves around the choice between virtue, vice and adultery. He adds that ‘although sometimes the plays lacked art and order, the public esteemed copper over gold and, thus, Vondel’s tragedies were stowed behind the counter’.¹⁴

Likewise, Rodenburgh discussed in his *Melibea* that he starts ‘al dit woelen’ [the complete amount of revolving taking place] to represent his characters and, thus, his audience with the choice between virtue and worldly fortunes, such as power, riches and honour. Frequently, these choices result in horrific dangers, which startle everyone who perceives it. According to Rodenburgh, theatre has, therefore, the ability to moralize through pleasurable entertainment.¹⁵ Hence, it seems that the *comedia nueva* drew from a variety of affective *woelingen* to delight the spectators. In Lope’s *Arte Nuevo* it entails the passions of lovers, which move whoever listens to them, or it concerns subjects of honour and virtue.¹⁶

With regards to the Senecan-Scaligerian plays, 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’.¹⁷ In addition, Hooft’s characters experience *woelingen* in his *Geeraerd van Velsen* (1613) and *Baeto* (1626)¹⁸, and we can also witness the use of *woelen* (or *woelingen*, *gewoel*) in plays by Bredero and Coster. In the case of Senecan-Scaligerian plays, *woelen* can also comprise of turbulences

¹³ Brandt 1682, 68; in Dutch it says:

[...] 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 koper boven goudt schatte, en Vondels treurspeelen achter de bank wierp.

¹⁴ Brandt 1682, 68. See for the Dutch original, note 13.

¹⁵ Rodenburgh 1618, *3v.

¹⁶ De Vega 2009, 33 and 35.

¹⁷ Vondel 1639, A2r.; in Dutch it says:

In dit treurspel woelen veelerleie hartstoghten, gramschap, stoutigheid, vreeze, bekommeringe, haet en liefde, trouw, en ontrouw, droefheid en blyschap, elck om’t hevighste.

¹⁸ See Hooft 1613, D1v.: ‘Der saacken beurten, en der Staeten wisselinghen / Roert om haar handt gheswind en nimmer woelens sat’. See also Hooft 1626, E1v.:

Luidew. Een hart dat tocht nae ’t ryck, heeft onlydzame jaght.

Baeto Wie woelt ’er om?

Burgerh. Doorgaans de naast die ’t niet verwacht.

and agitations.¹⁹ As such, we have every reason to assume that the seventeenth-century playwrights relied on the affective operations of their plays, which gives us good reason to apply *affect* to the corpus as well.

Since we can see how *woelingen* in seventeenth-century drama affected and startled everyone who would perceive it, we can gather how Korsten understands the affective operations of art as a truly experienced or embodied understanding.²⁰ As a result, *affect* can cause an audience to identify with the characters due to certain evocated emotions (the political effect of *affect*).²¹ Consequently, the audience becomes involved with both the protagonist’s dilemma’s and the plot developments. Therefore, the *affective* operations of art originate particularly as the result of social interaction: it exists in the process of transmission from subject to subject, or from object to subject (since innate objects can transfer *affect* as well).²² *Affect* should, therefore, be understood as a collection of forces, intensities transferring anything at all from one subject to another.²³ Van Alphen writes that ‘because of its origin in interaction, one can say that the transmission of affect is social in origin, but biological and physical in effect.’²⁴ As such, the *affective* operations of art can be explained by an illustrative metaphor: they circulate between subjects and are passed like in a ball game from one person to another having the desired effects, in which case the ball is caught, or it misses its aim and falls to the ground. In Van Alphen’s words, ‘the same affect can be given a completely different content by another person. Although affects are social, that is, they are the result of an interactive process from without, the linguistic or visual contents or thoughts attached to that affect belong to the person to whom the affect is transmitted’.²⁵ Therefore, *affects* are independent from authorial intentions and content: *affects* are essentially irrational.²⁶ I should, however, refine this last statement. I argue that *affects* can only be established under certain conditions. In the case of drama, these conditions are dependent on the dramatic structure of the play. Therefore, I will analyse the textual choices made by authors as well. These authors had their own intentions, followed certain poetics and they were rhetorically educated. The limitation of applying *affect* to a historical context includes the inability to measure the reader’s response towards a text. My discussion is, thus, a theoretical one where I also have to include dominant theories on playwriting (including the author’s ideas on playwriting to be able to critically differentiate the *comedia nueva* from the Senecan-Scaligerian drama).

¹⁹ See also Sluijter 2010, 294-295.

²⁰ Korsten 2002, 136.

²¹ Korsten 2002, 136.

²² Van Alphen 2008, 23, 25. See also Gell’s extensive study on the agency of art: *Art and Agency* 1998.

²³ Van Alphen 2014, 31.

²⁴ Van Alphen 2008, 25.

²⁵ Van Alphen 2008, 25.

²⁶ Van Alphen 2014, 32-34.

To sum up, *affects* are a form of communication, which are characterized by extreme, emotional or political forces of a work of art (literature, art, music, etc.). Through the interaction between object and subject, *affect* is being transferred with the same or another emotional effect creating a state of mind in the process (psychological effect). As such, using *affect* to describe the effects of theatre is advantageous in that it incorporates different aspects of literary and artistic operations, including popular taste, the interactive operations of many spectacular acrobatics, and horrific scenes, such as murder, rape and torture, which formed a coherent whole in seventeenth-century Dutch theatre life.

1.2 The *Arte Nuevo* in the Literary Circles of Amsterdam

In order to better visualize the affective operations of the *comedia nueva*, it would be fruitful to first discuss the poetical ideas of Lope de Vega as formulated in his *Arte Nuevo*. I will relate my discussion to the transfer process of Lope's ideas to the Dutch Republic. Lope had been successful in affecting his audiences in Spain and the Dutch poet-diplomat Theodore Rodenburgh was inspired by him: he had been to Madrid and had seen Lope de Vega's *comedias* performed. He returned to Amsterdam an inspired man apparently full of new ideas. Since he spoke Spanish, it is not surprising that he would be an individual perfectly suited to introduce the *comedia nueva* onto the Amsterdam stage. Additionally, because of internal struggles within the Amsterdam chamber of rhetoric *De Eglentier*, Samuel Coster, Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft and Gerbrand Adriaensz. Bredero along with several others had dissociated themselves from the old community and they had established the *Nederduytsche Academie* in 1617. This resulted in a literary war between both institutions in the following years. The authors from the *Academie* wrote plays according to the patriotic paradigm, while Rodenburgh who had become the literary leader of *De Eglentier*, went international and introduced English and especially Spanish plays on the Amsterdam stage, which in effect would mark the beginning of the *comedia nueva*'s rising popularity in the Dutch Republic.²⁷

After Rodenburgh became the literary leader of *De Eglentier*, he had not to fear public opinion any longer if he was to stage plays of Spanish origin, due to the Twelve Years' Truce, which tolerated renewed trade and diplomatic relations, as well as cultural relations. Except for three *comedias* of Lope de Vega, Rodenburgh also published the *Eglentiers Poëtens Borst-*

²⁷ Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2013, 235, 240-242, 245-247.

Weringh, a free adaptation of Sir Philip Sidney’s *The Defence of Poesy* and Thomas Wilson’s *The Arte of Rhetorique*, but it also includes many influences from Lope de Vega’s *Arte Nuevo*. The *Borst-Weringh* was published at a moment in literary history, when the literary institutes of Amsterdam were re-evaluating the use and goals of drama, while they competed for the paying audiences.²⁸ Rodenburgh’s *Borst-Weringh* can, therefore, be read as a literary marketing statement, which incorporates Lope’s literary ideas on a kind of theatrical plays appealing to the general public.

The *comedia nueva* distinguishes itself from other dramatic traditions on several points, all regarding the effects a play should have on its auditors. Lope de Vega’s poetics was not accepted by everyone in Spain. For this reason, he wrote his *Arte Nuevo* addressing the Academy of Madrid. In a semi-apologetic manner, Lope describes the art of writing plays in Spain in his time, never employing a forceful tone, but merely giving gentle advice.²⁹ In a similar way Rodenburgh addresses the Dutch public defending Poetry and especially theatre demonstrating that he is walking a fine line between classical poetics and the playful and surprising *comedia nueva*.

1.2.1 Time, Place and Action

Lope de Vega wrote most authoritatively on the three-unities of time, place and action. His famous lines in the *Arte Nuevo* disclose that there is no reason for a play to take place in one day, or to restrict the stage to represent one place at all times.

There is no use in advising that it [the play] should take place in the period of one sun, though this is the view of Aristotle; [...] Let it take place in as little time as possible, except when the poet is writing history in which some years have to pass; these he can relegate to the space between the acts, wherein, if necessary, he can have a character go

²⁸ See Moser 2001, 201-202: she argues that the rhetoricians almost consecrated the art of poetry (*rederijkerij*) emphasizing their outstanding and elite position within society before 1600, while fulfilling religious, ideological and cultural tasks. The trends noticeable in the 1610s help us understand how and why the playwrights introduced new poetical practices from abroad and from classical times.

²⁹ See Thacker 2008, 110. Thacker explains that Lope addressed an antagonistic group of Academicians, the *doctos* or the educated audience,

who could have been classicists or sceptics of new theatre practices. However, Thacker stresses that Lope’s *Arte Nuevo* is also a rhetorical performance and an act of exhibitionism: Lope will educate the Academicians the successful way of playwriting. As such, the *Arte Nuevo* is rather a ‘practical man-of-the-theatre’s guide to (and *apologia* for) what has been shown to work in the Spanish *corral*, in front of a mixed audience, at the turn of the seventeenth century’.

on some journey; a thing that greatly offends whoever perceives it. But let not him who is offended go to see them.³⁰

Lope continues by saying that the common Spaniard attending a two-hour performance rather sees history unfold on stage from Genesis to the Last Judgement, otherwise he will not be satisfied. And Lope rather adjusts everything in his plays so its success as a “blockbuster” is guaranteed.³¹ In his adaptation of the *Defence of Poesy*, Rodenburgh translates Sidney’s views on the custom of poets to ignore the classical rules of the three-unities, but he immediately and explicitly references Lope de Vega calling him an excellent poet, while paraphrasing the passage cited above presenting two opposing views on the subject:

In addition, the 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 auditors become confused by the outcome. With some reason, one can admonish this practice, when one binds oneself by *Terence* and *Plautus*. The outstanding poet *Lope de Vega Carpio*, however, says (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 auditors when the events are told from beginning to end.³²

³⁰ De Vega 2009, 30-31 and see the Spanish original in De Vega 2003, ll. 188-189 and ll. 193-200.

no hay que advertir que pase en el período
de un sol, aunque es consejo de Aristóteles,
[...]
pase en el menos tiempo que ser pueda,
si no es 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.

³¹ De Vega 2009, 31 and the Spanish original in De Vega 2003, ll. 205-210.

³² Rodenburgh 1619, 47. See also Abrahamse 1997, 26. The original Dutch reads:

Daer beneven, verschelen de Poëten inde wijze
van handelinghe van hun Truer en Bly-spelen,
want waer het toonneel behoort 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 afbeeldt *Asia*, en
d’ander zyde *Africa*, jae ander Coninghrijcken,
zo dat de Toonneel-speelder zelve 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, ghehaemt: *Arte nueuo de hazer
comedias en este tiempo*) zeyt: dat hy *Terens* en
Plaut uyt zijn ghedachten stelt, als hy zijn

Although Rodenburgh continues to say that he does not want to force anyone to either follow Sidney or Lope, he keeps Lope in high regard, wherefore it seems that Rodenburgh agrees more with Lope than with Sidney. In other places, it is possible to recognize the influence of Lope as well, although Rodenburgh does not refer to him the least. Such as I have argued earlier, Rodenburgh adapted the *Arte Nuevo* in his *Borst-Weringh*. The adaptations by Rodenburgh are, however, frequently implicit and might not be recognized as such, unless through a close-reading of several fragments.

1.2.2 *The Admonishment and Delights of the Tragicomic*

Of the implicit references to Lope’s *Arte Nuevo* in the *Borst-Weringh*, I will first discuss Rodenburgh’s approach towards the subject of the tragicomic. Lope writes that nowadays the genres of the ‘tragic history’ and the ‘comic truth of customs’ have become ‘confuso’, mixed up.³³ And although this seems to be a reproachable thing at first sight, it is delightful as well. By turning a negative mixture into a positive variety, Lope discusses the tragicomedy in those other famous lines. The comparison of the tragicomedy to the “unnatural” union of Pasiphae with a bull is turned into a positive union because of its resemblance to nature, wherefore it is beautiful in itself.³⁴ In Lope’s words, ‘tragedy mixed with comedy and Terence with Seneca, though it be like another minotaur of Pasiphae, will render one part grave, the other ridiculous; for this variety causes much delight. Nature gives us good example, for through such variety it is beautiful’.³⁵ Rodenburgh agrees in general with Lope, but he also stresses the importance of the correct distribution of the tragic and the comic; probably between distinct scenes. When discussing the tragicomedy, Rodenburgh argues that just like in nature something can seem beautiful on the outside, while it contains something ‘berispelycx’ (reproachable) within.³⁶ According to Rodenburgh it is no problem to mix tragic and comic subjects to create a tragicomedy. He merely demands from the aspirant poet that he distinguishes them by

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 Historiaal is, oordelende dat het bevallycker voor de aenschouwers is, het begin en ’t eyndt van alle de ghevalen af te beelden.

³³ Thacker 2008, 112; De Vega 2009, 28 and the Spanish original in De Vega 2003, l. 146:

[...] que todo lo de agora está confuso.

³⁴ See also Thacker 2008, 113.

³⁵ De Vega 2009, 30 and the Spanish original in De Vega 2003, ll. 174-180:

Lo trágico y lo cómico mezclado,
y Terencio con Séneca, aunque sea
como otro Minotauro de Pasife,
harán grave una parte, otra ridícula,
que aquesta variedad deleita mucho:
buen ejemplo nos da naturaleza,
que por tal variedad tiene belleza.

³⁶ Rodenburgh 1619, 26.

separating said subjects in different scenes. Rodenburgh wishes for poets and would-be-poets to make sure that they moralize and delight the auditor, while they admonish him.³⁷

However, admonishment should not be done by grave and moralizing language. The auditor will not listen and will get bored. Lope had said that one should not ‘drag in quotations, nor let your language offend because of exquisite words’, nor should one ‘spend sententious thoughts and witty sayings on family trifles’, but one ought to use plain and simple language.³⁸ Rodenburgh realizes this and, thus, he advises to sweeten the language, while speaking in clear language to the audience.

Third, the orator should penetrate the ears with such a manner of speaking that he may move the hearts with sweet words and he should speak with such pleasantries that his auditors will not get bored from listening; for when the auditors do not find anything pleasant in your moralizing words, they will be slightly tired: these pleasantries often cause the crowds to enjoy listening to a nice and moralizing play from beginning to end. [...] Therefore, the frailty of the human body overwhelms the mind, and when we do not see any change, we think it is torment having to listen to the same thing for a long time. Hence, we perceive that the delightful changes are necessary, yes, for without them, we experience that the public will not listen to moralizing matters, wherefore it is laudable when a sweet thing is blended with something bitter.³⁹

These last words about moralizing sweetness are obviously derived from Horace’s ‘*utile dulci*’ of which the Roman author speaks in his *Ars Poetica*. This idea of useful literature is arguably an intrinsic part of Dutch plays through the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴⁰ By contrast, it seems that Lope de Vega did not articulate a clear moralistic goal for the *comedia nueva*, and an initial reading of the *Arte Nuevo* can make one believe that Lope only wrote

³⁷ Rodenburgh 1619, 48.

³⁸ De Vega 2009, 32-33 and the Spanish original in De Vega 2003, ll. 246-248, 263-264:

Comience, pues, y con lenguaje casto
no gaste pensamientos ni conceptos
en las cosas domésticas, [...] No traya la escritura, ni el lenguaje
ofenda con vocablos exquisitos, [...]

³⁹ Rodenburgh 1619, 50-51; in Dutch it says:

Ten derden behoort den welsprekert met zodanighen wyze van zeggen 'tgeheoor te doorkruypen, dat de herten ghetreft werden, en beweghen door de zoet-dringende woorden de hertens middelpunt, en met zodanige aenghe-naemheydt, dat hun gheheoor 't aenhooren niet

verveelt; want zo de aenhoorders geen bevallickheyt en bevinden 'tgeen heughelycke sticht, licht werden zy vermoeoydt: 'twelck vaecke veroorzaeckt, dat de luyden gewillich van 'tbegin tot het eyndt een heuchelyck en stichtich toonneelspel hooren, [...] dies niet tegenstaende de brosheyt des vleeschs overwelmt het verstant, zo dat wy zonder veranderinge te hooren, quellyckheyt vinden te langhe van een zaeck te hooren spreken. Waer door wy bespreuen dat de heughelycke veranderinghen noodzaecklyck zyn, jae zonder zulcks te pleghen, dat na wichtighe zaecken vaecken niet ghehoort werden, dus is het pryslyck, yets zoets met het bitter te menghelen.

⁴⁰ See Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2013, 100, 217.

crowd-pleasing *comedias*. Understandably, Rodenburgh criticizes “some” poets – perhaps even including Lope de Vega – for their never-ending concessions to the audience. For, ‘it is true that some give in to strange ways regarding their plays, as long as the common auditor jubilates and laughs’.⁴¹ However, Rodenburgh thinks it is more laudable when the eyes are filled with tears from sad examples, and when the hearts are moved by moralizing acts, while one shies away from employing a way of speaking, which is better not repeated for its shameful character.⁴² It begs to differ whether Lope de Vega only invented the *comedia nueva* for it to become nothing more than a crowd-pleaser. Jonathan Thacker, therefore, writes in his discussion of the *Arte Nuevo* that Lope asks his audiences to relax and learn from his *comedias*.⁴³ It concerns the final statement made by Lope, which he utters after ten lines in Latin in general praise of the theatre: ‘Let one hear with attention, and dispute not of the art; for in comedy everything will be found of such sort that in listening to it everything becomes evident’.⁴⁴ Although Lope does not articulate a specific aim of the *comedia nueva*, he builds on a general understanding of the comedy as a representation of human customs and a living image of the truth. Implicitly, the *comedia nueva* endeavours to moralize its audiences by showing the immoralities of the *dramatis personae*.⁴⁵ In the Dutch Republic, Rodenburgh would promote this point of view as well in his *Borst-Weringh* and among his fellow playwrights.

1.2.3 More Delight: Polymetric Verse, Song and Intrigue

In some ways, Rodenburgh is less docile in his *Borst-Weringh* towards his Iberian example. For instance, Rodenburgh does not discuss other characteristics of the *comedia nueva*, such as the delights of polymetric verse and song.⁴⁶ However, Rodenburgh had discussed the subject of polymetric verse already in the introduction to his 1618 play *Melibea* (which itself is an adaptation of the 1499 prose novel *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea / La Celestina* attributed to Fernando de Rojas). In a sarcastic tone, he relates that he is not as artful in writing verses like others. Rodenburgh says that these other poets may have their heads suitably laurelled, wherefore they would be able to teach him the correct foot and meter of a well-sounding poem. Therefore, he ‘would happily curtsy (yes, as some student learning his ABC’s) to their wise,

⁴¹ Rodenburgh 1619, 189. The original Dutch reads:
 ’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.

⁴² Rodenburgh 1619, 189.

⁴³ Thacker 2008, 118.

⁴⁴ De Vega 2009, 38 and the Spanish original in De Vega 2003, ll. 387-389:

Oye atento, y del arte no disputes,
 que en la comedia se hallará modo
 que, oyéndola, se pueda saber todo.

⁴⁵ See De Vega 2003, ll. 123-125.

⁴⁶ See De Vega 2009, 34-35; Thacker 2008, 116-117.

judicious purifications and immensely wise ratio'. However, he says that his verses are at least a small experiment of his zealous eagerness.⁴⁷ The ironic tone Rodenburgh employs, proves that he is averse to any criticism regarding the quality of his plays on the basis of his "questionable" ability to write verses, which is also attested by Rodenburgh's use of 'Klercxken' (see the original text in footnote 47) who has to learn his ABC's. The diminutive suffixes in Dutch, including -ken in 'Klercxken', can be used to give a word a pejorative connotation. Additionally, he says as much by saying that in his time many had been reproaching things without it having any effect, for reproach is easy, but improvement is hard. He continues by saying that his verses have come forth from good will, hence, he expects the benefit of the doubt.⁴⁸ Yet, Rodenburgh's apologetic way of writing should be understood as a way of creating goodwill among his fellow playwrights. In fact, Lope de Vega's ideas on polymetric verse become apparent in Rodenburgh's words. Lope writes that '*décimas*⁴⁹ are good for complaining', while 'the sonnet is good for those who are waiting in expectation'. When one recites events, one should use romances (ballads), 'though they shine brilliantly in *octavas* [octaves]. *Tercets* are for grave affairs and *redondillas*⁵⁰ for affairs of love'.⁵¹ I will argue in chapter 3 that Rodenburgh used a variety of meter and rhyme in his plays as a result of Lope de Vega's influence on Rodenburgh. To which extend polymetric verse and especially the typical Spanish *décimas* and *redondillas* became part of the affective operations of the other Dutch adaptations of the *comedia nueva*, will be discussed in chapter 3 as well.

Related to the employment of polymetric verse is the use of song, which always denotes a variation in rhythm on the rest of the play, for which reason song always stands out. On the matter of song, Lope does not specifically write in the *Arte Nuevo*. This is not surprising, since music and song have been a coherent part of plays since its first conception in ancient Greece. This status had been unchanged throughout the centuries.⁵² Yet, research into the use of song in Lope's plays has shown that he customarily included two to four songs in his plays.⁵³ The

⁴⁷ Rodenburgh 1618, *2v. In Dutch it says:
is 't niet zo kunstich gherymt ghelijck anderen,
(wiens hoofden wel gelauriert moghen wezen, en
my, helaes, de rechte voet en maet van een wel-
klinckendt vaers vvel mochten leeren, dies ick
zeer graegh'lyck buyghe (jae als een A.B.C.
Klercxken) onder hun wijse, vroede gezifte, en
over-dubble wyze verstanden.) 't is te minsten
een gering proefken van een yverige wil, waer
over zeyt onzen treffelijcken Kunst-lievert
CORNELIS van CAMPEN zeer wel, *Elck doet
zyn best.*

⁴⁸ Rodenburgh 1618, *2v.

⁴⁹ Stanza of ten lines rhyming ABBA:ACCDDC; the colon marks an obligatory pause.

⁵⁰ 'A traditional octosyllabic form made up of quatrains rhyming ABBA'. See Thacker 2008, 117.

⁵¹ De Vega 2009, 34-35 and the Spanish original in De Vega 2003, ll. 307-312:

[...] las *décimas* son buenas para quejas;
el soneto está bien en los que aguardan;
las relaciones piden los romances,
aunque en *otavas* lucen por extremo;
son los *tercetos* para cosas graves,
y para las de amor, las *redondillas*;

⁵² Veldhorst 2004, 14-17.

⁵³ Umpierre 1975, 2.

use of song in his plays varied from the reference to contemporary events to the expression of a character’s emotions, feelings and desires to the creation of mood and atmosphere including fear, suspense and contrasts in moods.⁵⁴ Especially the relation between melancholy and music is important in Lope’s plays. Deriving his poetic ideas from Pythagoras, Plato and Plotinus in addition to Boethius and Polydor Virgil, Lope could use music to influence the four bodily humours, tuning the harmonious or inharmonious of the four humours determining a person’s health and temperament, generally called *La Musique Humaine (musica humana)*; something which was well-known by all poets and playwrights in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe.⁵⁵ Through this employment of song, Lope could remove the melancholy for a short period of time; however, often it meant an aggravation of the emotions, effectively affecting the audiences moving them to love, hate, dance, rejoice or something else entirely, which was better kept behind closed doors.⁵⁶ Rodenburgh’s use of song has been discussed by Van Marion and Vergeer in their article concerning his 1638 (1636) play *Vrou Iacoba*.⁵⁷ This original Dutch play will also be discussed in this Master Thesis in relation to the affective operations of song. Although songs in dramatic productions were not a specific Spanish phenomenon, it would still be profitable to discuss them in relation to the *comedia nueva*, for the Senecan-Scaligerian tradition still made use of the ancient chorus, which had a fixed place and a slightly different dramatic function in plays (on which I will expand when discussing the Senecan-Scaligerian poetics).

Apart from song and polymetric verse, the *comedia nueva* establishes affects by the means of intrigue. Lope specifically propagates an obscurization of the plot until the very last moment, ‘for in what appears nothing more is to be known’.⁵⁸ A playwright should, thus, ‘always trick expectancy; and hence it may come to pass that something quite far from what is promised may be left to the understanding’.⁵⁹ As such, the subjects in which honour has a part are better still, ‘since they deeply stir everybody; along with them go virtuous deeds, for virtue is everywhere loved’.⁶⁰ Related to intrigue, is the act of disguise and cross-dressing. Lope writes on this matter

⁵⁴ Umpierre 1975. Umpierre discusses around a 100 plays, which he has categorized according to their dramatic function. It goes too far to list here every dramatic function of songs in Lope’s plays. The above mentioned uses correspond more or less with the Dutch practice; cf. Veldhorst 2004.

⁵⁵ See i.e. Moser 2001, 109-114.

⁵⁶ Umpierre 1975, 25-26 and Veldhorst 2004, 24.

⁵⁷ Van Marion and Vergeer 2014.

⁵⁸ De Vega 2009, 32; and the Spanish original in De Vega 2003, ll. 233-238:

[...] 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.

⁵⁹ De Vega 2009, 34 and the Spanish original in De Vega 2003, ll. 302-304:

[...] engañe siempre el gusto y, donde vea
 que se deja entender alguna cosa,
 dé muy lejos de aquello que promete.

⁶⁰ De Vega 2009, 35 and for the Spanish original, see De Vega 2003, ll. 326-329:

Los casos de la honra son mejores,

that ladies should not disregard their character, ‘and if they change costumes, let it be in such wise that it may be excused; for male disguise usually is very pleasing’.⁶¹

Although acts of disguise or cross-dressing are not discussed by him, the specialist of Rodenburgh’s oeuvre Wouter Abrahamse shows how Rodenburgh kept the acts of disguise and cross-dressing in the three adapted Lope-plays intact and expanded them, denoting his fondness of the practice.⁶² My discussion of the influence of the *Arte Nuevo* on Rodenburgh’s *Borst-Weringh* should demonstrate how the poetic ideas of Lope de Vega were transferred to the Dutch Republic in the early 1600s. Thence, Lope’s poetics got a foothold in the Dutch literary circles, influencing the playwrights in the following decades giving opportunity to other playwrights to adapt the *comedias* written by Lope de Vega. In addition, whether a play was adapted, likely depended on accessibility to the plays by the means of the first two parts of Lope’s collected works (*partes*), printed in Antwerp in 1607 and 1611.⁶³

1.3 Senecan-Scaligerian Playwriting

While Lope de Vega had to defend himself against the *Academia de Madrid* by writing the *Arte Nuevo*, Rodenburgh was also criticized for introducing Lope’s liberating poetics in the Dutch Republic. In 1617 several members of *De Eglentier*, amongst whom Coster, Hooft and Bredero, parted ways with the old community to start a new institution: the *Nederduytsche Academie*. Arguments between the members of *De Eglentier* had risen regarding the pedagogic purpose of theatre, which in essence everyone agreed upon. However, Coster cum sui wanted to invigorate the pedagogic aspects of their plays resulting in the establishment of the *Nederduytsche Academie*.⁶⁴ The Academicians promoted a “modern” approach to playwriting based on Aristotelian principles, while still reverting to the Senecan tradition containing many elements of horror.⁶⁵ By leaving *De Eglentier* the differences were, however, not resolved; instead now Coster and Bredero began attacking Rodenburgh and *De Eglentier* in their writing.

porque mueven con fuerza a toda gente;
con ellos las acciones virtuosas,
que la virtud es dondequiera amada,

⁶¹ De Vega 2009, 34 and for the Spanish original, see De Vega 2003, ll. 280-283:

Las damas no desdigan de su nombre,
y, si mudaren traje, sea de modo
que pueda perdonarse, porque suele
el disfraz varonil agrandar mucho.

⁶² Abrahamse 1997, 92.

⁶³ It concerns the first two parts of Lope’s collected works: *Las comedias del famoso poeta Lope de Vega*

Carpio (1607) printed by Martinus Nucius in Antwerp and *Segvnda parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio* (1611) printed by Andreas Bacx also in Antwerp. Both collections of texts contain the original *comedias* written by Lope de Vega in its original language, Spanish. See for more information the database of the Short Title Catalogue Vlaanderen (STCV).

⁶⁴ Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2013, 235.

⁶⁵ Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2013, 240.

1.3.1 Literary Aggression

In the introduction of *Griane* (1616), Bredero had already criticized Rodenburgh for ignoring the rules of *decorum*, which state that a character should speak according to his being. Rodenburgh had let his characters in *Keyser Otto den derden, en Galdrada* (1616) disclose astronomical and other academic knowledge. Bredero calls Rodenburgh ironically a ‘well-balanced man-god’, after which he condemns the practice of letting lowborn characters philosophize on matters of astronomy.⁶⁶ The real disapproval of Rodenburgh’s poetics as described in his *Borst-Weringh* has been, however, articulated by Coster in his 1619 play *Isabella* in the same year Rodenburgh had published his *Borst-Weringh*. Coster who had been strictly following the classical poetics, believed that ‘he, who follows the ancients, understands that a play is good, when it represents one place, and when it plays out at one time, for he who does not abide by these rules, blunders greatly’.⁶⁷ As such, Coster criticizes Rodenburgh and by extension also Lope de Vega. Coster continues to say that one should read Aristotle, Horace, Scaliger and Heinsius, since they were excellent men, who described the art of playwriting. According to Coster, the educated auditor loathes “rags”, which have to pass for plays. The audience appreciates, however, verses on which a poet has been working for months rather than a play, which has been written in a matter of hours, for it would contain many misspellings, typographical errors and errors in meter and rhyme. Since Lope de Vega was well known to write his *comedias* in a few hours, one could imagine that Coster was explicitly despising the *comedia nueva* and Rodenburgh’s adaptations:

He, who wants to know why one should abide by the rules, should read *Aristotle, Horace, Scaliger, Daniel Heinsius* – excellent and wise men educated in many sciences – who thought it was worthwhile to earnestly finish their work and to describe what should be witnessed while writing a tragedy: although the ignorant act out of ignorance, and although the ones who mistakably have a high opinion of themselves neglect the rules out of disparagement, the fixed rules nevertheless add lustre to the poems in the eyes of the educated audiences; for which reason they turn their heads away from our present-day rags. They esteem a good verse, which has been meditated upon for a full month, rather than a thousand verses of knick-knacks, which have been composed in a

⁶⁶ Bredero 1616, *5v; see also Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2013, 240.

⁶⁷ Coster 1619, *2r.; in Dutch it says:

[...] hy, de ouden volgende, verstaat dat het vvel is, dat is, dat het speelt op een Toneel, en op een tijdt, vvant die dat niet en doet, begaat [een] grooten misslach [...]

matter of hours containing many misspellings, typographical errors and errors in meter and rhyme. Even if the complete *Oceanus Iuris* were to consist of blank paper, it would not be enough to comprehend all mistakes and their rectifications.⁶⁸

Coster has obviously targeted Rodenburgh with these words. He tries to ensure that the competition is discredited for its liberating poetics. It seems that Coster and his allies were opposed to a style of playwriting, which lacked “art and order”, wherefore they would have disliked the *comedia nueva* altogether. Coster’s and Bredero’s criticism have made the differences between the native Senecan-Scaligerian and the *comedia nueva* obvious: since the *comedia nueva* knows no specific structure, a playwright has endless possibilities to delight his audience always surprising it, always fascinating and, thus, affecting it through its unexpected changes. The Senecan-Scaligerian plays follow, however, a stricter poetics condemning experimentation with the three-unities and a variety of meter and rhyme among other things. For this reason, the question becomes in which ways the Senecan-Scaligerian playwrights, such as Coster and Hooft, tried to fascinate the audiences and how their plays established affects.

1.3.2 In the Spirit of Scaliger: Literary Theory on Playwriting

In contrast to the *comedia nueva*, the affective operations of Senecan-Scaligerian playwriting come forth from another dramatic structure. While the *comedia nueva* uses a longer time span and a variety of places in addition to a tragicomic structure, polymetric verse and intrigue, Senecan-Scaligerian playwriting employs a variety of shocking dramatic resources to establish affects, which I will now discuss. Since playwrights such as Coster, Hooft and Bredero were set on strictly abiding by the rules of the unities of time, place and action, and condemned the use of polymetric verse, we should expect the affective operations of their playwriting to originate somewhere else.

⁶⁸ Coster 1619, *2r-3r.; in Dutch it says:

Die vveten vvil vvaarom dat op alle dese dinghen vvel te letten is, die lese *Aristotelem*, *Horatium*, *Schaligerem*, *Danielem Heynsium*, voortreffelicke mannen in vvijsheyt en in allerley vvetenschappen, die ’t de moeyten vvaardt ghedocht heeft vvel ernstlick haar vverck daar af te maken, om te beschryven vvat in ’t toestellen van Treurspelen vvaargenomen moet vvorden; alhoevvel het de onvvetende vvt onvvetenheyt, ende de overdvvaalsche laatdunckende vvt kleenachtige versuymen, zo geven nochtans die hare vaste regelen sulcken

glans an de gedichten in de ogen der vvetenden aanschouveren, datse vvalgende het hoofd ommekeeren van onse hedendaachsche vvdoden; veel vvaarder achten een goet vaars daar een geheele maant over gebloet is, als sommige duysenden van beuselinghen in vveynich uren by den anderen gekrabbelt, die zo vol letter falen, boeckstaaf falen, en koppel falen zijn, dat, al vvas het geheele *Oceanus Iuris* vvit papier, zo soudet noch niet ghenoech zijn om alle de misslagen met hare ontvverringhen te begapen.

From the early 1600s, the influence of Julius Caesar Scaliger’s poetics was immense due to Joseph Justus Scaliger’s inexhaustible propagation of his father’s poetics among the Dutch (including the reprinting of his father’s oeuvre in 1581). He influenced his students at Leiden (where he was professor from 1593 until his death in 1609), such as Hooft and Coster, through who’s playwriting Scaliger’s poetics stretched beyond the walls of the university into the Amsterdam literary milieu.⁶⁹ An important part of Scaliger’s poetics is the understanding that tragedy ‘completely consists of a fearful atmosphere: fear, threats, exile and death make up a tragedy’.⁷⁰ The matter of tragedy is exalted and is cause for fright. ‘Tragedy deals with kings’ orders, massacres, despair, hanging, exile, orphanhood, familicide, incest, conflagrations, fighting, blinding, weeping, crying, lamentations, funerals, eulogies and dirges’.⁷¹ It shows the influence of Senecan tragedy on Scaliger’s poetics; conveniently Senecan tragedy was popular in Europe and in the Dutch Republic as well. In a way, Senecan-Scaligerian playwriting is equivalent to the modern horror movie or the Hollywood blockbuster. Whether the Senecan atrocities were to be presented to an audience is left in the middle by Scaliger.⁷²

Yet, we know that the tableau vivant was a popular dramatic resource, which could exemplify and amplify the atrocities presented to the audiences.⁷³ A tableau vivant is a moment frozen in time. The action has been suspended, the future is postponed, and the audience is confronted with a breath-taking moment. The atrocities presented in tableaux vivants might not happen at all. The still moment raises the impossible question, whether the act will actually take place. For a short moment in time, the possibility exists that a character decides not to murder, rape or sacrifice, wherefore the auditor is fascinated.⁷⁴ Often a tableau vivant is part of a greater collective of dramatic action, which is presented by the means of a pantomime: the audience witnesses a horrific scene containing fighting, rape, murder, sacrifice, after which the action has been suspended; *Gysbreght van Aemstel* (1637) is a good example of this practice.⁷⁵ Presenting a suspended tableau vivant to begin with is another possibility. In the latter, the action comes after the staging of a tableau vivant: the tableau vivant is transformed into a pantomime. In either case the horrific act is always postponed, but every audience will know that the act will eventually happen. If the pantomime comes in advance of the tableau vivant,

⁶⁹ Smits-Veldt 1991, 52.

⁷⁰ See Scaliger 1994, 1.6 (131) and Scaliger 1607, 1.6 (25):

Tota facies anxia, metus, minae, exsilia, mortes.

⁷¹ See Scaliger 1995, 3.96 (24) and Scaliger 1607, 3.96 (333):

Res tragicae grandes, atroces, iussa regum, caedes, desperationes, suspendia, exilia, orbita-

tes, parricidia, incestus, incendia, pugnae, occaecationes, fletus, vlulatus, conquestiones, funera, epitaphia, epicedia.

⁷² Smits-Veldt 1991, 53.

⁷³ See i.e. Van Marion and Vergeer 2015; Vergeer 2015; Korsten 2010.

⁷⁴ Korsten 2010, 19-20, 25, 27, 35-36.

⁷⁵ See Vergeer 2015; Van Marion and Vergeer 2015.

the act is often not completed. This practice builds suspension and can be quite entertaining and shocking, for when the audience learns from a messenger in the next act the completion of the suspended action in the tableau vivant, the affects will be transferred with a delay, but also with extra force. However, the transformation of a tableau vivant into a pantomime can be extremely affective as well, when the figures start moving again quite unexpectedly. In this light, theatre scholar Willem M.H. Hummelen was the first to point out that a tableau vivant is often the moment of culmination in a play or can lead to it.⁷⁶

In Scaliger's poetics, however, those atrocities had a clear function. Like Horace, Scaliger promoted an ethical reflection in plays, which had to teach the audiences the correct social behaviour. By the representation of *actiones* (actions), the author had to give insight into the moral quality of human emotions, for then the auditor would internalize the right emotions, while he learned to shy away from the wrong ones. The resources, which playwrights could use to this aim, were the representation of virtue and vice in the behaviour of the protagonists (*exempla*) leading to the reward for good behaviour and punishment for pernicious behaviour (the so-called poetic justice), and the explicit instruction by the means of the chorus (in Dutch plays generally called a *rei*) and *sententiae* – called the corner stones of tragedy by Scaliger. Additionally, the multitude of lamentations in Renaissance tragedy contributed to Scaliger's ethical reflection, for the audience could learn from this the precariousness of fate and the right steadfast attitude towards it: one was meant to ponder on it, not weep about it.⁷⁷

The chorus had especially the function to comfort, mourn, admonish and predict; in short the chorus had a normative and affective function.⁷⁸ These functions were in the case of Dutch drama adapted and transformed to have six different functions, of which Golden Age scholar Lia van Gemert characterizes four relevant functions for the establishment of affects: abstract moralization, meditation on motives indirectly related to the plot, establishment of atmosphere and finally forecasting events yet to pass.⁷⁹ Another important part of Scaliger's poetics related to the chorus is the prologue, which is used to either relate the contents, frame the tragic action in a certain way or to let a character defend himself and win the auditor over.⁸⁰

The horrific acts on stage (mostly presented in tableaux vivants) had to lead to a correct handling of the evoked emotions. In this regard, the humanist Daniel Heinsius had called the theatre a training school of our emotions, which he discusses in his tractate on tragedy: *De*

⁷⁶ Hummelen 1992, 212.

⁷⁷ See Smits-Veldt 1991, 54; Scaliger 2003, 7.1.3 (499-501) and Scaliger 1607, 7.1.3 (831-832).

⁷⁸ See Van Gemert 1990, 57; Scaliger 1994, 1.9 (161-167) and Scaliger 1607, 1.9 (35-37).

⁷⁹ Van Gemert 1990, 59-94.

⁸⁰ Scaliger 1994, 1.9 (155-157) and Scaliger 1607, 1.9 (33-34).

Tragoediae Constitutione (1611). Heinsius, who had also been a student of Scaliger jr. and a fellow student of Hooft and Coster, argues that he ‘who regularly watches things which cause fear, is himself less fearful, like it is appropriate’.⁸¹ He continues, therefore, that theatre should be used in the same way: it is a training school of our emotions, which evokes intense feeling in a controlled situation not merely because emotions are useful in life, but because they are indispensable. Though, they should only be allowed in moderation.⁸²

The things concerning the tragic plot apply to the comic as well, says Scaliger. Both tragedy and comedy consist of examples of human life, but they differ from each other in merely three ways: ‘through the social status of the characters, the nature of fate and intrigue and through the end of the plots, wherefore they also necessarily differ in style’.⁸³ In effect, Smits-Veldt has demonstrated that to the Dutch comedies something similar applies as to Dutch tragedies.⁸⁴ Though, Scaliger had meant by *comedies* those plays, which reach back to the works by Terence and Plautus, who he lauds and discusses extensively in his *Poetices Libri Septem*.⁸⁵ Yet, the subject matter of the comedy consists of ‘wit, nightly walks, marriages, carousal, deceitful slaves, drunkenness and deceived old men, who’s money has been extorted from them’.⁸⁶ Furthermore, Scaliger differentiates tragedy from comedy by saying that the former derives its matter and characters from history, whereas the latter devises its matter from the mere creativity of the mind, but also from other works and examples from our daily life.⁸⁷ Van Stipriaan adds that the division of matter in five acts and the application of the three-unities of time, place and action are typical characteristics of the classical comedy. The plot development should be a series of alarming intricacies, which eventually have to lead to a happy dénouement.⁸⁸ Furthermore, classical comedy had included also a prologue and choruses. In line with this, the prologue and the chorus are not exclusive to tragedy in Scaliger’s poetics, but the Dutch

⁸¹ Heinsius 1611, 12-13. See also the modern French edition of Heinsius’ *De Tragoediae Constitutione*: Heinsius 2001, 126. For an English translation of the text, see Heinsius 1971, 12. For a full analysis of Heinsius *De Tragoediae Constitutione*, see Meter 1932.

⁸² Heinsius 1611, 12-13; in Latin it says:

Ita qui miserias frequenter spectat, miseratur, & quidem vt oportet. Qui frequenter ea quae horrorem mouent, intuetur; minus tandem horret, & vt decet. Talia autem in theatro exhibentur. quod affectuum humanorum quaedam quasi est palaestra. Qui cum non modo vitales in vita, verum etiam sint necessarii, ibi praeparari oportet, & absolve.

⁸³ Scaliger 1994, 1.6 (129-131) and Scaliger 1607, 1.6 (25):

Tragoedia, sicut & comoedia in exemplis humanae vitae conformata, tribus ab illa differt, Personarum condicione fortunarum negotiorumque qualitate, exitu, quare stilo quoque differat necesse est.

⁸⁴ Smits-Veldt 1991, 66-67.

⁸⁵ Scaliger 1995, 3.96 (47).

⁸⁶ Scaliger 1995, 3.96 (25) and Scaliger 1607, 3.96 (333):

In Comoedia, lusus, comessationes, nuptiae, repotia, servorum astus, ebrietates, senes decepti, emuncti argento.

⁸⁷ Scaliger 1995, 3.96 (47-49).

⁸⁸ Van Stipriaan 1996, 56-57.

seventeenth-century comedies do not utilize these theatre resources. In other respects, the Dutch comic genres are hard to differentiate from each other, and comedies and farces incorporate elements from the other genre. Van Stipriaan even suggests that the seventeenth-century playwrights did not draw a clear-defined line between the classical genre and the unregulated farce, and maybe they did not experience clear-cut differences between the two comic genres at all.⁸⁹ We can witness this, for instance, in Coster's *Teeuwis de Boer* (1627), which includes five acts, but the title page denotes the play as a *Boere-Klucht* (a Farmer's Farce).⁹⁰

While the tragedies establish affects through the representation of atrocities and the reflection on these atrocities, I will argue that Dutch comedy establishes affects through the so-called *mirror effect*. Through confrontation with one's own behaviour one is affected and, thus, the auditor internalizes the right emotions and behaviour, while he shies away from pernicious behaviour.⁹¹ As I will discuss in the next chapter, affects are also evoked through the intrigue of disguise and cross-dressing, of which Bredero's *Moortje* is one good example.

All in all, playwriting of the seventeenth century was in several respects inspired by Senecan traditions and Scaligerian poetics. The Dutch playwrights of the *Nederduytsche Academie* clearly reacted against the introduction of the *comedia nueva* by Rodenburgh. Instead, writers like Coster, Hooft and Bredero followed in the footsteps of Scaliger and wrote plays, which adhered to classical principles, representing atrocious acts in their tragedies and examples taken from daily life in their comedies. That way their playwriting was truly in the spirit of Scaliger.

1.4 Spectacle and the Audience: Jan Vos' Introduction to *Medea*

In 1649, Jan Vos was made chair of the board of directors of the Amsterdam Public Theatre. As a playwright, he had enjoyed a lot of success with his adaptation of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* (1623), entitled *Aran en Titus* (1641). The play was gruesome in every way and Vos did not shy away from breaking with the classical instructions, while in the process appealing to popular taste. Under his guidance, the *comedia nueva* would ever rise in popularity, while he began to include tableaux vivants in many of the Senecan-Scaligerian plays. Vos advocated a kind of playwriting, which appealed to the masses, like Lope de Vega's *comedias* did. Although I do not think that Vos has been directly influenced by Lope, their aim to instil

⁸⁹ Van Stipriaan 1996, 56.

⁹⁰ See Coster 1627 and Grootes 1999, 379: Grootes explains that Coster was among the first to experiment with a more classical form of the comic

genres. The designation of the play as a *Boere-Klucht* is in part deceiving, since the *dramatis personae* are more complex than in farces.

⁹¹ See also Van Stipriaan 1996, 171-174.

enjoyment in their audiences shows some striking parallels. For this reason, the *comedia nueva* was enthusiastically accepted by Vos and his fellow board members. With the appointment of Vos as theatre director, the second and grand phase of the transfer of Spanish dramatic culture starts.

While classical poetics, and especially Horace, condemned the representation of atrocities on stage and while Scaliger was indecisive whether atrocities could be shown on stage, Jan Vos had a clearer idea on the matter. As a stubborn artist, Vos explains in his introduction to *Medea* (1667) that he does not wish to follow Horace’s law regarding the representation of atrocities: ‘for I believe that the mimetic homicide (when violently represented) can move the tempers of the people by seeing it’.⁹² Vos 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’ and by watching Coster’s *Polyxena* (1619) the auditor ‘wept no less than the amount of artificial blood he saw running down the stage’, wherefore Vos says that the common saying is ‘het zien gaat voor ’t zeggen’ (in English: ‘the visual comes before the phrase’).⁹³ Nowadays, we would say: show, don’t tell.

Considering whether a play should consist of three, four or five acts, Vos explains that he thinks five is best; not because Horace says so, but because the Dutch plays are generally full of such amounts of confusion that the auditor, weary from listening and watching, has the opportunity and the time to imprint the things he has witnessed. This prevents him from forgetting. Yet, he lauds the Spaniards for being ingenious playwrights, who divide their plays in three acts and sinned against most laws of playwriting.⁹⁴ Unsurprisingly, Vos does not think that the classical Greek and Latin poets are authoritative unless they are right. Regarding Aristotle, Vos says that his philosophy and his poetics are in many ways outdated. Therefore, he quotes a Roman phrase, which says that he who is in Rome, should conform to Roman customs; he who is elsewhere, should conform to the customs of the place where one finds oneself. It legitimates the adaptation of theatre customs accommodating them to the Dutch nature, since the Dutch are different from the Romans and also from the Spaniards.⁹⁵

Vos says that while plays primarily serve to delight the dim minds through honest amusement and secondly to moralize the audience, one should adapt the plays to conform to

⁹² Vos 1667, *2v.-*3r.; in Dutch it says:

[...] want ik geloof dat de naagebootse menschemoordt, alsze stark uitgebeeldt wordt, de gemoederen van het volk door het zien kan beweegen.

⁹³ Vos 1667, *3r.; the original reads:

[...] 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.

⁹⁴ Vos 1667, *3r.-v.

⁹⁵ Vos 1667, *4r.

the customs of the people who are watching the plays: ‘he who wants to keep the people coming to the Public Theatre, has to bind their eyes to the stage by the means of appropriate and enchanting strings’.⁹⁶ Similarly, Vos challenges the belief that a play should take place at one time and in one place.⁹⁷ Since Vos thinks of himself as a contemporary playwright, he has adapted his plays so they conform to the wishes of the general public presenting it with something new, for it always desires change.⁹⁸ The introduction to Vos’ *Medea* shows striking similarities with Lope’s *Arte Nuevo* regarding its views on playwriting according to popular taste, for which reason Vos and Lope may be considered to be playwrights having converging dramatic principles (although it is unlikely that Lope has directly influenced Vos, since Vos was also a promoter of Shakespearian theatre). Vos’ words explain why he fervently included many tableaux vivants in plays of playwrights such as Vondel.⁹⁹ Simultaneously, Vos’ cousin Isaak Vos had also adhered to the dramatic principles laid out by his cousin. In the dedication to his *Beklaaglycke Dwangh* (1648), Isaak Vos had written that the auditor would see a play, which will likely please him, for the reason that the original author (of course Lope de Vega) conformed the play to the taste of his time rather than to the dramatic laws of playwriting. Isaak Vos thinks this was in his time more important than ever, since the eyes and the ears both want to have a part in witnessing the actions of a play, while attending a performance in theatre.¹⁰⁰ These words show the interchangeable ideas of both cousins on playwriting and above described developments in Amsterdam in the 1640s and 1650s can give a possible explanation for the rising popularity of the *comedia nueva* and for the ever increasing amount of stagings during 1649-72.¹⁰¹

1.5 Sub-Conclusion on Iberian and Dutch Poetics

In this chapter, I have been discussing a variety of aspects concerning the dramatic structures of the *comedia nueva* and Senecan-Scaligerian playwriting. While *woelingen* are often expressed through song, polymetric verse or a tableau vivant (to name three examples, which

⁹⁶ Vos 1667, *4r.; in Dutch it says:

Wie het volk in de Schouwburg wil houden,
moet hun oogen met de koorden van gevoege-
lijke bekoorelijkheden aan het Tooneel binden.

⁹⁷ Vos 1667, *4r.-v.

⁹⁸ Vos 1667, **2r.

⁹⁹ See i.e. Smits-Veldt 1995, 210-218.

¹⁰⁰ Vos 1707, A2v.; in Dutch:

[...] zo ik my niet bedriege, zal het u behaagen;
te meer, alzo de maker meêr gezien heeft na de

tyd, daar in hy leefde, als wel op de oude
Tooneelspeelen, voor de tegenwoordige tyd, te
letten op de voorledenen; nu het oog, neffens de
ooren, wil aandeel hebben in het geen haar
vertoond werd’.

¹⁰¹ See the ONSTAGE-database, which under the tab *analysis* gives an overview of the stagings of Spanish plays and their popularity through the decades.

have been discussed in this chapter), it seems unlikely that one of these dramatic elements establishes affects by itself: the dramatic structure is a means to an end. It is hard and almost impossible to determine, which aspects of a play would fascinate an audience without analysing distinct plays. Yet, the Renaissance theory has shown that the affective operations of seventeenth-century playwriting (both the *comedia nueva* and Senecan-Scaligerian drama) in the Dutch Republic might best be characterized by the contemporary typology of *woelen*. Playwrights had a great variety of resources from which they could choose, to establish affects and to instil emotions in the audience, as it has been described by the Renaissance theory. The aim of the next chapters is to look into the implementation of these theories by Dutch playwrights through the analysis of the corpus.

CHAPTER TWO

‘One Part Grave, the Other Ridiculous’

*Macrostructure:
The Build-Up of Acts, the Three-Unities,
the Tragicomic & Intrigue*

Lope had advised aspiring playwrights to always divide the matter of a play into three acts:¹ ‘in the first act set forth the case. In the second weave together the events, in such wise that until the middle of the third act one may hardly guess the outcome’.² Often these acts were called *jornadas* (days). Rodenburgh, who translated directly from Spanish, had followed Lope in some cases, but more often he had expanded the matter to such extents that he included an extra act, wherefore his plays totalled four acts.³ In *Jalourse Studentin* (1617),⁴ Rodenburgh had left the original three acts intact; however, he had added an extra act to *Casandra en Karel* (1617) and *Celia en Prospero* (1617).⁵ His original Dutch play *Vrou Iacoba* (1636/38) was likewise divided into four acts.⁶ Similarly, all other playwrights had accustomed Lope’s *comedias* to the Dutch tradition by dividing the matter into five acts. In this context, it is interesting that Jan Vos had said that the Dutch plays are generally full of such amounts of confusion that the auditor, weary from listening and watching, needed the time to imprint the things he had witnessed. This would prevent him from forgetting. Vos had still lauded the Spaniards (whom he knew to divide their *comedias* in three acts); and yet, he had argued that the Dutch mind set urged every playwright to divide their plays into five acts.⁷

This process of local colouring and *verdietsing* raises the question how the structural decision between three or five acts influenced the affective operations of a play and how an audience who attended a three-act play or one consisting of five acts, was affected. Nevertheless, the *affective division of matter* is just one of the examples, I will discuss in this chapter and the next. Through a discussion of the transfer processes, I will specifically elaborate in this chapter on the adaptations of the *comedia nueva* with regards to its macrostructure. I will

¹ De Vega 2009, 31.

² De Vega 2009, 34; and the Spanish original in De Vega 2003, ll. 298-301:

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;

³ See Abrahamse 1997, 91-92.

⁴ See Rodenburgh 1617c.

⁵ See Rodenburgh 1617a and Rodenburgh 1617b.

⁶ See Rodenburgh (1636) 1638.

⁷ Vos 1667, *3r.-v.

compare these adaptations to the Dutch literary tradition as practiced in Senecan-Scaligerian playwriting. As such, I will pass a variety of subjects in review, amongst which of course the affective division of matter – including the prologue – but also the three-unities of time, place and action, the tragicomic and the acts of deception and intrigue (and as such, also dressing-up and disguise). By first discussing the macrostructure of the *comedia nueva* and the Senecan-Scaligerian drama, I will be able to create a framework, which I can use to fit several theatre resources into. I will discuss these theatre resources in the next chapter, however. This chapter revolves, therefore, around the question how the affective operations of the *comedia nueva* and Senecan-Scaligerian drama are influenced by their macrostructures.

2.1 The Affective Division of Matter

2.1.1 Three, Four, or Five Acts?

At first sight, it seems that the number of acts is of no significance when reconstructing the affective operations of both the Dutch *comedias* and the Senecan-Scaligerian plays. Earlier in this Master Thesis, I have mentioned that Jan Vos had advocated the use of five acts for the simple reason that – according to him – the Dutch plays were generally full of confusion. The auditor, weary from listening and watching, would be helped if he had the opportunity and the time to imprint the things he had been witnessing. Likewise, Scaliger had also promoted a classical division of the comedy and tragedy into four parts (*partes*): the *protasis* (or exposition of the facts), the *epitasis* (the elaboration of increasing conflict), *catastasis* (the culmination of the tragic action), *catastrophe* (the moment of complete despair) and the additional fifth act (the dissolution or reconciliation).⁸ It seems that in Scaliger's poetics, the comedy and tragedy follow a pattern along the same established lines. As such, all Dutch playwrights had divided the plays into five acts, of which Hooft's *Baeto* (1617/1626) and *Geeraerd van Velsen* (1613) or Vondel's *Gysbreght van Aemstel* (1637) are exceptional examples. Consequently, the adaptors of Lope's *comedias* accustomed the plays to the Dutch tradition, which was also justified according to Jan Vos. As a result, the *comedias* became seemingly slower paced than Lope had intended and, therefore, this division influenced the vibrant, quick paced and sudden establishment of affects in the *comedia nueva*, of which the auditor had little time to recover.

⁸ See Scaliger 1994, 1.9 (153) and Scaliger 1607, 1.9 (33).

We can witness the consequences of this change, when comparing Rodenburgh’s tree-act play *Jalourse Studentin* and Germez’ five-act play *Vervolgde Laura* (1645): in *Jalourse Studentin*, which takes place in the student milieu of Leiden, the *protasis* consists of a mere one scene. The burgher’s daughter Juliana and the student Cardenio are in love. However, another student, Valerio, loves Juliana as well. We learn that we are dealing with a love intrigue which evolves around the question of jealousy. The *protasis* moves subtly over in the *epitasis*: Juliana knows how to seduce two men simultaneously; both are jealous of the other and every time Juliana opens the scene with an apostrophe of her lover followed by the words: ‘zijt ghy’t?’⁹ Valerio and Cardenio appear at her bed room window two times in the middle of the night, proclaiming their love for Juliana, while they are suspicious of the other lover’s behaviour. Meanwhile, Cardenio has witnessed Valerio coming to Juliana’s window and he comes to the conclusion that Juliana is a trickster, wherefore he has lost nothing more than the love of a ‘lichte vrouw’ (a whore).¹⁰ After this, another love intrigue is added to the action between Celia, Vireno and Marcio with a similar intrigue, and Cardenio has also decided to pursue Celia’s love. The second act is, in the spirit of Lope, a continuation of the *epitasis* and also the *catastasis*. The audience witnesses Valerio tearing apart a painting. This is of course an act symbolizing his torn heart. In the act, he defiles the painting by tearing it apart, which also symbolizes his anger towards and jealousy of other men pursuing Juliana’s love. This very act of tearing up a painting is affective, since it is uncommon to do something like this. The audience is shocked and fascinated by Valerio’s behaviour. Subsequently, the audience is witness to the revelation by a man named Leonardo who is claiming that he has fathered a child by Celia. He entrusts the student Fabricio – who had been travelling and enters stage out of nothingness – to tell Cardenio that he cannot marry Celia for this reason. At the end of the second act, Cardenio, thus, considers suicide; for a moment the audience is left in the dark what is going to happen, which in itself is very affective. The beginning of the third act revolves around the deception of disguise and dressing-up to spy on one another: the *catastrophe*. Celia learns of Leonardo’s lies and decides to confront Fabricio about this in The Hague. Celia who is dressed as a male, holds a rapier in her hands and Fabricio as well. The reconciliation happens through the extrication of all and their proclamation of love for their respected lovers, for their cross-dressing and acts of disguise had made them honest men and women.¹¹

Germez’ *Vervolgde Laura* follows a different pattern. This play consists of a love intrigue as well, but through its detour via France the play had already been divided into five acts by the

⁹ Rodenburgh 1617c, A4v.; ‘is it you, my dear?’

¹⁰ Rodenburgh 1617c, B3v.

¹¹ See Rodenburgh 1617c.

French playwright Jean Rotrou, who adapted *Laura Perseguida* as *Laure Persécutée*.¹² The overall action in the Dutch adaptation concerns the love of Orantee, Prince of Hungary, for Laura, a simple inhabitant of the city. Orantee is put in jail by his father, the King of Hungary. Meanwhile, Laura escapes the King through the deception of disguise. Orantee breaks free from jail and meets with Laura; the King finds and confronts them. He reveals Laura's true nature: she is a whore and an unsuitable spouse for a prince. The affective operations of this revelation are enormous: it is unthinkable that a prince falls in love with a prostitute. The play sins against all laws of *decorum*. The intrigue becomes a thrilling rupture of the normal order.¹³ Orantee is to marry the Infante of Poland. With this revelation the *protasis* and the first act effectively end. In the second act, the *epitasis*, Octave, a nobleman of Orantee closes a deal with the King to make Orantee marry the Princess (Infante) of Poland. His reward will be Laura's hand in marriage, with whom Orantee is in love as well. Laura moves the King by telling him of her rape by a Turkish man, who has fled overseas. The *catastasis* and third act revolve around the lie by Laura's lady-in-waiting, Lidia, who tells Orantee that Laura has been unfaithful. Octave was the one with whom Laura committed adultery, according to her. Now, Orantee begins calling Laura a whore himself. In the fourth and fifth act, the audience can witness the *catastrophe*. Laura knows a lot of sorrow and does not want to speak to Orantee. He sends his servant, Octave, away and tricks Laura into thinking that he is his servant. It becomes clear that Octave has betrayed Orantee. Furiously, he decides to confront Octave. In the last part of the fifth act, the Infante, Porcia, has arrived at court and reveals through a letter of her mother and kept by Laura's male nurse ('voedsterheer'), Klidamas, that Porcia and Laura are in fact sisters. This means that Laura is a princess of Poland and may marry Orantee. The rupture of the normal order has been restored and everyone is reconciled.¹⁴

This division in five acts means more breaks between the action (in French these breaks are generally called *entractes*) and means that the audience has more opportunity to imprint the distinct events, as Jan Vos had always wanted: the breaks as the result of the transition of acts, following on the shocking events in the play (such as the revelation of the King that Laura is a prostitute) result in a terse experience and are extremely felt by the audience; this is the first way in which plays can be affective. The above described practice might be compared to the modern cliff hanger, which connects episodes of popular TV series, while leaving audiences with questions for a whole more week. This practice also adds to the increase of tension and it builds suspense.¹⁵ The result is a play which for a few minutes readdresses the attention of the

¹² See Birkemeier 2007, 173-198.

¹³ See Jansen 2001, 225-228.

¹⁴ See Germez 1645.

¹⁵ See i.e. Van Boven and Dorleijn 2010, 260-266.

audience before a new scene starts. As such, the audience becomes invested again with the plot and is mentally challenged to imprint the actions. Such a transformation of one structure to another can already be found in Rotrou’s work. Rotrou uses as much as possible the *entractes* of his Spanish originals (especially those between the second and third acts of the *comedias*, which were important moments of suspense and expectation for the auditor). Rotrou cunningly used the moments of suspense in the original *comedias* for the new *entractes* in the French adaptations; this sometimes entailed the rearrangement of specific scenes to create suspense just before the end of an act.¹⁶ The transfer-text of *Laure Persécutée* (1637) by Jean Rotrou shows this as well, but the *entracte* between the second and third act in *Laura Perseguida* had not been reused by him, since he had deviated from his Spanish example at the end of the second act.¹⁷

In line with Rotrou’s practice, Germez also chooses the transition of *partes* and of one act to the next at key moments, whereas in Rodenburgh’s three-act play *Jalourse Studentin*, the transition from one *pars* to the next happens in the middle of an act. To the four-act plays by Rodenburgh something in between applies: *Casandra en Karel*, *Celia en Prospero* and *Vrou Iacoba* find a middle ground between the original Iberian custom and a Dutch tradition, while also following an older Spanish custom of dividing the matter into four acts, which Rodenburgh could have read in Lope’s *Arte Nuevo*. The Spanish playwright had written that before the *comedias* in Spain ‘had gone on all fours, as on baby’s feet, for comedies were then infants. I wrote them myself. when eleven or twelve years of age, of four acts and of four sheets of paper, for a sheet contained each act [...]’.¹⁸ How the division of subject matter in four acts influences the establishment of affects, can be experienced in *Casandra en Karel* and is roughly the same to Rotrou’s practice in *Laure Persécutée*. The *protasis* of the play is rather extensive and consists of the complete first act: Duchess Casandra has passionate and lustful desires towards her husband’s chamberlain, Karel. He is, however, already secretly married to Duchess Leonora, the sister of Casandra’s husband, Duke Aernout. Thus, Karel turns Casandra’s advances down. Fearful that Karel will tell her husband, Casandra complains to her husband that Karel has improper feelings for her. The second act is, therefore, the beginning of the *epitasis*. Aernout believes his wife and investigates Casandra’s allegations regarding Karel,

¹⁶ Birkemeir 2007, 173-198.

¹⁷ Regarding Rotrou’s adaptation of *Laure Persécutée* and the division of matter in this play, see especially Birkemeir 2007, 187-188.

¹⁸ Lope 2009, 31 and the Spanish original in Lope 2003, ll. 216-221:

[...] la comedia, que antes andaba en cuatro, como pies de niño, que eran entonces niñas las comedias; y yo las escribí, de once y doce años, de a cuatro actos y de a cuatro pliegos, porque cada acto un pliego contenía; [...]

after having imprisoned his chamberlain. Karel successfully proves that he is innocent saying that he has been married to Leonora for six years and showing how he has been visiting her every night. Aernout sets Karel free after witnessing this. In the third act, which is the *catastasis*, Casandra finds out that Aernout is not prosecuting Karel and complains to her husband about Karel for a second time. Aernout does not want to prosecute his own brother-in-law and tells his wife that Karel is family. The rest of the act revolves around Casandra's desire for revenge for having been robbed of her honour. She plots to kill Grimaldus, Leonora's and Karel's child, and she exactly knows who's help she needs. In the fourth act, Count Lodewijck, who is in love with Leonora, returns to court. Leonora had been promised to him in marriage if he would return triumphant from France. He does and learns from Casandra that Leonora is about to be married to Karel. She spins a web of lies around Lodewijck, who happily supports the duchess. They discuss that Lodewijck will kill Karel, while Casandra will do the same with Grimaldus. Aernout finds out what his subjects are about to do and prevents it just in time. The better part of the fourth act is, therefore, part of the *catastrophe*. The last scenes of the fourth act revolve around the poetic justice and the reconciliation: Casandra is expelled from court, while Lodewijck shows remorse. Karel and Leonora can now be officially married, after which all courtiers celebrate the marriage.

As regards the subject matters of all Senecan-Scaligerian plays, such as *Geeraerd van Velsen* by Hooft and *Palamedes* by Vondel (1625), the subject matter of these plays have been divided in five acts. As such, their division of matter compares to that of Germez' *Vervolgde Laura*. Hooft's *Geeraerd van Velsen* is an extreme example of Vos' preference of giving the audience the opportunity to imprint the action in the play. The action in the second act ends with the captivity of Count Floris V, but then an ethical discussion between Eendracht (Concord), Trouw (Loyalty) and Onnozelheid (Innocence) starts, after which two *reien* follow, one of Hemellieden (Hosts of Heaven) and one of Aemstellandsche Jofferen (Damsels of Amstelland).¹⁹ Van Gemert explains that the latter *rei* is both involved in the plot development and reflects on the events through Senecanesque elaborations. Nevertheless, the *rei* relates the sack of Rome at the end of the second act and warns, therefore, the Amstelland to prevent war.²⁰ For the duration of the ethical discussion and the reflection by the *reien*, the audience members are induced to reflect on, as well as imprint the shocking events of the second act. At the end of the third act, the conspirators are betrayed by one Timon, after which the *rei* reminds the

¹⁹ See Hooft 1613, C4r.-D2r.

²⁰ See Van Gemert 1990, 193.

audience of the bad influence of immoral ancestors on their descendants.²¹ On the one hand, Timon’s treason has been framed as immoral, while on the other hand, the *rei* refers to the conspirators, who factually rebel against their overlord. At the end of the fourth act the enemy is sighted, after which Geeraerdt van Velsen, Gysbreght van Aemstel and Herman van Woerden are seized by a panic. The *rei* weighs the life of a hero who attacks a tyrant against the untroubled life of a simple citizen.²² Sometime during the reflection by the *rei* of Aemstellandsche Jofferen and before the beginning of the fifth act, Count Floris V is stabbed by one of the conspirators. This was most likely shown to the audience through the employment of a tableau vivant, on which I will elaborate in the next chapter.

Though, every act is concluded by a *rei* of the Damsels of Amstelland, who combine moral notions (loyalty, honour, patriotism, hate, revenge, a just rebellion and the consequences of bad policymaking) with the events and the dramatis personae in the play. Van Gemert argues that the *reien* work ‘both prospective and retrospective and they morally complete the auditor’s impression of the situation’.²³ Moreover, Hooft had aimed to imprint the audience that its personal situation was connected with that of the tragedy. The Damsels point out what the tragic consequences could be of bad policymaking for the Dutch Republic and how privileged the auditors are for living a burgher’s life. Hooft inserts *reien* in those places where the play knows a natural pause: mostly in the transition between acts.²⁴ As such, we can see how Hooft uses the *entractes* of the play very much like Rotrou did. By inserting a *rei* at the end of an act, after several troublesome events have happened, the audience has the opportunity to imprint the events and recollect their thoughts. The effects are clear: the audience witnesses troubling events, but the release of its emotions is postponed by a moral reflection. Only after the *rei* in the fourth act, the emotional release can take place, while the action is not paused. I will, however, elaborate on this statement in the next chapter, where I will show how the combination of a prospective *rei*, a tableau vivant, a monologue by Floris V and a *rei of Naarders*, Floris’ loyal subjects, culminate in overwhelming affects.

The same affective division of subject matter can be witnessed in Vondel’s *Palamedes* as in Hooft’s *Geeraerdt van Velsen*. In this play, Vondel relates the story of Palamedes who was wrongfully beheaded by a jealous Agamemnon after being accused of betrayal in the battle for Troy. A major part of the action revolves around Ulysses and Diomedes plotting against Palamedes. In the first act, Palamedes had had the chance to defend himself through Vondel’s

²¹ See Van Gemert 1990, 193.

²² See Van Gemert 1990, 193.

²³ Van Gemert 1990, 194:

‘De reipassages werken zowel prospectief als retrospectief en vervolledigen normerend het beeld dat de toeschouwer van de situatie heeft’.

²⁴ Van Gemert 1990, 194.

use of the prologue and he could present himself as a hero without whom the Greeks had not held out as long as they did. From the second act onwards, the other lords begin planning Palamedes' downfall through the ruse of writing a letter allegedly on behalf of King Priam, which tells Palamedes about gold hidden outside the walls of Troy, buried in the location where Palamedes' tent had been set up the previous day. The letter is to be delivered by a Trojan, enslaved by Diomedes, who then will intercept the letter and show it to Agamemnon (the *epitasis*). The third act begins with the delivery of the letter to Agamemnon by Diomedes. Immediately, Agamemnon assembles the council of Greek lords, who trial Palamedes. At the end of the third act, Palamedes has been found guilty of high treason and he is temporarily imprisoned, while the lords will discuss his sentence (the *catastasis*). During the fourth act, the judges come together and two *reien* (of Peloponnesians and Ithacans) wholeheartedly exclaim 'Yes' in answer to the question whether Palamedes should die. Consequently, Ulysses, Diomedes and Thersites agree with their peoples. In Dutch, the word 'gemeente' has been used, which is a word with a terse meaning, since it means as much as the sovereign people of a nation, such as the Dutch considered themselves, wherefore the affective operations of the scene are becoming enormous. And since Vondel's *Palamedes* is actually an allegory on the illicit execution of Johan van Oldebarneveldt (according to Vondel at least),²⁵ the Dutch audience is directly addressed by Calches, who is uttering the words:

This is the voice of the Gods. you judges incline towards your ears,
And vote with your peoples, or fear the wrath of the Gods.²⁶

The old and wise Nestor heavily criticises the events. The fourth act ends with the reflection by the *rei* of Euboeans, who are Palamedes' people. In the last act, Neptune (Palamedes grandfather) promises the downfall of Ulysses and other Greek notables, while Priam and Hecuba rejoice. So what can *Palamedes* tell us about the affective division of matter in Senecan-Scaligerian playwriting? In the first place, the key events occur at the end of every act. As such, all major decisions are made at the conclusion of an act. Since the *reien* reflect on the events and conclude every act, the audience has the opportunity to also reflect on the situation. The affective operations of *Palamedes* work through their ethical, moral and political implications.

²⁵ See Geerdink 2012, 225-248.

²⁶ Vondel 1625, I3r.; in Dutch it says:

Dat is de stemme Goods. ghy rechtters neyght
uvv ooren,
En stemt met uvv' gemeent, of vreesst der
Gooden tooren.

The examples of Hooft’s *Geeraerd van Velsen* and Vondel’s *Palamedes* make extensive use of the technique of imprinting and they show that the playwrights had a long lasting affective aim with their plays: by contemplating on the action, the audience members are affected in an ethical and moralizing way. In the case of patriotic plays, such as *Geeraerd van Velsen*, *Palamedes* and *Gysbreght*, the authors had a political aim.²⁷ As I have been discussing in chapter 1, the affective operations of literature are in many cases also political in nature. The above discussed examples of *Vervolgde Laura*, *Geeraerd van Velsen* and *Palamedes* attest that five-act plays offered the audience more opportunity to ponder on the matter, while imprinting the events presented to them. As a result, the audience was effectively affected, although at a much slower pace.

2.1.2 The Prologue

The affective operations of the *comedias* are also often slowed down by the addition of the Scaligerian prologue, which I have already discussed in chapter 1. Often used as an exposition of the facts, to frame the action in a certain way or to give a character the opportunity to defend himself and win the auditor over, the prologue is part of the *protasis*. The prologue was an intrinsic part of the Senecan-Scaligerian plays, of which the prologue of Vondel’s *Gysbreght* is the most illustrative example. The play opens with a monologue by Gysbreght, which is both renowned in Dutch literary history and an ominous prediction of what is yet to pass:

Gysbreght The justice court of Heaven, after long delay,
 At last has pitied me, the tired castle, and
 Poor citizenry. Stirred by people’s prayers and
 Their laments, it has relieved the frightened city.²⁸

Regarding *Gysbreght*’s prologue, Golden Age scholar Johan Koppenol has produced some cogent arguments, saying that these words by Gysbreght have been meant to be understood ironically: God will not be compassionate and He will allow for Amsterdam to be burnt down and destroyed by its enemies, while a young abbess will be raped upon the stone-dead body of

²⁷ See Duits 2005, 219-224 for Hooft’s *Geeraerd van Velsen*; Calis 2008, 14-27 and Geerdink 2012 for Vondel’s *Palamedes*; and Prandoni 2007, 149-156, Van Marion and Vergeer 2015, and Vergeer 2015 for Vondel’s *Gysbreght*.

²⁸ Vondel 1991, 61; see for the original Dutch text, Vondel 1637, B3r.:

Gysbr. Het hemelsche gerecht heeft zich ten lange lesten
 Erbarremt over my, en mijn benaeuwde vesten,
 En arme burgery; en op mijn volx gebed,
 En dagelijx geschrey, de bange stad ontzet.

a bishop. For this reason, Koppenol argued that nothing appears as it was first presented and the prologue is for the greater part responsible for this deception.²⁹ One can perceive how the prologue of *Gysbrecht* is very important to Gysbrecht himself as he uses his monologue to first give an exposition of the facts: Amsterdam had been besieged by supporters of Count Floris V against whom several nobles had rebelled and by whom Floris was killed. Gysbrecht had been one of them in addition to Geeraerd van Velsen and Herman van Woerden. The Dutch audience knew these historic facts from Hooft's *Geeraerd van Velsen*, but also from sources like history songs and Wouter van Gouthoeven's *D'oude Chronijcke ende Historien van Holland (met West-Vriesland) van Zeeland ende van Wtrecht*, first printed in 1620.³⁰ As the result of this regicide, Gysbrecht's city had been besieged for a fair amount of time, after which the besiegers had suddenly decided to break up camp. Secondly, Gysbrecht's monologue is an appeal to the audience and a defence of his actions:

Gysbrecht Innocent I! But I've suffered much, very much
 For his [Floris'] death. Yet, I bear my cross with patience.
 What if perhaps the guilt is mine, what if I erred?
 If so, it was unintended, without plan or malice.³¹

After these words Gysbrecht sets forth his case. He has pleaded not guilty and he will now explain why. The monologue has the form of a classical oration. It begins with a narration of the facts, which is also the purpose of the prologue, but meanwhile he reminds the audience that he had always been loyal to count Floris V as his father had been before him. He had fought the count's battles and he mentions that he was member of Floris' privy council. Gysbrecht has been working on his *ethos* and may successfully shift the blame to the late Count Floris, for he had violated Gysbrecht's niece and Geeraerd van Velsen's wife, Machtelt van Woerden. Moreover, he had aggrieved the nobility in their privileges. Consequently, because of Gysbrecht's involvement in the matter, the opportunist people of Haarlem attacked Amsterdam to increase its own standing with the count as well as to support their own economic interests and desire for regional hegemony, which was still a matter of great importance in the

²⁹ Koppenol 1999, 322.

³⁰ See Van Gouthoeven 1620.

³¹ Vondel 1991, 61-62; see for the original Dutch text, Vondel 1637, B3v.:

Gysbr. [Floris,] Om wiens vervloecte dood ick lijde
 zoo onschuldigh,

Als yemant lijden magh, doch draegh mijn kruis
 geduldigh:

Of zoo ick schuldigh ben, en heeft het my
 gemist,

't Is uit onnozelheid, en zonder arg of list.

seventeenth century. Through the employment of rhetorical techniques, Gysbrecht endeavours to affect the auditors. Gysbrecht’s proof of his innocence should win the audience over and frame the whole play as a collection of atrocious acts committed by ungodly people, in which endeavour he is already supported by the aversions of the Amsterdam people for Haarlem.

In other respects, Gysbrecht’s monologue is framed by the intertext of Virgil’s *Aeneis II*. This epic had already been a ground for many affective operations. When the audience would recognize the many similarities between *Gysbrecht* and *Aeneis II*, Virgil’s intertext would present itself.³² Furthermore, the narrative concerning the Fall of Troy had in many ways inspired and affected early modern people. One of the best know examples is the rediscovery of the Laocoön Group in 1506 in Rome, which captures the moment that the Trojan priest Laocoön and his sons are strangled by a sea snake, for advising against bringing the Trojan Horse into the city. Right from its rediscovery, Renaissance people were overwhelmed by the life-size figures: the expression of pain, fear, sorrow and anger on the faces of the figures inspired many poets and artists.³³ Moreover, Vondel had specifically translated *Aeneis II* twice: once in prose, and a second time in rhyme. The impact of this cultural phenomenon on the contemporary interpretation of *Gysbrecht* has been enormous: the dramatic irony which originates from recognizing *Aeneis II* in *Gysbrecht* frames Gysbrecht’s monologue at the beginning of the play and influences the interpretation of all other events. It is the reason why Koppenol had said that nothing appears in *Gysbrecht* as it was first presented to the audience. Yet, Vondel uses the prologue in *Gysbrecht* to slowly affect the audience while every time increasing the affects culminating in a tableau vivant, which I will discuss in chapter 3 and which has already been discussed in a number of articles.³⁴

Gysbrecht’s monologue is a classic example of a Senecan-Scaligerian prologue, after which tradition the prologues in the adapted *comedias* have been modelled. This acculturation of the *comedias* by inclusion of a prologue divides the *comedias* in two groups: on the one hand, some plays begin in medias res with a lot of confusion and action, while other plays are accustomed to the Dutch tradition and now include a prologue. Isaak Vos’ *Gedwongen Vrient*³⁵ (1646), his *Beklaagelycke Dwangh* (1648), Rodenburgh’s *Jalourse Studentin* and his *Casandra en Karel* and Joris de Wijse’s *Voorzigtige Dolheit* (1650) start with a prologue. To discuss just one example, in Rodenburgh’s *Casandra en Karel*, Casandra enters the stage by herself and opens

³² Prandoni 2007, 21.

³³ Van Eck 2015, 230-231.

³⁴ See Van Marion and Vergeer 2015, Vergeer 2015, but also Albach 1987 and Smits-Veldt 1995.

³⁵ See also the Master Thesis by Alvarez Francés 2013, 49-51.

the play through a rather extensive soliloquy, much longer than the opening verses in the original play *El Perseguido* by Lope de Vega.³⁶ She begins by speaking about her love for one who is not her husband:

Casandra The passions of my heart rape this fragile chest,
 And force Casandra to do what she would never dare to do:
 Not trusting this impetuous tongue out of fear,
 Oh the cowardly and spineless women are like poor toddlers.³⁷

She is unable to cope with her improper feelings and blames Venus for her current situation. She uses extreme hyperboles to stress her desperate situation, for she has been raped by lust. Therefore, Casandra calls for Camilla, her lady-in-waiting, who has to summon Karel, the Duke's chamberlain, and who happens to be the object of her affection. Meanwhile, Casandra begins singing (on which more in chapter 3). The audience is accustomed to the situation through the use of a prologue, instead of a full confrontation between Karel and Casandra from the start. The audience learns the situation from Casandra herself: she is in love with someone who is of lower social standing and who is not her own husband. After Casandra's song, which is also used to affect the audience, Camilla re-enters and tells Casandra that Karel is waiting for her outside. Casandra is in agony:

Casandra Let Carel enter, Camilla wait, the turbulence
 Is felt by me in this bosom; fearful to express [my feelings],
 I almost force my own mouth to be put in irons,
 And still, lust taunts me. Where is Carel?

Camilla Carel is entering.

Casandra Not yet, alas! it seems that I have lost my tongue,

 Wait *Camilla* I will wait.

Casandra Camilla.

Camilla Milady.

³⁶ Although the stage directions mention that Grimaldus, Karel's and Leonora's son, also enters stage. He is, however, merely present to call for Camilla at the end of Casandra's soliloquy.

³⁷ Rodenburgh 1617a, A1r.; in Dutch:

Casan. De minne-tocht mijns hert verkracht dees teere
 borst,
 En dwinght Casandra tot het geen sy noyt en
 dorst:
 Dees sinneloose tongh uyt anghste niet
 vertrouwen,
 Ach arme wichten sijn de bloode laffe vrouwen.

Casandra Do not let Carel in yet.³⁸

The prologue has the function to both offer an exposition of the facts and frame the action in the play as a painful inner conflict of Casandra between virtue and adultery. Additionally, the audience is urged to immediately reflect on the situation and ethically decide for themselves whether they support Casandra’s lustful love or whether they should support Casandra to make the right choice of preserving her virtue. Such a use of the prologue is quite affective, since it prompts the auditor to formulate an opinion. When the audience has formulated its own opinion, they are invested with the plot and they will react every time to the plot developments, for Casandra’s love will be rejected by Karel. Casandra will learn that Karel loves Leonora, who happens to be her own sister-in-law. Casandra will find out that Karel and Leonora have a child together, who is revealed to be Grimaldus. She, then, decides to poison Grimaldus out of revenge, which act is foiled just in time by the Duke, Aernout (Casandra’s husband). Compassion, hate, anger and sorrow are just a few of the emotions shared by Casandra and the audience members, while they grow to abhor her decisions.

This custom contrasts sharply with the Iberian tradition of starting a play in medias res and often in the middle of conflict (none of the Spanish originals after which the plays in the corpus have been modelled, start with a prologue, as it was described by Scaliger in his *Poetices Libri Septem*).³⁹ Half the plays still begin in medias res: De Graef’s *Joanna van Napels* (1664), Rodenburgh’s *Celia en Prospero*, Germez’ *Vervolgde Laura* (1645), Blasius’ *Malle Wedding* (1671) and Asselyn’s *Spaanschen Bergman* (1657). The opening scene of *Vervolgde Laura* is as regards this subject exemplary: the scene opens with the entrance of the Graef (Count), who is the marshal of Hungary, Orantee, Prince of Hungary, a captain and some royal guards. The Graef begins by saying:

Graef My Lord, Your Highness, by order of the King, you are arrested.

Orantee What! Are you joking?

Graef I am following orders to the satisfaction of my king.

³⁸ Rodenburgh 1617a, A2v.; the Dutch original reads:

Casan. Laet Carel komen in, Camilla toeft, ’t ghetier
Ick in dees boesem voel, door vreesse om te
uyten,
Dwingh ick het spreek-lit, schier, in boeyens
vast soud’ sluyten,
En lijckwel tergh my lust. Waer’s Carel?
Camilla Carel komt.

Casan. Noch niet, helaes! het schijnt mijn sprake gants
verstomt,
Vertoeft *Camilla* ’k Vertoef.

Casan. Camill’.

Camilla Me-vrouw’.

Casan. Laet Carel noch niet komen.

³⁹ See De Vega 1993, volumes 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 12, and see De Vega 1930, volume 12.

Orantee Oh Count!
Graef Oh Prince!⁴⁰

It is unclear what is happening. The audience is affected and has many questions: why does the King want to arrest his son? What has Orantee done? Is the Graef being serious? Bit by bit, the history of the play is revealed and triggers the auditor to keep listening. In *Spaanschen Bergman* another technique has been used. Clashing sabres are sounding within and the play opens with a general appeal to take up arms: ‘The Roman might, renowned for its triumphs, has been creased by their power: take up, take up your arms!’⁴¹ The exclamation which finishes the general appeal, is almost an appeal meant for the audience.

In De Graef’s *Joanna van Napels*, the opening scene has got yet another form. De Graef chose to let two characters, Antonio and Mathias, give an exposition of the facts. They narrate the desperate situation of Johanna, Queen of Naples. They raise the question how Prince Andreas will react to Johanna’s decision to marry Prince Lodewijck, while Andreas wants the crown of Naples for himself. This rhetoric question is very suggestive and should influence the auditors to ask the same question. By the use of the negative epithet ‘dwingelant’ (tyrant), De Graef frames the action as a tragic example of the perverted strive for power inducing the audience to take the side of Johanna, for ‘dwingelant’ and ‘dwingelandy’ were extreme negative concepts, which the Dutch traditionally associated with King Philip II of Spain and later on with the House of Orange (by Statist supporters). Therefore, the play gets a very political connotation moving the audience members and affecting them.

The combination of confusion and the beginning in medias res contribute to the affective operations of the Dutch *comedias*, while through their *verdietsing* some *comedias* have become “slower paced” and have become accustomed to Dutch tradition by the inclusion of a prologue and the division into five acts, allowing for more ethical, moral and political reflection by the audiences.

⁴⁰ Germez 1645, 1; in Dutch it says:

Graef Myn Heer, uw’ Hoogheid wordt uit ’s Konings
naem beslagen.
Orantee Hoe! boertge?
Graef ’k Volg mijn last, naer ’s Vorstens welbehagen.
Orantee Graef!
Graef Prins!

⁴¹ Asselyn 1657, 1; in Dutch it says:

De Roomsche moogenthey, beroemdt door zoo
veel zeege,
Wert door hun magt gekreukt, op, op, ter waap-
enen.

2.2 The Three-Unities of Time, Place and Action

One of the most drastic measures to be found in Lope’s *Arte Nuevo* (1609) and in Rodenburgh’s *Borst-Weringh* (1619) concerns the three-unities of time, place and action, as it has been discussed in the previous chapter. As I will argue in this paragraph, the restriction of time and place in the Senecan-Scaligerian plays have extensive results for the dramatic structures of the plays, the way the auditor experiences the play and how he is affected by the action as compared to the way the *comedia nueva* affects its audience. Therefore, my structure and comparative analysis of the *comedia nueva* and the Senecan-Scaligerian plays will continue now by discussing the striking differences in the employment of the three-unities in the plays of the corpus.

2.2.1 Senecan Stillness

A good example of a Senecan-Scaligerian play, in which we can recognise the results of the restriction of time, place and action, is Vondel’s *Gysbreght*. Although Vondel did not consistently adhere to the use of one space throughout the play, we can see the following happen in *Gysbreght*: as I have discussed already, the play starts with a prologue with Gysbreght watching out from the city gate (the western Haarlemmerpoort) over the fields in front of Amsterdam. The first act takes place around this gate. Thereafter, the second act begins at the Carthusian monastery outside the city walls on the same western side of the city between brother Willebord and the leader of the people of Haarlem, Diederick van Haerlem. From the third act onwards (with the exception of one scene at the beginning of the fourth act in the monastery of the sisters of St. Clare), all scenes take place at the Castle of Aemstel. In every scene of the third act, Badeloch (Gysbrecht’s wife) is being told by Arend van Aemstel and her husband what has happened throughout the city, while she resides safely in the compounds of the Castle of Aemstel: the Nieuwe Kerk and the town hall on Dam Square are plundered and burnt down to the ground. Furthermore, her niece Klaeris van Velzen has been raped and killed on top of her uncle’s body, bishop Gozewijn. With the exception of showing the last events through the use of a tableau vivant, the audience does not witness the atrocities committed throughout the city. Through the cunning use of major characters, Vondel can avoid the use of messengers as much as possible, but cannot avoid that he has to include one messenger to relate the events at the Monastery of the Nuns of St. Clare. For this reason, Eversmann has

appropriately concluded in his discussion of the staging problems of *Gysbreght* that the play is for the greater part built up out of narratives.⁴²

The restriction of time (for *Gysbreght* takes place on Christmas Eve and concludes the following morning) means that Vondel had to include a prologue, in which Gysbreght could narrate the history of the conflict; otherwise the audience would not understand what the conflict is about. Moreover, the restriction of place means that Vondel had to make use of three messengers to relate the events to Badeloch at the Castle. The effects of such a dramatic structure are extensive, for it influences the affective operations of the play by the little impact narratives generally have.⁴³ Badeloch's pathetic outbursts can only compensate for so much.⁴⁴ Jan Vos' dramatic principle of showing and not telling, is for the most part absent in *Gysbreght van Aemstel*. Therefore, we can see how Vondel and Vos largely compensated for the little affects coming forth from the dramatic structure of the *Gysbreght* through the employment of acrobatics and the *reien* (on which I will expand in the next chapter).

Hooft's *Baeto* (1626) follows a similar dramatic structure. The abstract of the play ends with the information that this 'tragedy begins around midnight, and concludes within twenty-four hours. The stage is the Court of the Chatti'.⁴⁵ More than in *Gysbreght van Aemstel*, it is unclear in which part of the palace a character finds himself; as if the characters were standing in a vacuous space. One might say that the disputation is more important to the plot than the place and time at which the play takes place. The mythical land of the Chatti would have had little meaning to the Dutch audience; and even Hooft's addition that the land of the Chatti existed where back then the landgraviate of Hesse was located, would have made little sense to the Dutch, apart from the German immigrants starting to arrive from 1618 onwards in Amsterdam. The semi-Romantic mythical time and place of the Chatti could have affected the audience members. Still, the process of *enargeia* would have been obstructed by Hooft's unclearness about the location of the play. Because of this, the affective operations would have been limited in its impact.⁴⁶ Here Sidney's words (as related by Rodenburgh) bear on the setting of the play,

⁴² Eversmann 2012, 310-311.

⁴³ Quintilian advises to not narrate events through words alone, for then they will have little impact. When graphically narrating events, one has a better chance of affecting the audience. Quintilianus 2001, 8.3.61-63 (411).

⁴⁴ In many articles Badeloch's reactions to the events have been amongst other things characterized as the typical characteristics of a hysterical woman or as the counter voice to Gysbreght's male conceit. The latter interpretation has presently been better accepted. See i.e. Prandoni 2007, 128-148.

⁴⁵ Hooft 1626, A3r.; in Dutch:

Het treurspel begint ontrent des middernachts,
ende eindigt met het etmaal. Het tóoneel is 't
hóf der Catten.

⁴⁶ See Quintilian for the rhetoric use of *enargeia* in classical times. In short, *enargeia* is the process of graphically describing something with the aim that the audience experiences the events as if they were happening at that moment. This rhetoric principle is related to our modern conception of "show, don't tell". Quintilianus 2001, 8.3.61-63 (411).

for the characters should tell the audience always where they are or the audience will be confused.⁴⁷ Though, this does not happen at all. While I would argue that *Baeto* is less affective for its unclear description of the space and the time represented on stage, the action in *Baeto* seems to be straightforward as well: the plot consists of one undivided action, for Penta, the Queen of the Chatti, considers her stepson, Baeto, as an obstacle, which has to be removed for her to seize complete power. Her actions and the reactions of other characters all originate from this one desire. The affective operations of such a plot development are not entirely successful. In line with Scaliger, the distinct scenes in Hooft’s *Baeto* are, however, very affective.⁴⁸ This is an alternate vision to Porteman’s and Smits-Veldt’s, who had argued that a playwright like Hooft began experimenting with one continuous and undivided plot development in the 1610s.⁴⁹

The affectiveness of the distinct scenes in *Baeto* originate, for instance, from Hooft’s display of murder on stage, for which reason *Baeto* is a classic example of Senecan playwriting. This is for example attested by Rycheldin’s death (Baeto’s wife), which takes place during the action at the beginning of the third act (the *catastasis*), indicating the direness of the situation. Penta had plotted against Baeto and Rycheldin by sending them poisoned gifts: a golden coronet for Rycheldin and a helmet with plumage for Baeto. Unsuspecting of Penta’s treachery, Rycheldin puts on the diadem. The dramatic irony of this scene is of course enormous and, therefore, also affective. Penta had been counselled by the mythical witch Medea, who had done something similar to Glauce, Princess of Corinth and Jason’s wife. Like with *Gysbreght*, when the audience recognized the many similarities between Penta’s and Medea’s treachery, the intertext of Euripides’ tragedy *Medea* would present itself. Hooft increases the affective operations of the scene and emphasizes its importance by using stichomythia, the technique in verse drama in which sequences of single alternating lines or half-lines are given to alternating characters:

Rycheldin

Oh, my hair is on fire!

Burgherhart Wa..., water damsels.

Baeto

How?

Luidewijk

Quick, extinguish the fire with the hot-water bottle.

⁴⁷ See Rodenburgh 1619, 47.

⁴⁸ See on Scaliger’s advocacy of the distinct and formal “building blocks” of tragedy, Smits-Veldt 1991, 54-55.

⁴⁹ Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2013, 240.

Baeto Stop!
Rycheldin Woe is me!
Burgerhart She dies.⁵⁰

This way Rycheldin's death is exemplified and Hooft successfully builds suspense. Her death also pushes forth the plot, since it is this reason why Baeto rises up in arms against Penta and his father, King Catmeer. As such, the action consists of at least one exemplary episode, which is both affective and important to the plot development. As the scene is, in fact, part of the play's microstructure, we can see how *Baeto* is episodic in nature.

A play with a better known history for its matter, was Van Hogendorp's *De Moordt Begaen aen Wilhem* (1617), which was also selected as the opening play of the *Nederduytsche Academie*. In this play about the murder on William of Orange, the process of *enargeia* is omnipresent. *Enargeia* works from the moment that one reads the title: Dutch collective memory is triggered in every way.⁵¹ In the introduction to the play, Van Hogendorp says for good reason that 'it is common knowledge that the Serene and Highborn lord, William, Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, has valiantly endeavoured to set the oppressed Netherlands free of the malicious Tyranny of the Spaniards until the last days of his life'.⁵² The play is maybe the best example of the patriotic paradigm applicable during the Dutch Revolt. For the simple reason that Van Hogendorp chose Dutch history for the subject of his play, the Dutch audience is immediately triggered, invested with the plot and, thus, affected. They know that the play takes place in 1584, in Delft. All the facts are common knowledge and the action revolves around King Philip's desire to crush the rebellion by ordering the murder of Prince William. Yet, Van Hogendorp increases the affective operations in *De Moordt* by breaking the rule of the three-unities.

First of all, the play uses three different spaces to represent the court at Madrid, the court at Brussels and the Prinsenhof in Delft. Although the text itself does not make mention of

⁵⁰ Hooft 1626, D3v.; in Dutch:
Rycheldin Ach! brandt in myn perruick.
Burgerh. Wa, water joffren.
Baeto Hoe?
Luidew. Rasch, lescht maar met de kruick.
Baeto Staat af.
Rycheldin Ay my!
Burgerh. Zij sterft.
⁵¹ My conception of collective/cultural memory stems from Pollmann and Kuijpers 2013, 1-23 and Kuijpers 2013, 183-202, who have specifically applied Aleida and Jan Assmann's concept of

cultural memory to the Dutch Revolt and the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

⁵² Van Hoogendorp 1617, *4r.; the Dutch original reads:

Een yder is wel bekend, dat den Door-luchtigen ende Hooch-gheboren furst, Willem, Prince van Orangien, Grave van Nassou, ende met een sonderlinge groot-moedicheyt, tot het eynde zynes levens gepoocht heeft in duysenterley gevaeren de verdruckte Nederlanden, vande moet-willige Tyranny der Spaengiaerts te verlossen.

switching spaces, the space in the first act should clearly be considered to be the court at *El Escorial*: King Philip takes centre stage and along with Ruy Gomez de Silva and the Inquisition (represented by two Dominicans, who are clearly standing in a tradition of *zinnekens* or moralities), they are discussing how to crush the Dutch rebels. In the second act, the stage represents possibly Balthasar Gerards’ home town Vuillafans in France and in the two last scenes at least, the court at Brussels; though this is not clear from the beginning. Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma and Governor of the Low Countries, is visited by Balthasar Gerards, who has to travel to be able to speak with Farnese. From the third act onwards, the stage is the Prinsenhof in Delft and its near vicinity, where Balthasar Gerards will kill William of Orange.

In order for King Philip’s order (to kill William of Orange) to reach Balthasar Gerards in France and in order for Balthasar Gerards to visit Alexander Farnese and in order for him to reach Delft, time must pass. This means that the action in the play exceeds the allowable amount of hours in which the action should pass according to Scaligerian poetics. In this context, it is striking that Van Hogendorp lets characters travel between the acts. Days or weeks pass between the acts as well (however, in the third act the space switches by the inclusion of an *extra rei*). It reminds one of Lope’s *Arte Nuevo* (and also Rodenburgh’s *Borst-Weringh*), while it cannot be said that the play is a newly invented *comedia*, for it includes Scaligerian *reien*, is divided in five acts, includes a clear prologue, and must unambiguously be considered as a tragedy.

Still, by breaking with the three-unities, Van Hogendorp could let King Philip himself order the murder in the *protasis* and he could represent the discussion between Farnese and Gerards to the audience in the *epitasis*. These choices have arguably increased the affective operations of *De Moordt*. This claim can be illustrated by discussing the so-called concept of the *reality effect* as discussed by Roland Barthes in his collection of essays *The Rustle of Language* (1989). In the essay ‘The Reality Effect’, Barthes discusses how in modern novels giving details about a character’s clothes or about the interior in which a character is present, add to our understanding of this character, his/her social background and create atmosphere.⁵³ Likewise, Lut Missine discussed in her book *Oprecht Gelogen* (2013) how even (semi-)fictional texts aim to present the events as truthful and a reader is prepared to accept the truthfulness of the related events.⁵⁴ However, an auditor is a kind of eyewitness of the events and does not need to reconstruct an image of the events in his mind, while attending the performance of a theatrical play: he can see the throne on stage and possibly also the insignia of the Order of the Golden

⁵³ See Barthes 1989.

⁵⁴ Missine 2013, 58-63.

Fleece hanging around the neck of King Philip. Yet, I would still argue that providing details about the space and the passing time roughly add to the same effect of reality and give the dramatic action a kind of authenticity. By letting characters speak themselves instead of using a messenger who relates the events happening elsewhere, the reality effect and the authenticity of the events are increased.

Van Hogendorp's choice to ignore the unities of time and place are also permissible from the perspective of *decorum*: this classical concept prescribes that all events of a tragedy should be plausible and the characteristics of various characters should correspond with their social status.⁵⁵ If Van Hogendorp had decided to strictly adhere to the classical poetics, he would have needed several messengers who would relate to Balthasar Gerards the decisions of King Philip in Madrid and Alexander Farnese in Brussels. The trouble, however, is that the audience would know that such an account of events was not historical nor accurate, for Balthasar Gerards had visited Alexander Farnese and had spoken with him, which was well-known. Therefore, the play would have precisely gone against *decorum*. Furthermore, Scaliger had advocated a unity of action, which heavily depended on the plausibility of the plot, in order to establish the intended effects. The audience should be able to believe that the events could have actually happened in that specific way.⁵⁶

Another option of letting Balthasar Gerards give an account of the history of the plot by the means of a prologue, would have meant that Van Hogendorp had to invent two complete new acts, in which the action would have to build up to a climax. Van Hogendorp could use a history, which was already tailored to be used as the subject of a tragedy. Although it is a speculative practice to reconstruct the choices behind the division of matter in *De Moordt*, the affective operations of the current play are apparent. We can see how Van Hogendorp played with the Scaligerian poetics and Senecan drama, while the play includes a hint of the Hispanic poetics, although it is clearly not a *comedia*. Unlike Hooft in *Baeto* and Vondel in *Gysbreght*, Van Hogendorp took more liberties regarding the unities of time and place. It increases the affectiveness of the play *De Moordt*. Yet, *Baeto* and *Gysbreght* include affective operations of their own, although these are not the result of the dramatic macrostructure. Van Hogendorp, however, leans towards Lope's poetics regarding the unities of time and place. It is, therefore, an interesting question how the Dutch playwrights dealt with Lope's *comedias* and the representation of an extensive time period and the multitude of places.

⁵⁵ An extensive study on the subject of *decorum* in Dutch literary history can be found in Jansen 2001. See especially pages 215-228.

⁵⁶ Smits-Veldt 1991, 54.

2.2.2 A Spanish Wealth of Possibilities?

When speaking of the three-unities, the *comedia nueva* does exactly the opposite of the Senecan-Scaligerian plays. Scaliger had merely thought it permissible to defer from the three-unities, when the (historical) events in the plot required for a rift from the theory. In the eyes of Scaliger, the most important part of the plot was its plausibility. According to Lope, however, a playwright was not obliged to keep to the restrictions of place and time. It means that Lope was not restricted by the rules of time, wherefore he could show the history of a play in a *protasis* more often instead of narrating it through a prologue. The principle of “show, don’t tell” is ubiquitous in Lope’s plays and, thus, also often in the Dutch adaptations. As discussed in my discussion of the prologue, many of the Iberian plays start in medias res, in the middle of confusion, but the plays are also not restricted by the representation of one space.

Asselyn’s *Spaanschen Bergman* is an interesting example: first, ‘the stage represents the highlands of the Kingdom of León’.⁵⁷ This rather vague characterization of the space used in *Spaanschen Bergman*, means that Asselyn had the opportunity to switch between places between scenes. On the one hand, the events take place in the Roman city and on the other, in the mountains surrounding the city (though the audience member has to deduce this himself, for it is never mentioned in the play); this means that characters have to travel between the acts to be able to speak with each other as well, meaning that time has to pass resulting in the exceeding of the twenty-four hours’ limit. Yet, it reminds one of Hooft’s *Baeto*, which is also similarly vague about the representation of space and time. Although Lope and Rodenburgh had ample written on the three-unities of time, place and action, the affective operations of the adapted Dutch *comedias* do not automatically derive from the unrestricted use of time and the multitude of places. In *Spaanschen Bergman* the demonstration of sword fights is rather resulting in affects. Lope had included many visually evocative scenes and Asselyn kept them intact. The action revolves around to opposing parties and, therefore, the theatre directions often include reference to the ‘clashing weapons from within, and followed by shouting’;⁵⁸ Lope and Asselyn literally employ the principle of “show, don’t tell”.

Another example of the way Dutch playwrights approached Lope’s poetics as regards the three-unities, concerns Rodenburgh’s *Jalourse Studentin*. The play takes primarily place in Leiden, but also in The Hague for the duration of the last act. Through his clever use of local

⁵⁷ Asselyn 1657, *4v.; in Dutch:
Het Tooneel is ’t Gebergte in ’t koninkrijk Leon.

⁵⁸ i.e. Asselyn 1657, A1r.; in Dutch:
Binnen gerugt van waapenen, en daar op geroepen.

colouring, Rodenburgh had adapted Lope's *La Escolástica Celosa* to conform to the Dutch context.⁵⁹ In the Spanish original the play takes place in the Spanish student milieu of the world-famous student city of Alcalá, which Rodenburgh transposed to the equally world-famous student milieu of Leiden.⁶⁰ While Lope had divided the matter of *La Escolástica Celosa* into three acts, with every act being equal to a full day's time, the duration of the Dutch adaptation is unclear: the first act takes place in the late afternoon of the first day and the night, while the second act takes place in the morning of the next day. However, the students travel to The Hague, which would have meant a passing of several hours between the second and the third act. What this means for the affective operations of this *comedia* is less clear than in the case of some of the discussed Senecan-Scaligerian plays. As in the case of *De Moordt*, the use of a variety of spaces adds to the reality effect, for students from Leiden would have gone out in The Hague in the seventeenth century.

In this light, one original Dutch play is quite interesting as regards its dramatic history. It concerns De Bondt's *Beleg en Ontset der Stadt Leyden*. The play was first printed in 1645 in Leiden. When the play premiered in the Amsterdam Public Theatre in 1660, the play had undergone some rigorous changes: first of all, the play had not consisted of a division in five acts or acts at all and was, thus, divided in clear acts according to Scaliger's division of *partes* (which makes me believe that the Leiden edition had been meant as a reading edition). This was, however, the only change, which made the play fit the Senecan-Scaligerian tradition more than it did previously. Inspired by the Hispanic *comedias*, the play was adapted, wherefore the Amsterdam edition includes many characteristics of the *comedia nueva*. This edition would become immensely popular and only Vondel's *Gysbreght* has been performed more times (respectively 304 and 454 times).⁶¹ First, the Amsterdam edition of *Beleg en Ontset* had already consisted of a time frame longer than twenty-four hours: 'The stage is Leiden, and its siege starts May 17th, and ends October 3rd and 4th, 1574'.⁶² Furthermore, the play takes place both inside and outside the city walls, which becomes only clear from the text itself, however. In this sense, the play had already been a *comedia*. However, other changes make that the Amsterdam edition became a pseudo-*comedia*. These include the tragicomic and the inclusion of distinct low-born characters. I will discuss these changes more extensively in the next paragraph

⁵⁹ According to Abrahamse, Rodenburgh had merely followed the leitmotiv in *La Escolástica Celosa* and simplified the plot of *Jalourse Studentin*. See Abrahamse 1997, 96.

⁶⁰ Rodenburgh 1617c, *4v.

⁶¹ See the ONSTAGE-database (> plays > order by popularity).

⁶² De Bondt 1660, A2v. In Dutch: Het Tooneel is Leyden, en sijne Belegering, begint den 17 Mey, en eyndight den 3, 4 October, 1574.

regarding the tragicomic. As regards the effects of the longer time frame and the multitude of places represented, these are analogous to the effects in Van Hogendorp’s *De Moordt* and Rodenburgh’s *Jalourse Studentin*. The matter of the play is historic, wherefore the audience would only have accepted such a play, when it conformed to the historic facts. This meant that the play had to represent the time from May 17th to October 3rd, 1574. And while the play deals with the siege of Leiden in 1574, the play had to represent the enemy outside the city walls as well. These dramatic choices naturally added to the reality effect of the play, but were interestingly in line with Lope’s poetics.

It seems that through analysis of *Jalourse Studentin* and *Spaanschen Bergman*, but also of the other *comedias* in the corpus, the unrestricted use of time, space and action does not add to nor obstruct the affective operations of the *comedia nueva*, but offer the author the opportunity to relate more events happening in different places and at different times, adding to the reality effect, while being permissible from the point of view of *decorum*. The real affective operations in the *comedias* stem from their playful use of tragicomic, love intrigue, contested honour, acts of disguise and cross-dressing based upon the principle of “show, don’t tell”.

2.3 The Tragicomic, Intrigue and Acts of Disguise

Lope had described the *comedia* as another minotaur of Pasiphae. The tragic history and the comic truth of customs had become ‘confuso’ in Lope’s work, which would automatically render one part of the plays grave, and the other ridiculous. He claimed even that such variety caused much delight. In chapter 1, it has been described in detail how Rodenburgh had introduced Lope’s ideas on the tragicomic in the Dutch Republic by the means of his poetical treatise the *Borst-Weringh*.

2.3.1 Acts of Disguise and Deception in the Comedia Nueva

In *Celia en Prospero*, Rodenburgh had given the Dutch audience a clear cut example of a tragicomic play, which uses an intriguing plot and several subplots. Rodenburgh had qualified the play as a ‘Bly-eynde-spel’ (generally translated as a comedy), even though the plot includes several tragic elements. While in a tragedy only highborn characters (emperors, kings, princes, dukes, counts and other lords) can perform and while in a comedy only lowborn characters (burghers, chamberlains, ladies-in-waiting, whores, farmers and other people from the city and

the countryside) may participate, in this tragicomedy and others as well highborn and lowborn characters interact with each other as if it would happen on a daily basis. In *Celia en Prospero*, a king, a prince, a duchess and a count find themselves accompanied by a miller, the miller's daughter and the miller's employee. Such as I will demonstrate by discussing the example of *Celia en Prospero*, this leads to the establishment of dramatic irony. Through the act of disguise and a thrilling intrigue suspense is built and eventually these tragicomic plays also establish affects in their own way.

Like I have already discussed, *Celia en Prospero* opens in medias res.⁶³ And like Lope, Rodenburgh focusses attention on the central issue of *Celia en Prospero* right from the start: being the duchess of Florence, Celia is in love with one of her subjects, Prospero, who is a count. This is a real problem, since marrying below one's social standing was frowned upon in premodern times; especially if the woman was of higher social status, which is naturally the case in *Celia en Prospero*. Thus, Celia immediately says:

Celia It seems that I would lower my own status
 If I were to love the Count, while being a duchess,
 Wherefore I would trade my title of duchess for the title of countess:⁶⁴

The intrigue revolves around Prince Aristippus' (Prince of Spain) jealousy of Count Prospero, who has been blessed with Celia's love. Since Aristippus does not allow any competition, he banishes Prospero from the Kingdom (of Spain), while he tells Celia that Prospero has left without any reason and he makes Celia believe that he will probably never return. Meanwhile the Prince moves into action and intercepts the letters exchanged by Prospero and Celia. If Aristippus' servants were to cross paths with Prospero, they should kill him. Aristippus' father, the King of Spain, questions him about his behaviour. The King promises to protect Celia and Prospero, but he falls in love with Celia himself. At the end of the first act, the chaos is complete.

The second act begins with Prospero, who has dressed himself as a farmer, and he encounters Laura, the miller's daughter, and Molimpo, the miller's employee. Prospero recognizes Laura as being the daughter of one of Celia's employees, the miller. By charming Laura, Prospero hopes to find his way back to court. He introduces himself as Martijn and Laura

⁶³ See also the analysis by Abrahamse 1997, 99-101. Abrahamse has concluded that Rodenburgh made some changes to the plot of *El Molino* to create *Celia en Prospero*.

⁶⁴ Rodenburgh 1617b, A1r.; in Dutch:
Celia 't schijnt dat ik my verlaeg
 Mits ik als hertogin de Grave liefde draeg,
 En werd van Hertogin in tijtel maer Graefinne:

fancies him. Molimpo is jealous of Prospero/Martijn for Laura fancying him. The tragic intrigue of Celia, Prospero and Aristippus is mirrored now in the comic intrigue of Laura, Martijn and Molimpo. The tragicomic intrigue works on two levels: by the representation of the comic intrigue (which in itself should work as a mirror), the tragic intrigue is brought to a level many audience members may relate themselves to. As such, the audience recognizes themselves in the *dramatis personae*, who are presented to them. On the tragic level, a universal truth is presented to the auditors, while on the comic level, a tangible and particular example is given. On both levels identification can occur. One could argue that on the tragic level the higher classes in Dutch society identify themselves easier with the highborn characters (Celia and Prospero), while on the comic level the lower classes would identify themselves with Celia's subjects (Laura and Martijn). However, because of this mixture of the tragic and the comic, it is very easy for any audience member to relate either to the tragic characters, or the comic characters depending on their own background. Either via the comic level or the tragic, the audience could learn from and understand the other dramatic level. Both levels are, as such, two sides of the same coin.

While Prospero is posing as Martijn, Celia is being told by Aristippus that Prospero has been imprisoned, which she believes. For a second, the audience may think that Prospero has been caught as well. In the next scene, however, Martijn appears at court dressed as a miller's man. The guards stationed by Celia's room do not recognize him, nor Celia. These events establish a comic effect, since the audience has knowledge of Martijn's true nature, which other characters have not. Having arrived at Celia's chamber, Martijn exposes himself to Celia as Prospero. Naturally she rejoices. Subsequently, Rusino, the King's servant, informs Celia that the Prince is going to execute Prospero. Celia pretends to be shocked by this news, while Prospero is hiding in her chambers. Again, these events establish a comic effect. In the third act, Molimpo tells Prospero that he is in love with Laura and that he grieves for his unanswered love for Laura. Therefore, Martijn tells Laura that his loving words for her were all an illusion. Laura grieves for this news, but Molimpo tries his luck again, since Martijn has said that he does not love Laura back. Laura eventually gives in to Molimpo's courtship.

In the fourth act, the King wants to make Celia his queen, but she dislikes the idea, for she still wants to marry Prospero. The King says that the Princess of France has arrived at court with whom Aristippus has to marry and Prospero has found his deathbed, for which reason Celia has no reason not to marry the King (who does not know that Prospero is still alive). Meanwhile, Aristippus employs the same ruse as Prospero and together they arrive at Celia's

chambers. The Prince tells Celia that she should ban Prospero from her thoughts, because he is dead now:

Aristippus Do you think that you can revive your Count through lamentation?
You will never see him again, it is impossible.

Celia Oh Prince! I can see the Count standing before my eyes,
His image remained in my heart, and will remain there.
[...] I swear to you that I can see an imprint of the Count on my retinas,
Just like he will continue to stay in my heart forever.⁶⁵

Especially Celia's answers are funny, since Celia and the audience know that Prospero is standing next to Aristippus. When Aristippus meets the Princess of France, however, he immediately falls in love with her. His rage for Prospero's and Celia's love fades away and Celia may marry Prospero. My rather extensive discussion of the plot in *Celia en Prospero* should make clear that this *comedia* uses acts of disguise as a comic means to affect the audience. The mirror effect a tragedy may have, is established through its mixture with comedy. Especially in the fourth act, when quite a number of characters have been dressing up, the play establishes a knowledge difference between characters and between characters and the audience, resulting in dramatic irony.

Much like in *Celia en Prospero*, the lovers Lidamant and Diana in Joan Blasius' *Malle Wedding* are not allowed to meet with each other, for Diana's brother, Telame, is distrustful of any man wanting to court his sister and he, therefore, wants to keep Diana from being visited by any possible suitor until the moment that Telame think it is the right time for his sister to be married off. Telame decides of course whether someone will make a fit husband in his eyes. Since Diana cannot leave her brother's house, Lidamant has to think of a way to visit his beloved Diana. He let a letter be delivered to Diana by his servant, Philippien, who tells him that Diana wished for him to visit her. Thence, Lidamant is in conflict since he wishes to visit his beloved, but cannot see how: 'How Philippien, doing such a thing is an impossible enterprise, unless you can make me magically invisible'. Philippien and Lise, Diana's

⁶⁵ Rodenburgh 1617b, F1r.; in Dutch it says:
Aristip. Meent ghy door u gheklach uw Grave te
verrijsen?
Ghy ziet hem nimmer weer, 't is buyten alle
waen.
Celia 'Ha Prins! ik zie de Graef noch voor mijn ooghen
staen,

Zijn beeld bleef in mijn hert, en zalder ook in
blijven.
[...] Ik zweer u dat ik heb de Grave in mijn oog,
Ghelijk hy in mijn hert ook eeuwich zal
volherden.

chamberlain, have, however, thought of a cunning ruse by which Lidamant is able to sneak into Diana’s chambers so they can meet in secret. Lidamant should trust his servant, Philippien says: ‘I know what to do, Milord, you should trust me’. Lidamant is distrustful of the success rate of any plan and argues that the door is guarded day and night: ‘But Philippien, the door is guarded day and night, isn’t it?’ Rather boldly Philippien answers his master that Lidamant is actually not very smart for a courtier, since he failed to notice his servant’s cunning nature: ‘Milord, although you are a courtier, you are of a rather thick-headed nature, for not having noticed that I pay all with deception and roguery’. Thus, Philippien begins explaining his plan, which entails for Lidamant to hide in Philippien’s chest or suitcase, which will be brought into the home of Telame in London, since he is moving into Telame’s home. No one will expect a thing, according to Philippien: ‘People at home urge me to pick up my things to which aim they have given me the largest suitcase, which I will use to secretly hide you in. The suspicion of deception will be absent, and yet, the deception hides within’.⁶⁶

Lidamant does such as his servant suggests and he successfully enters Telame’s home, while being hidden in this suitcase. These scenes and this specific intrigue would have been especially funny to the Dutch audiences to witness, since the jurist Hugo Grotius had escaped castle Loevestein in 1621 in a similar fashion by hiding in a book chest, after which he had fled to Paris. Although Lidamant does not dress up in order to deceive, the other minor characters do, while handling the suitcase. While being dressed up, they can, as such, successfully deliver the suitcase. Thus, the ruse is explicated, for a character deceives by dressing up, but the greater deception hides within the suitcase itself. Knowing the truth about this, leads to dramatic irony and moves the audiences: the *comedia nueva* can affect its audiences by making them laugh.

With regards to the tragicomic plays of Dutch origin, De Bondt’s play *Beleg en Ontset* is exemplary. Such as I have discussed earlier in this chapter, the Leiden edition (printed in 1645) had included many *reien*, which staged the Leiden population as a collective. The play primarily dealt with the city’s regents on the one side, and the Spanish officers on the other. Yet, the play had from its first conception already been a tragicomedy: the subject matter was historical and the play dealt with the decisions of “highborn” characters, while the play knew a happy

⁶⁶ Blasius 1671, 44; in Dutch these fragments say:

Lid. Hoe Philippien, dat sijn onmoogelijke saakken,
’t En sy gy my door konst onsichtbaar weet te
maakken.
Phil. Ik weet ’er raad toe, Heer, verlaat u maar op my.
[...]
Lid. Maar Philippien, de poort is dag en nacht
bewaart?
Phil. Heer, voor een hooveling, sijt gy vrij dom van
aart,

Niet siende, dat ik elk met schelmery betaale.
Men praamt my t’huis, om daar mijn reis-goed
in te haale’,
Waar toe men my dan moet de grootste koffer
doen,
Daar ik u heimlijk in opsluiten sal. ’t Vermoên
Op geen bedrog is, en ’t bedrog doch schuilt ’er
onder.

dénouement.⁶⁷ With its premiere in the Amsterdam Public Theatre in 1660, the play underwent several changes, which made the play a pseudo-*comedia*. First, the *reien* were omitted from the play and replaced with distinct characters, amongst whom a farmer by the name of Kees Louwen (who had fled from the countryside to the city), a noble woman named Amelia and some Leiden freebooters. The acts are, therefore, naturally not concluded by a *rei*. Yet, the play still includes a longer time span and a variety of places, throughout the city and outside the city walls. It is interesting how an original Dutch play has been adapted to conform to popular taste in the 1660s, while the *comedia nueva* was immensely popular.

2.3.2 *The Intrigue of Collective Memory*

The plot of Rodenburgh's 1636/38 play *Vrou Iacoba* (originally devised by him in honour of Jacqueline of Bavaria's year of death in 1436) has a similar intrigue to the adapted *comedia* of *Celia en Prospero*, but also to another *comedia* by Lope de Vega: *La Reina Juana de Nápoles* (adapted and translated as *Joanna van Napels* by Hendrick de Graef). The latter play has for its subject the fourteenth-century queen Johanna I of Naples (1326-82), who like in Lope's dramatization had to fight for power over Naples. Like in *Celia en Prospero*, Countess Jacqueline of Holland is in love with her subject, Stadtholder Francis of Borselen, which is also frowned upon.

Philip Would Holland's Countess dare to marry

A subject? Oh no! the Country will not allow for it.⁶⁸

Duke Philip the Good, Jacqueline's cousin, disapproves and wants to execute Francis. Until now the similarities are apparent. However, *Vrou Iacoba* does not include any acts of disguise, but two of Jacqueline's servants have a parallel love affair and a variety of burghers participate in addition to a hermit. The play differs though regarding Jacqueline's dilemma between her love for Francis and her domains: either she remains countess, but Francis dies, or she chooses Francis, but loses her Succession States (the counties Holland, Zeeland and Hainaut):

Jacqueline Yet, I swear to God [Heaven] that he [Philip] will not

⁶⁷ See Bontius 1645.

⁶⁸ Rodenburgh 1638, J4v.; in Dutch:

H Phlipp. Zoud' d' Hollantsche Graefinn' nu met haer
ondersaet,
In echte treen? Ach neen! 't Landt sulcx niet toe
en laet.

Have his way, whatever evil he undertakes:
 My loyalty will be steadfast, even when the Counties waver,
 I am their overlord, not he. What does the Duke imagine? That
 He will wear the regalia of the counties, while I am still alive:
 His vain illusions can make him stray,
 Jacqueline wants to be and will be [Holland’s] ruler;
 And I will keep my marriage vows to Borssele,
 I want to be and will be Borssele’s wife by marriage, [...] ⁶⁹

This plot development is similar to the play *Joanna van Napels*, in which Johanna has a choice: either to pursue her love for Prince Lodewijck of Taranto and lose her domains through war or marry Prince Andreas of Hungary and lose the sovereignty over her lands, since her husband would govern in her stead. Either way she loses, as is the case in *Vrou Iacoba*. Duke Philip references even in *Vrou Iacoba* Johanna of Naples by comparing Jacqueline to her.⁷⁰ While Johanna wins back her lands through a rebellion against the unlawful tyrant with the help of her subjects, the burghers in *Vrou Iacoba* try to do the same but fail, for Jacqueline has made her choice by marrying Francis, which is another characteristic the plays *Vrou Iacoba* and *Celia en Prospero* have in common: both plays have a happy ending and are concluded by a marriage.

An extra aspect in *Vrou Iacoba*, regards its context, for the play was performed for the first time in 1638, a decade before the Peace of Westphalia. Like Lope’s *La Reina Juana de Nápoles*, *Vrou Iacoba* is set in “national” history. Lope’s mediaeval sources of his history plays ‘sought, in their original setting, to inspire collective memory’.⁷¹ Likewise, Lope’s dramatizations and reformatting of history aimed to foster collective memory in Spain’s Golden Age. As such, many plays by this playwright dealt with a cyclical understanding of history: growth, loss, and continuity, which had clear appeal to the collective memory of the Spaniards.⁷² In some cases, Lope had encouraged the audience ‘to consider the past as a common ground and as a means

⁶⁹ Rodenburgh 1638, L3v.; in Dutch it reads:

Jacqueline Doch by den Hemel sweer, dat hy sijn
 wille niet
 Betreffen sal, hoe seer hy ’t quaetste
 niet ontsiet:
 Mijn trou, sal blyven trou, al soudet ’t
 Landt van wagen,
 Ick ben Lands-Vrou, hy niet. Wat
 waent den Hertogh? dat
 Hy by mijn leven op de Gravens zetel
 sat:

Sijn waen die ydel is, kan hem doling
 layen,
 Jacoba wil en sal Gravinne Scepter
 swayen:
 En mijn gegeven trou aen Bors’le ick
 vast hou,
 Ick wil en sal in Echt oock wesen
 Borslens Vrou, [...]

⁷⁰ Rodenburgh 1638, K3v.

⁷¹ Coates 2008, 134.

⁷² Coates 2008, 134-135.

of looking forward, thereby consolidating group identity through shared memory'.⁷³ While *Joanna van Napels* does not appeal to the Dutch collective memory due to Johanna being a foreign queen, *Vrou Iacoba* does and does it through a similar use of cyclical history and as a way of looking forward: Jacqueline has been dethroned by her cousin, but two centuries later the Dutch had regained their sovereignty. Growth has been followed by loss, after which the Dutch nation could grow again, becoming even greater by casting the yoke of the Spanish Empire, and in the process Rodenburgh confirms the continuity of the Dutch as a sovereign and mighty people. Similar conclusions can be made about the patriotic plays *Gysbreght*, *Geeraerd van Velsen*, *De Moordt*, *Baeto* and *Beleg en Ontset der Stadt Leyden*. These plays are all set in a Dutch "national" history, whether this is the Romano-mythical period of *Baeto*, the mediaeval times of *Gysbreght*, *Geeraerd van Velsen* and *Vrou Iacoba*, or the recent past of *De Moordt* and *Beleg en Ontset*. As such, both the *comedia nueva* and the Senecan-Scaligerian tradition foster collective memory and affect their audiences depending on the cultural context, in which a play is being performed. While in the Spanish originals collective memory is often omnipresent, the Dutch translations and adaptations lack this resource, but a newly invented *comedia*, such as *Vrou Iacoba*, does.

In the case of patriotic plays, and especially in the case of *Vrou Iacoba*, the affective operations of such a use of collective memory are clear, for the auditors can relate to the dramatis persona Jacqueline and are almost automatically invested with the plot and, thus, more emotionally responsive to developments regarding the plot. By also including the citizenry of The Hague as dramatis personae, Rodenburgh increased the identification process: the angry reactions to Duke Philip's decision to hang Francis and dethrone Jacqueline swing the citizens into action. Hence, the audience members see the citizens protesting as if they were doing this themselves. The identification with Jacqueline's fate (for her loss is the citizens' loss and, thus, of the audience as well) and her historical-tragic character trigger collective memory, which as such, create strong affects and evoke strong emotions of compassion, fear and anger. If successfully evoked, these emotions resonate in the narratives about other tragic women: tears shed by all women during the many performances of plays in the Amsterdam Public Theatre were likely mixed with those of Jacqueline and vice versa – including Johanna of Naples for her intertextual similarities to Jacqueline, but also Badeloch in *Gysbreght* and Machtelt in *Geeraerd van Velsen* for their similar patriotic meaning in the discussion about sovereignty.⁷⁴

⁷³ Coates 2008, 139.

⁷⁴ On the prefigurative use of such affects and the emotions they establish, see Van Marion and

Vergeer 2014, 181 and Steenbergh 2014, 98; Steenbergh 2012, 407-426; Helmers 2015, 99-104.

The result is an interesting *comedia*, which incorporates a typical Dutch history with Spanish poetics, during the high time of war. The play includes at the same time several songs and tableaux vivants, making the play even more a contamination between the *comedia nueva* and the Senecan-Scaligerian plays, which I will discuss in the next chapter.

2.3.3 Three Types of Comedia

By now, it is possible to divide the Dutch *comedias* in three categories regarding their intrigue and themes. Although it is important to realise that a taxonomy of the *comedias* will always be in some way arbitrary and a desire of our modern age, I will follow the critical reflection and taxonomy by Jonathan Thacker used in his 2007 book *A Companion to Golden Age Theatre*.⁷⁵ On the one hand, there are the *comedias*, which revolve around serious themes such as the question of honour and vengeance or regarding the lives of kings and history: the former are called *dramas de honor* (honour plays); the latter are called *dramas históricos* (history plays), which plays can be either complete dramatizations of history or merely contain subtle references to events from the past. On the other hand, there are the *comedias de capa y espada* (cloak and dagger plays, which generally have a happy ending and are concluded by a marriage as a festive dénouement). This last category includes two types of *comedia*: there are the *comedias*, which ‘are set in towns and cities of Spain (most frequently Madrid) and in a notional present day’. In addition, the cloak and dagger plays can also ‘be located in other lands, in a courtly setting and are peopled with characters of a higher social class: dukes, countesses and marquises’.⁷⁶ Strictly speaking, the last category has been traditionally called *comedia palatina* (palace plays), but Thacker explains that both kinds of *comedias* may be categorized as *comedias de capa y espada* for their similar content and trajectories.⁷⁷ Furthermore, Thacker lists subgenres such as the *comedia de santos* (religious plays), *comedia pastoral* (pastoral plays), *de figurón* (a scoundrel or fool’s play; comparable to the Dutch genre of the *schelmenroman*), and *burlesca* (burlesque; Shrove Tuesday plays, or kind of farces).⁷⁸ Examples of *comedias*, which can be classified as one of these subgenres are effectively absent in the corpus.⁷⁹ As such, based on the taxonomy of the Spanish originals by Thacker and others,

⁷⁵ See Thacker’s reservations about the usefulness of a taxonomy regarding the *comedia nueva* in Thacker 2007, 143-146.

⁷⁶ Thacker 2007, 150.

⁷⁷ Thacker 2007, 150.

⁷⁸ See Thacker 2007, 146-152.

⁷⁹ It may even be the case that the Dutch adaptors had no inclination to translate the *comedias*, which were either religious, pastoral, starring a scoundrel or burlesque, since the Dutch literary milieu provided for enough plays of such natures (in addition to the transfer of pastoral plays from Italy). It is, however, too early to make any final statements on the matter.

and while keeping the Dutch context in mind, I can give the following overview regarding the plays in the corpus:⁸⁰

Drama de honor	Comedia de capa y espada – Comedia palatina	Drama histórico
<i>Casandra en Karel</i> 1617	<i>Jalourse Studentin</i> 1617	
	<i>Celia en Prospero</i> 1617	
	<i>Vrou Iacoba</i> 1636/38	
	<i>Vervolgde Laura</i> 1645	(<i>Beleg en Ontset</i>) 1645/1660
<i>Gedwongen Vrient</i> 1646		
<i>Beklaagelycke Dwangh</i> 1648		
	<i>Voorzigtige Dolheit</i> 1650	
		<i>Spaanschen Bergman</i> 1657
	<i>Joanna van Napels</i> 1664	
	<i>De Malle Wedding</i> 1671	

Table 1 Categorization of the Dutch *comedias* according to the most commonly used taxonomy.

The above presented classification of the Dutch *comedias* should illustrate the preferences of the Dutch adaptors and the Dutch audience as well. It seems that the cloak and dagger plays were enjoyed the most by the Dutch with their abundance of acts of disguise, cross-dressing, intriguing plot developments and concluding marriages. Furthermore, Rodenburgh was the first to introduce the *drama de honor* and the *comedia de capa y espada* in the 1617s. Two decades later, he would combine the *comedia de capa y espada* with the *drama histórico* to invent a new *comedia* about Dutch history: *Vrou Iacoba*. It would be another decade before the *drama de honor* and the *comedia de capa y espada* would be adapted by other playwrights and yet another before they did the same with the *drama histórico*. Still, it begs to differ whether we can make big assumptions on the basis of the corpus. In the case of Rodenburgh, the play *Hoecx en Cabeliavvs oft Hartogh Karel den Stouten* (1628) may also be a newly invented *comedia*, wherefore the *drama histórico* would have been introduced a whole decade earlier in the Dutch

⁸⁰ Since none of the Spanish originals of the Dutch adaptations have been extensively researched in Spanish scholarship (the focus in Spanish scholarship has been on other better known plays by

Lope), the taxonomy of the corpus is on the basis of my own findings and interpretations. I have supplemented these with Abrahamse's qualification of Rodenburgh's plays.

Republic. For the moment, it suffices to say that three types of *comedia* (of a total of seven types) were quite popular in the Dutch Republic between the years of reference (1617-72).

2.3.4 Deception and Intrigue in the Scaligerian Comedy

When one is discussing acts of disguise and cross-dressing in Dutch literary history, one cannot ignore the exemplary play of *Moortje* by Gerbrand Adriaensz. Bredero and the popular play *Warenar* by Samuel Coster and Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft. In *Moortje*, deception through disguise is like in the *comedia nueva* a means to an end, enables the action and pushes the plot forward. One of the burgher sons, Writsart, dresses himself up as a Moor and gives full rein to his lusts by raping the object of his affection: the pristine Katryntje. Writsart uses the innocent act of dressing up during Shrove Tuesday, to pursue his own villainous interests. Likewise, in Coster’s and Hooft’s *Warenar*, another pristine girl by the name of Claertje is introduced to the audience, which learns that the girl is heavily pregnant. However, she is not married and, thus, without honour. She too has been raped by another character Ritsart. In the end, Writsart and Ritsart are allowed to marry the girls they have raped, resulting in a bizarre combination of festivities, the act of disguise, felony and a “happy ending”.⁸¹ While in tragedy poetic justice punishes the mischievous character for his actions, in *Moortje* and *Warenar* the bizarre outcome confuses the audience to the fullest: the plot development is completely based upon misspent passions and cunning deception.⁸² Bredero, Coster and Hooft literally use the acts of disguise and deception in *Moortje* and *Warenar* to shock.

Considering how *Moortje* and *Warenar* can be affective, it may be clear that the affective operations in the play stem from the bizarreness of the situations represented on stage. These situations are supplemented by the bizarre cameo of the dramatis personae, such as the extreme avaricious Warnar in *Warenar*, but also by inordinate gestures and motions of the characters.⁸³ However, especially the unlikeliness of the events make the audience respond. The fantastic outcome in *Moortje* and *Warenar* of the victim being given in marriage to her violator, would have left every auditor with a stricken heart and affected by these events. The effects of such a situation are for obvious reasons the emotions of anger at Writsart’s and Ritsart’s selfish behaviour and compassion with Katryntje’s and Claertje’s fates of having been raped and having to marry their rapists. Van Stipriaan hits the nail on the head, when he says that in both

⁸¹ Van Stipriaan 1996, 188-190, 228.

⁸² Van Stipriaan 1996, 189.

⁸³ Jansen 2004, 111.

comedies an auditor can only find a “moral deficit”, meaning that the outcome will not be satisfactory to those who expect a happy ending to be a morally acceptable ending as well.⁸⁴

Yet, scholars have pointed out in the past that a moral deficit is not present in comedies presenting dilemma’s such as in *Moortje* and *Warenar*. It is true that it is a common *topos* in classical and Renaissance literature that a woman who has been raped can be restored in her honour, when she marries her rapist. One might think of Jacob Cats’ story from *Trou-ringh* (1637): *Twee verkracht, en beyde getrouwt*, which deals about a young man, Menander, who rapes two girls in a short period of time. Roman law gave the girls the choice to either marry their rapist or to demand his head on a platter. The one girl wants to marry Menander, while the other wants his head. The story relates the legal proceedings: in the end Menander may marry the first girl, but they have to leave the city.⁸⁵ On the other hand, there is the classical example of the virtuous Roman woman Lucretia, who had been raped by the king’s son, Tarquinius Superbus, and, thus, committed suicide to save her honour. These were well-known stories in the seventeenth century, wherefore the Dutch audience might have accepted this outcome. I argue, however, that the situation is more complex and that the comedies know in fact a moral deficit, such as Van Stipriaan argues. In the first place, Bredero, Coster and Hooft offer the male perspective. I think it is naïve to think that the audience would have accepted such a dénouement, especially where it concerns Dutch women, who enjoyed in general the most liberties and rights among women in Europe. Secondly, comedy also shows us the deficits of human life as if we are looking in a mirror. The male perspective, which the playwrights are offering, should actually be understood as incorrect. At the least, both points of view – either marrying your rapist or not accepting it by getting furious – are at odds with one another. Furthermore, there is the example of Machtelt van Velsen in Hooft’s *Geeraerd van Velsen*, who has been raped and laments her rape in the prologue of the play and warily urges her husband to proceed with his conspiracy in the second act.

From the perspective of the establishment of affects, such plays have, however, had a successful effect on their audiences, for the affects have resulted in effects, meaning that the audience members experienced deeply felt emotions. In Van Stipriaan’s words, ‘the deception of the masquerade can be understood as ambiguous developments of the plot, which bring forth a burlesque and dramatic suspense’.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Van Stipriaan 1996, 190.

⁸⁵ The classical oration and Cats’ adaptation have been discussed by Renaissance scholar Sonja Witstein in a prolific 1967 article, republished in Witstein 1980.

⁸⁶ Van Stipriaan 1996, 228:

‘de misleidende maskerade valt zo te bezien als een meerduidige verknoping van diverse draden van de intrige, die een kluchtige dramatische spanning voortbrengt’.

2.4 Sub-Conclusion: Macrostructure

All in all, the affective operations of the *comedia nueva* and Senecan-Scaligerian playwriting originate from a wide variety of sources, where it concerns the macrostructure of the plays. Regarding the Dutch *comedias* it can be said that the three-act, four-act and five-act plays all employ the *entractes* differently. The adapted *comedias* with five acts show the most affects through the clever use of combining the *entractes* with moments of suspense. As such, the audience can redirect its attention to the plot developments and ponder on the events presented to them. Often the *comedias* start in medias res and begin in the middle of conflict (which can be breath-taking and very affective), but examples exist of plays, which have been adapted to accustom to the Senecan-Scaligerian tradition of beginning a play through a clear prologue, which can help the audience accustom to the situation and prepare themselves for the upcoming events. Through the unrestricted use of time and space in the *comedias*, the playwrights had more opportunity to show the events, than rather relating them. The intrigue revolves often around the deception of disguise and the knowledge difference between characters and characters and the audience. By the mixture of the comic and the tragic, the comic can work as a magnifying glass bringing the tragic intrigue to an understandable level the audience can relate itself to. Such plays which include acts of disguise and cross-dressing as its important features can be generally called *comedias de capa y espada*, ending happily and often through the celebration of a marriage. Most of the plays in the corpus can be classified as a *comedia de capa y espada*. Two other categories were popular as well: the *dramas de honor*, which revolved around vengeance and honour, and the *dramas históricos*, which were plays with history for its subject. The macrostructure of the *comedia nueva* is multivariate and its affective operations can differ per play.

In the case of the Senecan-Scaligerian plays, the *entractes* typically consist of *reien*, which give the audience extensive amounts of time to imprint the events of the previous act, while listening to the moralizing words of the *rei*. However, more important is the prologue. It is a fixed feature in the Senecan-Scaligerian plays, which is generally used to narrate the history of the plot and to win the auditors over through ethical, moral and political reflection and rhetoric. Meanwhile, the restriction of time, space and action in the Dutch plays means that the affective operations are often obstructed, for the unclear and often unrepresentative use of time and space in these plays. Still, exceptions exist (such as Van Hogendorp's *De Moordt*) and the affective operations of these plays are increased. In the case of comedies, the acts of disguise and cross-dressing can be used by a character for their mischievous pursuits, resulting in bizarre situations,

which the audience can hardly comprehend. It seems, thus, that the macrostructure of the Senecan-Scaligerian playwriting can make or break the affective operations of a play.

CHAPTER THREE

‘Let Rhetorical Figures Be Brought In’

Microstructure: Songs & Tableaux Vivants

Lope had said that a playwright should not drag in quotations, nor let his language offend because of exquisite words, nor should he ‘spend sententious thoughts and witty sayings on family trifles’, but he ought to use plain and simple language.¹ Yet, Lope had been a great advocate of the use of polymetric verse and other rhetorical figures, which can excite the audiences to the fullest. In this chapter, I will discuss the microstructure of the plays in the corpus. In the first chapter, I have established a framework within which I can fit my analysis. Subsequently, I have discussed the macrostructure of the plays in the corpus in the second: we have seen how the division of matter, the use of a prologue or the beginning in medias res, the tragicomic and the employment of disguise, cross-dressing and a complex and exciting intrigue all contribute to the establishment of affects. Now, in light of this chapter, the macrostructure may be regarded as a second framework, in which I can fit every single theatre resource to be discussed in this chapter, again increasing the affects in a play. Through my discussion of the microstructure, I will show how the combination of macro- and microstructure add to the overwhelming affects established in the plays.

I will discuss the music and songs. I will argue that in the frame of the macrostructure the music should increase the atmosphere according to the moment in the intrigue a song has been inserted, while considering the effects of relating emotions through song and by using many rhetorical-pathetic figures. Meanwhile, I will discuss how the Dutch playwrights played with Lope’s fondness of polymetric verse replacing the typical Spanish *décimas*, romances (ballads), *octavas* (octaves), *tercets* and *redondillas* with popular Dutch verse forms, such as *refreinen* (refrains) and *rondelen* (rondeaus) and in the process appealing to popular taste of the Dutch crowds.

This chapter will, furthermore, disclose the typical and traditional Dutch use of the tableau vivant in seventeenth-century plays in the Dutch Republic. I will consider its iconographical,

¹ De Vega 2009, 32-33.

iconological, intermedial (intertextual) and psychological implications by fitting it into the context of the play and relating the subjects of the tableaux vivants to collective memory. Especially in the case of the tableau vivant, the macrostructure is important and I will draw from the insights from chapter 2, where I have discussed the affective division of matter. In addition, the importance of *reien* in Senecan-Scaligerian plays in relation to the tableau vivant will be stressed. Through the analysis of the microstructure in the plays, the affective operations in seventeenth-century Dutch playwriting should be made clear. This chapter will, therefore, reflect on the affectiveness of two major theatre resources in Dutch literary history: song and the tableau vivant.

3.1 Meter, Music, and the Creation of an Affective Community

In 1638, Rodenburgh had let his tragic protagonist Jacqueline of Bavaria sing in *Vrou Iacoba* on stage, while no one else was present. She sings about her lifelong hardship during her rule and how it has affected her:

Jacqueline An overburdened heart,
 Confused by mournful torment,
 Seeks joyful joy:
 Just like in general,
 The spent fief
 Yearns for a place of comfort.²

In their 2014 article ‘Gezongen Emoties’, Van Marion and Vergeer have argued that Rodenburgh was one of the first playwrights to introduce song in plays, wherefore his plays differentiated from the classical and traditional plays including *reien*.³ Like I have discussed in chapter 1 the relation between human emotions and music has been traditionally a clear one: by tuning the harmonious and inharmonious of the humours, a person’s health and temperament was influenced and a person’s melancholy was removed for a short period of time (*La Musique*

² Rodenburgh 1638, B2r.; the complete, song has been published (in Dutch) in Van Marion and Vergeer 2014, 182-184. In Dutch it says:

Jacoba Een overladen hert
 Door droefsheytsel verwart,

Soeckt heugelijck vermaken:
 Gelijck als int ghemeen
 De af-ghesloofde leen
 Nae rustingh plaetse haken.

³ Van Marion and Vergeer 2014, 170.

Humaine), but often it meant an aggravation of the emotions: the auditor was effectively affected, moving them to love, hate, dance, rejoice or something else entirely. Van Marion and Vergeer have stressed this use regarding Jacqueline’s song in *Vrou Iacoba*: ‘this applies especially to sad songs sung in the compounds of an intimate theatre; this applied often even more, when the text was sung to a well-known, beloved melody, which was customary in seventeenth-century contrafacta’.⁴ Furthermore, they explained how rhetorical and pathetic language created an atmosphere and affected the audience by creating an affective community⁵ of auditors, who shared their emotions.⁶ Yet, it was not the first time a play by Rodenburgh had included song. Like his newly invented *comedia Vrou Iacoba*, the 1617 plays *Jalourse Studentin*, *Casandra en Karel* and *Celia en Prospero* include a number of songs. Veldhorst already mentioned the musical modernizations at the beginning of the seventeenth-century, instigated by the Italian pastoral plays, the French bucolic romances, English theatre practices and the Spanish *comedia*, of which the last group is particularly important regarding the subject of this Master Thesis.⁷ Rodenburgh was the first and foremost agent to adopt these influences into his playwriting, and he used them as an entertaining interruption of the traditional Alexandrine meter (which was always used in Dutch plays). Additionally, according to Abrahamse, ‘music, song and stichomythia seem to be Rodenburgh’s alternatives to Lope’s polymetric verses’.⁸ Although this might be true at first sight, a closer look at Rodenburgh’s adapted *comedias* reveals a more complex situation. Such as I will argue, Rodenburgh’s dealing with song is a major cause for the affective operations of the plays and inspired others to do the same. Rodenburgh and other authors in the second half of the seventeenth century found creative ways to accustom Lope’s polymetric verses to Dutch tradition through the use of rondeaus, refrains and other verse forms.

3.1.1 The Acculturation of Spanish Polymetric Verse

One great example is Rodenburgh’s *Celia en Prospero*. In the play a reader can identify seven instances of the use of music and polymetric verse. A discussion of all cases would be too

⁴ Van Marion and Vergeer 2014, 172;

Dat geldt zeker ook voor droevige liederen in de sfeer van een intiem theater, vooral wanneer de tekst gezongen kan worden op een bekende, vaak geliefde melodie zoals dat in de zeventiende-eeuwse contrafacten gebruikelijk was.

⁵ An Affective community is a concept adopted from Kristine Steenbergh describing a community of sometimes different groups of people, who share the

same emotions because of the way the community as a whole is affected: by appealing to general human ideals. See Steenbergh 2014, 90.

⁶ Van Marion and Vergeer 2014, 173-176, 179-180.

⁷ See Veldhorst 2004, 62.

⁸ Abrahamse 1997, 97;

Muziek, zang en stichomythieën lijken voor Rodenburgh het alternatief voor Lopes polymetrise verzen.

extensive, wherefore I will discuss the foremost and interesting songs and verse forms. In chapter 2, I have discussed the intrigue, and acts of disguise in *Celia en Prospero*, where Count Prospero has to dress up as a farmer to evade persecution by Prince Aristippus of Spain, who wants to marry Duchess Celia and wants to prevent Prospero from the same endeavour. After being banished and having dressed up as a farmer, Prospero sings about the hardship he is experiencing, much like Jacqueline in *Vrou Iacoba*, but also about his love for Celia and his bitter thoughts regarding the situation.⁹ Like Jacqueline's song, Prospero's song (with the incipit 'Hoe schielik is u rad') are eight six-line stanzas rhyming 3A3A3b3C3C3b, which might indicate that the song is a contrafactum fitting the 'Lofzang van Maria' (The Magnificat), the musicalized version of Mary's prayer from Lucas I.¹⁰ Prospero sings that Fortune is especially swift to take everything from him:

Prospero How swift is your wheel,
 O Fortune? That which I possessed
 Has nimbly flown from me:
 You promised me a lot more,
 But you have retaken my happiness:
 Everything has been concealed to me.¹¹

The intermusicality with the 'Lofzang van Maria' gives Prospero's song a contemplative character; listening to the song almost becomes a religious experience: in line with Rodenburgh's style of playwriting the song also has a moral aim. As such, Abrahamse has argued that Rodenburgh had been familiar with Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*.¹² In addition, Van Marion and Vergeer added that Rodenburgh had been an admirer of his fellow rhetoricians Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert and Hendrick Laurensz. Spieghel and their manuals about ethics (respectively *Zedekunst* and *Hert-Spiegel*).¹³ In the following stanzas of the song the ethical reflection becomes more apparent: Prospero complains about the farmer's clothes he has to wear and wonders what Fortune has in store for him. He asks what Fortune asks of his slave and what Heaven wants from him. Or should he steadily bear his thoughts full of love

⁹ For the full Dutch text, see appendix A.1.

¹⁰ See the Nederlandse Liederbank of the Meertens Instituut and Van Marion and Vergeer 2014, 174-175.

¹¹ Rodenburgh 1617b, B2r.; in Dutch:
Prospero Hoe schielik is u rad
 Fortuyn? het gheen ik had'

Is vaerdich my ontvloghen,
 Ghy b'loofde hoop veel meer,
 Maer 't lukkighst' neemt ghy weer,
 't Is alles my ontoghen.

¹² Abrahamse 1997, 128-129.

¹³ Van Marion and Vergeer 2014, 177-178.

in times of hope and fear? It does not matter: although the sun is shining, the day does not glow at Prospero and the nights are dark. ‘Still, I do not wish my Death: so he, who denies us our love can see that I can endure many catastrophes and that I can suffer from greater misfortune, such as a man ought to’.¹⁴ Although Prospero seems to be hopeful and of great spirit, he sings that he has lost the courage and strength to fight for love. The solution to this problem is to burst out into tears so he can relieve his heart, after which he will rest for a while and sleep off his sorrows. Some twenty years later, the audience would hear Jacqueline of Bavaria sing something quite similar,¹⁵ but in 1617 the audience was already able to see the same use of song in Rodenburgh’s *Casandra en Karel*, in which Duchess Casandra also sings about her love troubles concerning her husband’s chamberlain; however, the ethical reflection is absent here. One can imagine that in the case of Prospero, the auditors are moved to have compassion with the Count, because of the moment in the plot at which Prospero sings this song. Prospero has been robbed of everything he loves and has been banished from court. Unable to see a solution, the only thing Prospero can do, is sing. The auditors are moved to tears and are invested with Prospero’s fate.

However, the plot thickens at the beginning of the second act. It is the first real instance of acculturation in *Celia en Prospero* and this is also the first instance where I will shed new light on Abrahamse’s position regarding Rodenburgh’s replacement of polymetric verse with music, song and stichomythia. Right after Prospero has sung his despairing song and while being dressed as a farmer, he meets Laura, the miller’s daughter and Molimpo, the miller’s employee. He introduces himself by an alias: Martijn. Laura falls in love with the Count, which Molimpo detests. The second act opens with Molimpo being aggrieved by Laura’s choice for Martijn about which he sings. Unlike the song by Prospero, Rodenburgh chose to let Molimpo sing in rondeaus.¹⁶ The playwright makes clever use of the repetition of complete verses – a typical characteristic of rondeaus. The rondeau with the incipit ‘Een Laura alleen’ consists of nine lines. Lines two and eight are the same, as well as three and nine, wherefore the rondeau rhymes 3A4b3A6c6c3d3A4b3A and includes several instances of internal rhyme.¹⁷ The repetition of complete verses has a naturally penetrating effect on the audience, of which Rodenburgh had

¹⁴ Rodenburgh 1617b, B2v.; in Dutch:
Prospero Nochtans en wensch ik niet
 Myn dood: op dat hy ziet
 Die dien ons liefd’ benyden,
 Dat ik ghelyk een Man
 Veel rampen draeghen kan
 En meerder onluk lyden.

¹⁵ See Van Marion and Vergeer 2014, 176 and Rodenburgh 1617a, A1v.-A2r.

¹⁶ See for the full Dutch text: appendix A.2.

¹⁷ When including the internal rhyme in the rhyme scheme, it becomes:

=+./+.*+.& (+ + =+./+.*+.& (3A 1b1b1b1b 3A 3c3d 3c3d 3d 3A 1b1b1b1b 3A
 To which melody this song was sung, is momentarily unknown.

written in his *Borst-Weringh* (1619) ‘that the orator should penetrate the ears with such a manner of speaking that he may move the hearts with sweet words and he should speak with such pleasantries that his auditors will not get bored from listening’.¹⁸ In order to accomplish this penetrating effect, Quintilian had for instance suggested the use of repetition by which the utterance gets both its charm and force:¹⁹

Molimpo Only Laura,
I love, I hold dear, and I lament, and I ask:
Why did she say no?
Love is o so powerful, stubborn in its capacity,
As an all-victor, so strong, he steals away the heart through the eyes,
And he leaves me cast off
In an anxious weeping,
I love, I hold dear, and I lament, and I ask,
Why did she say no?²⁰

The affective operations are, thus, enormous and the audience is, therefore, pushed back and forth between their compassion with Prospero who has had to endure the wrath of Aristippus and Molimpo who has lost his one true love to Prospero, bringing them in a situation which can be called sublime, for the auditors may feel compassion for Prospero, but could hate him at the same time for stealing the heart of Molimpo’s love interest; especially since Prospero only wants to use Laura to get back to court, for Laura’s father is in the service of his beloved Celia. We can see how the songs in *Celia en Prospero* can create an atmosphere and influence the auditors to feel strong emotions towards the characters.

Another intriguing example in *Celia en Prospero* regards the song ‘Nu ghy molenaers maelt ghelijck’ at the end of the play in the fourth act. The song is being sung to the melody of ‘Venus die is over de zee’ (generally called ‘Phoebus is lang over de zee’), which consists of stanzas of seven lines, rhyming 4A4b4A4b4C4C3C. The song is an intriguing combination of music

¹⁸ Rodenburgh 1619, 50. For the Dutch original:
‘[...] behoort den welsprekert met zodanighen
wyze van zeggen ’tghehoor te doorkruypen, dat
de herten ghetreft werden, en beweghen door de
zoet-dringende woorden de hertens middelpunt,
en met zodanige aenghe-naemheydt, dat hun
ghehoor ’t aenhooren niet verveelt’.

¹⁹ Quintilianus 2001, 9.3.28-38 (p. 473-474).

²⁰ Rodenburgh 1617b, C2r.-v.; in Dutch:

Molimpo Een Laura alleen,
Lief ik, bemin ik, en klaegh’ ik, en vraegh’ ik.
Waerom zeyd zy Neen?
Liefde is zo machtich, trotzich van vermogen,
Al-verwinner, krachtich, steelt hy ’t hert door
d’oogen,
En laet my verschoven
In een benauwt gheween,
Lief ik, bemin ik, en klaegh’ ik, en vraegh ik,
Waerom zeyt zy neen?

and action, which is exemplary for Lope’s drama. Many songs in his plays were a direct part of the dramatic action, influenced it, or emphasized the meaning of an action.²¹ According to Umpierre, a song can then ‘regulate the development of the action by quickening its pace, slowing it, or helping bring it to an end’,²² which uses – as far as I can tell – have not been categorized by Veldhorst yet. I argue, thus, that the last use specifically applies to the song discussed here in addition to emphasizing the meaning of the action: during the song the plot will be revealed to the auditors, anxious to know the outcome. Duchess Celia may marry Count Prospero (ll. 12-13, ‘Dat zy nu te zamen paeren, / Die zo langh verscheyden waeren’), Celia gives her mill to Laura as a wedding present, who is marrying Molimpo (l. 74, ‘En ik schenk heur dese molen’) and Prince Aristippus says he will marry the French Princess (ll. 29-30, ‘Want men ziet ’s Hemels besluyt, / Yeder heeft zyn echte-Bruyt’), to whom he was promised in marriage by his father, the King (l. 43, ‘Hier ghy nu uw Vrouwe hebt’).²³ While listening to this song, it becomes clear how the song is actually not a mere song, but a dialogue as well: the *dramatis personae* react to each other and converse with one another. The dialogue sets itself apart from the other dialogues in the play, since it was sung and since the melody differed from the Alexandrine meter of the other dialogues. The function of the song stretches, as such, beyond the general uses to express a character’s emotions, feelings and desires or to create a mood and atmosphere. The festive events are stressed by the use of a song indicating that the audience may rejoice about the outcome. Still, the examples discussed here, are just a fraction of the many ways in which Rodenburgh interrupts the traditional Alexandrine meter. In order to keep the audience interested and entertained, Rodenburgh included in addition to the above discussed songs, a refrain, two lamentations (of which one is a duet) and he played with the Alexandrines using internal rhyme in one instance.²⁴ However, a full discussion of these songs and variations of the meter would be too extensive in light of this Master Thesis. It is, however, safe to say on the basis of the three given examples that Rodenburgh tried to affect his audience through the playful use of song and multifarious meter.

A few decades later, Joris de Wijse would adapt the Spanish polymetric verses as well through the employment of traditional Dutch verse forms. In *Voorzigtige Dolheit* (1648), De Wijse had inserted two refrains, which follow shortly after one another in the second act. The first refrain with the incipit ‘Ik magh met recht my over u beklagen’ is a contrafactum of two,

²¹ See Umpierre 1975, 54-58.

²² Umpierre 1975, 55.

²³ Rodenburgh 1617b, F4r.-v. See also appendix A.3 for the full Dutch text.

²⁴ See Rodenburgh 1617b, C1v.-C2r., C3r., D2r.-v. and D4r.

six-line stanzas, sung to the melody of ‘Je voudrais bien o Cloris’ and rhymes 5a5B5a5B5c5c. A traditional refrain consists of a series of stanzas (which may be anything between seven and twenty lines) with every stanza being concluded by the same verse: the so-called *stock*.²⁵ The last stanza differs from the others and is the so-called *prince-strofe*, in which the author or singer addressed the lord, some other high ranking official or the chair (*factor*) of the chamber of rhetoricians. In this case, the *prince-strofe* has been omitted and the *stock* consists of two verses. Furthermore, the melody to which the refrain was sung has been taken from the *Airs de Différents Auteurs, mis en Tablature de Luth*, which was compiled and written by the French court musician Gabriel Bataille (1574/75-1630). The *Airs de Différents Auteurs* was printed in a series of six books between 1608-15 in Paris. This particular song with the incipit ‘Je voudrais bien o Cloris’ was collected in the last volume of 1615. The Dutch Liederenbank denotes the song as either a bucolical song or lamentation.²⁶

The Dutch refrain is, however, a clear lamentation and marks the beginning of a lot of intrigue in the play. There is no specific character who sings the song. Instead, the song was likely sung by a choir and as such, the song is comparable to the uses of *reien* in the Senecan-Scaligerian plays. The song is directly connected to the action in the play, wherefore a short summary of the plot is necessary to comprehend the importance and iconic use of this song: the old king of Albania had died and left his crown to his only heir, the now king Anthony. As a young king he falls in love with countess Lucinde, whom he seduces. He can prevent Lucinde’s brother, count Morison, from unmasking him just in time. Morison accuses Lucinde of adultery and he wants redemption from the man, who seduced his sister. Anthony, thus, makes him the general of his armies sending him to “Sfetisgrad”, which was besieged by the Ottomans. This decision has, however, a counter side, for Dinardo was fired from his position of general in order to make Morison commander-in-chief. Moreover, Anthony’s stepmother, Rosania, is in love with Dinardo. Therefore, Dinardo and Rosania plot against the king and plan to mix the king’s morning beverage with some herbs, which will make Anthony insane and unfit to rule. Robbrecht, who Rosania and Dinardo wanted to bribe, is the king’s apothecary. Robbrecht is, however, loyal to his king and warns Anthony.

Hence, the king pretends that he knows nothing of the plot and the audience is also wondering what the king will do. The respective scene opens with the king’s morning ritual.

²⁵ De Castelein 1555. De Castelein gives examples of refrains of various lengths with a minimum of nine and a maximum of twenty lines. However, De Castelein says that seven or eight lines is also acceptable; see De Castelein 1555, 116.

²⁶ See the Nederlandse Liederenbank of the Meertens Instituut and Bataille 1615, 12v.-13r. for the melody of ‘Je voudrais bien o Cloris’.

Finardo, one of Anthony’s servants, asks him whether he would like some music to be played, which the king confirms. The refrain ‘Ik magh met recht my over u beklagen’ follows on Finardo’s question. The song deals with love troubles and laments the loss of happiness of a lyrical subject who addresses Time (ll. 1-2, ‘Ik magh met recht my over u beklagen, / O tijdt, die my mijn vreughde hebt berooft’). In the *stock*-verses, the lyrical subject sings that “she” admitted him to her heart, which is a joy in itself, but it did not last (ll. 5-6, *Zy liet my toe; een vreughdt; ô tong wildt zwijgen, / Een vreughdt, daar ik haar niet weer toe kan krijgen.*’). His hope has fled unless Cupid will help him again. Thence, he needs to learn her thoughts, but he wonders how.²⁷ Like a *rei* in Senecan-Scaligerian playwrighting, the lyrical subject reflects on the events in the play. The king listens to his own troubles regarding Lucinde, while performing his morning ritual. Meanwhile, Celio (the king’s chamberlain) enters with his morning beverage and, thus, the song also emphasizes the intrigue, which is connected to the allegedly poisoned beverage to be drunk by Anthony. Celio and Anthony have a short morning conversation with Celio handing the king his beverage. Through this use of the song, De Wijse builds suspense and prepares the audience to be affected.

Immediately, Anthony begins to sing his own song with the incipit ‘Op wat lossen grondt’. The song is a lamentation in the form of a nine-line refrain consisting of three stanzas rhyming 3A2B2B3A3B2c2c3d3E3d3E and was sung to the melody of ‘Non ha sotto il ciel’.²⁸ The king laments that his advances with Lucinde have been unsuccessful, while he drinks from his morning beverage:

Anthony [...]
 And yet my eyes, I have been deceived
 By two bright beams
 Radiating from your lovely face,
 Which now make me stray.²⁹

In the meantime, the audience is almost calling out loud not to drink, but was also expecting him not to drink, since they know that he knows that the beverage has been poisoned – or so they think. Veldhorst has, therefore, said that the song comes at a precarious moment in the

²⁷ For the full Dutch text see appendix B.1 and De Wijse 1650, C4v.-D1r.

²⁸ According to Veldhorst, the music of ‘Non ha sotto il ciel’ has not been handed down to us. See Veldhorst 2004, note 532.

²⁹ De Wijse 1650, D1v.; in Dutch it says:

Anthony [...]
 Maar mijn oogen, 'k ben bedroogen
 Door twee heldre stralen
 Van uw lief gezicht,
 Die my nu doen dwaalen.

play. The king feigns to lose his strength as the result of drinking the poisoned beverage and he can utter 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’.³⁰ The whole court rushes to the king’s side in complete desperation. The music, hence, deceives the king and has an alienating effect, Veldhorst says.³¹ The audience is also wondering what is happening. They know that the king knew that the beverage was poisoned, wherefore the auditors are conflicted. What did just happen? They are effectively affected, until it is revealed that the king had, in fact, fooled everyone, in order to unmask the plotters. Now he can counterplot against Dinardo and Rosania without them suspecting a thing. The auditors are thrilled because of the action. The songs emphasize the action, draw their attention and deceive them through their enchanting effects. As such, the affective operations of these two refrains is clear, for they interrupt the standard Alexandrine meter. Furthermore, Rodenburgh and De Wijse adapted the *comedias* by using traditional Dutch verse forms to affect the audiences, but with the same aim as Lope had had with his songs and polymetric verse. Rodenburgh and De Wijse show that they are familiar with the principle of acculturation, such as Jan Vos had promoted in his *Medea*: he who is in Rome, should conform to Roman customs; he who is elsewhere, should conform to the customs of the place where one finds oneself.³² Through such adaptation and acculturation, the plays are adapted to the Dutch taste and the affective operations of the Spanish originals are kept intact.

3.1.2 New Developments in the 1660s and 1670s

While Rodenburgh and De Wijse (amongst others) had adapted Lope’s polymetric verse by replacing the Spanish verse forms with refrains and rondeaus, this practice changed in the second half of the seventeenth century. In the 1660s and 1670s, playwrights offered a new approach to Lope’s polymetric verse by leaving the Spanish verse forms intact. Two playwrights stand out in the corpus: Hendrick de Graef in his *Joanna van Napels* (1664) and Joan Blasius in his *Malle Wedding* (1671). They respectively chose for the Spanish *redondillas* and *décimas* instead of the more traditional verse forms to affect the audiences.

In *Joanna van Napels*, De Graef lets act 2 of the play open with a series of eleven *redondillas* with the incipit ‘Me-Vrouw waer toe dees goude Kroon?’, which in line with Lope’s *Arte Nuevo*

³⁰ For the full Dutch text see appendix B.2 and De Wijse 1650, D1r.-v.; in Dutch:

Koning Ay my! Mijn adren zwellen, [...]
Mijn hert gevoelt de nepen van fenijn,
Ik ben verraân, houw vast, ô duldeloze pijn.

³¹ Veldhorst 2004, 170-171.

³² See chapter 1.

(1609) deal with affairs of love. The complete first scene of the second act is, furthermore, written in *redondillas*, but is also a dialogue between queen Johanna of Naples and her lady-in-waiting Margareet. These traditional Iberian, octosyllabic, four-line stanzas (rhyming 4A4b4b4A) may very well fit either the melody of ‘Combien que ta fière beauté’ or ‘L’amour qu’on feint un dieu puissant’, which are love songs and were respectively collected in the 1608 and 1613 editions of *Airs de Différents Auteurs*.³³ These courtly melodies may also fit the *redondillas* sung by Johanna and Margareet on the basis of content and context, since the two women are highborn characters dealing with troubles of love. As in the case of *Laura Perseguida*, we can see here how French culture has probably functioned as a conduit of Spanish culture in the transfer process between Spain and the Dutch Republic: the verse form of the *redondillas* was likely first adapted in France and was then transferred to the Dutch Republic.

Like the final song in *Celia en Prospero*, the *redondillas* themselves are related to the dramatic action as well. However, in this case, the *redondillas* are on the one hand used by Johanna to contemplate on her love troubles and, thus, to slow down the action, but on the other hand to invite Johanna’s love interest, prince Lodewijck of Taranto, onto stage to offer him a golden crown for proven loyalty. Thus, she wants to make him her husband and her co-monarch. The song begins with a question by Margareet why Johanna is holding a golden crown in her hands. Johanna answers her:

Johanna Don’t you know who is supposed to wear this crown
 As a reward for his loyal services?

I was considering Taranto’s prince
 For this position out of complete love,
 [...]
 Bring forth, bring the prince quietly forth

To me, who’s heart burns in desire [...] (ll. 3-6 and 8-9)³⁴

³³ See the Nederlandse Liederenbank of the Meertens Instituut and Bataille 1608, 8v.-9r. for the melody of ‘Combien que ta fière beauté’ and Bataille 1614, 60v.-61r. for the melody of ‘L’amour qu’on feint un dieu puissant’. Furthermore, see appendix C.2 and C.3 for photocopies of the melodies of the French songs.

³⁴ De Graef 1664, 13. See also appendix C.1 for the full Dutch text. In Dutch, this fragment is:

Joanna Weet gy niet wie die hoort te dragen
 Voor zijn getrouwe dienst tot loon?

Tarantoos Prins vol minlijckheden
 Heb ick op deze plaets verdagt,
 [...]

Out of love and trust, Johanna wants to make Lodewijck her king consort. Still, she doubts whether she makes the right choice and asks Margareet to support and counsel her (ll. 13-15, ‘O Margareet gy kent mijn zinnen, / Wijl gy de sleutel draegt van ’t hart / Ontsluyt dees borst, genees mijn smart’).³⁵ Simultaneously, the song is a bad omen, emphasizes the action and, thus, builds suspense.³⁶ Johanna feels sorrow (l. 38, ‘Zijn komste mijne ziel ontroert’) and she rightfully asks herself what has come from her love for prince Lodewijck (ll. 39-40, ‘Waer toe heeft my de min vervoert? / Wie kan een minnend hart betoomen?’).³⁷ The audience will learn in the course of the action that Johanna’s decision to marry Lodewijck and to crown him king consort will aggrive prince Andreas of Hungary, whom Johanna had earlier promised to marry. The Hungarian prince will, therefore, commit a coup d’état and Johanna is forced to flee to her other holdings in Italy. Hence, the *redondillas* stand out in form and content, while fulfilling a number of functions in the context of the play. Therefore, the affects operate through the effects they would have had on the auditors: by building suspense, the song stresses Johanna’s decision and foreshadows Andreas’ cruel coup d’état. The effects are, as such, comparable to the situation that audiences are on the edges of their seats, knowing that something horrific will come to pass.

While De Graef subtly uses a series of *redondillas*, which in light of the action justify the use of a deviant verse form, Blasius makes it explicit in *Malle Wedding* why the Spanish verse forms are preferred. He lets one of his characters, Telame, say that he would only manage to bore the listener with his ‘faulty verse forms’, such as ‘sonnets, epigrams and satirical verses, and rondeaus’ and he adds that his ‘unshapen and empty verses have long since been outdated’.³⁸ A number of characters, among whom the Countess of Pembroke, Telame, and Lidamant all say of the refrain, which precedes Telame’s words, that its contents are laudable, and yet it does not qualify to be awarded a prize, since its verse form is old-fashioned.³⁹ Unsurprisingly, the play had, thus, also started with four stanzas of *décimas*, which is a song with the incipit ‘Wat voelt mijn hart een brand!’. It seems that the audience began to prefer in the 1660s and 1670s that the playwrights adapted the *comedias* in such ways that they would include Spanish verse forms, rather than the *verdietsingen*, such as refrains and rondeaus. This development is coupled with a more general trend among the Dutch playwrights, who used the

Geley, geley de Prins in vrede

Tot my, die ’t hart in liefde brant [...]

³⁵ De Graef 1664, 14.

³⁶ See also Umpierre 1975, 57.

³⁷ De Graef 1664, 15.

³⁸ Blasius 1671, 7; in Dutch it says more extensively:

Telame Mijn kreupel Rijmwerk sou uw keurig oor verveelen.

Ik maak slechts Klinkkerts, Snel- en Schimpdicht, en Rondeelen.

[...]

Mijn knippel-veersjes zijn al over lang verjaart.

³⁹ Blasius 1671, 7.

traditional Dutch verse forms less and less in favour of verse forms from antiquity and – as we can see – also foreign verse forms in the late seventeenth century (among which the Spanish *redondillas* and *décimas*, but also the Italian sonnet). Though, literary modernizations had always been an intrinsic part of the rhetoricians’ culture in the whole Low Countries, and may also be explained by the sponge metaphor used earlier in this Master Thesis in relation to Pleij’s concepts of *adaptation* and *annexation*.⁴⁰

The form of a *décima* is always a ten-line stanza rhyming ABBA:ACCDDC with the colon marking an obligatory pause. In *Malle Wedding*, the song ‘Wat voelt mijn hart een brand!’ rhymes more specifically 3A3b2b3A:5A4C3C2d2d5C. The *décimas* were sung to the melody of ‘Courante la reine nouvelle’, which melody has been used 78 times by Dutch authors in the late seventeenth century and the eighteenth century, with its first use being in the 1660s.⁴¹ Again, we can notice the importance of French in the transfer process of a typical Spanish cultural product.

Regarding the contents and the context of the *décimas*, it is striking how the play opens with a song, which is untraditional at the least, while the verse form has been derived from Spanish culture along with the play itself. As such, the audience is immediately triggered and maybe even a little confused. Although an audience will not understand the aim of the *décimas* at first, Blasius can fascinate – and, thus, affect – his audiences by doing something quite unsuspected and new. Consequently, the *décimas* get iconic connotations; this will become obvious at least in the course of the action. Blasius makes clever use of the Iberian *décimas*, because this verse form is relatively new in the eyes of the Dutch auditors and, thus, he emphasizes the contents of the song. Here, Lope’s polymetric verse gets an extra use, which it would have never got in the Spanish context.

The auditor can hear a professional singer sing how her heart burns, while a fever and love stir her soul leaving her restless (ll. 1-4, ‘Wat voelt mijn hart een brand! / Hoe roert de koorts en ’t minnen / Mijn siel van binnen, / Die de rust verband’).⁴² The lyrical subject, who the singer

⁴⁰ Van Dixhoorn 2009, 189; see also Pleij 2002, 689-693, 704 and the introduction of this Master Thesis (11).

⁴¹ See the Nederlandse Liederenbank of the Meertens Instituut. The Nederlandse Liederenbank offers also a transcription of the melody. However, I was so far unable to determine the source of the melody and whether it was also taken from one of the volumes of Bataille’s *Airs de Différents Auteurs*. Yet, the Liederenbank estimates the year of publication in the

late seventeenth century, which would disqualify the *Airs de Différents Auteurs* as the original source.

⁴² Blasius 1671, 1. See also appendix D.1 for the full Dutch text of the song. In Dutch, this fragment is:

Is swijgen, of is spreekken best,
 VVaar hy sijn standaart vest,
 Die my doet hijgen?
 Sal ik het swijgen,
 Of spreekken, wie mijn minnedorst niet lest?

is impersonating, wonders whether she should keep silent or speak up, wherever her love interest plants his banner, for he takes her breath away, but does not reply her love:

Which is best? Being silent, or to speak up,
 Wherever he plants his banner,
 He who takes my breath away?
 Shall I keep silent,
 Or should I speak up to him, who doesn't reply my love? (ll. 6-10)⁴³

Understandably, an audience will be in conflict how it should understand this song. The other stanzas convey the intense doubt, whether the lyrical subject should confess her love (l. 21-22, 'De brand raad u te spreekken: / Sijn hart t'ontsteekken) or keep silent (l. 26, 'Neen; swijgh mijn tong, dat is uw plicht'). Like in many lamentations, such intense doubts within the character should convince the audience and prime the identification process of the auditor with the dramatis persona, which is for example the case with Jacqueline of Bavaria in *Vrou Iacoba*. However, this use of lamentations is virtually absent in *Malle Wedding*, since there is no dramatis persona to whom an audience can relate. The use of this lamentation stems from its incorporation as a kind of prologue to the play. It can be said that the song is being used as a foreshadowing of the coming events and it should frame the action in the play, while it makes the audience also believe that it is witness to a pastoral setting. This impression is strengthened, when in the second scene a song is sung and in the fourth scene even two, followed by a pasquil, some riddles regarding marriage and a sonnet.⁴⁴ Sometimes characters even refer to a prize, which is to be won ('*Gravinne*. De stof is fraai. *Telame*. Ia, van de fraaiste. *Lidamant*. Die geen prijs verdiend, wijl die niet is van d'allernieuwste wijs.')⁴⁵ or the enjoyment from listening to each other ('*Telame*. Gelieft gy Raadsels, die gerijmt sijn, uit te leggen? / *Gravinne*. Seer graag. Elk teeken tot vermaak sijn Raadsels an.')⁴⁶ In contrast, in the second and third act no songs are sung and it is not until the fourth act that the singer sings again. Since the first act takes place at the court of the Countess of Pembroke, the songs in the first act may also be regarded as a representation of court life – with the French court of course being the principle example of such extravaganza from the 1660s onwards.

In light of the plot development, however, the songs and especially the *décimas* with the incipit 'Wat voelt mijn hart een brand!' are exemplary illustrations of the action in the play. All

⁴³ Blasius 1671, 1.

⁴⁴ See Blasius 1671, 3-11.

⁴⁵ Blasius 1671, 7.

⁴⁶ Blasius 1671, 8.

songs deal with love, its aching consequences, and jealousy. As discussed in chapter 2, Lidamant and Diana are in love, but Diana’s brother, Telame, is distrustful of any man wanting to court his sister. Telame, therefore, wants to keep Diana from being visited by any possible suitor. As such, Lidamant has to think of a way to visit his beloved Diana. Lise, Diana’s chamberlain, and Philippien, Lidamant’s servant, think of a ruse by which Lidamant is able to sneak into Diana’s chambers. Their plan is to let Lidamant hide in a chest, which will be brought into the home of Telame in London. This plan is successfully carried out and the lovers can meet each other without Telame knowing. In this light, I have already pointed out the similarities with *Celia en Prospero* in chapter 2. Hence, the songs of the first act foreshadow the events in the play. During the plot developments, the audience begins to understand what the singers were singing about and through this, they are affected by the events. As such, *Malle Wedding* is an extreme example of how songs can foreshadow events in a play, since the majority of the songs have been included in the first act, before the intrigue has actually begun.

3.2 The Creation of a Scene: the Tableau Vivant

Unlike the sudden insertion of a song in the *comedia nueva*, the Senecan Scaligerian *rei* could always be expected at the end of every act. I have discussed in chapter 2 how the *rei* created opportunity to readdress the attention of the audience. The many other functions of the *rei* have been discussed by Lia van Gemert in her prolific study of the *rei* in Dutch drama between 1556-1625, wherefore I will not discuss the *rei* at great lengths in this Master Thesis. I will, however, discuss here one specific function, which typifies the *rei* as a sort of forecaster (and as such, emphasize) of the events of the following act(s).⁴⁷ Although Van Gemert has discussed this function of the *rei* already, I argue that the *rei* concluding the fourth act has the specific function of forecaster of a tableau vivant. In these cases, the tableau vivant is a moment of culmination and it is often the central part of the *catastrophe*. As such, the tableau vivant is often staged at the beginning of the fifth act as to increase the affective operations of the events. The *rei* in its role as forecaster and emphasize of the tableau vivant is – in my opinion – also exclusive for Dutch Senecan-Scaligerian drama.

⁴⁷ Van Gemert 1990, 79-80.

3.2.1 Senecan-Scaligerian Horror Frozen as a Tableau

The ‘rei van Klaerissen’ in Vondel’s *Gysbreght* (1637) sang about the murder of the Holy Innocents of Bethlehem. I argued in an article about the “emotional quality” of the tableau vivant in *Gysbreght*⁴⁸ that the *rei* (while chanting the popular song ‘O kerstnacht, schooner dan de daegen’ at the end of the third act) framed their murder and rape during the fourth act as a felony committed against innocent souls through their comparison to the babes of Bethlehem. They successfully establish a so-called martyrial frame, which functions as a frame of interpretation representing the massacred clergy as martyrs.⁴⁹ Through the *rei* the audience was moved to compassion with the nuns. The audience had already identified themselves with the victims in general, for Vondel referenced national history often by representing a plundering of a city and a massacre: collective memory was triggered and the audience was reminded of the atrocities committed by the Spaniards in the early years of the Dutch Revolt: the Massacre of Naarden (1572), the sieges of Haarlem (1572-73), Alkmaar (1573) and Leiden (1574), the Spanish Fury (Antwerp, 1576) and the Fall of Antwerp (1585). As such, the audience saw their own family members being raped and slaughtered again by a brutal enemy.⁵⁰ Thence, the staging of the tableau vivant would have led to intensive and overpowering affects with which the audience had to cope:

[The slaughtered and raped nuns] show the audience [...] extreme affects stylized in tragic sublimity. In the case of Vondel’s *Gysbreght*, the nuns are slaughtered and their blood colours the floors of their monastery red. As withered white petals the nuns lie, inanimate and mutilated in heaps across the floor: through their configuration, the nuns employ *formulae* of intensely felt expressions. [...] With the *Kloostermoorden tableau vivant*, the audience is consumed by emotion, [...].⁵¹

In light of this Master Thesis, I will expand on this hypothesis regarding the “emotional quality” of the tableau vivant in *Gysbreght* by arguing that affects are an intrinsic aspect of all tableaux vivants in Senecan-Scaligerian tragedies forming a group of tableaux, which Hummelen had called the tableau vivant without internal dramatic audience. This is a characteristic of most historical dramas of post 1610s.⁵² The two foremost plays to be discussed here are, as such,

⁴⁸ “Emotional quality” is a term used by me in the 2015 article regarding the tableau vivant in Vondel’s *Gysbreght* to characterize the effects of the tableau vivant on the audience. See Vergeer 2015.

⁴⁹ Prandoni 2007, 99.

⁵⁰ See Vergeer 2015.

⁵¹ Vergeer 2015.

⁵² Hummelen 1992, 206.

Hooft's *Geeraerd van Velsen* (1613), which staged one tableau, and De Bondt's pseudo-comedia *Beleg en Ontset der Stadt Leyden* (1645), which staged three tableaux in the play, one in advance and one in conclusion of the play.⁵³ Yet, Vondel's *Palamedes* (1625) had included two tableaux⁵⁴ and Van Hogendorp's *De Moordt* (1617) likely one as well.⁵⁵ However, these latter plays will not be discussed in this Master Thesis, due to the limits of this research.

Vondel's *Gysbreght* had been a sequel to Hooft's *Geeraerd van Velsen*. As a play about the question whether a populace may dethrone their monarch, *Geeraerd van Velsen* had touched upon the sensitive issue about the legitimacy of the Dutch Revolt, wherefore any audience would have been invested with the plot, right from the beginning.⁵⁶ In many ways, *Geeraerd van Velsen* had been a dramatization of the 1610 *De Antiquitate Reipublicae Batavae* by Hugo Grotius, in which he had argued that sovereignty had always rested with the distinct States rather than with the Lord; Hooft had explicated this point of view by letting Count Floris V say:⁵⁷

Floris So, trial me before a full assembly of the States [of Holland].

Let those who made me count, judge me and my crown.⁵⁸

Hooft had, therefore, hit gold and could exploit the many opportunities in the plotline to affect his audiences. Hence, I argue that this play had, in fact, included a tableau vivant as part of its many performances throughout the seventeenth century, and better yet, *needed* a tableau vivant in order to affect the audience.

In *Geeraerd van Velsen*, the plot begins to thicken and Hooft builds suspense in the penultimate scene of the fourth act, right in the middle of the *catastrophe*. The enemy are sighted by the squire who answers Gysbreght that they should hurry. Through the use of

⁵³ Vos 1660, B1r.-B3v. and A3r.-A4v.

⁵⁴ Stockink 1753, 16r.: Stockink printed in 1753 an overview of many tableaux vivants to be found in seventeenth-century plays, amongst which for example *Palamedes*. It concerns two poems which would have been read out during the staging of the tableaux, such as it was customary. See also Hummelen 1992, 211.

⁵⁵ Although the text does not include stage directions mentioning a tableau vivant, while Balthasar Gerards wounds the Prince of Orange (see F4r.), the title page includes an illustration displaying the respective scene. In one hypothesis, the illustrations

on the title pages of seventeenth-century copies may have been representations of tableaux vivants in the play itself. This hypothesis has been formulated by Van Marion and Vergeer regarding Rodenburgh's play *Vrou Iacoba* (see Van Marion and Vergeer 2014, 180-181).

⁵⁶ See Duits 2005, 219-224.

⁵⁷ See Duits 2005, 222; see also Grotius 2000.

⁵⁸ Hooft 1613, C3r.; in Dutch:

G.Floris Soo stelt my dan te recht voor 'tlichaem van de Staeten.

'T gheen my mijn kranse gaf, dat oordeel van mijn krans.

stichomythia, the audience members have been triggered and are, consequently, on the edges of their seats:

G.v.Aemstel What is happening?
Squire Move, move!
H.v.Woerden Why?
Squire The enemy!
G.v.Aemstel Where have they been sighted?
G.v.Velsen In the IJ, and also on the dyke of Diemen, and over there,
 In great numbers.
Squire Move men, move with conviction,
 Man the walls!
H.v.Woerden It is not the right time to man the walls.
G.v.Aemstel Indeed, it is not the time.
G.v.Velsen It is time to flee.⁵⁹

As such, the ‘Rei van Amstellandse jofferen’ can prepare the audience for the ultimate event in the play: the stabbing of Count Floris V by Geeraerd van Velsen. The *rei* forecasts events already in their opening verses: ‘[It is a heroic act to] defy with valour, / The public Tyrant, / and to attack him; / So we can give / the Fatherland its most prominent goodness, / Its golden Freedom by making him bleed [...]’.⁶⁰ However, the *rei* keeps forecasting events and frames the action as an act of valour: ‘During the preparation of this enterprise, / his loyalty does not frighten him / nor the levity of those who conspire with him; / nor the failure when he starts, / Nor the frightening hate / Of the frantic people afterwards’.⁶¹

It is, however, then that Geeraerd van Velsen is overwhelmed by a frenzy and he wounds Count Floris V with a deathly blow. The text does not mention this event, but it becomes clear

⁵⁹ Hooft 1613, F2v.; in Dutch:

Aemstel Wat isser gaans?
Schildk. op, op.
Woerden Hoe?
Schildknaap vyandt.
Aemstel waer verscheenen?
Velsen In ’t Y, oock op den dijck van Diemen, en dat henen;
 In groote menicht.
Schildk. op mannen; op met vlijt;
 Beset uw, muynen.
Woerden ’t Is geen muyr besettens tijdt,
Aemstel Soo doet het seecker niet.
Velsen ’t Is tijdt om te vervaeren.

⁶⁰ Hooft 1613, F3r.; the original reads:

Den oopenbaeren Dwinghelandt,
 Met moed te bieden wederstandt,
 En op den harssenpan te treden;
 Om, met het storten van zijn bloedt,
 Den vaderlande ’t swaerste goedt,
 Den gulden vryheyt, te bereeden; [...]

⁶¹ Hooft 1613, F3v.; in Dutch it says:

Hem angst gheduyrende ’t beliedt
 Van zynen aenslach, d’ontrouw niet,
 Oft lichtheyt, van die’t saemen swoeren:
 Nocht misluck als het annegaet,
 Nocht de vervaerelijcken haet
 Des blinden vollex nae’t uytvoeren.

at the beginning of the fifth act that it should have happened. I argue, therefore, that a tableau vivant must have been staged right after the *rei*, or (which is even more powerful) during the *rei*. The audience had been prepared by Hooft to be affected from the moment that the enemy were sighted. The conspirators flee, Geeraerdt van Velsen abandons his wife – Machtelt van Velsen, who’s rape had been the reason for their betrayal – and the *rei* had framed the action and had forecast Floris’ death. The only reason why Hooft would not have included a tableau vivant in *Geeraerdt van Velsen*, would have been the early modern judgement that atrocities should not be acted out on stage. In my view, this would be a rather anti-climax of the action and two arguments argue in favour of the tableau vivant displaying the act of inflicting Floris V with a deathly wound. In the first place, Hooft lets Floris die on stage amidst his loyal servants, the ‘Rei van Naarders’:

Floris Oh! My loyal subjects, lay me down and do not carry me any longer:

My weakness is too large. A stream of blood flows

From my wounds, and colours all my clothes.

[...]

I do not have any strength in my limbs,

And my eyelids move me to sleep, and my eyes

Are overpowered by the sleep of death. My voice

Fails me every time, and is almost unable to leave my throat.

I succumb, I succumb, I have come to my end.

O Creator, I am uncreated [I die], grant me Your mercy.⁶²

In the second place, Hooft had studied with Joseph Justus Scaliger in Leiden and he had, therefore, likely been influenced by this Leiden professor who taught his father’s poetics to his students. As it happens, Julius Caesar Scaliger had said that tragedy ‘completely consists of a fearful atmosphere: fear, threats, exile and death make up a tragedy’.⁶³ The matter of tragedy is exalted and is cause for fright. ‘Tragedy deals with kings’ orders, massacres, despair, hanging,

⁶² Hooft 1613, F4r-v.; in Dutch it says:

Floris Ach! mijn ghetrouwe, set; en draecht my verder niet:
Mijn swackheyt is te groot. Een beeck van bloede vliet
My door de wonden af, en vervet al de cleeden.
[...]
Maer langher nu en heb ick cracht in gheen ghewrichte,

De leden slappen aen ten slaepe’, en het ghesichte
Wort van een ysren vaeck veroveret. Het gheluydt
Ontsinckt mij t’elcken mae’, en kan ten keel nauw uyt.
Ick sijgh, ’ick sijgh. ick ben ghecomen op het spade.
O Schepper, ick ontschep, ontsluit my uw ghehaede.

⁶³ See Scaliger 1994, 1.6 (131).

exile, orphanhood, familicide, incest, conflagrations, fighting, blinding, weeping, crying, lamentations, funerals, eulogies and dirges'.⁶⁴ I argue that Floris' death scene would have grown in force, when the audience witnessed the conspirators being seized by a panic, when they heard the *rei* sing about acts of valour, when they could witness Geeraerd van Velsen being taken by a frenzy (which would have been represented in the tableau vivant) and when they saw Floris V die a Christian death in the end. To top this, Floris' loyal subjects, the 'Rei van Naarders', start a lamentation mourning the death of their count: 'He has left us. / Start weeping now [...] All is lost! / Show your grief already'.⁶⁵ This particular succession of calamities would have pre-eminently affected the audiences. In classical rhetoric this technique had already been promoted by Quintilian, who had said that the so-called amplification adds in force, when the former events are tragic in itself: the increasing gravity of the trope leads to the climax and even surpasses it at times.⁶⁶

When we consider that a tableau vivant is a moment frozen in time, it is understandable how the action has been suspended, how the future is postponed, and how the audience is confronted with a breath-taking moment. In the case of *Geeraerd van Velsen*, the possibility exists that Geeraerd will not inflict Floris V with a deathly wound. The still moment raises the impossible question, whether the act will actually take place. The possibility exists that Geeraerd decides not to give in to his thoughts of revenge, however unlikely. As a result, the auditor is fascinated.⁶⁷ Often a tableau vivant is part of a greater collective of dramatic action, which is presented by the means of a pantomime. We can also witness this in the case of *Geeraerd van Velsen*, where the tableau vivant is part of a succession of events: the tableau vivant moves automatically onto the first scene of the fifth act and, thus, the last scenes of the fourth act and the first scenes of the fifth act melt into one another. In this sense, the conclusion of the fourth act and the beginning of the fifth differ from Scaliger's poetics, since he had been focussed on the distinct and formal "building blocks" of tragedy instead of the unity of action based on a natural coherence of the plot, something which Aristotle had advocated.⁶⁸ This is in line with Porteman and Smits-Veldt, who have argued that the Academicians even before their departure from *De Eglentier* experimented with a continuous and coherent development of the plot.⁶⁹ Yet, in chapter 2, I had argued that this does not apply to Hooft's *Baeto*, which had been written around the same time. Hooft is truly experimenting with the possibilities of classical tragedy in

⁶⁴ See Scaliger 1995, 3.96 (24).

⁶⁵ Hooft 1613, F4v.-G1r.; the original reads:
Hy is verscheyen.
Heft nu aen te schreyen [...]
Nu is 't verlooren!

Brenghet rouw te voeren.

⁶⁶ Quintilianus 2001, 8.4.3 (417).

⁶⁷ Korsten 2010, 19-20, 25, 27, 35-36.

⁶⁸ See Smits-Veldt 1991, 54-55.

⁶⁹ Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2013, 240.

the 1610s. It seems that Hooft used a continuous, undivided and affective plot development in his 1613 play *Geeraerdt van Velsen*, whereas in his 1617 play *Baeto* (although not published until 1626), Hooft focussed on the distinct affectiveness of the “building blocks” of tragedy. Apart from the discussion of the continuity of the plot development, the question is how the tableau vivant would have taken form. As with almost every seventeenth-century play, the text does not make any mention of a tableau vivant being performed. This had been the case with *Gysbreght* as well. In the case of *Gysbreght*, scholars like Ben Albach and Mieke B. Smits-Veldt were able to successfully argue that *Gysbreght* had, in fact, included a tableau vivant and they succeeded to find visual evidence of the tableau, albeit from eighteenth-century sources.⁷⁰ Similarly, an impression of the scene, which concerns this argument, has already been identified by Henk Duits, the editor of a modern edition of *Geeraerdt van Velsen*. In the edition, Duits has included a drawing by painter Pieter Jansz. Quast (1605-47) from circa 1645, displaying Floris and Geeraerdt van Velsen. Both figures have been dressed in theatre costumes.⁷¹ Yet, the conclusion that Quast made a drawing on the basis of a performance of the tableau vivant remains absent, but is in my view rather likely, since Floris and Geeraerdt van Velsen have been outfitted in theatre costumes (see figure 2).



Figure 2 Pieter Jansz. Quast, *Count Floris V murdered by Geeraerdt van Velsen*. Figures dressed up in theatre outfits, 1645, drawing. Atlas van Stolk.

⁷⁰ Albach 1987 and Smits-Veldt 1995, 211-212.

⁷¹ See Duits 2005, 90.

Furthermore, the representation on the drawing corresponds with the message by the trumpeter who tells Machtelt van Velsen:

Trumpeter And [the brave Velsen] turns the head of his swift steed, while speaking,
 And he rushes towards the Count. Then he dismounts
 And steps towards his enemy, with his sword bared.
 He jumps: and he imagined to escape his death with a caper,
 Though he was tied up on his horse, but he trips in a ditch.
 The stern knight pursues, and he stabs him so many times,
 That I knew for sure that he was dead.⁷²

Hence, we can say with some reservations that *Geeraerd van Velsen* included a tableau vivant as well, which would have heavily contributed to the affective operations of this tragedy about Dutch sovereignty.

The great popularity of De Bondt's *Beleg en Ontset* was partly due to the three tableaux vivants in this pseudo-*comedia* about one of the most important historical events in Dutch early modern history: the siege of Leiden of 1574. The tableaux can be found in the third act of the play, for which reason the play already differs from the Senecan-Scaligerian tradition. Furthermore, they are not prefigured by a *rei*, while the Amsterdam edition of the play had been cleared of its more Scaligerian features. Though, the Senecan horror is still omnipresent, mostly in the form of tableaux vivants, which have been described by Jan Vos in a booklet published in 1660: the year of premiere in the Amsterdam Public Theatre.⁷³ The first tableau can be found after mayor Van der Werff learns from several Leiden citizens that the population is starving to death. The tableau is being staged showing allegorical figures such as Hunger, War, Death and Time.⁷⁴ It illustrates and emphasizes what has been said already by the citizens: 'Time weighs heavily on us, [and] one can see our distress increase, / And our long-fed blood decay by a famine. / Everyone walks on the road, and looks for food in the streets / Which has long since been

⁷² Hoofst 1613, G1v.; in Dutch:

En [de dappre Velsen] wendt, dewyl hy spreeckt,
 't gheswinde ros den cop,
 En stoot ten Graevewaerts. daer sit hy van den
 paerde
 En treedt zijn vyandt toe, met uytghetooghen
 swaerde.
 Die schrickt: en waende met een sprong
 t'ontgaen de doodt,

Ghebonden op het paerdt, maar snevelt inde
 sloot.

De strenghe Ridder volcht, en gheeft hem soo
 veel steecken,
 Dat ick hem seecker min niet als voor doodt en
 reecken.

⁷³ Cf. Bontius 1645 and De Bondt 1660.

⁷⁴ Vos 1660, A4r.

putrefied: [...]’.⁷⁵ Naturally, Van der Werff reacts with: ‘Alas, what should I do?’⁷⁶ He explicates the exact thoughts of the audience, since its question will be: what can he do?

Several scenes later, the city of Leiden makes her entrance as an allegorical character, who despairs about the perilous situation of her people. It is a soliloquy, in which Leiden says: ‘Ah, what a sorry emergency! What calamity will come and fight me; now that famine’s sword and the plague make me suffer so much, [...]’.⁷⁷ The Plague is spreading within Leiden’s walls and many of her citizens are dying as a result. Leiden mourns for her inhabitants and she notices that many more have died from the Plague already than from hunger: ‘Alas! I am desperate, ever since I saw dead bodies / lying in the streets: the Plague does not spare the rich, / nor the wise and high of spirits, but countless Leiden people / die everywhere, wherefore within the walls / many more die of the Plague, rather than of famine’s heavy curse [...]’.⁷⁸ To illustrate Leiden’s desperate outcry, two more tableaux vivants are staged. In the first tableau, the Plague is being presented to the audience and is accompanied by Murder, while Asclepius, Hippocrates and Galenus follow chained and blindfolded. Discord follows the Plague, who is accompanied by Hunger and Impatience. Meanwhile, Leiden, Perseverance and Leiden’s Industry call upon Heaven.⁷⁹ The second tableau stages the Tritons, who bring the sea towards Leiden, after the dykes have been cut. The Spanish army breaks up camp, but many drown: ‘everywhere, drowned soldiers float adrift’.⁸⁰ This spectacle worked especially on the senses, and while the audience was ecstatic about the sorry spectacle in *Gysbrecht*, the auditors must have been frantic about the tableaux vivants in *Beleg en Ontset* as well.

3.2.2 The Dutch Tableau Vivant in the Comedia Nueva

Where the Senecan-Scaligerian tableaux vivants had the function to amplify and exemplify the most horrific moments, the climax, in the plays, the Dutch-Spanish *comedias* incorporated the

⁷⁵ De Bondt 1660, B5r.; the original reads:

Den tijdt valt ons te lang, men siet de noodt
vermeeren,
En ’t lang gevoede bloedt door hongers-noodt
verteeren.
Men loopt nu by de wegh, en soeckt voor spijs
op straet
Dat lang vertreden is: [...].

⁷⁶ De Bondt 1660, B5r.; in Dutch it says:

Helaes wat sal ick doen?

⁷⁷ De Bondt 1660, B6r.; the original reads:

O droevigh noodgeval! wat ramp komt my
bestryen;
Nu my het hongers-swaert en Pest soo veel doet
lyen, [...].

⁷⁸ De Bondt 1660, B6v.; in Dutch it reads:

Helaes! ’k ben buyten hoop, nu ick de doode
lijcken
Sie leggen op de straet: geen Pest verschoont de
rijcken
Noch de wijsen hoogh van moedt, maer sterven
over al
Ontelbaar van mijn volck, soo datter binnens wal
Meer sterven van de Pest, als hongers sware
plagen [...].

⁷⁹ Vos 1660, B1r.

⁸⁰ Vos 1660, B2r.; in Dutch:

Overall dryven verdronken krijgsluiden.

tableaux vivants with other aims. I can illustrate the different aims of the tableau vivant in the *comedia nueva* by discussing Rodenburgh's *Jalourse Studentin*, his *Vrou Iacoba* and Isaak Vos' *Beklaagelycke Dwangh* (1648). In *Jalourse Studentin*, two tableaux vivants can be found, although these are merely mentioned in the Leiden edition of 1617 with the slightly different title *Ialoersche Studenten*.⁸¹ The tableaux vivants seem to be utilized as a way of exemplifying and amplifying much smaller events, which are however still very important to the plot. In the Leiden edition, this is illustrated by a tableau, which was staged right after a song sung by the student Valerio who witnesses the adultery of his beloved Juliana with another student Cardenio in the first act already, as does yet another student, Vireno:

*Tableau vivant, in which Juliana embraces Cardenio, and Cupid shoots them both. Valerio is standing in a corner of the wings and oversees them, and Vireno does the same on the other side of the stage.*⁸²

As a result the tableau marks the beginning of the whole plot intrigue, which revolves around the jealousy of these three suitors. Several scenes later, another tableau is being performed. This time, however, Juliana ardently embraces Valerio, while Cardenio is the one who catches them in the act:

*Tableau vivant, in which Juliana ardently embraces Valerio, and Cupid shoots them. Cardenio oversees them from the side of the stage.*⁸³

Through this use of the tableaux vivants, the action in the first act is amplified and framed. The tableaux are part of the *epitasis* and illustrate the increasing conflict in *Jalourse Studentin*. These tableaux stress Juliana's reputation as a 'lichte vrouw' (a whore).⁸⁴ The audience is affected through word and image. While Cardenio speaks a long soliloquy, he explicates what the audience can see performed in the tableau vivant:

Cardenio What kind of luck does he [Valerio] have then? Alas! She is a phoney
 Woman, who lightly takes on another in his stead.

⁸¹ See also Abrahamse 1997, 97-98; note 80 and 83.

⁸² Rodenburgh 1617d, A4r.; the original reads:
*Vertoonighe, 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.*

⁸³ Rodenburgh 1617d, C1v.; in Dutch it reads:

*Vertooninghe, waer Iuliana met Valerio seer
 minnelick malkander omhelsen, en Cupido
 schiet hun, Cardenio staet aen een syde, en siet
 het.*

⁸⁴ Rodenburgh 1617c, B3v.

Whoever is of easy virtue, remains easy: if she has chosen him,
Then I have lost nothing more than a woman of easy virtue.⁸⁵

While in the Senecan-Scaligerian plays the moment of shock is established by the display of atrocious acts, the shocking moment in the *comedia nueva* stems from the representation of immoral acts by the *dramatis personae*. In the specific case of *Jaloursche Studentin*, the shocking moment is the cause of the disgrace of Juliana, who immorally keeps two suitors dangling simultaneously. Hummelen had called such *tableaux vivants*, *tableaux* with an internal dramatic audience, since the *dramatis personae* were also witness to the spectacle.⁸⁶

Another application of the *tableau vivant* can be witnessed in Rodenburgh’s original *comedia Vrou Iacoba*. This highly political play used four *tableaux vivants* at the end of the play, which as a collective of *tableaux* had a number of aims.⁸⁷ In my Bachelor Thesis, I had argued that the title print of the play was a representation of the four *tableaux vivants* at the end of the play and was comparable to what is called a picture story or narrative strip, a popular genre in the seventeenth century (see figure 3). I argued that the *tableaux* should swing the *gemeente* into action, who do not want to accept the new balance of power: they do not want to give up their sovereignty to Duke Philip of Burgundy and they argue that without their support no one may call himself their lord. It is a point of view, which can be recognised in Grotius’ *De Antiquitate Reipublicae Batavae*, and therefore also in Hooft’s *Geeraerd van Velsen*. Although both poets disputed about their differing poetics, they found common ground where it regards the patriotic matter in their plays:

8th Citizen Her Highness is the head, and we people the limbs.
And if the head decides something, which seems unreasonable to us,
And which may be harmful for us – even so for the community –
Then why should we not oppose it?
We suffer because of the head, but should we not all suffer equally
For what the head decides? 1st Citizen That is a good argument.
First, however, I would like to ask you a question.

⁸⁵ Rodenburgh 1617c, B3v.; the original reads:
Cardenio Wat luck besit hy [Valerio] dan? helaes! Een
valsche Vrou,
Die licht’lijck weer voor hem een ander nemen
zou.
Die licht is, lichte blijft: heeft zy hem nu
verkoren,

Zo heb ick niet meer als een lichte Vrouwe
verloren.

⁸⁶ Hummelen 1992, 208-209.

⁸⁷ The play includes several other *tableaux vivants* as well. I limit myself, however, to the exceptional triplet *tableaux vivants* at the end of *Vrou Iacoba*. See also my Bachelor Thesis: Vergeer 2014.

I ask you: Milady is a private person,
 Is she not? And if she may take her own private decisions,
 If she may give herself to whomever she thinks is suitable,
 And now considers to give up her status of a countess,
 Are we not allowed then to prevent her from such an action?
 Because she remains our countess
 And the one she marries, she marries because of her bed
 And table; and he will not extract her from her rule.⁸⁸

The Hague's citizens love their Countess Jacqueline of Bavaria and they consider making Stadtholder Francis of Borsselen her count consort (whom Jacqueline had secretly married already). When Jacqueline convinces her people to accept Philip's terms, however, the people weep and reluctantly swear fealty to their new count. These two actions have been staged in two tableaux vivants; the first represents the abjuration of Countess Jacqueline and the second stages the promise of allegiance to Duke Philip, which events are – as I have argued – represented in the narrative strip on the title page of *Vrou Iacoba* (see figure 3):

First Tableau Vivant.

Lady Jacqueline sits at the high side of Duke Philip, in presence of the Count of Meurs, all courtiers and as many others as could be assembled. The People put up high two fingers to abjure Lady Jacqueline, although they are weeping while keeping their handkerchiefs to the eyes and showing their mournful faces.

⁸⁸ Rodenburgh 1638, K1v.-K2r.; in Dutch:
8 Burger. Haer Hoocheyt is het Hooft, en wy luyd sijn de leden,
 En soo 't Hoofd yets bestaet, 't welck ons onreedlijck scheen,
 En schaedlijck mochte zijn voor ons: als voor 't gemeen;
 Waerom en souden wy die doet niet teghen strijden?
 Wy lyden wel het Hooft, maer moeten all' niet lijden,
 Wat dat het Hoofd bedrijft. *1 Burg*. Hier in segh ghy seer wel,
 Maer op u seggen ich een vraegh te voren stel.

Ick vraegh u of Me-vrou niet is haer selfs en eyghen
 Soo veel haer selfs gheraect? en soo sy selfs moght neygen,
 Heur selven te besteen, waer sy't geraden vindt,
 En datzy by haer selfs het selfde onderwindt:
 Doch nu ghenomen dat sy haer staet wil vermind'ren,
 Staet sulcx in onse macht haer Hoocheyt te verhind'ren?
 Want sy blijft ons' Graefinn' en haer ons niet verset,
 Die geen die sy trout, die trout sy voor haer bedt
 En taeffel, en haer niet ontreckt de Heerschappye

Second Tableau Vivant.

Where Duke Philip sits at Jacqueline’s higher side, the People swear, as mournful as before, allegiance to Duke Philip with their fingers put up high.⁸⁹

Understandably, the audience may have been affected by these events. They see their own fifteenth-century “forefathers” weeping about their loss of sovereignty to the House of Burgundy and, thus, to the Imperial House of Habsburg of Spain (and Austria). Ironically, the Spanish monarchs were also called Philip, after their forefather Duke Philip of Burgundy, the antagonist in *Vrou Iacoba*. Since the tableaux vivants suspend the action for a moment, these very political moments are amplified, almost evoking the audience to shout out in agony themselves.

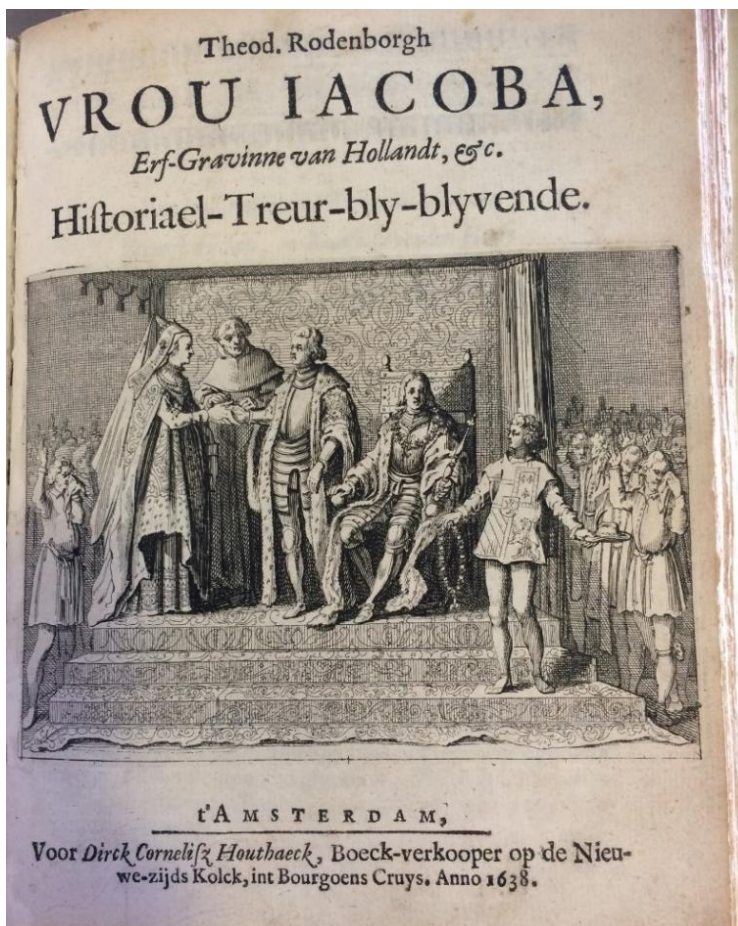


Figure 3 Title Page of Theodore Rodenburgh’s *Vrou Iacoba*, Amsterdam 1638. Leiden University Libraries

⁸⁹ Rodenburgh 1638, O4r.; in Dutch its says: Eerste Vertooninghe.

Vrou Iacoba sit aen de hooghe hand van Hertogh Philips, verselschapt met de Graef van Meurs, alle de Hovelinghen en soo veel andere als men sal kunnen versamelen. De Gemeente opsteekende twee vingeren tot af-sweeringh van Vrou Iacoba, doch weenende met haer

neusdoecken aen d’oogen, toonende seer droef gelaet.

Tweede Vertooninghe.

Waer Hertogh Philips sit aen de hooger handt van Vrou Iacoba, en de Ghemeente bedroefdelijck ghelyck vooren met opghesteken vingeren, sweeren ghetrouheyt aen Hertogh Philips.

The third and fourth tableaux vivants stage, however, two more happy events: Duke Philip confers the knighthood of the Golden Fleece on Francis van Borssele and Jacqueline and Francis can finally marry (which events are represented in figure 3 as well). Since I have typified *Vrou Iacoba* as a newly invented *comedia de capa y espada*, the play is concluded by a marriage, which is one of the foremost characteristics of such *comedias*. The last two tableaux vivants, therefore, emphasize the happy ending of the play indicating once again that the audience may rejoice. This had been the case with Rodenburgh's adapted play *Celia en Prospero* as well, for the play was concluded by a compelling song. In *Vrou Iacoba*, Rodenburgh replaced this prolific use of song with a theatre resource that had already proven its merits in affecting the Dutch audiences.

Yet, a hidden message lurks behind this happy ending. Although it is not said in the description of the tableaux vivants, the title print represents the herald of Duke Philip holding the decorations of the Order of the Golden Fleece and, more importantly, holding a freedom cap in his left hand, very much like Liberty (*Liberta*) in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1644), which was the foremost iconological book on the representation of figures in painting, but also plays, as is attested by Rodenburgh's *Vrou Iacoba* (compare figures 3 and 4).⁹⁰ Furthermore, *Liberta* holds a sceptre in her right hand – the righteous hand – as opposed to Duke Philip who holds the sceptre in his left hand, which has traditionally been the sinister hand (for the Latin *sinister*,



Figure 4 *Liberta – Vryheyt* in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, Amsterdam 1644. Leiden University Libraries.

⁹⁰ See Ripa 1644, 573-574.

which means left, but also ominous or malign). As such, we can see how Rodenburgh’s *Vrou Iacoba* is an exceptional example of how tableaux vivants could be utilized in the seventeenth century. Though, it is a rare privilege to be able to execute an iconological analysis of seventeenth-century Dutch tableaux vivants, since imagery is mostly non-existent.

Often we have to make do with extra-textual descriptions, which is for example the case with Isaak Vos’ *De Beklaagelycke Dwangh*. Although not originally part of the text, one reader has added a folio to a copy of the 1707 edition, which describes the tableau vivant in its exact location.⁹¹ The description reads the following:

Rosaura, being cast on the cliffs of Death,
Is being helped by Octavio, the source of her troubles.
He renews her troubles through his unsavoury lusts,
And increases them even, instead of fixing them.
Meanwhile, Hendrik rages on,
Mourning his spouse, and he revolts at the idea of having to live on.⁹²

The tableau vivant has been cunningly inserted by Isaak Vos between the third and fourth act, after Rosaura has to flee, leaving her beloved husband Hendrik. She finds herself cast ashore, where she meets Octavio, who has betrayed her husband to the king. Since the first scene of the fourth act is a scene between Octavio and Rosaura, the tableau vivant is in this case part of the action. It makes it possible for Octavio and Rosaura to meet in a logical way, since the tableau vivant is a means to represent travelling on stage in a manner, which is excusable. This is an atypical application of the tableau vivant in Dutch theatre plays, although in some ways the audience is still affected. They have compassion with Rosaura’s fate for having to leave her beloved husband, and they are witness to her casting ashore on the ominous cliffs of Death, where she meets Octavio. As such, the audience is shocked. Since the tableau vivant shows the audience merely that both characters meet, rather than the reason and the circumstances for their meeting, the auditors are still wondering what they are in for. It is exactly this suspense,

⁹¹ See i.e. Vos 1707, between D2v. and D3r.

⁹² See Vos 1707, between D2v. and D3r; Stockink 1753, 13r.; 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 steeds betreurt, en walgt van meer te
leven.

which triggers the affective operations of the tableau vivant and why the audience is watching the play with bated breaths.

3.3. Sub-Conclusion: Microstructure

As regards the microstructure of the *comedia nueva* and the Senecan-Scaligerian plays, I have focussed on two kinds of theatre resources (of the many possible resources): on the one hand, I discussed meter and music and on the other, the tableau vivant.

Regarding music, I demonstrated how the playwrights used typical rhetoricians' verse forms to conform the translated *comedias* to the Dutch tastes. As such, the playwrights included many rondeaus and refrains in their plays, which were contrafacta sung to typical Dutch or often also French or Italian melodies. This changes in the 1660s and 1670s. Playwrights began to include typical Iberian verse forms in their adapted *comedias*: the *redondilla* and the *décima*. It seems that the Dutch audience esteemed the Spanish verse forms over the commonly used Alexandrine meter and the rhetoricians' verse forms. Still, France remained an important hub for exchange and many of the *redondillas* and *décimas* were set to French melodies. The application of these songs were in any case to emphasize the action, were related to the action in the play or influenced it. These uses are primarily derived from Lope's *comedias*.

How different are the Senecan-Scaligerian plays, which still used the *rei* at the end of every act. I have discussed one specific use of the *rei*: the focus of my discussion was the *rei* as forecaster of events, which prepared the audience for the climax of these Senecan plays, a tableau vivant. I have typified this combination of *rei* and tableau vivant as typically Dutch. As such, I showed how the tableau vivant functioned in Vondel's *Gysbreght* as well as in Hooft's *Geeraerd van Velsen*. Furthermore, the horrific and exemplary use of the tableau vivant in De Bondt's pseudo-*comedia Beleg en Ontset* was a point of focus. In this last play, I demonstrated how the tableaux vivants contributed to the *peripeteia* to be found in the play.

In the case of the tableau vivant in the Dutch *comedia nueva*, the tableaux vivants are used slightly different. They still amplify and exemplify the action in the play, but not any longer as part of the climax and not by displaying horrific atrocities. In *Jalourse Studentin*, the tableaux are to be found in the first act already, whereas in *Vrou Jacoba* many tableaux are situated in the last scene of the play, after the climax as happened. The tableaux are, as such, part of the dénouement, which in line with the characteristics of the *comedia de capa y espada* is a festive one. Yet, a political message hides underneath, which I have explained through an iconological

analysis. Furthermore, a playwright such as Isaak Vos used the tableau vivant in his *De Beklaagelycke Dwangh* as a means to let two scenes fit together. The tableau vivant is used as an illustration of travelling. As such, it can be concluded that the Dutch playwright inventively used the theatre resources at their disposal. Dutch and Iberian resources fit together and are mixed up, so the audience will always be presented with something new.

Conclusion

The aim of this Master Thesis was twofold. In the first place, I wanted to explore the immense popularity of the *comedia nueva* in the Dutch Republic and how this new Spanish tradition functioned alongside the “native” Dutch traditions, which were based upon Senecan poetics and supplemented by Scaligerian theory. Secondly, I was interested in the transfer process of the *comedia nueva* and how these Iberian plays were adapted to conform to Dutch traditions and how Dutch theatrical elements were incorporated in these plays. My point of departure was the understanding that Lope de Vega was a ‘writer for the eyes’, while Dutch playwrights such as Theodore Rodenburgh, Samuel Coster, Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft and Gerbrand Adriaensz. Bredero wanted to draw new audiences in the 1610s. Rodenburgh chose to follow Lope, whereas Coster, Hooft and Bedero followed the Scaligerian poetics.

To successfully analyse these two traditions and in order to determine what made the plays belonging to either of these two traditions so popular, I adopted the concept of *affect*, which I have used as a heuristic tool throughout this Master Thesis. Unlike other concepts, such as *pathos*, and processes like *movere*, *affect* could help me in ways which the former concepts and processes could not. The problem of any literary criticism into the historical popularity of literature from times past is the inability of our modern scholarship to reconstruct the emotional effects of a play on a historical audience, as well as their responses towards the play (except for sporadic marginalia and other records). Yet, *affect* conceptualizes popular taste through its combination between intended and established effects, as I have argued. Furthermore, *affect* describes the full process of moving an audience from beginning to end, from poetical theory, textual decisions and strategies to the pathetic effects on said audiences. In combination with a discussion of the active choices made by playwrights regarding the dramatic structure of their plays and by discussing the adaptations made by these playwrights, my theorization of historical popularity may have delivered us a useful tool to analyse otherwise possibly decontextualized literature.

Specifically in the case of the *comedia nueva*, the playwrights guaranteed the success of their plays especially by dividing the subject matter in five acts, by inserting extra soliloquies and by

replacing the Iberian verse forms with traditional Dutch rhetorician's verse forms or transposing them altogether. Moreover, the Dutch playwrights benefitted from the *comedia nueva*'s tragic character and its intriguing plot developments. Their approach towards the transfer process can be characterized by their creativity and inventivity. Here, I would like to reflect on the results and motives of the Dutch playwrights in adapting and accustoming the Hispanic plays to Dutch literary tradition.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Rodenburgh is the foremost adaptor of Lope's *comedias*. Rodenburgh's approach is clearly different from playwrights in later decades, and not in the least for his extensive knowledge of the Spanish language. In many ways, Rodenburgh adapted the *comedia nueva* to the Dutch literary climate through the insertion of refrains and rondeaus, as well as through the local colouring of specific elements and the setting of his plays. Meanwhile, he was the only playwright to differ from his peers by dividing the matter of his plays in three acts or four in imitation of the Hispanic writers. Furthermore, he is an exceptional individual, since he wrote a complete new *comedia* (*de capa y espada*), his history play *Vrou Iacoba*. This play is especially interesting, since Rodenburgh used the tableau vivant in a new exciting way analogous to the way in which Lope had used music at the end of his plays (such as *El Molino*, and also Rodenburgh's adaptation of this play: *Celia en Prospero*). The Dutch playwright has shown to adhere to the same principles as Lope, advocating a style of playwriting, which had to please the masses. The many ways in which he added elements in his plays by which the audiences could be affected, disclose on the one hand parts of the creative industry in Amsterdam, surrounding the *comedia nueva* between the 1610s and 1630s, while on the other, they may tell us something about the tastes of the Amsterdam audiences, however uncertain.

In the 1640s and 1650s, the approach of the different playwrights towards the *comedia nueva* is not very different from Rodenburgh's. Playwrights like Isaak Vos, Joris de Wijse, Thomas Asselyn and Adam Karelsz. van Germez, still replace the Spanish verse forms with refrains and rondeaus. Several things change, however. Firstly, Jan Vos became theatre director of the Amsterdam Public Theatre, which had opened its doors a decade earlier in 1638. This glazier-poet opted for a style of playwriting, which was accustomed to the tastes of the general public. In this regard, he resembles both Rodenburgh and Lope in their efforts to please their audiences. Secondly, Vos' appointment resulted in a new approach towards foreign poetical traditions: the *comedia nueva* was eagerly transferred by the writers and opposition from others was virtually absent. However, Vos had urged poets to divide plays in five acts, since the Dutch audiences needed the time to regain their breaths from the multitude of confusion to be found

in Dutch drama. It would then be too big of a coincidence that his advice was applied by all writers in the second half of the seventeenth century, when they adapted the *comedias*. In some cases, we can see here the influence of French playwrights, such as Jean Rotrou, who had divided his adaptations of Lope's plays in five acts as well in the early seventeenth century, always using moments of suspense to end an act, or redistributing the matter of an act guaranteeing that every act would end with such moments of great suspense. In general, France seems to have been an important transfer hub for the Dutch playwrights, who often were unable to read or understand Spanish. The influence of French literary culture on the transfer process should, however, be researched more extensively. This Master Thesis took a mere first glance at the influence of France on the *comedia nueva* in the Dutch Republic.

In the 1660s and 1670s, the playwrights Hendrick de Graef and Joan Blasius went in another direction with their adaptations by including *redondillas* and *décimas* in their plays. This seems to be a new trend in the 1660s, on which the writers had also reflected in their plays. It is coupled with a broader development in the Dutch Republic, where rhetoricians' verse forms went out of style in favour of the Italian sonnet, verse forms from antiquity and of course the Hispanic verse forms. Yet, the Spanish verse forms stood out by their "exotic" nature, as such amplifying the language used by the playwrights. The Spanish verse forms, thus, had a terse effect on the audiences; something which these verse forms would have never had in a Spanish context.

In contrast, the use of the tableau vivant in the *verdiestste comedia nueva* is typified by its multifunctionality. For instance, in Rodenburgh's adaptations the tableaux vivants amplify other kinds of events and may also be part of the *epitasis* instead of the *catastrophe*. Unlike with the atrocious actions staged in Senecan-Scaligerian plays, the tableau vivant in the *comedias* highlights exciting parts of the plot development revolving around the thematics of the *comedia nueva*, such as love, jealousy and honour. Though, the tableau vivant could also be used as a means to conceal the obviousness of the act of travelling, a popular aspect of the *comedia nueva*. Still, these last tableaux can illustrate the direness of a situation as well.

All in all, the affective operations of the *comedia nueva* in the Dutch Republic stem from the affective division of subject matter, the deception and acts of disguise, the creative incorporation of refrains and rondeaus, and the introduction of *reondillas* and *décimas* on the Dutch stage. Especially the use of deception was advocated first by Rodenburgh and later by Jan Vos. Since the aim of both chairmen of their respective institutions was to please the masses, we can see how they stimulated the transfer of the *comedia nueva* and how they and other playwrights dealt with Lope's poetics. It seems that these adaptations met with approval from

the Dutch audiences, for the plays were staged many times over and the Amsterdam population kept attending the performances.

The Senecan-Scaligerian plays are first of all slower-paced than the *comedia nueva*. This is due to a number of dramatic attributes of Senecan-Scaligerian drama. As regards the affective operations of this native tradition, the plays culminate, thus, in overwhelming affects at a slower pace. In Scaligerian poetics, matter had been divided according to the *partes*: the *protasis*, the *epitasis*, the *catastasis*, the *catastrophe* and the additional fifth act containing the dissolution or reconciliation. It is clear how the Scaligerian poetics had its influence on playwrights, such as Hooft, Coster, Bredero, Van Hogendorp and the early Vondel. Every *pars* was concluded through a choir, which was generally called a *rei* in Dutch. I have argued that these intermezzi readdressed the attention of the audience, meanwhile giving opportunity for the auditors to catch their breaths. This is in line with Jan Vos' argument regarding the confusion in Dutch plays, albeit before Vos' involvement in the Amsterdam theatrical scene.

In the *catastrophe*, the affective operations of the Senecan-Scaligerian drama gain momentum and the action melts together in one continuous, coherent development of the plot. The plays had started with an exposition of the facts by the means of a Scaligerian prologue, after which often a disputation followed. The prologue and the disputation functioned as means of identification with the *dramatis personae*. The *catastrophe* is the moment, in which the affective operations culminate in a combination of a *rei*, which forecasts events and frames the action, followed by the staging of a *tableau vivant*.

With regards to Dutch comedy, it is striking how these plays include acts of disguise and portray immoral characters, much like in the *comedia nueva*. Differences are, however, recognizable in the division of matter and the exclusion of highborn characters. The affective operations in these Dutch comedies stem from the bizarreness of the situations represented on stage. The unlikeliness of the events make the audience respond, while the fantastic *dénouement* in *Moortje*, of the victim being given in marriage to her violator, would have left every auditor with a stricken heart and affected by these events. These plays incorporate a moral deficit, which left the audience with unsatisfactory feelings. Dutch comedy is, as such, terse in nature and almost Senecanesque.

Apart from this preliminary exploration of the *comedia nueva* in relation to the Senecan-Scaligerian drama, the research knows still several limits and reservations, which I will now discuss and reflect on. Consequently, I will formulate some points of departure for further

research, where it concerns the affective operations and the cultural transfer of the *comedia nueva* in relation to the Senecan-Scaligerian drama.

In the first place, I have limited myself to *comedias* written by Lope de Vega where it concerns the *comedia nueva*. Similarly, I have only related the *comedia nueva* to the Senecan-Scaligerian tradition. On the one hand, the *comedia nueva* includes plays by Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616), Gaspar Aguilar (1561-1623), Luis Vélez de Guevara (1579-1644), Juan Ruiz de Alarcón (1581-1639) and Pedro Calderón (1600-81), to name a few playwrights whose plays were well received by the Dutch audience. On the other hand, the Dutch original plays also included plays based upon the poetics of Daniel Heinsius, who was inspired by Aristotle's *Poetica*. The late Vondel was for instance an extraordinary advocate of Aristotelian poetics. As such, I have merely discussed the tip of the iceberg. Much more and more extensive research has to be done before we can have a complete bird's-eye view of the interaction of the *comedia nueva* with the native Dutch traditions, as well as its influence on Dutch culture.

Second, I have discussed the dramatic structures of the plays in relation to their contents. Yet, there is more to be said about the affectiveness of the plots and the plays' thematics. An analysis of the dramatic structure, as offered in this Master Thesis, covers the "form" part of the twin concepts of form and content, while several aspects of dramatic structure remain still undiscussed. This Master Thesis offers, therefore, an inconclusive answer to the affective operations of the "Dutch" *comedia nueva* and Senecan-Scaligerian plays.

Third, my research knows several geographic limits. Often I spoke of the Dutch Republic in general, while the focus of this Master Thesis was on the developments in Amsterdam. Although Amsterdam was an important cultural and financial centre and the largest city of the Dutch Republic, one should not underestimate the importance of The Hague (as political centre and residential city), Leiden (as academic centre) and many other cities in Holland, such as Dordrecht and Delft, but also cities in other Dutch provinces (Utrecht, Middelburg, Arnhem, etc.). Furthermore, the role of the Spanish Low Countries should be researched. Apart from identifying the publication of Lope's two first *Partes de Comedias* in Antwerp, I have not conducted a research of the (un)importance of the court at Brussels and the theatres of Brussels and Antwerp as transfer hubs in relation to the cultural transfer of the *comedia nueva*.

Fourth, this research knows its limits with regards to the medium by which the plays were spread. How is affective reading related to attending a performance of a play? In what ways were the different copies of texts used? This is a question of Book use, which has not been researched at all for (Dutch) theatre practices. The texts could have functioned as programme booklets, but also as safe keep, or presents (like Jacob Cats' *Houwelick*, 1625). Related to the

geographical limits of this research, one can ask whether affective reading differed throughout the Dutch provinces. The Amsterdam people could more often attend a performance than their countrymen from other cities in Holland and from other provinces. Does this translate to a difference in the ways affects were established, while reading? Is it of any importance whether an auditor reread a play after attending a performance or vice versa or if he could attend a performance at all?

Fifth, this research was limited to a seasonal approach. By this, I mean the lack of knowledge of what was performed in summer. Autumn and Winter were the seasons, when the Amsterdam Public Theatre was in business. In summer, however, travelling theatre performed plays on the streets, in addition to other spectacle organized by the playwrights who normally wrote for the Amsterdam Public Theatre. It is an intriguing question what was performed in the off-season, but it is an issue hard to solve.

Despite these reservations, the question is which new insights have been gained by this Master Thesis? The research has shown that playwrights like Rodenburgh and Jan Vos realized that certain dramatic resources, such as refrains, rondeaus, the tableau vivant, and the act of disguise, were popular with the audiences. Plays including these resources drew a larger audience and, thus, the plays were staged many times over. On the one hand, the audiences liked the love intrigue and the subjects of contested honour in the *comedia nueva*, while on the other, the plays inspired by Senecan principles and based on events in Dutch (recent) history appealed to them as well. The implications of this research are extensive and may even result in a paradigm shift. While Dutch literary history has been concerned with the generation of meaning of canonical plays, such as *Gysbrecht*, *Geeraerd van Velsen* and *Baeto*, this research focussed on the effects of a playwright's choices regarding a play's dramatic structure. As such, this Master Thesis offers the groundwork for a new approach of seventeenth-century (Dutch) dramatic cultural heritage, which discusses a play's poetical quality and overall affectiveness in relation to the economic value generated by this quality and the play's dramatic structure.

In this context and in the context of Dutch literary history, the *comedia nueva* may, therefore, be compared to our modern romantic comedy, whereas the Senecan-Scaligerian plays may be analogous to Hollywood blockbusters and other action movies exemplifying American patriotism and western morals: both genres were popular in their own specific ways and had many attributes of their own, while their creators borrowed from the other genre as well. Especially in the case of the Amsterdam edition of De Bondt's *Beleg en Ontset der Stadt Leyden*, we can notice this. However, the adaptors of the *comedia nueva* drew more frequently

from the Senecan-Scaligerian poetics in addition to the inclusion of other cultural forms of expression with the aim of pleasing the Dutch auditors. While Dutch theatre life of the seventeenth century was driven by a proto-capitalist system, Lope had advocated a style of writing in Spain, which was 'in accordance with that art which they devised who aspired to the applause of the crowd'. In turn, Rodenburgh was one of the first in the Dutch Republic to urge the poet to 'penetrate the ears with such a manner of speaking that he may move the hearts with sweet words', speaking 'with such pleasantries that his auditors will not get bored from listening'. And finally, Jan Vos had advised playwrights to tie the eyes of the audience 'to the stage by the means of appropriate and enchanting strings'.

Appendices

A. From: Theodore Rodenburgh, *Celia en Prospero*, 1617b.

1. 'Hoe schielik is u rad',¹ sung by Prospero to the melody of the 'Lofzang van Maria'

- Hoe schielik is u rad
Fortuyn? het gheen ik had'
Is vaerdich my ontvloghen,
Ghy b'loofde hoop veel meer,
5. Maer 't lukkighst' neemt gy weer,
't Is alles my ontoghen.
Laes 't myne hertens leet
In boerigh-huysmans kleet
Doet ghy een Grave wand'len,
10. Ghy kribbe zegt my doch
Wat is uw meening noch?
Hoe wilt ghy met my hand'len?
In eenigheid alleen
Laet ghy uw slave treen
15. In dees vergheten Bemden,
Ach! buldert doch eens uyt
Laet weten my 't beduydt
't Gheen d'Hemel my toestemden.
Of wilt ghy dat ik staegh
20. In hoop en vreesse draegh
De liefde myns ghedachten?
De zonne schijnt myn naer
Den dagh en blinckt niet klaer

¹ Rodenburgh 1617b, B2r.-v.

't Zyn niet als duyst're nachten.

25. Nochtans en wensch ik niet
 Myn dood: op dat hy ziet
 Die dien ons liefd' benyden,
 Dat ik ghelyk een Man
 Veel rampen draeghen kan
30. En meerder onluk lyden.
 Helacy! als ik zie
 Dat ik het Hof afvlie
 Waer myne zon moet schijnen,
 Verlies ick moed, en kracht,
35. Ja't bittere ghedacht
 Doet Prospero verdwijnen.
 Doch hier verzekert ben
 De Grave niemandt ken
 Door 't weselik verkleenen,
40. Barst uyt myn droef ghezicht
 Op dat uw hert verlicht
 Door tranen uwes weenen.
 Hier onder dese schaeuw'
 Ik moedeloos, en flaeuw
45. Myn matte leen wil rusten,
 Het lichaem, en myn hert
 Ghe-evenaert in smert
 Na zoete slaepe lusten.

2. *'Een Laura alleen',² a rondeel sung by Molimpo*

Een Laura alleen,
 Lief ik, bemin ik, en klaegh' ik, en vraegh' ik.
 Waerom zeyd zy Neen?
 Liefde is zo machtich, trotzich van vermogen,

² Rodenburgh 1617b, B3r.

5. Al-verwinner, krachtich, steelt hy 't hert door d'oogen,
En laet my verschoven
In een benauwt gheween,
Lief ik, bemin ik, en klaegh' ik, en vraegh ik,
Waerom zeyt zy neen?
10. Een Nympe alleen,
Lief ik, bemin ik, en klaegh' ik, en vraegh' ik,
Waerom zeyt zy Neen?
Hebt ghy hier in vreughde, dat ghy 't hert doet blaken?
Zo en wil mijn jeughde, na geen weerliefd' haken,
15. Want na uw vermaken
Dwingt my de liefdens reen,
Lief ik, bemin ik, en klaegh' ik, en vraegh' ik,
Waerom zeyt zy neen?
Een peerle alleen
20. Lief ik, bemin ik, en klaegh' ik, en vraegh' ik,
Waerom zeyt zy neen?
Kunnen uyt uw lippen, zo verweent van kleuren
Niet een woortjen slippen, zal 't dan niet gebeuren?
Mits ghy keur der keuren
25. Hebt meer als in 't gemeen,
Lief ik, bemin ik, en klaegh' ik, en vraegh' ik,
Waerom zeyt zy neen?
Moorstresse der reen,
Lief ik, bemin ik, en klaegh' ik, en vraegh' ik,
30. Waerom zeyt zy Neen?
Kan in uwe schoonheid, zo veel wreedheid rusten,
Dat in uwe troon, leyd, geen verkrijgh mijns lusten?
Ach of ik u kusten!
't Stilden mijn naer gesteen,
35. Lief ik, bemin ik, en klaegh' ik, en vraegh' ik,
Waerom zeyt zy neen?

3. *'Nu ghy molenaers maelt ghelijk',³ sung by Celia, Leridano, Molimpo, Laura and Prospero to the melody of 'Venus die is over de zee'/'Phoebus is lang over de zee' (general name)*

Celia Nu ghy molenaers maelt ghelijk, al het koren is te molen,
Yder vind' nu zijns ghelijk,, liefd' is zoetst als 't is ghestolen,
Yder krijght daer hy na zocht,, 't is de liefd' die 't heeft gewrocht,, 't geen
niemant heeft bedocht.

Koning Vreughdigh zyn de mool'naers huyden,
5. Mits dat yder 't zyne vindt.
Leridaen zijn't nu twee Bruyden?
Die ghy echtlijk t'zamen bindt.

Leridano Heer dees waeren langh verbonden,
En vermits uw Majesteyt
10. Heden zich hier heeft gevonden,
Hebbende deese twee beleyt,
Dat zy nu te zamen paeren,
Die zo langh verscheyden waeren.

Koning Waer vertoeft de Hertogin?
15. *Celia* Heer, hier ziet ghy wat de min,
En de reyne liefd kan werken.

Koning Hemel wat ik hier bevin.
Graef Meerder mooght ghy hier bemerken.

Celia 't Is de Grave die ghy ziet.
20. *Prins* En de Prins en zaeght ghy niet.

Koning Grave, Prince, Hertoginne:
Niemand van u drien bekent?

Graef Door gheduldt ik overwinne
't Naere quynen myns ellendt.
25. Al het geen de tyde wrochte,
Prince, Prinslijk nu vergeeft,
Nu ik vinde 't geen ik zochte
Heeft uw hoogheid om gezweeft.

³ Rodenburgh 1617b, F4r.-v.

- Prins* Want men ziet 's Hemels besluyt,
 30. Yeder heeft zyn echte-Bruyt.
- Koning* Nimmer ik, helacy, dochte
 Dat de Grave had geleeft,
 't Schynt de Liefde u verknochte,
 En u t'zaem gevoeget heeft.
35. Vaeck de mensche elders mikt,
 Als 't den Hemel heeft geschikt.
- Celia* Wilt mijn Heere dan genoeg,
 d'Hertogin de Grave trout,
- Koning* d'Hemel heeft het willen voegen.
40. *Prins* Vader my verschuldigt houdt.
 Al de warringh mynes zinnen
 Sproot uyt en verwoest beminnen.
- Koning* Hier ghy nu uw Vrouwe hebt.
- Prins* Meerder kan myn luk niet wenschen,
 45. Mits nu al myn knagingh' ebt.
 Dommigh dwaelen vaek de menschen,
 Maer 't gheschikte moet geschien,
 Zo een yder nu mach zien.
- Celia* Prince wilt my dan verschoonen,
 50. Dat ik in myn hert niet vond
 Liefde, om uw liefd te loonen:
 's Graven liefd' my over won.
 Ik vergeet al myn verdrieten,
 Nu ik mach de Graef genieten.
55. *Prins* 'k Wensch u beyde luk en vreughde,
 Al uw' doenten ik vergeet.
- Princes* 't Was de passy uwes ieughde
 Die nu zyne doling weet,
 ,, Niemand tot beken kan g'raeken⁴
60. ,, Voor zy junliens droom ontwaeken.

⁴ Which aim the double comma's at the beginning of this and the next verse have, is unclear.

- Prins* Nu Princesse is geboren
 D'uure uwes heyl'ge echt,
 Ik uw, *Pri.* En ghy my. *Ko.* Verkoren
 Door den Hemel, die 't al recht:
65. Vaken zietmen dat God voeghden,
 Yders hopen wel genoeghden.
- Graef* Laura staekt nu uw verwonder,
 't Was de Graef, en niet Martijn,
 U bedroogh de Mool'naers schijn:
70. Want daer was een Grave onder.
 G'lijkt de Prins niet heeft geweten
 Als hy gaf Martijn zyn keten.
- Prins* 'k Geeffe nu aen Laura weer.
Celia En ik schenk heur dese molen.
75. *Laura* 'k Dank myn Vrouwe en myn Heer.
Koning Hier ondekt nu al 't verholen.

B. From: Joris de Wijse, *Voorzigtige Dolheit*, 1650.

1. *'Ik magh met recht my over u beklagen'*,⁵ a refrain sung to the melody of *'Je voudrais bien o Cloris'*

1.
 Ik magh met recht my over u beklagen,
 O tijdt, die my mijn vreughde hebt berooft,
 Een minnevlam was haar om 't hert gezlagen,
 Die ik by haar noit hadt te zijn gelooft;
5. Zy liet my toe; een vreughdt; ô tong wildt zwijgen,
 Een vreughdt, daar ik haar niet weer toe kan krijgen.

⁵ De Wijse 1650, C4v.-D1r.

2.

Mijn hoop is uit, ten zy de min kraghten
 Op nuws te werk stelt aan mijn twede ziel:
 Maar hoe koom ik te weten haar gedaghten;

10. Genomen het al na mijn wensch uit viel,
 Zy liet my toe; een vreughd, ô tong wilt zwijgen,
 Een vreughd, daar ik haar niet weêr toe kan krijgen.

2. *'Op wat lossen grondt',⁶ sung by king Anthony to the melody of 'Non ha sotto il ciel'*

1.

Op wat lossen grondt
 Steunt mijn hoop; ach de knoop
 Van het dier verbondt,
 Gedaan mondt aan mondt,
 5. Is aan 't glippen, wrede lippen
 Wilt de vierschaar spannen
 In 't bedekt gemoedt,
 Wordt ik daar gebannen,
 Licht my vrij de voet.

2.

10. Best een korte stoot
 Uitgestaan, vangh maar aan,
 'K wensch na zulk een doodt,
 Zoo ik die genoot
 Van uw handen; nu de banden
 15. Van uw zijn gebrooken,
 Zo en spaar geen bloedt,
 Ik sterf ongewrooken,
 Licht my vry de voet.

⁶ De Wijse 1650, D1r.-v.

3.

Nu is 't stervens tijdt,

20. Ik begeer, nimmermeer,

Datmen u verwijt

Dat gy d'oorzaak zijt;

Maar mijn oogen, 'k ben bedroogen

Door twee heldre straaLEN

25. Van uw lief gezicht,

Die my nu doen dwaalen.

Best de voet gelicht.

C. From: Hendrick de Graef, *Joanna van Napels*, 1664.

1. *'Me-Vrouw waer toe dees goude Kroon?'*,⁷ dialogical redondillas between Johanna and Margareet, possibly sung to the melody of 'Combien que ta fière beauté' or 'L'amour qu'on feint un dieu puissant'

Mar. Me-Vrouw waer toe dees goude Kroon?

Joh. Onnoos'le moogt gy dat noch vragen,

Weet gy niet wie die hoort te dragen

Voor zijn getrouwe dienst tot loon?

5. Tarantoos Prins vol minlijckheden

Heb ick op deze plaets verdagt,

Diaen, Godinne van de Nacht,

Geley, geley de Prins in vrede

Tot my, die 't hart in liefde brant

10. Veel felder als de brant van Troyen.

Toen men zagh Ilium verstroyen,

En Hector door Achil vermant.

⁷ De Graef 1664, 13-15.

- O Margareet gy kent mijn zinnen,
 Wijl gy de sleutel draegt van 't hart,
 15. Ontsluyt dees borst, genees mijn smart,
 Ay laet Prins Lodewijck hier binnen.
- Mar.* Draegh ick de sleutel van uw min!
 Zoo hoor ick dan voor al te weten,
 Wat in uw boezem is gezeeten.
 20. Vorstinne, oopen my uw zin.
- 'k Zal Anne zijn, die door medoogen
 Was Dido in de trouw getrouw;
 Wat werckt de min al in een vrouw;
 Zy ziet uyt meer als Argus oogen.
25. *Joh.* Ick heb door list uw trouw beproeft,
 En zal uw trouw op 't hoogst beloonen;
 Naer dat ick met dees kroon zal kroonen
 Het hoeft, om wien mijn ziel bedroeft
- Versmelt in droeve zilte tranen.
 30. Wist Lodewijck wie hem ontbood,
 Zijn ziel ontzien zou stael, noch loot;
 Noch blixem, vlam, noch oorloghs-vanen.
- De schaemte hield mijn tong geboeyt,
 Toen ick door min geprickt gaf 't teeken,
 35. Waer dat de Prince my zou spreecken.
 De min in rampspoet 't meeste groeyt.
- Mar.* Mevrouw, zijn Hoogheydt zal haest komen.
Joh. Zijn komste mijne ziel ontroert,
 Waer toe heeft my de min vervoert?
 40. Wie kan een minnend hart betoomen?

Nu Zefyrus zijn koelte stiert

Al ruyschend door de elzen bladen.

O Prins! dees beeck roemt van uw daden,

Wiens nat langhs velt, en bloemen zwiert.

45. Zo hy niet komt mijn quaat wert quader.

Mar. Ick zie hem gins, hy komt ons nader.

2. *The Melody of 'Combien que ta fière beauté' as printed in Bataille 1608, fol. 8v.*

Ombien que ta fiere beauté Se plaise aux ri-
 a a a c d f a a a
 b a a d d d b a b d a
 c c a f e f c a c d a a

guez de ta flame, Si n'ay-je mouuement en l'ame Qui ten-
 a a a b a a a a
 b b a a a a b d a b a d b
 c c c c b c c c a c c c
 d c a c c a a e d c

de à l'infideli-té.
 a a a a
 b a b a d c
 c a c c c
 d c a c a

3. The Melody of 'L'amour qu'on feint un dieu puissant' as printed in *Bataille 1613*, fol. 60v.

Amour qu'on feint un dieu puissant Par la

peinture & poësie, N'est qu'une sottie fan-tasie,

Qui tient un homme lan-guissant.

D. From: Joan Blasius, *Malle Wedding*, 1671.

1. 'Wat voelt mijn hart een brand!'⁸ *décimas* sung by a distinct, professional singer to the melody of 'Courante la reine nouvelle', while being accompanied by the countess of Pembroke

I.

Wat voelt mijn hart een brand!

Hoe roert de koorts en 't minnen

⁸ Blasius 1671, A1r.-v.

- Mijn siel van binnen,
 Die de rust verbrand,
 5. En aan de Minnegod geeft overhand.
 Is swijgen, of is spreekken best,
 VVaar hy sijn standaart vest,
 Die my doet hijgen?
 Sal ik het swijgen,
 10. Of spreekken, wie mijn minnedorst niet lest?

II.

- Rampsalig Vrowwebeeld?
 Swijg ik, soo moet ik sterven,
 En 't leeven derven;
 VVie is dan geteelt,
 15. Die als min-trooster, my sijn hulp meedeelt?
 Spreek ik, wat baat doch voor mijn vlam?
 Die ik om hem vernam,
 Die deese daagen,
 Met liefd'loos klaagen
 20. So koel voor mijn verliefde oogen quam.

III.

- Breek uit min-voedend hart;
 De brand raad u te spreekken:
 Sijn hart t'ontsteekken,
 Dat in't minnen mart,
 25. Is een verlichting voor uw swaare smart.
 Neen; swijgh mijn tong, dat is uw plicht;
 Brand ik door sijn gesicht,
 Sijn ongevoelen
 Sal my weêr koelen.
 30. Dus blust hy vlammen, die hy heeft gesticht.

IV.

- Ik swijgh en spreek dan niet,
Nu sprekken, noch mijn swijgen
Niet kan verkrijgen;
Maar dat hy my vlied,
35. Schoon hy mijn hart om hem siel-toogen siet.
Nu dan sijn schoonheid yvert in
Afkeerigheid van sin,
Leef ik verweesen
En ongeneesen,
40. En sterf, het sy ik spreek, of swijg, van min.

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Abbreviations

- BNF : Printed book from the National Library of France
(Bibliothèque Nationale de France)
- KB : Printed book from the Royal Library in The Hague
(Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag)
- SBH : Printed book from the Special Collections of the City Library Haarlem
(Stadsbibliotheek Haarlem)
- UBL : Printed book from the Special Collections of Leiden University
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