The image of Spain in Dutch travel writing (1860-1960)
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CHAPTER I:

THE IMAGE OF SPAIN
IN THE REST OF EUROPE
Chapter 1

Multicoloured Legends

Since the publication in 1914 of Julián Juderías’ *La leyenda negra*, the term “legend” has become a key word in the discourse about the image of Spain abroad. Juderías used the term intentionally, the purpose of his work being a denunciation of what he considered to be a process of continuous distortion of Spain’s history and the national character of its people. Juderías was not the first to use the term “Black Legend” in this sense. Before him, in 1899, the author Emilia Pardo Bazán, in a lecture delivered in Paris, had also complained about the blackening of Spain’s reputation, using the same terminology. However, it was with Juderías that the label “Black legend” became a topic of on occasion heated debates in and outside of Spain and that still continue to the present day. In these debates, various authors have tried to characterize different versions of this so-called legend, using a sometimes confusing amount of colour tags. The point of departure has always been the Black Legend, defined by Juderías as the *whole package of “fantastic tales about our nation that have been published in almost every country”* (Juderías 2003: 24). The efforts to contradict the Black Legend, often resulting in an equally biased positive version of the image, have been called, respectively, the White (e.g. Gibson 1971), the Rose-tinted (e.g. López de Abiada and López Bernasocchi 2004) and the Gilded Legend (e.g. Fouillée 1903). The Romantic image of Spain, which took shape mainly in 19th century travel writing, has been called the Yellow Legend (e.g. García Cárcel 1992), referring to a tendency to distinguish and emphasize racial features that were supposed to be typically Spanish. The term Grey Legend has been used to describe the efforts of the Regenerationists, intellectuals who between 1890 and 1920 discussed the problems of Spain, denouncing its defects, but also, at times, cherishing its traditional values (García de Cortázar 2003). And, furthermore, the propaganda war of the early years of the Franco regime, in which every form of criticism from abroad was rejected, has been tagged as, respectively, Blue Legend - referring to the blue shirts of the Falangists - and Brown Legend - referring to its links with Nazism (Español Bouché 2007). Recently, the term White Legend has been used once more to refer to the rapidly growing international prestige of Spain at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century (Miranda Torres 2010: 3).

Historical Context

Since the above mentioned legends not only unfolded against the backdrop of Spain’s historical context, but were also, in many cases, directly or indirectly related to specific events and circumstances, a concise survey of the history of
Spain from the Middle Ages until the end of the period under investigation is given below.

After the invasion of Spain, in 711, by Muslim troops, the Reconquista, the struggle of Christian troops against the Muslim supremacy, began, symbolically, in 722, when Don Pelayo, a Visigothic nobleman, defeated the Muslims at Covadonga. The Islamic presence in Spain lasted from the beginning of the 8th century until the Reyes Católicos, Ferdinand and Isabella, entered the city of Granada in January 1492. The royal couple not only unified Spain under one government, but also affirmed the country’s Catholic identity by forcing both Jews and Muslims to convert, as well as establishing the Inquisition. Furthermore, they sent Christopher Columbus to discover a ‘New World’, an enterprise which resulted in a significant extension of the Spanish empire. The territorial expansion under their rule was not limited to transatlantic colonies; in 1504 the kingdom of Naples and Sicily was brought under the Spanish Crown, as well as the island of Sardinia and Rousillon (French Catalonia).

In the 16th and 17th century Spain was governed by the House of Habsburg. Under the rule of Charles I, grandson of the Reyes Católicos, the process of colonization of South America was continued. However, Charles’s most important ideal was the unification of all Christian states of Western and Middle Europe under one strong and universal imperial authority. Both political opposition, particularly from France, and religious conflicts weakened Spain’s economic strength, in spite of the wealth that was brought to the country from the overseas colonies. Under the rule of Charles’s successor, Philip II, who with even more enthusiasm, pursued the ideal of one undivided Roman Catholic Europe, the long-lasting conflict with the Low Countries in the North began in 1568. The 17th century was dominated by conflicts that not only led to the country’s virtual economic bankruptcy, but also to a decline of the Spanish hegemony in Europe. When Charles II died in 1700, the rule of the House of Habsburg came to an end and the dynasty of the Bourbons ascended the Spanish throne.

The 18th century began with a War of Succession in which the French King Louis XIV held the winning card in the person of his grandson Philippe d’Anjou, who became King of Spain in 1700. The policy of the first Bourbon kings was focused on a modernization and centralization of the Spanish state. It is mainly in the second half of this century that, under the influence of Enlightenment, ideas about political, social, religious and scientific renewal began to win ground.

The 19th century opened with the occupation of Spain by the armies of Napoleon in 1808. The rebellion against the French, the so-called War of Independence, took the form of a guerrilla war, led by juntas, organisms which, in the absence of a legitimate king, represented the people. In the unoccupied south of the country, the Junta Suprema installed a Parliament and proclaimed,
in 1812, a constitution, the Constitution of Cadiz, which was admired and copied by liberal fractions in various parts of Europe. The ending of the war in 1814 brought Ferdinand VII to the Spanish throne, a king whose rule was characterized, until his death in 1833, by a strongly repressive anti-liberal policy. Until the last decades of the century, Spain’s history was dominated by both interior and exterior conflicts. In three consecutive Carlist Wars the legitimacy of Ferdinand’s succession by his daughter Isabella was contested by supporters of his brother Charles, while progressive and conservative fractions fought for political power. After a protracted period of political unrest that prevailed during the greater part of the 19th century, Spain slowly settled down into greater stability with the onset of the Restoration period in 1875. Earlier, in 1868, Queen Isabel II - having reigned for 35 years - was deposed in a peaceful revolt, known as the Glorious Revolution. For the following six years a state of uncertainty ensued about the political structure that would suit the country best. The Spanish Parliament, in pursuit of stability, first imported an Italian prince from the House of Savoy who, reluctantly, became King Amadeo I of Spain (1870-1873). His abdication was followed by a first and short-lived republican experiment (1873-1874).

After the collapse of the First Spanish Republic, the Bourbon monarchy was restored when Isabel II’s rightful heir became King Alphons XII. A new Constitution (1876) allowed a two-party system that involved a peaceful alternation in power. However, the contrived nature of this political system relied on manipulation of the electoral results rather than genuine elections. Economically, the country’s situation was deplorable as a result of, amongst other factors, military conflicts abroad and within the country itself. After several attempts, between 1834 and 1844, to reduce the power of the Roman Catholic Church, a Concordat between Spain and The Vatican, signed in 1851, included the re-establishment of Catholicism as the official and exclusively permitted religion in Spain, while the State promised to guarantee the Church’s interests.

Between 1900 and 1936, Spain’s political situation remained unstable. The Restoration settlement, which kept two political parties, alternately, in power, broke down in 1909 and, at the same time, extensive left-wing protests erupted. After the First World War, in which Spain remained neutral, a military coup, led by General Primo de Rivera, took place in 1923, leading to seven years of dictatorship, while Spain remained a monarchy. In 1931, the Second Spanish Republic was proclaimed. After two years of wide-ranging reforms, the 1933 elections brought a strong swing to the Right. When the divided left reunited in 1934 into the Popular Front and won the 1936 elections, the military intervened and the Spanish Civil War broke out. After the victory of General Franco’s troops in 1939, a dictatorial regime was established that met with strong opposition from the rest of the world after the Second World War, in which Spain once
more remained neutral. In the decade of the 1950s, Franco’s Spain began to open up gradually to the rest of the world, after a period of radical isolation. The beginning of the Cold War giving rise to new security fears in Western Europe worked in the country’s favour and in 1953 the Spanish government signed a series of Defence Agreements with the United States. In 1955, furthermore, Spain was admitted to the United Nations. The visit of the President of the USA in 1959 was used by the regime’s propaganda as a sign of the acceptance of the country into the western economic and political order.

**Origins and Development of the Black Legend**

Looking back, the painting of the foreign portrait of Spain can, in some ways, be seen as a European project, to which, successively and simultaneously, five countries in particular have contributed, namely, Italy, Germany, The Netherlands, England and France. Although the dictionary of the *Real Academia Española* still defines the Black Legend as “Opinion against Spain and the Spanish spread from the 16th century”,” it has been convincingly demonstrated that the first sketches were drawn by the Italians in the early 14th century (Arnoldsson 1960).

14th – 16th Century
Arnoldsson makes a distinction between two different versions of the Black Legend that was shaped in Italy. The first and oldest one dates from the early 14th century, after Pedro III of Aragon, in 1282, was recognized as Lord of Sicily. The invaders were, for the Italians, mainly represented by two categories, soldiers and Catalan merchants. The soldiers were, in part, admired for their courage and fighting spirit, but at the same time criticised for their ruthless aggression (*furia española*) as well as for their roughness and lack of culture. The Catalans competed with the Italians for trade in the Mediterranean and as a result were negatively depicted as stingy, sly and generally unreliable. Until around 1500 the Catalans continued to be seen by the Italians as prototypes of the Spanish.

At the beginning of the 16th century, Castile became the centre of power in Spain and political representatives of the Castilian court, together with the military, became the new prototypes. While the first were mainly characterized as bad administrators, unjustly proud and arrogant, the image of the second group deteriorated further, especially after the looting of Rome in 1527 by badly paid Spanish soldiers (Arnoldsson 1960: 27). Apart from cruelty and arrogance, another important ingredient of the later version of the Black Legend is that of racial and religious impurity. The long period of cohabitation with Jews and

13 www.rae.es/drael, last consulted February 2nd 2011.
Islamites had resulted, according to some Italian critics, in the Spanish becoming a people of mixed and, therefore, inferior race and dubious orthodoxy (Iglesias 1997: 394).

16th and 17th Century
In Germany, the reputation of the Spanish began to deteriorate in the mid-1500s, as a result of Charles V’s war against German Protestants, called “Spanierkrieg” by the Germans. Violent hatred of the Spanish troops was expressed in pamphlets and rebellious songs. Furthermore, as became known after his death, when his Colloquia Mensalia or Table-Talk was published, Luther himself had a very negative opinion of the Spanish, whose imperialistic politics and authoritarian nature he compared with that of the Turks. The German version of the Black Legend was fixed around 1550 and widely spread (Arnoldsson 1960: 125).

The Dutch rebellion against Spain that started in 1568 was, undoubtedly, an important factor in the offensive force and dissemination of the Black Legend. It accelerated and further spread all the earlier stereotypes of cruelty, violence, religious fanaticism and arrogance and, furthermore, added a new component: Antiphilipism. In a series of texts and drawings, King Philip II of Spain was depicted as the incarnation of evil and soon identified with the Spaniards as a whole (Iglesias 1997: 405). Commensurate with the Dutch anti-Spanish campaign, the image of Spain in England blackened from the second half of the 16th century, partly as a consequence of the support of the Dutch rebellion and partly for its own political, religious and economic reasons. In the English version of the Black Legend the factor of naval rivalry played an important role. Competition for trade with the American colonies led to officially sanctioned piracy and ultimately to an unsuccessful attack on England by the Spanish Armada in 1588. From Elizabethan times until Cromwell’s Republic an efficient anti-Spanish propaganda campaign now and then cropped up, repeating the already fixed negative stereotypes (Iglesias 1997: 408).

18th Century
While in most countries the anti-Spanish attitude diminished parallel with the decline of Spain’s power from the second half of the 17th century, a new part was added to the gloomy portrait by 18th century France. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the attitude of this country had been more ambiguous - rivalry and neighbourly sentiments both playing a part. France also had its pamphlets that expressed fear of the country losing its religious independence to the powerful Philip, but at the same time there was admiration for Spanish art and literature. It was enlightened France that introduced the idea of Spain as a symbol of the absolute opposite of everything that stands for Modernity – that is, Reason,
Science, Freedom and Progress. Masson de Morvilliers’ rhetorical question in the *Encyclopédie méthodique*: “But what do we owe Spain? And since two centuries, since ten, what has she done for Europe?” is often quoted as a key phrase expressing the French contempt for Spain, together with the famous aphorism “Africa begins at the Pyrenees”. However, it is more the name and fame of figures like Montesquieu, Voltaire and Diderot, who in the 18th century also emphasized the lack of progress in Spain, that contributed to the establishment of the country’s reputation as a backward appendage to modern Europe (Iglesias 1997: 416).

Summarizing, by the end of the 18th century a picture of the Spanish, painted in another Western European country, in most cases contained some, most or all of the following characteristics: cruel, violent, fanatic, rapacious, bellicose, intolerant, authoritarian, arrogant (vain), lazy (work-shy), decadent, jealous, morbid, ignorant, uncivilized and backward.

**Travel Writing and the Romantic Image of Spain**

By the end of the 18th century, when the negative portrait of Spain was just about finished, European travellers, for the first time, began to take a serious interest in the country. While before the late 18th century the picture of Spain and the Spanish took shape mainly in political and literary texts, from that time on it was particularly the foreign visitors who created and fixed the characterological image of the Spanish in their travel writing.

From the 1760s, when Carlos III, Spain’s variant of an enlightened despot, began to govern, the country became a destination worth a visit for other reasons than by virtue of one’s profession. Before that, it did not even occur to the secularized and cosmopolitan Grand Tourist to include this country in his itinerary, as Spain’s unfavourable reputation as a backward country was then widely spread. In 1691, the French Baroness d’Aulnoy had already remarked in her avidly read *Relation du voyage d’Espagne* that the experience of a visit to Spain was completely useless for those who wished to further their education (Nuñez Florencio 2001: 47) and in a travel guide of 1783 one could still read that nothing, except necessity, could induce anyone to travel through Spain. (García de Cortázar 2003: 189). Apart from a lack of interesting experiences, the country was even more unsafe than others for travellers, being continuously involved in conflicts – in fact the 46 years’ reign of Philip V (1700-1746) knew only 10 years of peace.

In the last decades of the 18th century, however, it was precisely the ignorance of that mysterious country behind the Pyrenees that stimulated
the curiosity of quite a few English and French and some German travellers. Although some of these products of the Enlightenment were really interested in political, economical and social aspects of Spanish society, the majority of them came certainly not unprejudiced. In his book about English travellers to Spain in the last decades of the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries, Ian Robertson calls them *curiosos impertinentes* (Robertson 1988). The title refers to an episode in Cervantes’ *Don Quijote* (Part 1, chapter 33 and 34), in which young Anselmo urges his friend Lotario to test the virtue of Anselmo’s young wife Camila, with disastrous consequences. The term has, since the publication of Robertson’s book, repeatedly been applied to travellers to Spain, who came, armed with curiosity, but at the same time with an insolent look full of prejudices and unwilling to experience anything but the confirmation of an already formed image. Especially English visitors have been frequently accused of a patronizing attitude of superiority, which, at the end of the 18th century, made them blind to the modernizing changes brought about during the reign of Carlos III (e.g. García de Cortázar 2003).

In the first half of the 19th century, and especially after the Napoleonic era, the popularity of Spain as a country to visit increased spectacularly and with it the number of foreign travellers. It is these travellers who have created the image of *Romantic Spain*, which, to the frustration of quite a few Spaniards, it seems almost impossible to erase (e.g. *Informe Proyecto marca España* 2003). This Romantic image found its peak between 1830 and 1850, remaining in a larval state in the second half of the 19th century and lifting up its head periodically in the 20th century, especially in the the interbellum period and, after the Spanish Civil War and World War II, in the 1950s, before mass tourism took off.

As an illustrative example of the tenacity of the Romantic stereotypes in 20th century travel writing, Mario Praz’s mixture of travelogue and satiric essay may serve. This Italian literary and art critic wrote in 1926 about a six weeks’ journey through Spain in *Penisola Pentagonale*, that was published in 1929, in English, as *Unromantic Spain*. The declared purpose of this book was to refute the Romantic clichés that seemed ineradicable. While Praz’s main intention was to show that Spain was not the most suitable country to satisfy Romantic ideals and desires, he also wanted to ridicule the superficial tourist and distinguish him from the knowledgeable traveller. The introduction to the second Italian edition (published in 1954), is revealing in this respect. Here Praz states that unlike most tourists who still read Gautier’s *Voyage en Espagne* (1840) as if it were a factual guidebook, he himself has always been fully aware of Gautier’s irony. At the same time Praz praises Spain as a country where one can still find “real human beings instead of robots with cut-and-dried emotions and hopelessly civilized
manners”.¹⁴ Time is less valuable there; time is not money: the Spaniards dare to be lazy. Everything seems easy in the human, friendly Spanish society. Although Praz emphasizes after these lyrical praises that his experience dates from the 1920s, it is obvious that in 1954 he still believed that at least some Romantic longings could be satisfied in Spain.

It is not difficult to understand why Spain became the favourite destination of the Romanticists, as the country fits beautifully into every compartment of Romantic ideology and as such contains the perfect ingredients for the creation of a Romantic image. The country and its people offer unspoiled nature, sublimity, authenticity, exoticism, diversity, the picturesque, adventure and strong emotions. In fact it could be said to be the perfect refuge for visitors from ‘civilized’ countries, fleeing from their increasingly stifling industrial societies, looking for a primeval world, full of ‘noble savages’, south of the Pyrenees.

Although a visit to Spain became a ‘must’ for every traveller in the first half of the 19th century, instead of the country being at the bottom of the list of desirable places, the Romantic image, created by these travellers, did not replace the Black Legend. While new images emerged, old ones were repeated and revalued or seen in a different perspective: arrogance became admirable pride, fanaticism became a strong urge for independence, laziness became an innate anti-materialistic attitude and backwardness and obscurantism became authenticity. All in all, both the landscape, the character of its people, and the perils and obstacles a trip through Spain inevitably entailed, offered the Romantic traveller that much desired experience of sublimity. The Romantic image is not an idyllic one, however; it depicts a Spain that is attractive and repellent at the same time and combines passion with ferocity, sensuality with fanaticism and camaraderie with fratricide (Nuñez Florencio 2001: 28).

The above mentioned range of traits can, to a large extent, be attributed to, on the one hand, a desire for exoticism and on the other, to a tendency to idealize the people, the common man. Spain’s exoticness or orientalness (see page 3, note 4) is found particularly in Andalusia, which, in many cases, is seen as the new prototype of Spain as a whole. South of the Sierra Morena, Spain becomes a part of a North-South polarity in which two cultural models are contrasted. As a result a long-lasting stereotype emerges of a paradisaical, sun-drenched garden, filled with oriental remains and populated by poor, but care-free human types, unrestricted by laws and conventions, such as Gypsies, bullfighters, dancers, bandits and smugglers. The supposition that Africa begins at the other side of the Pyrenees, now becomes a main point of attraction instead of a denigrating reference to Spain’s lagging far behind the caravan of other European countries on their way to modernity.

¹⁴ Praz, *De Mythe van Romantisch Spanje*, 13.
An important basis for the image of Spain’s predominantly oriental character was laid down by the American essayist, biographer and historian Washington Irving, who published his *Tales of the Alhambra* in 1832. In the first part of this book and before Irving begins to tell the stories that might have happened in the Moorish palace in Granada, the author writes about his journey to this city in 1829. This introduction must have been enormously inspiring to every Romantic soul who read the book. It talks about an “incredibly silent and lonesome country, partaking of the savage and solitary character of Africa”,\(^\text{15}\) where one meets the “proud, hardy, frugal, and abstemious Spaniard, [with] his manly defiance of hardship, and contempt of effeminate indulgences, […]\(^\text{16}\). Furthermore, the author expresses a “feeling of sublimity”\(^\text{17}\) and “agreeable horror”\(^\text{18}\) in the face of a herd of fierce Andalusian bulls. Like a real tour operator he invites other travellers to follow in his footsteps:

Such were our minor preparations for the journey, but above all we laid in an ample stock of good-humour, and a genuine disposition to be pleased; determining to travel in true *contrabandista* style; taking things as we found them, rough or smooth, and mingling with all classes and conditions in a kind of vagabond companionship. It is the true way to travel in Spain. With such disposition and determination, what a country is it for a traveller, where the most miserable inn is as full of adventure as an enchanted castle, and every meal is in itself an achievement! Let others repine at the lack of turnpike roads and sumptuous hotels, and all the elaborate comforts of a country cultivated and civilized into tameness and commonplace; but give me the rude mountain scramble; the roving, hap-hazard, wayfaring the half wild, yet frank and hospitable manners, which impart such a true game-flavour to dear old romantic Spain!\(^\text{19}\)

One of the first foreign visitors who created the image of a vital but oppressed people was British engineer Alexander Jardine, who maintained a correspondence with Spanish enlightened thinker Jovellanos and served as British consul in La Coruña. In his *Letters from Barbary, France, Spain, Portugal by an English Officer* (1788), he declared that the Spanish were the best kind of people under the worst kind of government (Burns Marañon 2000: 23).

Spain’s War of Independence (Peninsular War) against Napoleon, at the beginning of the 19th century, confirmed and further spread the idea of a

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16 Ibidem, 6.
17 Ibidem, 6.
18 Ibidem, 9.
19 Ibidem, 11.
particularly courageous people. Shelley, in his *Ode to Liberty* (1820), lyrically sang their praises: “A glorious people vibrated again / The lightning of the nations: Liberty / From heart to heart, from tower to tower, o’er Spain.” (García de Cortázar 2003, 191).

Amongst the many visitors to Spain in the first half of the 19th century, two in particular (one French and one English) played a key role in spreading the Romantic image in and outside their own countries: Théophile Gautier with his *Voyage en Espagne* (1840) and Richard Ford, whose *A Hand-book for Travellers in Spain, And Readers at Home* was published in 1845.

Gautier travelled through Spain during a period of six months in 1840, even though the German poet Heinrich Heine, had, ironically and with reference to the already existing Romantic vision of Spain, warned him: “How will you be able to talk about Spain once you have actually been there?” (1). Although he calls himself, without distinction, both a tourist and a traveller, those who began to stress the difference after the 1840s would definitely place Gautier in the latter category, as he declares, agreeing with Irving: “The travellers pleasure is the obstacle, fatigue and peril itself” (2). Anti-modernity is a main topic in Gautier’s travelogue, because, in his view, modernity leads to boring predictability and bourgeois uniformity. That Spain has been able to escape this fate makes it one of the last European countries worth a visit. At the same time this predisposition against any form of progress strongly influences the image he creates, as he avoids, if possible, visiting any place that might have changed, and regularly complains when he sees signs of modernity:

They (the inhabitants of Granada) take pride, like almost all the bourgeois people in the Spanish cities, in showing that they are in no way picturesque, and in showing their civilization in the form of trousers with foot straps. That is what worries them: they are afraid to be seen as savages, as backward and, when one praises the wild beauty of their country, they humbly apologize for not yet having railroads or steam factories (3).

Gautier, in his description of the national character of the Spanish people, paints a predominantly positive picture. He calls them sober, unhurried, happy like children, patient, resigned, egalitarian, passionate, elegant, hospitable and chivalrous and in no way materialistic.

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20 Gautier, *Voyage en Espagne*, 75.
21 Ibidem, 299.
22 Ibidem, 248/249.
Richard Ford was in Spain from 1830 to 1833, having moved to the south of the country because of the ill-health of his wife. After having settled his family in Seville, he made a series of trips through the country, mounted on a Cordobese cob and dressed frequently like a mountain farmer. On his trips he noted down, and also often drew, everything that caught his attention. In 1845, John Murray published his *Handbook*, an extensive account of his travels (two volumes and more than 1,000 pages), full of personal impressions as well as practical information. One year later a shortened version of the Handbook was published, titled *Gatherings from Spain*. Ford’s Handbook was to remain a vademecum for the English, as well as other European and American travellers to Spain, for at least a century (Burns Marañón 2000: 133). What distinguishes Ford from Gautier is an often patronizing tone of superiority, typical of quite a few English travellers in the 19th century; a time that would bring this country to the summit of its powers in the world. Ford was a great admirer of the Duke of Wellington who fought with the Spaniards in the Peninsular War against Napoleon and more than once expressed his low opinion of the Spanish military. However, as a Romantic traveller, Ford’s image of Spain is not very different from Gautier’s, nor is his opinion about the attractiveness of the country:

Those, however, who aspire to the Romantic, who wish to revel in the sublime and beautiful, will find subjects enough in wandering with lead-pencil and note-book through this singular country […] Striking, indeed, and sudden is the change, in flying from the polished monotony of England, to the racy freshness of this still original country, where antiquity treads on the heels of to-day […].\(^{23}\)

He also shared the view of the oppressed, noble people:

The People of Spain, the so-called Lower Orders, are in some respects superior to those who arrogate to themselves the title of being their Betters, and in most respects are more interesting. The masses, the least spoilt and the most national, stand like pillars amid ruins, and on them the edifice of Spain’s greatness must be reconstructed.\(^{24}\)

The word ‘oriental’ figures countless times in the Handbook, especially in the first editions, sometimes as the origin of Spanish character traits, like the “oriental tendency to make things bigger than they are”\(^{25}\) or an oriental resignation in the

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24 Ibidem, 2.
25 Ibidem, 93.
face of adversity. While at other times, to paint a general picture of the south, showing, according to Ford, an “original oriental tendency”, that even pre-dates the invasion of the Moors in 711.\textsuperscript{26}

Although it is, above all, the travel accounts that firmly imprinted the Romantic image of Spain in the 19th century, two other sources have to be mentioned for their particular influence on the fixation of that same image in the rest of Europe: Prosper Mérimée’s novella \textit{Carmen} (1845), made into an opera by Georges Bizet in 1875, and the 309 wood engravings that French artist Gustave Doré added to Baron Charles Davillier’s travelogue \textit{l’Espagne} that was published in 1874.

Mérimée is, like so many other Romantic hispanophiles, an example of what Burns Marañon calls \textit{Hispanomanía}, the extreme, but highly prejudiced fascination for Spain of the \textit{curiosos impertinentes}.\textsuperscript{27} He visited the country seven times between 1830 and 1864, but his fascination for Spain predates his first visit. His \textit{Carmen}, and even more the libretto of Bizet’s opera, not only crystallizes the most important prototypes of Romantic Spain, the elegant and virile bullfighter, the generous bandit and especially the passionate, sensual but fatal woman, but also quite a few of the character traits of the Black Legend that blended into the Romantic image, like arrogance, jealousy, superstition, violence and a fascination with death.

When Gustave Doré drew his engravings that accompanied Davillier’s travel account, he was already famous for his illustrations of works like Dante’s \textit{Divine Comedy} (1857 and 1867), Cervantes’ \textit{Don Quixote} (1863) and Milton’s \textit{Paradise Lost} (1866). His visualizations of the Romantic image of Spain, shaped by the preceding travellers, were time and again reprinted, like, for instance, in the Spanish translation of Gautier’s \textit{Voyage en Espagne} that appeared in 1998 in publishing house Cátedra’s series \textit{Cómo nos vieron},\textsuperscript{28} a series that is especially dedicated to works in which the foreign image of Spain is reflected.

\textit{Regional Differences}

The vision of Spain as a unity and of certain regions as prototypic for the whole country, was widespread and of long duration. First it was the Catalans and Aragonese, later the Castilians and, during the Romantic era, the Andalusians who were seen as THE Spanish, although the gay sensuality of the latter was sometimes contrasted with the serious sobriety of the Castilian.

\textsuperscript{26} Ibidem, 179.
\textsuperscript{27} Burns Marañon, \textit{Hispanomanía}, 11.
\textsuperscript{28} \textit{How they saw us}.
In the course of the 19th century, as national consciousness grew in Europe, Spain’s lack of national unity began to attract more attention. In Ford’s *Handbook* a strong link is established between the geographic and climatic differences in Spain and the varied temperaments of its inhabitants. In Castile, where the climate is harsh and the soil hard to till, the population is serious and sober, as well as proud and stubborn. In the Eastern part of the country, where the lower classes have inherited the character of Greeks and Carthaginians, they tend to be treacherous and cruel, as well as ingenious and pleasure-loving (Ford 1988: 199/200).

By the end of the 19th century, the distinction between regional characters was a standard component of most foreign travelogues, a common feature being the recognition of the Catalan as the most “Europeanized Spaniard”, practical and hard-working, as opposed to the proud, aristocratic and work-shy Castilian.

20th Century
In the second half of the 19th century, the journey to Spain lost a great deal of its adventurous character because of the evolution of public transport. In the 5th edition of, what is then called, *Murray’s Hand-Book Spain* (1878) - an edition “revised on the spot” - the tourist could read the following reassuring observation: “To those of our countrymen and women who have exhausted the cities, the plains, and the mountains, of Switzerland, Italy, and the Rhine, we would remark that Spain in 1878 is as easy of access, as free of personal dangers, and in most respects well supplied with the indispensable conveniences of civilized life.”

Thanks to, or, for the real traveller, notwithstanding this fact, Spain was still quite a popular destination in the first thirty years of the 20th century, and especially with travellers from England, in the 1920s. The motivation of those who chose Spain and wrote about their experiences in the interbellum period is quite similar to that of the mid-19th century Romanticists who fled from their industrialized bourgeois societies and cultures. Firstly, there is the great attraction of the open spaces and pristine landscapes, as lyrically described, for example, by the English poet and novelist Laurie Lee in his *As I Walked Out One Midsummer Morning*, in which he writes about his first visit to Spain in 1937. Also, travel writing of this period reflects the disillusionment about modernity, like in the case of Edward Hutton, who describes Spain in his *The Cities of Spain* (1906) as “the only country left to us that is almost untouched, as yet, by all that we mean by modern civilization”.

While in the first three decades of the 20th century the Romantic image, to a large extent, maintained its currency and even regained strength after the first

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29 *Murray’s Hand-Book Spain*, 3.
World War, the horrors of the Spanish Civil War and the early years of Franco’s dictatorship put an end to the lure of exotic, picturesque Spain. Both Black and White Legend stereotypes survived, however, in representations of a tragic country, with a suffering and at times heroic population that is a constant victim of cruelty and violence.

After the Second World War, the Romantic myth of la España de la pandereta (Spain of the tambourine) resurfaced again and was, for a long time, exploited by the rapidly growing tourist industry. It is in this period that, much like the visualization of the Romantic clichés by Bizet and Doré in the 19th century, Hollywood films play a major role. The film version of Ernest Hemingway’s *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1943) and *The Barefoot Contessa* (1945) are illustrative examples.

One of the most representative foreign neo-Romantic painters of a portrait of Spain in the 20th century was British author and hispanicist Gerald Brenan. When Brenan first settled in Spain in 1919, he was one of those who, after having survived the trenches in France in World War I, longed for a “sun-warmed, free, lively world elsewhere” (Fussell 1980: 4). He also shared with other contemporary English travellers a disappointment in postwar England, which he found stifling and lifeless. Spain promised him a warm climate, wide horizons, unexpected situations and most of all, vitality. There he created, in the Alpujarras district of the province of Granada, his own paradise. Sympathizing with the Republic under attack at the beginning of the Civil War, he returned to England in 1936 and came back in 1949, when he wrote a travelogue of his trip from Madrid to his beloved Andalusia and back: *The Face of Spain* (1950). Apart from a commentary on the social, economical and political situation of Franco-Spain, the book is remarkably close to its mid-19th century predecessors in its imagery of Spain and the Spanish people. The starting point is, as before, the contrast with his own ‘civilized’ native country:

> The Englishman, fresh from the dull hurry of London streets and from their sea of pudding faces – faces which often seem to have known no greater grief than that of having arrived too late in the chocolate or cake queue – feels recharged and revitalized when he bathes himself in this river.31

Besides a great admiration for the “simple people”, described by a young priest in the book as “virgin savages, uncultivated, but at heart pure and good”32, the ‘African connection’ is also still strongly present in this mid-20th century picture

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31 Brenan, *The Face of Spain*, 82.
32 Ibidem, 113.
of the Spanish people. When he speaks of the Spaniards’ fondness for organizing elaborate religious ceremonies and processions, Brenan writes:

Still more it suited their native craving – African, one might call it – for extracting every drop of emotion out of a situation, for carrying every feeling, and especially every painful feeling, to the point of orgasm.33

In Brenan’s text, another Romantic cliché, the image of Spain and the Spanish as “full of contrasts”, strongly survives. This view, in part, links in with the Romantic aversion of uniformity and mediocrity, but until far into the 20th century this image, in particular, has also repeatedly been used to explain historical events like the Spanish Civil War. Nor does Brenan shy away from the northern sense of superiority, when he finds that the absence of half tones in the Spanish character makes them “a simple race in comparison to the English and the French”.34 The combined list of Black Legend and Romantic character traits enumerated in The Face of Spain is almost complete. There is an innate love of destruction, obsession with death, fanaticism, blankness of mind, pride, resignation and indolence, as well as strong emotions, love of pleasure, sensuality, courtesy, hospitality, generosity and above all vitality.

Although it is undoubtedly true that, aside from the subjective travel writing, from the second half of the 19th century increasingly more objective studies of Spanish history and culture have been written, the persistence of the images in the Northern European picture of Spain that was formed between the 15th and mid-19th century is remarkable. The tenaciousness of which has sometimes led to the despair of Spanish intellectuals, who bemoan its adverse effect on the historiography of the country. In 1903, the French philosopher Alfred Fouillée, in his Esquisse psychologique des Peuples Européens, wrote at the beginning of his chapter about Spain the following sentence:

Marx’s theory, that explains every historical movement on the basis of purely economical and materialistic causes, is hardly applicable to Spain, where we see that character, customs and beliefs play a principal role (4).35

In 2003, one century later, Spanish historian F. García de Cortázar, in his Los mitos de la historia de España, establishes that the “Romantic mythology of Spain and the Spanish”36 still needs to be refuted to counteract distortions of the

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33 Ibidem, 61.
34 Ibidem, 255.
35 Fouillé, Esquisse psychologique des Peuples Européens, 139.
36 García de Cortázar, Los mitos de la historia de España, 171.
country’s history. And, it is not only a defective foreign representation of their character and their history that the Spanish are worried about; they are also fully aware that the Romantic mythology does not only survive outside, but also inside Spain.

The Image of Spain in The Netherlands

One of the first authors from the Dutch provinces who gave an impression of Spain and the Spanish, was the Flemish writer Jacob van Maerlant, who in his Spiegel Historiael (begun in 1283) wrote, in what was a generic description of an unknown country: “A noble land it certainly is / Of cities and of rivers / Of many kinds of fruit / Of brave and wise people […]” (5).37

In the late Middle Ages, commercial relations between the Dutch provinces and Spain intensified, resulting in regular contacts between Dutch and Spanish merchants. Not only economically, but also intellectually, the Spanish influence in The Netherlands was strong (Rodríguez Pérez 2003: 16). Conversely, the cultural influence of Dutch artists in Spain grew, resulting in the 15th century in a Spanish-Dutch school of painting, with Jan van Eyck as an important cultural ambassador.

Until the second half of the 16th century, the picture that was painted of the Spanish in The Netherlands was predominantly positive. Historian Marcus van Vaernewijck, for example, compared in his work Van die beroerlicke tijden in die Nederlanden en voornamelick in Ghendt38 (1566-1568), the Spanish character with the Dutch and found the Castilians to be loyal, industrious and caring (Vosters 1955: 59). As in other Northern European countries, political and religious tensions increased in the course of the 16th century. In the context of the Dutch Rebellion, which started in 1568, the image of the Spanish deteriorated rapidly. Apart from multiple anti-Spanish pamphlets and William of Orange’s Apologie (1580), illustrated translations of Spanish works like that of Bartolomé de las Casas (the first one appearing in 1578) contributed to the Dutch version of the Black Legend. Negative stereotypes were, furthermore, avidly copied from the travel letters of Nicolaus Clenardus, a Flemish humanist who went to Spain and Portugal in 1531, to teach classical languages and learn Arabic. Until the early 1800s, new editions of these letters were published, stressing negative characteristics of the Spaniards, like laziness, perversity, stinginess and pride (Meijer Drees 1997: 165).

The stereotype of the cruel and fanatic Spaniard, with King Philip II as prototype, was common until well into the 20th century in The Netherlands, not

37 In: Vosters, Spanje in de Nederlandse litteratuur, 1.
38 About the Turbulent Times in The Netherlands and Particularly in Ghent.
least because it was confirmed for generations by the national history books. Already at the beginning of the 17th century, the textbook *Spaansche Tyrannye* was published, and its images of the tyrannical Philip, his ruthless straw man, the Duke of Alba, and the bloodthirsty Spanish soldier, were faithfully repeated in Dutch history lessons – at least, in the northern, Protestant part of the country. In the Catholic south other events from the period of the Rebellion were often emphasized, like the iconoclastic outbreak in 1566 or the slaughtering of the so-called Martyrs of Gorcum in 1572. The Black Legend images, however, predominated in the school books and in 1964 the Dutch poet Hendrik de Vries could still write in his poetic travel account *Iberia*: “When we were at school / it was still our duty to hate Spain/ for age-old misconduct” (6).39

Parallel to this negative enemy image, the earlier positive connotations did not completely disappear. Van Maerlant’s picture of the fertile paradise, called the Hesperia-myth (Vosters 1955: 69), in reference to the Greek nymphs who tended a blissful garden in a far-western corner of the world, also persisted. It lives on, for example, in the tradition of the popular feast of Saint Nicholas, who yearly brings presents and sweets from Spain to Dutch children. Even the Hesperides’ golden apples return in the form of oranges in one of the Saint Nicholas’ songs: “Saint Nicholas, good Saint / Put on your best robe / Ride in it to Amsterdam / From Amsterdam to Spain / Little orange apples, […]” (7).

Also, it should be stressed that during the long period of political conflict (1568-1648), not only commercial relations continued, but also a considerable interest in Spanish culture. Numerous works were translated into Dutch in the 16th and 17th centuries and a knowledge of Spanish remained, for a long time, part of a good education for the higher ranks of Dutch society (Lechner 1987: 22). Dutch authors were inspired by Spanish literature, the most famous example being the poet and playwright Gerbrand Adriaensz. Bredero whose *Spaanschen Brabander Jerolimo* (1617) was based on Spain’s first picaresque novel, *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554). The familiarity with Spanish literature and its popular heroes, like Don Juan and the chivalrous ‘hidalgo’ Don Quixote, also served to shape the Dutch image of the Spaniards.

While Spain was not on the usual route of the Grand Tour for its lack of educational value, political circumstances made it even more difficult for Dutch upper class young men in search of experience to visit the country. Even so, already in 1578 Justus Lipsius, professor at the University of Leyden, had stated in his Itinerary for a trip to Italy,40 that Dutch young men could learn useful things, like politeness and good manners, from Italians as well as Spaniards and Frenchmen. At the same time, Lipsius warned about the defects that “are dear

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40 Justus Lipsius, *Epistola fructu peregrinandi et praesertim in Italia*.
and innate to every people” (8), and in the case of the Spanish particularly their pride (in: Van Westrienen 1983: 323).

After the Peace of Munster travelling to Spain became easier and in 1650 Martin Zeiller, author of travel guides (Wegh-wysers) to a great many European destinations, produced his *Wegh-wyser ofte Reysbeschryvingh, vertoonende de besonderste vreemdheden en vermakelyckheden die in ’t reysen door de koninkrijken Spanien, Portugael en d’aengrensende landen te sien zijn.* In this very detailed description of the country and its people, Zeiller dedicates considerable attention to the national character of the Spanish. Distancing himself from the typical clichés of war propaganda and more in line with the purposes of the Grand Tour, he stresses that all nations have their virtues and their defects. Although the Spanish pride and their penchant for outward appearances are criticised, Zeiller speaks highly of the Spanish sense of justice (Zeiller 1650: fol. *** 6).

The sombre picture of the Black Legend, however, remained more dominant, even when, in 1648, an authoritative figure like writer and historian P.C.Hooft pleaded for a more impartial vision of the Spanish. In his *Nederlandsche Historiën* (1652-1654), Hooft himself painted a much more balanced picture of the main characters of the Rebellion (Steenmeijer 1992: 170).

In the course of the 18th century the interest in Spain in the Netherlands began to diminish. Although Spanish plays and novels were still quite popular, the influence of Spanish culture in general was strongly overshadowed by that of France. When, in the late 18th century, foreign enlightened travellers began to report their experiences in this relatively unknown country, this inspired a few Dutchmen who visited the country in their professional capacity. Seamen, like Van Rijneveld and De Jong van Rodenburgh, for example, wrote about the Spanish ports visited by their ships in the last decades of the 18th century, including comments about customs and character traits that caught their attention (Van Overvest 2008).

Furthermore, there was the Dutch Brigade that participated in the Spanish War of Independence (1808-1814). When this conflict started, Holland was under French rule, governed by Napoleon’s brother Louis Napoleon. In 1808, 3,000 Dutch military were sent to Spain by order of the Emperor Napoleon to assist the French army in their fight against the rebellious Spanish. One of them was the young captain A.J.P. Storm de Grave, who served under the French Division-General Leval. Storm de Grave’s account of his experiences in Spain was published in 1820, under the title *Mijne herinneringen uit den Spaanschen Handboek or Travel Account, Showing the most Remarkable Peculiarities and Attractions to be Seen when Travelling through the Kingdoms of Spain, Portugal and Bordering Countries.*
veldtocht, gedurende de jaren 1808 en 1809. 42 In the Introduction the author declares that it is by no means his intention to offer the reader a historic or military account (Storm de Grave 1820: V). He wants to write about what he saw and, travelling through an extensive part of Spain, gives much attention to both interesting ‘touristic’ sights and the character of the people. Although Storm de Grave’s account, notwithstanding his involvement in a military conflict, is close to being a touristic travelogue, the first account that was written about a trip for purely recreational purposes, is attributed to Gerard Keller, whose Een Zomer in het Zuiden 43 was published, in two parts, in 1863 and 1864.

The link between the Romantic ideology and hispanophilia, that was strong in other European countries, was much less prominent in The Netherlands, where the interest in foreign Romanticism was limited. The young poet Nicholaas Beets was one of the few who, inspired by Byron, Hugo and Chateaubriand, unreservedly sung Spain’s praises in his long poem De Maskerade (1835), in which the Hesperia-elements predominate: “O Spain! Spain! Beautiful Romantic country! Thou most fertile place of the sultry and gracious south! That hours away from your delightful beaches, makes the sea air fragrant with the smell of your herbs” (9).44 Trips to Spain to see what it was really like were still exceptional and Beets as well had to admit: “Also I was pleased with myself that I, who never left my native country, could talk so long about Spain” (10).45

An author who, like P.C. Hooft before him, sought to present a more objective and realistic picture of Spain in the 19th century, was Everhardus Johannes Potgieter. As a connoisseur and admirer of Spanish 17th century culture, he was convinced that this once great nation deserved a more balanced judgement. Amongst other publications, the literary magazine De Gids, which he founded in 1837 with Robidé van der Aa, served as a means for this purpose. In 1838, for instance, an article was published that related the national character of the Spanish to early Spanish literature.46 In this article one could read that:

the fundamental principals that are typical of old of the Spanish national character, are 1. par excellence, a religious zeal carried to the extreme; 2. a great sense of independence and of honour, combined with reverence for their monarch, and 3. a remarkable esteem for the fair sex (II).

42 My Memories of the Spanish Campaign, during the Years 1808 and 1809.
43 A Summer in the South.
44 In: Vosters, Spanje in de Nederlandse litteratuur, 58/59.
46 De Gids, Volume 2 (1838), Proeven van het verband tusschen het Spaansche volkscharakter en de vroege Spaansche letterkunde.
And, in relation to the second principle, that:

the splendid and far-reaching power of Charles, the reverence, that Philip
could inspire through his power, his gravity and his restraint, brought this
forth (12).

From the middle of the 19th century, the interest in the country increased, not
only as a consequence of the reading of foreign travel accounts and publications
about Spanish literature in Holland, but also because, often by way of France,
Spanish painting and music became better known. In 1884, Jacobus van Looy
was the first 19th century Dutch painter who, after his 17th century predecessors,
paid a long visit to Spain, expressing what he saw and experienced both in
writing and in painting. With Van Looy the pictorial discovery of Spain began
(Lechner 1987: 78). This renewed interest in Spain as a pictorial and poetic
motif is, at the same time, strongly related to the artistic Eighties Movement
whose participants, between 1880 and 1894, aimed for an impressionistic and
purely aesthetic perception of beauty. According to Willem Kloos, leader of the
movement, art is the most individual expression of the most individual emotion.
Relatively unknown Spain, with its characteristic light and colours and its oriental
atmosphere, offered ideal opportunities to realize this ideal.

Travel accounts of those who visited Spain for purely recreational
purposes began to appear from the 1860s. The images reflected in these will be
the subject of the following chapters. From the early 1900s the German Baedeker
became the travel guide most commonly used by Dutch tourists in Spain until the
1950s. It was the first practical guide, available since 1897, which not only offered
maps and route suggestions, but also information about accommodation and
means of transport. Furthermore, Karl Baedeker included, in the introduction, a
paragraph titled “Contact with the People”, containing various characterological
stereotypes which echoed in the images presented by the travellers who used his
guide. Talking about the higher classes, Baedeker mentioned, for instance, their
“rhetorical courteousness”, as well as their “sensitive national pride”, while in
their contact with representatives of the lower classes the tourists should bear in
mind their “strongly developed sense of equality”.

While in the first three decades of the 20th century the image of Spain
and the Spaniards was predominantly reflected in travel writing, the national
class of Spain also became a topic of Hispanicism, when this discipline was
introduced in Dutch universities from 1928. Two hispanicists, in particular, Johan

47 Verkehr mit dem Volke.
48 phrasenhafte Höflichkeit.
49 empfindlicher Nationalstolz.
50 stark entwickelten Sinn für Gleichheit
Brouwer (1898-1943) and Gerardus Johannes (Flip) Geers (1893-1965), sought to approach the subject from a more scientific perspective. In his *Spaansche aspecten en perspectieven* (1939), Brouwer talks about a clearly defined Spanish *typus* that has kept much of its Celt-Iberian origins (Brouwer 1939: 39). While Geers, in his *Spanje. Land, volk, cultuur* (1954), dedicates a chapter to the “Homo hispanicus”, who is, in his opinion, best characterized as a “bundle of contradictions” (Geers 1955: 212).

The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) led to hot debates in Holland, those in favour of the Republic being in the majority. About 750 Dutchmen, left-wing intellectuals as well as common labourers, joined the International Brigades. The best known of the Dutch supporters of the Republican cause, Jef Last, wrote in his *Over de Hollanders in Spanje* (1938), that the Dutch fighters were “motivated by the blood of the old Sea Rebels that still ran through their veins and because the hatred of the Inquisition, of tyranny and injustice was the best thing the Dutch had inherited from their forefathers of the Dutch Rebellion” (13). Catholics and conservatives, on the other hand, were more in favour of the Franco-side, their attitude varying from moderate appreciation to virulent anti-left propaganda, like that of fascist politician Arnold Meijer, who raged against the red hordes in a booklet titled *Vier weken in Spanje* that was published in 1937.

Although a visit to Spain was considered to be politically incorrect for the majority of Dutch intellectuals in the 1950s, the country remained popular especially with Dutch writers and painters, at least until mass tourism took off in the 1960s. In the late 1950s, the island Ibiza, a favourite haunt of writers like Harry Mulisch, Bert Schierbeek and Jan Cremer, was even called the second Leidseplein, referring to the location of the artistic society *De Kring* and the popular Café Américain in Amsterdam.

Where Dutch travel writing about Spain is concerned, the decade of the 1950s presents a growing number of informative books and booklets about the country and its inhabitants, some travelogues and a genre that can be situated between the two and might be called ‘personalized travel guide’. In this kind of document an author, who is presented as a connoisseur of Spain and the Spaniards, addresses the reader-tourist directly and accompanies him, although not in the flesh, on his journey through Spain, giving him the opportunity to benefit from the author’s knowledge and experience. More often than not, an ulterior motive of these ‘travel companions’ seems to have been the need to justify a visit to a country with a dictatorial regime. An illustrative example of this kind of travel

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52 *Four Weeks in Spain.*
book is *Op reis door Spanje*\textsuperscript{53} (1956), written by Bert Schierbeek, which will be analyzed in Chapter IV.

From the late 1950s, with a steadily increasing number of tourists travelling to Spain, these ‘personalized travel guides’ are gradually replaced by more objective and factual guides, in which the information about the national character of the Spanish usually takes the form of a historical survey of the different peoples that occupied the Peninsula. While in 1959 the well-known author of travel guides Dr. L. van Egeraat still defined the Spanish people as magnanimous, dignified, resigned and cheerful even in adversity, brave, individualistic, religious and proud of its independence and traditions,\textsuperscript{54} the Prisma Tourist Guide of 1965 reduced the information about the Spanish people to the fact that there are significant regional differences and that the Moorish influence is most striking in the southern part of the country.\textsuperscript{55}

While travel guides, from the 1960s, tend to pay less attention to the character of the people, the inheritance of, particularly, the neoromantic image of Spain that was created in The Netherlands in the 1950s, nevertheless proves to be persistent. The best-known Dutch traveller to Spain in the last four decades, Cees Nooteboom, staunchly carries on the image of the country as a living Middle Ages. Furthermore, in 1992, a book titled *Spanje is Anders* (Spain is Different) by hispanicist Maarten Steenmeijer was published. Although conscious of the fact that Spain has changed and is, near the end of the 20th century, a fully fledged democracy, firmly embedded in the European context, Steenmeijer also confirms that Spain remains fundamentally different from his own country, in spite of all that has been modernized. The overall message of this book is very similar to that of authors like Schierbeek, Alma and Den Haan in the 1950s, that the fact that the country is still not as ‘modern’ as The Netherlands is one of its main attractions:

Instead of living in a grand and compelling way, we cut life into insipid slices: work a little, study a little, exercise a little, a bit of love, a bit of adultery, a bit of parenthood ... Everything neat and timely. It is a mentality that is based on an arrogant assumption, that is probably a product of our so cherished welfare state: that we have choices in life, that life does not have to be conquered. The Spanish, fortunately, have not yet come this far (14).\textsuperscript{56}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{53} *Travelling through Spain."
\item \textsuperscript{54} Van Egeraat, *Gids voor Spanje*, 22.
\item \textsuperscript{55} Reeskamp, *Prisma-touristengids Spanje*, 43.
\item \textsuperscript{56} Steenmeijer, *Spanje is anders*, 94/95.
\end{itemize}