The image of Spain in Dutch travel writing (1860-1960)
Coenen, A.J.L.

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INTRODUCTION
“Spain is brute, anarchistic, egocentric, cruel, Spain is prepared to destroy itself for nonsensical reasons, it is chaotic, it dreams, it is irrational” (I). This conclusion was arrived at by the Dutch author and well-known connoisseur of Spain, Cees Nooteboom, in 1981 and it was repeated in the collection of his articles about that country, which was published in 1992 under the title *De omweg naar Santiago*. Nooteboom’s characterization links up with a long tradition of stereotyping Spain as a country that is and always has been fundamentally different from the rest of Western Europe.

The analysis of the origin and function of national stereotypes is the subject of imagology. As a specialism in literary studies, literary imagology studies the way in which these stereotypes are presented in literary texts (Beller and Leerssen 2007: 7). Throughout history there has been a tendency to formulate images of foreign nations and their inhabitants in terms of a limited number of foreground attributes. These attributes are subsequently generalized and assigned to the group as a whole, becoming, in this way, national stereotypes (Beller and Leerssen 2007: 429). At the same time, these stereotypes about a given nation are not necessarily fixed but open to change, under the influence of, for instance, contextual factors such as the current political or cultural climate. In this way, the Spanish could be negatively characterized as intolerant and ignorant when other European nations sought to strengthen their own identity as enlightened and progressive, while, on the other hand, those who were disillusioned by modernity were highly appreciative of traits they chose to see as authentic and close-to-nature.

As the generalizing tendency is combined with an equally strong tendency to reserve for one’s own group the contrary characteristic, those attributes that are considered to be particularly ‘different’ are often singled out as the most ‘typical’. This last tendency is called ‘typicality effect’ or *effet de typique* (Leerssen 1997). This typicality effect is strongly related to exoticism. While many national stereotypes are formed from an ethnocentric viewpoint (one’s own country being the norm), the exotic perspective highlights (and generally prefers) everything that is different to one’s own domestic culture (Beller and Leerssen 2007: 325). In this way, during Romanticism, the *majo* and the bullfighter became prototype of the Spanish man and the figure of Merimée’s and Bizet’s Carmen, prototype

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1 Nooteboom, *De omweg naar Santiago*, 10. The numbers behind the quotes correspond to a list of the quotes in their original language in the Appendix. The English translations are by the author of this thesis.
2 *Detour to Santiago*.
3 Originally referring to craftsmen in certain districts of Madrid, who, around 1800, distinguished themselves by their elaborate outfits as well as their arrogant and cheeky behaviour.
of the Spanish woman. Also, Spain’s supposed orientalness4 was highlighted and considered to be one of the country’s main attractions. Furthermore, in the process of creating national stereotypes, the interaction between the image of one’s own nationality (auto-image) and that of others (hetero-image) is a key factor. This is one of the reasons why travel writing, and particularly the autobiographical travelogue, is an interesting source for imagological analysis as it describes, in most cases, a direct cross-cultural confrontation between the Self and the Other.

As travel writing is a complex and not easily definable genre, and while the traveller, as its protagonist, has an equally complex identity, these two concepts: travel writing and the traveller, will be further examined in the following paragraphs. Subsequently, the specific role of travel writing as a carrier of national stereotypes will be discussed in the context of the history of the genre.

Travel Writing: Definition of the Genre

It was only during the closing decades of the 20th century, that literary critics began asking the generic question: What is travel writing? (Zilcosky 2008: 7). Although most critics agree that travel is, and always has been, an essential element in story-telling, a consensual definition of the genre of travel writing has proved problematic. This is mainly because of its extreme heterogeneity, both in form and in content: it can be found in prose and dialogue, whilst also appearing in an enormous variety of texts, such as memoirs, diaries, journals, ship’s logs, scientific and commercial reports, literary narratives of adventure, exploration, journey and escape, as well as tour guides and itineraries (Blanton 1995, Borm 2004, Zilcosky 2008). While some critics maintain that travel writing is too heterogeneous to be clearly defined (Fussell 1980, Porter 1991, Pratt 1992), others, like Hulme and Youngs in the Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing, opt for a broad definition of the genre, specifying no further than that “travel writing is best considered as a broad and ever-shifting genre” (Hulme and Youngs 2002: 10). According to Zilcosky, it is precisely these categorizing tensions which constitute travel writing’s central generic attribute (2008: 7).

Today, most critics, instead of answering the generic question, seem to prefer the listing of what they consider to be specific genre markers. Others, especially those who compile an anthology of travel texts or a collection of articles on travel writing, usually limit themselves to a ‘working definition’ that is often presented in the introduction to motivate the choice of texts included. Heterogeneity or hybridity is frequently mentioned as a genre marker, although

4 The Orient, in this case, referred to the Maghreb, including Marocco and Spanish Al-Andalus. While Spain’s historical connections with this part of the Orient were highlighted, ‘oriental’ became synonymous with ‘exotic’.
one might question whether this characteristic applies exclusively, or even specifically, to the genre of travel writing. Another often mentioned marker is the tension between truth and fiction. Zilcosky, for instance, states that this built-in anxiety is one of the markers that distinguishes travel writing as a genre: it exists not through its truth claims, but through the very precariousness of these claims (2008: 8). For Casey Blanton (1995) a distinctive marker of travel books is that they typically dramatize an engagement between the self and the world. This generic marker offers the possibility to study the evolution of the genre from the viewpoint of the change in the narrators’ sense of themselves and the way they are involved with both places and people encountered during the journey. To avoid the problem of heterogeneity, some critics (e.g. Fussell 1980 and Borm 2004) prefer, instead of talking about travel writing in general, to distinguish within the extensive corpus of texts whose main theme is travel, the Travel Book or Travelogue (French: récit de voyage; German: Reisebuch, Reisebericht) as a genre that includes “any narrative characterized by a non-fiction dominant that relates, (almost always) in the first person, a journey or journeys that the reader supposes to have taken place in reality while assuming or pre-supposing that author, narrator and principal character are but one or identical” (Borm 2004: 17). It is this subgenre of travel writing which will be the subject of the research described in this thesis.

**Traveller or Tourist?**

The distinction between traveller and tourist becomes an issue from the mid-1800s, with the first democratization of tourism. In travel writing before this time the terms were used, in most cases, indiscriminately (Thompson 2007: 40). This does not mean that criticism of other travellers/tourists was a completely new phenomenon around the 1840s. Already from the 1760s the aristocratic Grand Tourist began to find himself in the company of tourists from different social backgrounds, mostly sons of the professional middle class. In Grand Tour travel writing from this period, more than once, complaints about the presence and the behaviour of these ‘invaders’ is expressed. At the same time, the Grand Tourists themselves were also more than once criticised for their bad behaviour abroad, putting at risk the reputation of their country (Thompson 2007: 33).

Serious criticism of tourists and the need to distinguish oneself from this category of those who undertook travel as a leisure pursuit, became more urgent when, from the 1840s, more and more representatives of the middle class went ‘on vacation’. The advent of industrialization, advanced technology, easing of transportation, all played a role in this development. In part, the denigration of tourism can be seen as related to the ideology of Romanticism. During the
period of Romanticism, the main purposes of travel were self-discovery, the quest for authenticity and originality, and the experience of the sublime. These were all objectives requiring independence and solitude, or, at the most, the company of one or two like-minded spirits. In this context travel becomes the means of excellence to achieve these goals, and the right kind of travel means adventure, the willingness to take risks, and to shun comfort. In short, travel means hard work, as the frequently mentioned supposed etymological relation with the French ‘travail’ suggests. According to those who see themselves as real travellers, tourists are not only unwilling to accept the strenuous side of travel or the possibility of risks, they also lack the inner qualities to appreciate true culture or acquire the necessary insights into themselves. A similar denigrating view of the tourist is reflected in Victor Segalen’s *Essai sur l’Exotisme*, which was written between 1908 and 1918. In this essay Segalen dissociates himself from conventional exoticism and defines the true “exot” as a born traveller, someone who senses all the flavour of diversity in worlds filled with wondrous diversity. The capacity of appreciating difference, as well as recognizing its aesthetic value is, Segalen writes, not “for the likes of Cook Travel Agencies”. Furthermore, for Segalen the experience of exoticism is singular and the sensations of exoticism and individualism are complementary:

Exoticism is therefore not that kaleidoscopic vision of the tourist or the mediocre spectator, but the forceful and curious reaction to a shock felt by someone of strong individuality in response to some object whose distance from oneself he alone can perceive and savour.

Apart from the influence of the ideology of Romanticism, there is also, undoubtedly, a class dimension in the criticism of tourism in the mid-1800s. The more conservative saw in tourism a dangerous tendency to egalitarianism and from that perspective emphasized the vulgarity, insensitivity and over-bearing insolence of the tourists. Furthermore, there was an aspect of gender in the defining of travel as hazardous; it served as a demonstration of masculinity in an age in which women not only began to travel more frequently, but also were increasingly prominent in the literary market-place of travel writing (Thompson 2007: 50/51).

Thus the persona of the anti-tourist was born, appearing only in isolated cases before 1840, but becoming louder, more explicit and harsher from the moment when, following Thomas Cook’s first initiatives in the 1840s, tourism

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6 Ibidem, 23.
7 Ibidem, 20/21.
became more and more institutionalized. The guided tour and the package tour confronted the 19th century traveller time and again with touristic groups of different nationalities that not only spoiled his own private travel experience, but also threatened to destroy the pristine character (genius loci) of the places visited. Since this 19th century beginning, the anti-tourist mentality has always been present in travel writing, though more accentuated in some periods than in others. It is especially after the Second World War, with the emergence of modern mass tourism, that the denigration of tourists by those who see themselves as ‘real travellers’ experiences a strong revival. Most studies of the phenomenon of tourism underline that anti-tourism is an integral part of tourism. Anti-tourists are also tourists, according to the neutral definition (travel for recreational purposes), but they do not like to be identified as such (Thompson 2007: 43). They require the touristic crowds they hate so much, because they build their own traveller’s identity in opposition to these crowds (Buzard 1993: 153). Although the rhetoric of anti-tourism has survived until the present day, the modern anti-tourists are in some aspects seen as different from their 19th century predecessors. According to Fussell (1980: 47), they are not to be confused with the traveller: their motive is not inquiry but only self-protection and vanity. And, to further complicate the paradox, the modern tourist industry has also discovered the anti-tourists and created a market of ‘independent travel’ just for them. The Lonely Planet Guides may serve as an example of the paradox of bringing numerous individuals from the western world to places that are supposed to be absent of them.

Imagological Relevance of Travel Writing

Travel writing has a long history in European culture and finds its origins in ancient Greece, although some examples from beyond Europe can be dated back much earlier. Homer’s Odyssey is frequently mentioned as a first example that served as a model in European literature for the possibility to enrich the plot of storytelling by introducing the theme of travel. According to Blanton, the journey pattern is one of the most persistent forms of all narratives, both fiction and non-fiction (1995: 2). Apart from the possibility to enrich the plot, another inspiring feature of the travel-motif in the Odyssey was its link between external incident and moral significance, its protagonist becoming a symbol of the traveller who achieves not only outer but also inner fulfilment (Elsner and Rubiés 1999: 6). This portrayal of travel as simultaneously an inner and outer process is considered to be a particular heritage of Late Antiquity, although earlier works like Xenophon’s Anabasis, from the 4th century BC, besides being an example of military history, also found use as a tool for the teaching of classical philosophy.
From the Roman Empire, European literature has inherited a rich literature of travel. These texts were products of antiquarian, political, literary as well as touristic interests, the latter referring to journeys that were undertaken for no other reason than recreational purposes. Also examples of the ‘pilgrimage model’ (Elsner and Rubíes 1999: 6), the accounting of visits to holy shrines and temples, are known from the Roman period. The temple-visiting habits of Gaius Licinus Mucianus, Roman governor in the first century CE, are an example. Fragments of his travel accounts have been included by the Elder Pliny in his *Natural History*. After the legalization of Christianity in 313 by Roman emperor Constantine, pilgrimages to the Holy Land became widespread. The emperor’s mother, Helena, is considered to have been the first pilgrim to the Holy Land. In 326-328, Helena undertook a trip to the Holy Places in Palestine. The bishop and historian Eusebius of Caesarea tells about her pilgrimage in his *Vita Constantini* (337). From the beginning, these travel accounts convey information about geography as well as human nature.

In the Middle Ages, the pilgrimage model became the dominant trend in European travel writing, as a great number of Christian pilgrims related their travels to the Holy Land or other holy sights and routes. Apart from this category, some travel accounts with a political or mercantile purpose of this period have been preserved.

The impact of Humanism on European travel literature is twofold: on the one hand, the Renaissance supplied the traveller with access to classical sources and philological tools that enriched the travel experience and made it more precise and specific. On the other hand, Humanism was at the basis of travel as educational, as part of a process of secular learning (Elsner and Rubíes 1999: 46). In accordance with this new ideology, during the Renaissance, the pilgrimage model gave way to a more scientific model, emphasizing accuracy and completeness of detail. Especially in the 16th and 17th century, many Europeans travelled to and explored newly discovered regions of the world and produced travel writing that was mainly informative. Although the personal presence of the narrator in this kind of report is often minimal, there are examples of expressions of personal reactions as well as consciousness of personal thoughts and feelings produced by the encounters with foreign worlds (Blanton 1995: 11).

In the 18th century, with early Enlightenment, the involvement between narrator and surrounding world obtained another dimension and became an integral part of travel writing. In the wake of Locke’s theories about the importance of stimuli from the external world for the development of the intellect and Newton’s empiricism, travel was considered to be a major factor in personal growth and education. It is this ideology which is at the basis of the Grand Tour, the preserve of the, mainly English, aristocracy and gentry, who could
afford to send their young adult sons to the continent to finish their education. The project of the Grand Tour became popular in the second half of the 17th century and maintained its currency until the Napoleonic Wars, at the beginning of the 19th century. The trip served a number of purposes: not only were the young aristocrats supposed to visit famous classical sites and achieve a better understanding of the corresponding classical texts, the journey also served to mix with the right society, polish language and poise and establish contacts that might be useful in future professional life (Thompson 2007: 46/47). The route of the Grand Tour was highly standardized: Paris, the most important Italian cities and sights (Naples being usually the most southern destination) and parts of Germany (mainly the Rhine Valley). The Grand Tourist, for the first time, made systematic use of guidebooks that not only served as an itinerary and warned against dangers to be avoided, but also suggested ways of looking and responding to things (Urry 2002: 2). The response to the travel experience expected from the young male traveller was highly conventionalized until the second half of the 18th century when, in the climate of Sentimentalism, the emphasis shifted gradually to the narrator’s (sentimental) reactions to the outer world.

In this first phase of the history of travel writing, from Antiquity until early Enlightenment, travel accounts were primarily written with the intention of supplying the reader with geographical and anthropological information about foreign countries. In the early stages of Enlightenment, however, a gradual change began to take shape and travel writing became increasingly, apart from a means of registering ‘otherness’, a means of exploration of both individual and national identity. Montesquieu’s *Lettres persanes* (1721) is a famous early example of describing how the domestic world, in this case contemporary France, was seen from a foreign perspective. From this point onwards, travel writing is almost invariably about Self and Other, culminating in the Romantic notion of travel as primarily a self-changing experience, an opportunity for personal growth.

As a literary genre travel writing became increasingly popular from the period of Enlightenment. While this growing popularity can, in part, be attributed to the ideology of (pre)Romanticism, there is another factor which should be taken into consideration: the fact that travel writing is a literary genre with its own poetics. And it is precisely the poetics of travel writing, the fact that its narrative line is essentially based on incident and coincidence, which was another contributing factor to its increased popularity after the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* in the late 17th century had been decided in favour of poetic freedom (Leerssen 2003: 8). It was also in the course of the 18th century that the travel book was, for the first time, thematized and debated as a genre, as we can see, for instance, in the literary dispute between Tobias Smollett and Laurence Sterne in the 1760s. Sterne was disgusted by Smollett’s account of his travels through
France and Italy, which he considered to be a mere account of his own miserable feelings. In his own *Sentimental Journey* of 1768, he satirized Smollett in the figure of the learned Smelfungus and criticised the way this traveller discoloured everything he saw on the way with his own spleen and jaundice.

In the period of Romanticism and under the influence of Romantic subjectivity, the emphasis shifted further from the description of places and people to accounts of personal impressions and the effect of these on the traveller/narrator. The trip, in some cases, became a symbolic act, a way to self-discovery, representing life itself as a quest for meaning (Blanton 1995: 18). A further characteristic of Romantic travel writing is the way in which it reflected the emerging national consciousness of the 19th century. The Romantic fascination with cultural differences was expressed in travel writing that looked explicitly for ‘couleur locale’ and tended, more than before, to compare different national characteristics. A last, but certainly no less important, Romantic purpose for travel was the desire to escape, not only from social constraints but also from a routine existence, restoring in this way a “childlike sense of wonder at the world” (Buzard 1993: 101) and stimulating the all important imagination. This ideal was combined with a desire to find sublimity, both in unspoiled nature and in new ways of adventurous travelling to until then unknown or uncommon destinations.

In accordance with the Romantic desire to escape the here and now, exoticism becomes an important ingredient of travel writing from this period onwards and as such plays a considerable role in the shaping of both hetero- and auto-images. For also in its exoticist mentality (post)Romantic travel writing is about the Other as well as the Self. It can be deployed as a means of criticism of the domestic culture, when the difference between foreign and familiar is positively valorized and the otherness is presented as preferable to the state of affairs at home. In other respects, it can also be seen as “the friendly face of ethnocentrism”, while the image of the foreign country is mainly presented by means of accentuating those aspects which deviate from the domestic norm (Beller and Leerssen 2007: 325). While the conditions influencing the perception of Self and Other may vary, as a result of its emphasis on the “distinct and the distinctive” (Foster 1982), Romantic exoticism creates a highly subjective image of the exotic Other.

Romantic exoticism is, furthermore, both an exoticism in space and in time. Segalen, in his *Essai sur l’Exotisme*, was the first to distinguish two kinds of exoticist nostalgia: firstly, a nostalgia for a world that has escaped the relentless banality wrought by industrialized modernity and, secondly, a nostalgia for a world in which values that had been lost in the petty present prevailed. In its desire to create a symbolic world that compensates for the increasingly schematized patterns of everyday life in modern industrial society, exoticism
is always about Elsewhere, a place where you are not. Foster calls it an “everbeckoning frontier” (1982: 21) and Leerssen describes the exoticist’s viewpoint as “telescoping deferral” (2003: 3): the arrival in an exotic place is, almost invariably, a disappointment as its pristine otherness is immediately spoiled by the visitor’s presence. Consequently, a new horizon has to be chased. In the case of Spain, this telescoping deferral manifests itself in the widespread tendency to see the country as a part of Africa. The phrase “Africa begins at the Pyrenees”, which is usually attributed to Alexandre Dumas père, is repeated, almost without exception, by (post)Romantic travellers to Spain. The ‘Africanness’ of Spain not only expresses itself, in the eyes of the visitors, in an omnipresent oriental heritage, it also offers the genuine traveller the guarantee of more adventures and difficult passages to overcome than in an average European country.

Temporal exoticism, the longing for escape from modernity results, just like spatial exoticism, in the creation of a subjective image of the surrounding world. In one of the fragmentary entries of his essay Segalen defines this kind of exoticism as follows: “The Exoticism in Time. Going back: history. An escape from the contemptible and petty present. The elsewhere and the bygone days.” This tendency to spatialize territories into fixed, static, and unchanging landscapes that existed in temporalities outside of modernity correlates with what Johannes Fabian, referring to the predominant practice of western anthropology, has called “denial of coevalness”, “a persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse” (2002: 31). In the case of Spain, the distinctiveness of its African exoticness was regularly combined with the equal uniqueness of its medieval timelessness within the context of modern Europe. Dutch author Cees Nooteboom’s qualification of Spain as a laboratory of preserved time thus stands in a long tradition of looking at this country as a place where one can turn one’s back on northern modernity.

Carrying with it its Romantic heritage, the period of 1850-1930 is frequently considered to have been the heyday of travel writing (Blanton 1995: 19). One of the main reasons mentioned for this phenomenon is the further democratization of travel, producing not only more travel, but also a rapidly expanding reading public that wanted travel books to accompany and inspire their journeys, or else to offer virtual journeys to so-called ‘armchair travellers’ who preferred staying at home and reading about the adventures of others.
Apart from the increasing number of travel texts, the tone and nature of travel writing underwent significant changes during this period. While in the second half of the 19th century optimism about perfectibility and progress, both personal and social, prevailed, the 20th century began with a new mood of doubt and anxiety that also found its reflection in travel writing. At the same time, travel writing was becoming more and more travel literature and was therefore taken with new seriousness (Hulme and Youngs 2002: 7). According to Elsner and Rubiés (1999: 54), possibly the most significant contribution of travel literature at the turn of the 20th century was the discovery of futility in the idea of progress. Especially in the aftermath of the first World War travel writing not only expressed a desire to escape from a ruined world at home, but travel in itself also turned, once more, into a quest for meaning, a search for wholeness in a fragmented world. Disorientation then became an important theme in travel writing (Zilkosky 2008: 12).

After the Second World War, from the 1950s, mass tourism took off on an unprecedented scale and travellers, like their Romantic predecessors of the mid-19th century, who were faced with the first democratization of travel, painfully felt the threat of independent travelling coming to an end and the possibility of finding pristine destinations becoming more and more difficult.

Towards the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century, a tendency in travel writing emerges that has been called posttourism (Fussell 1980; Urry 2002) and coincides and corresponds with postmodernism. The awareness of the impossibility to discover something really new in a world that is completely mapped out and filled with inauthentic touristic experiences, often leads to ironic playfulness. Dissolving the boundaries between high and low culture, the posttourist can play with the traveller-tourist opposition. The posttourist knows that he is a tourist and that tourism is a series of games with multiple texts and no single authentic tourist experience (Urry 2002: 91). Also the fact-fiction tensions are being intentionally played with, including, for instance, reproductions of real travel documents in fictional travel accounts.

Considering the history of travel writing as a whole, one can conclude, in the first place, that the objective of travel as reflected in travel writing is mainly touristic (travel for recreational purposes) from the beginning of the 18th century. Secondly, that the changes in travel writing have been caused to a large extent by changes in the way the travellers have seen themselves. This last development resulted, from the middle of the 19th century, in a traveller-tourist opposition and a corresponding anti-tourist mentality. Where its imagological relevance is concerned, the importance of travel writing as a source of national typologies begins with early Enlightenment, from which time the genre is, increasingly, about the Self and the Other. Subsequently, in the process of creating national
stereotypes, the ideology of Romanticism, including its distinct exoticist viewpoint with its accent on diversity, has been strong and persistent.

**Theoretical Framework**

The purpose of this dissertation is an analysis of the formation and evolution of images of the Spanish national character in Dutch travel accounts during the period 1860 to 1960. As part of this general objective, the nature and frequency of national stereotypes will be looked at, as well as contextual factors influencing the image content.

In the following paragraphs, firstly, the criteria for the selection of the travel accounts that have been included in this study, will be presented. Subsequently, a model for the analysis of the formation and evolution of national stereotypes will be described that has been used as a structural foundation of this dissertation.

• **Criteria for the Corpus-Selection**

The subject of this study is Dutch travel writing on Spain. As in any other corpus of travel writing, this corpus includes a great variety of texts, from travel fiction to travel accounts, from ships logs to travel diaries and from texts written in prose to travel descriptions in the form of poetry. This study focuses on travel accounts or travelogues, that is to say, accounts of real journeys (a shifting in time and space), undertaken by a Dutch traveller who is also the narrator of the account and who expresses him- or herself in the first person about the stages and events of a journey that includes an arrival in and departure from Spain. The travelogues that are the subject of this study describe trips to Spain for (mainly) recreational purposes. To facilitate comparisons of discursive techniques, only travelogues written in prose form have been selected. Within this category, travel accounts, travel diaries and texts in the epistolary form have been included. In many cases the texts, particularly those written by journalists, had been published before in the form of essays, letters or travel reports in newspapers or magazines.

As regards periodization, the year 1860 has been chosen as a starting point, because Gerard Keller’s *Een Zomer in het Zuiden* is generally considered to be the first account of the travels of a Dutch tourist in Spain. Keller made his journey in 1862 and his account was published in two parts in 1863 and 1864. The year 1960 has been selected as the concluding date, because it coincides with what has been called the “big leap” in tourism to Spain at the end of the 1950s (Pack 2006: 137). After the Second World War, the number of foreign tourists to Spain began to grow steadily from 1950 onwards, and in 1951, the Ministry of
Information and Tourism was created to further promote this important source of income for post Civil War Spain. A significant rise in the number of foreign tourists occurred, when in 1959 the Franco regime, in the context of an economic reform, the so-called Plan de Estabilización, devalued the peseta, liberalized foreign trade and eased regulations for foreign visitors entering the country. The number of foreign tourist went from just over four million in 1959 to over six million in 1960 (Moreno Garrido 2007: 240). The fact that Spain was becoming a popular destination in the 1960s was also noticed by Dutch authors of travel guides, like Dr. L. van Egeraat, who wrote in the preface to the 1964 edition of his guide book for the Costa Brava and Mallorca:

Surely many travellers will also consider it a plus that, after visiting the Costa Brava, they can claim that they have been in Spain, something which is apparently the new - probably passing – touristic trend (2).\(^\text{12}\)

Subsequently, the period 1860-1960, has been subdivided into three shorter stages, 1860-1900, 1900-1936 and 1950-1960, the period 1936-1950 being excluded because in the context of the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War touristic trips to Spain virtually came to a standstill. The travelogues from these three periods will be analysed in corresponding chapters. The year 1900, with the World Exposition in Paris that presented a review of every technical achievement from the 19th century, has been chosen as a symbolic date for the beginning of a new epoch. With increasingly more comfortable means of transport, mass mobility grew spectacularly in the last decades of the 19th century. In The Netherlands, until World War I, it was still only the people with time and money who travelled abroad for recreative purposes, but a new kind of tourist, who travelled from one place to another and whose main goal was sightseeing, began to be noticed by Dutch travellers of the early 1900s.

Dutch travelling to Spain for recreational purposes was interrupted by the Spanish Civil War and World War II. It was only in the early 1950s that new travelogues began to appear, together with a growing amount of travel guides, books and booklets to inform the increasing number of tourists about Spain and the Spaniards.

**A Model of Stereotypic Contents’ Formation and Change**

As a model for the analysis of the stereotypes in the selected corpus of travel accounts, I have used the integrative model for the analysis of the formation

and change of national stereotypes, suggested by Daniel Bar-Tal (Bar-Tal 1997). This model distinguishes three categories of factors which determine stereotypic contents, as well as their intensity and extensity. Intensity refers to the degree of confidence a person has in a stereotypic content, and extensity, to the consensus in which group members hold a specific stereotypic content (Bar-Tal 1997: 494).

The three determining categories suggested by Bar-Tal are, respectively, Background Variables, Transmitting Mechanisms and Personal Mediating Variables. To apply the model to a specific investigation, especially relevant variables can be selected from the general framework of this model and others inserted (Bar-Tal 1997: 516).

1. Background Variables

The first category in the general framework includes socio-political, as well as economic conditions, the present nature and the history of intergroup relations, and, finally, the behaviour of other groups. From this category I have chosen, in the first place, the variable **history of intergroup relations** as particularly relevant for the purpose of this study. As Bar-Tal formulates, the history of intergroup relations has a direct influence on the formed stereotypic contents. The nature of past intergroup relations is not easily forgotten (Bar-Tal 1997: 496). In the history of the relation between The Netherlands and Spain, stereotypes dating from the long period of conflict in the 16th and 17th centuries, are considered to be persistent, particularly in the Protestant part of Holland.

Secondly, and in relation to the **present nature of intergroup relations**, special attention will be given to invariable factors of national stereotyping that are part of what is called a grammar of national characterization. Grammar means, in this context, a structural pattern in the attribution of characteristics to certain groups (Leerssen 2000: 275). Three of these invariable factors are an invariant opposition between North and South, between Strong and Weak, and between Central and Peripheral. The North-South opposition is, in the case of two different countries, often linked to the climate theory and relates lists of particular character traits to a hot or a cold climate, respectively. The opposition Central-Peripheral is also specifically relevant for this study of the relation between Dutch auto-images and the hetero-images of the Spanish as seen by Dutch visitors. Central stands for dynamic and developed, peripheral for static and traditional. How the condition of a certain country is appreciated, may vary. Positively appreciated, an auto-image of centrality usually leads to a denigrating view of the backward periphery. However, in times when exoticism is a strong ingredient of travel, the peripheral destination will be highly appreciated for all its contrasts with modern society (Leerssen 2007: 280). These North-South and
Centre-Periphery oppositions will be discussed in the context of the auto-image of each respective author.

2. Transmitting Mechanisms

The second category suggested by Bar-Tal includes different means through which individuals receive information that serves as a basis for the formation and change of stereotypic contents. Within this category, societal channels (political, social, cultural and educational), family sources, as well as direct contact with outgroup members are included in the general framework.

Cultural channels, and especially intertextual frames of reference, are particularly relevant in the study of stereotypes in travel writing. While all discursive corpuses containing images concerning a given nation have a high intertextual cohesion (Leerssen 2000: 280), this is especially so in travel writing. As it is inherent to travelling that it confronts people with something relatively unknown, previously distant and potentially threatening, travellers tend towards, what Edward Said has called, a “textual attitude” (Said 2003: 93), the tendency to fall back on the schematic authority of a text. Thus travellers generally prepare themselves for their journey by reading travel guides or travel accounts written by others, or consult these texts during their trips. Furthermore, they also regularly refer to cultural artefacts (literary fiction, painting, films) to illustrate the way they see both the country and its inhabitants, as well as to demonstrate their own knowledge and experience.

Direct contact is, obviously, also especially relevant for the analysis of the chosen corpus. Particularly since Romanticism, when the self of the traveller becomes more and more important, the personality of the traveller-narrator, as well as the auto-image, plays a major role in the shaping of the hetero-images of the visited country. At the same time, the people the traveller (chooses to) encounter(s), as well as the conditions of the encounters (superficial or intimate, pleasant or unpleasant, etc.) influence the stereotypic contents that result from the experience. Furthermore, one has to take into consideration that the authors of travel accounts are prone to describe personal meetings – real or fictitious - with inhabitants of the visited country. These meetings not only enliven the narrative, but also serve to enhance the veracity of the account.

3. Personal Mediating Variables

In the third category, of personal mediating variables, factors such as personal knowledge, cognitive skills, language, values, attitudes, motives and personality
are included (Bar-Tal 1997: 511). In this broad category, several factors are of specific relevance for this study and others can be inserted.

As part of the variable personal knowledge, the knowledge of the Spanish language will get special attention. It is obvious that in a country where few people speak any language other than their own, it makes an important difference in the formation of images whether the observer is capable of maintaining a more than superficial conversation with the people he encounters.

As an example of attitudes, and in view of the changes in travelling and the position of the traveller in the period being studied, the narrators’ attitude towards travel, whether they see themselves as travellers or tourists, is also of importance. This attitude not only influences the choice of destinations and modes of travelling, but also the choice and the nature of the encounters with representatives of the outgroup and the way in which they are seen and appreciated.

Where values are concerned, both religion and politics are an important factor. As the studied corpus includes travelogues by both Protestant (and non-religious) and Catholic authors, it is to be expected that their images of Catholic Spain, and the role of the Church in Spanish society, vary. Politics became particularly important in the period after the Second World War, when a trip to Spain implied a visit to a dictatorial state.

Summarizing, in the analysis of the formation and change of imagotypes in Dutch travel writing about Spain, first of all, the image of the Spanish national character, as painted by each respective author will be resumed. Within this entity of stereotypes, separate attention will be given to two elements of Spain’s identity that can be seen as examples of effets de typique: the bullfight and the Gypsies. These ‘touristic highlights’ have been chosen for the following reasons: the bullfight is visited (often more than once) by each one of the researched authors and is invariably described in great detail. It is obviously regarded as highly typical for Spain and, furthermore, as an expression of fundamental traits of the Spanish national character. A visit to the Gypsy community in the Albaicin quarter of Granada is also a fixed point on the agenda. The Gypsies are, in most cases, presented as clear examples of Spain’s orientalness, although their marginalized position in Spanish society makes them less univocal as prototypes of Spanishness. Subsequently, the formation of the image content will be analysed, taking into account, depending on their relevance, the role of the following factors:
• Dutch self-image, with special attention to North-South and Centre-Periphery opposition.

• Past relations: inherited images from the period of the Eighty Years War (1568-1648).

• Direct contact: the (choice of) people encountered and the nature of the encounters. Knowledge of the Spanish language.

• Intertextual references. The term ‘intertextual’ will be used in the broad sense of evocations (also non verbal) of earlier representations of Spain.

• Attitude towards travel / tourism

• Views on politics and religion

The Structure of this Dissertation

Following this introduction presenting the aims, methods and theoretical premises, the thesis contains five more chapters.

In Chapter I, the evolution of the image of Spain in the rest of Europe is described from the late Middle Ages until the end of the researched period, the 1960s. From the 14th until the 18th century, a predominantly negative picture of Spain and the Spaniards was painted, particularly in those European countries that were or had been either in conflict or in competition with the then powerful Spanish empire: Italy, Germany, England and The Netherlands. In the 18th century, an equally negative image spread around Europe, originating from the then dominant country: France. This image concentrated on the lagging behind of Spain in the European process of modernization. In the first decades of the 19th century the image changed once more, under the influence of the Napoleonic wars and the ideology of Romanticism. New stereotypes emerged and old ones were re-evaluated about a country to which both 19th century artists and travellers were attracted. Special attention is given to the image of Spain in The Netherlands. While, on the one hand, the Dutch rebellion against Spanish rule in the late 16th century reinforced and further developed the so-called Black Legend about Spain, the continuing commercial relations as well as a considerable interest in Spanish culture nuanced the negative picture.

In Chapter II, III and IV, a total of fifteen travelogues written by Dutch authors are described, dating from three periods respectively, 1860-1900, 1900-1936 and 1950-1960. Each analysis begins with a description of the author’s
travel schedule and itinerary as well as his or her particular way of giving shape to the travel experience. Subsequently, the stereotypes about the country and its inhabitants as they appear in the travelogues are listed. Special attention is given to two tourist attractions that can be seen as examples of the functioning of the ‘typicality effect’: the bullfight and the Gypsy community in Granada. Finally, the formation of the image content is studied. Using the above described model of analysis, for each travelogue six variables are studied to determine how the image of each author was formed.

Chapter V presents a survey and analysis of both the formation and the evolution of the images of the Spanish national character that have been found in the travelogues. In the first part of the chapter both the frequency and the changes in meaning and appreciation of the stereotypes is discussed. Then the formation of the image content is studied for all travelogues together. Firstly, the role of five of the researched variables: the Dutch self-image; the influence of past relations; intertextual references; the political views and religious convictions of the authors, as well as their view on travelling, is studied. While different types of textual sources figure in the travelogues, the prominent role of literary references is highlighted. Finally, the influence of intertextuality on the description of personal meetings with Spaniards, as well as aspects of the discourse are discussed in two separate thematic paragraphs, titled Intertextuality and Ethnotypes and The Discourse of Exoticism.

In the Conclusion, firstly, an answer is offered to the central question of this thesis about the formation and evolution of the images of the Spanish national character that appear in Dutch travel writing between 1860 and 1960. Secondly, the results of this investigation will be put in the context of other investigations of the image of Spain in the country itself and elsewhere. Recent publications show a growing Spanish interest in the image of the country abroad, both from governmental institutions and in the scientific community. This interest focuses on the tenacity of negative foreign stereotypes and on the way in which these stereotypes have been interiorized and, on occasion, intensified by the Spaniards themselves. The interest in the meta-image of the country within Spain itself, is discussed in a Postscript.

The results of this investigation will, hopefully, and particularly at a time when the North-South opposition in Europe seems to regain strength, nuance the idea of an irradicable Black Legend cloud hanging over Spain and offer, at the same time, a model that facilitates an explanation of how national stereotypes are formed.