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

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CHAPTER V:

THE IMAGE OF SPAIN IN DUTCH TRAVEL WRITING (1860-1960):
SURVEY AND ANALYSIS
In Chapters II, III and IV, the qualities attributed to the Spanish national character by the authors of the researched travelogues have been described. From the 1860s, the starting point of this study, the Dutch travellers were aware of the fact that there are pronounced regional character differences in Spain. However, these hardly ever go any further than superficial and general stereotypes: the Castilian is depicted as proud and serious, the Catalan as industrious and the Andalusian as passionate, cheerful and sensitive. Only rarely are other regional types described, such as the Basques, who are characterized as religious, trustworthy and particularly independent. The main focus of interest for the Dutch traveller was the homo hispanicus, the Spaniard in general. In 1929, Henri van der Mandere warned against the tendency to see the Andalusian as the prototypical Spaniard, something which was common practice since the age of Romanticism. “For us, inhabitants of the more northern regions of Europe, Spain is the land of the sunny, laughing south” (I), he wrote in the opening sentence of his Indrukken uit Spanje.\textsuperscript{335} Advertising posters for Spanish tourism or illustrated articles written in Spain showed the, by nature, laughing and radiant faces of people from the south, an image which did not reflect the reality, according to Van der Mandere. In spite of regional differences, however, he also stressed that there are character traits that all Spaniards have in common.\textsuperscript{336}

In the diagram below the list of qualities attributed to the Spanish national character by the authors of the travelogues, is shown. All characteristics that figure at least twice in the fifteen researched books have been included in the diagram in order of frequency.

\textsuperscript{335} Van der Mandere, Indrukken uit Spanje, 5.
\textsuperscript{336} Ibidem, 11.
## The Spanish National Character

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(K = Keller; Ca = Capadose; O = Obreen; E = Emants; I = Israëls; V = Vissering; W = Wagenvoort; vW = Van Wermeskerken; C = Couperus; R = Rutten; vdM = Van der Mandere; J = Janssen; S = Schierbeek; A = Alma; dH = Den Haan)

The above list of character traits more or less coincides with those stereotypes generally held by Europeans that are described in Chapter I. As all travelogues were published after the period of Romanticism, the image at large is closer to that of Romanticists like Théophile Gautier than to the predominantly negative picture of the period before 1800. Just like their Romantic predecessors, the Dutch travellers praised the courteous hospitality, the sense of style and egalitarianism, as well as the passionate joy of living of the Spanish people. As negative qualities (chauvinistic) pride and laziness are mentioned most frequently. A closer look at the different adjectives shows, however, that a list like the above can only be

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337 I use the term ‘chauvinistic’ in its original meaning of exaggerated patriotism and belief in national superiority and glory.
interpreted correctly if one looks at the scope of meaning, the distribution, as well as the appreciation of the stereotypes.

• **Scope of Meaning of the Stereotypes**

If one looks at the above mentioned stereotypes in the context in which they were presented, it becomes clear, first of all, that some of them did not always have the same meaning. ‘Proud’, for instance, sometimes refers to national pride and becomes synonymous with ‘chauvinistic’, while it may also be used in the sense of feeling socially equal. In yet another interpretation, it can refer to the idea that something is beneath one’s dignity and in this sense it is strongly linked to the stereotype of Spanish laziness. Different authors sometimes use different meanings but these can also vary in the text of a particular traveller/writer. Gerard Keller, for instance, for whom every Spaniard was, fundamentally, a proud hidalgo, relates this quality both to laziness and egalitarianism. In this way, what might seem a contrasting pair, proud-egalitarian, is something else: precisely because of their pride, even the poorest of the poor feel equal to the highest aristocracy in Spain.

Another example of a term that has more than one meaning is ‘formalistic’. In most cases this stereotype refers to Spanish religiousness and means that religion in Spain is more a question of following certain rules and rituals than a deep-felt conviction. On the other hand, ‘formalistic’ can also refer to certain codes of social behaviour. Regularly, authors warn their readers that the Spanish custom of sharing their food and drink with foreigners or inviting them to their homes is a mere formality and that these kind of invitations should not be accepted.

• **Contrasting Pairs**

Several authors include stereotypes in their list of Spanish character traits that are, to a certain extent, contradictory. ‘Formalistic’, for instance, in the sense of social formalism forms a contrasting pair with politeness and hospitality. These last two also form another contrasting pair with ‘deceitful’ and ‘money-hungry’. This contrast was noted by authors from the first period, like Keller and Emants, who, although impressed by the Spanish hospitality, also advised the reader to be aware of the Spanish tendency to exploit and deceive the gullible foreigner. Similar contrasts between courteous politeness and meaningless formalism, and between hospitality and a tendency to cheat, were highlighted by Jacques den Haan in 1958. Den Haan analysed Spanish formalism in a separate chapter
and came to the conclusion that it is a consequence of Spanish dignity and an incapacity to deal with reality.  

Contrasting pairs of stereotypes mentioned by one and the same author are in line with the general view that Spain is essentially a land of contrasts and extremes. In the early 1900s, these contrasts were often linked to the deplorable situation of Spain in comparison to other European nations. Henri van Wermeskerken, for instance, wrote in the prologue to his sketches and stories about Spain (1910) that all of Spain is full of contradictions and that Spain is THE land of contrasts.  

Like many of his contemporaries, he saw in the combination of naivety and unwillingness to work, together with a widespread and largely unfounded chauvinism, the primary reason why Spain lagged behind in development.

### Evolution of the stereotypes

Apart from having different meanings, it should also be made clear that certain stereotypes have not always been appreciated in the same way. A first example can be found in the characteristic ‘work-shy’ or lazy. In six of the twelve travelogues that were published before 1936, the fact that the Spaniard seems to have a pronounced dislike of (manual) work, was mentioned as an essential characteristic of the Spanish people. For the majority of the Dutch travellers who visited Spain before 1936 this was plainly a negative quality that explained, at least in part, the wide(ning) gap between Spain and the rest of Europe. Such was the case, for example, for Adrien Obreen, who, in the late 1880s, remarked that the decline of Spain was due to a defect in the national character of the people as well as a series of failing governments:

> Enriched by all the gold that came from America, they had given in to the desire to work less, to relax, to enjoy, and they had tolerated that the government took undue advantage of this laziness (2).

Marcellus Emants, for whom it was important to be as objective as possible in his judgements, further nuanced the causes of the much talked-of laziness of the Spaniard. While he, like Obreen, related the lack of energy to a flaw in the Spanish national character, he thought at the same time, that the Spaniard’s talent for relaxing was a consequence of his desire and ability to enjoy life as much as possible - a quality which the author found attractive. This positive appreciation

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340 Obreen, *In Spanje. Reisindrukken*, VII.
Chapter 5

of the ‘dolce far niente’ mentality of the Spanish people is particularly manifest in the travelogues of the 1950s, from where the adjective ‘work-shy’ or ‘lazy’ has disappeared, while ‘carefree’ is a frequently mentioned quality. For the strongly anti-bourgeois Dutch intellectuals of that decade the non-materialistic attitude of the Spanish was one of their most appreciated character traits and a useful life lesson for the Dutch:

Go and sit in the sun at the seaside in the morning and take a siesta in the afternoon. In the evening, go for a walk on the beach or in the mountains and you will be a satisfied human being and you will wish that life could go on like this for ever. And in time you will not understand, just like the Spaniards, about what you should make such a fuss and, perhaps, gain a healthy dose of scepticism with regard to the so highly praised northern resoluteness. You won’t understand it anymore.\(^3\)

Another stereotype which shows an evolution, not so much in appreciation, but certainly in scope of meaning, is the ‘individualistic’ nature of the Spaniard. Just like ‘carefree’, ‘individualistic’ is a character trait that was mentioned sporadically before 1950 and consequently after this date. Maurits Wagenvoort, in 1907, did not use the term as such but echoed the cliché that was particularly popular since Spain’s rebellion against Napoleon in the early 1800s: the fervent desire of the Spanish people to be independent and free. Wagenvoort connected this quality to his observation that the Spaniard is less inclined to flatter strangers than, for example, the Italian: “The Spaniard is rude rather than polite, but this is because he sees himself as independent and free.”\(^4\) In Henri van der Mandere’s *Indrukken uit Spanje* the Spaniard is called “completely personal”\(^5\), and this quality is tied in with the pronounced variety of regional differences in Spain.

The stereotype of the individualistic Spaniard is most prominently present in the travelogues from the 1950s and in this period becomes much more than an age-old and historically demonstrated desire to free the country from foreign invaders or an explanation for a weak national unity. For the non-conformist intellectuals of the 1950s, the individualistic mentality of the Spanish people was, just like their non-materialistic attitude and their joie de vivre, a much admired character trait. Bert Schierbeek illustrated his statement that the Spaniard thinks of himself as a free and autonomous person - an individualist - with an account of a conversation that he had with a farmer on the Castilian tableland. This very

\(^{341}\) Schierbeek, *Op reis door Spanje*, 100.
\(^{342}\) Wagenvoort, *Van Madrid naar Teheran*, 16.
\(^{343}\) Van der Mandere, *Indrukken uit Spanje*, 323
poor and hard-working peasant, who “stood like an hidalgo on his piece of soil” (5), although a tenant, calls himself a free man, because the land-owner lives in Madrid and does not interfere as long as he pays the rent. But, Schierbeek adds, he is also free because he is not materialistic and this, precisely, shows the huge gap between Spain and the rest of Europe, where freedom is a much talked about subject, while in Spain it is, even for the poorest of the poor, a reality. 345

Hans Alma, in a similar way, relates the innate individualism of the Spaniard to personal freedom. Instead of obediently following rules, they decide for themselves which is the best way to do things. Furthermore, Alma emphasizes that Spanish individualism guarantees that Franco’s dictatorial regime does not and will not take the shape of Hitler’s Germany or Mussolini’s Italy:

Terror in this form does not exist here, because this is, at least that is how I see it, in the long run only possible in a country where the people are prepared to be slaves. In Spain they are not. The greatest individualists of Europe live there (6). 346

The characteristic of the Spanish people that figures most frequently in the researched travelogues is their ‘national pride’. However, this always negatively appreciated stereotype is all but absent in the travel accounts of the 1950s. In the context of the Franco regime, with nationalism as one of the key elements of its politics, only Hans Alma refers to a showing of national pride when a Spaniard in a bar explains that not everyone in his country supports the dictator, but that criticism by foreigners, even of a regime that the Spanish don’t like themselves, is unacceptable. 347

For the travellers who visited Spain between 1860 and 1936, the Spanish tendency to see their country as superior to any other was at times laughable, mostly irritating, and, for some, deplorable as it prevented the country from going forward and finding its way to modernity. Gerard Keller, who, in the 1860s, thought that the national feeling of the Spanish bordered on insanity, 348 was glad to meet a fellow Dutchman, who had lived in Spain for a long time and had almost become a Spaniard himself, apart from one thing: he was not as highly pleased with the country as the average Spaniard and was aware of its defects and vices. 349 When Marcellus Emants’s wife received the compliment of being a ‘real Spanish woman’, the author commented, in a footnote, that this could be seen as

344 Schierbeek, Op reis door Spanje, 8.
345 Ibidem, 10.
346 Alma, Carmen zonder Make-up, 41.
347 Ibidem, 17.
349 Ibidem, I, 15.
an example of the self-glorification of the Spaniard and of their habit of declaring everything Spanish as the best and most beautiful in the world. Open-minded, as he always tried to be, Emants, however, added that in other countries, where one always tended to look elsewhere, some of the Spanish national pride could be useful. The author who most virulently criticised the Spanish chauvinism was Felix Rutten, who, in the 1920s, felt very unwelcome in Spain. Particularly the constant glorifying of the past was, in the eyes of Rutten, not only a sign of ridiculous arrogance, but also detrimental to the country as a whole, as it stood in the way of its progress: “What kind of people is this, anyway, that continues to live within a Chinese wall, puffed up with its own excellence and ignorant of everything”? A rhetorical question that confirmed what had already been written in 1910 by Henri van Wermeskerken, who compared the ‘laissez-faire, laissez-passé’ attitude of the Spanish State with that of the Spanish citizen who, in his lazy indolence, dreamed of his wonderful, second to none, mother country.

Typicality Effect

In the travel programme of the Dutch authors, two excursions were always included: a visit to the bullfight and, for those who went to Granada, to the Gypsy community in the Albaicin, the ancient Arab quarter, located on the hill opposite the Alhambra. Both topics can be seen in the light of what is called ‘typicality effect’, or effet de typique, the tendency to see certain salient aspects of a given nation as particularly typical and characteristic.

- The Bullfight

Amongst everything Spanish, the bullfight should, surely, be called more Spanish than anything else. All of the authors describe one or more bullfights in detail, excepting Abraham Capadose, who had an important religious mission and would have considered such a visit a waste of his time. The majority did not attend the fight because they were themselves enthusiasts, but because they thought that the corrida could tell them something essential about the Spanish national character.

350 Emants, Schetsen uit Spanje, 77.
351 Ibidem, 120.
352 Rutten, Spanje, 249.
353 Van Wermeskerken, Door Spanje, 69.
Marcellus Emants, in 1885/1886, went to see a bullfight no less than eight times and not only gave a detailed description of the proceedings, but also added a chapter “Nabetrachtingen over de corridas”\textsuperscript{355} to his travel account. After telling the history of the event, he stresses the importance of understanding the bullfight:

However, by describing the proceedings plainly for you, it was my aim to put you in the position of an unbiased spectator, who sees, tries to understand, but defers his judgement (9).\textsuperscript{356}

Emants was clearly aware of the fact that the bullfight was seen as a cruel and barbaric custom by the majority of his compatriots and made an effort to explain the attraction of the event for the Spanish people. He emphasizes that, as the audience is not unreservedly enthusiastic, but severe in its disapproval of unnecessary bloodshed, they cannot be accused of pure and simple cruelty:

People think that they are driven by bloodthirstiness and that, consequently, they have to be cruel, while, indeed, the Spanish are not cruel at all and unnecessary bloodshed provokes their vehement anger (10).\textsuperscript{357}

Like other Dutch travellers, Emants points out that cruelty to animals is common practice in many countries, including his own, while in the Spanish bullfight the struggle between man and beast at least involves skill as well as courage.

The link with Spanish cruelty is, however, obvious for those whose judgement of the Spanish people is generally negative. For Henri van Wermeskerken (1910) the fight was the essence of Spanish barbarism:

I would not dare to call any people completely civilized. All peoples have their defects, their barbaric customs, their dark spots; however, in Spain there are situations that can only be called wild. For this the bullfight is one of the most important pieces of evidence (11).\textsuperscript{358}

In the same way, Felix Rutten (1924) found the tradition repulsive and a confirmation of the fact that human life has no value in Spain.\textsuperscript{359}

The anti-bourgeois non-conformists of the 1950s, however, appreciated the bullfight in a completely different way. According to Schierbeek, watching

\textsuperscript{355} Recaps about the corrida’s.
\textsuperscript{356} Emants, Schetsen uit Spanje, 212.
\textsuperscript{357} Ibidem, 216/218.
\textsuperscript{358} Van Wermeskerken, Door Spanje, 9.
\textsuperscript{359} Rutten, Spanje, 70.
the corrida could be healthy and purifying, as it was proof of a fundamental humanity that still existed in countries like Spain. For Hans Alma a relation between the bullfight and an innate cruelty of the Spaniard was undeniable, but he also found that precisely because of this it resulted in the “terrible beauty”, that he missed in his own over-regulated and so-called “civilized” society.\(^{360}\)

- **The Gypsies**

Inspired by their Romantic predecessors, as well as by the popularity of the Carmen theme, all Dutch travellers paid a visit to the Albaicin, if Granada was on their itinerary. However, while the bullfight was generally seen as an essential component of Spanish identity, the question of the Spanishness of the Andalusian Gypsies was more problematic.

Marcellus Emants, who dedicated a separate chapter of his travelogue to the gitanos and gitanas, wrote, in a footnote, that the gitanas only have love affairs with Gypsy men and that this is the reason why the race has remained pure. To this observation he added: “What a pity, however, for Mérimée’s Carmen!” \(^{(12)}\)\(^{361}\) referring, in all probability, to the tragic ending of Carmen’s love affair with a Spaniard, the Basque Don José. At the same time, Emants’s comment reflects the fact that it was Mérimée’s novella that turned a Gypsy woman into a prototype of Spanishness.

The uncertainty about the Gypsy’s Spanishness comes to light, furthermore, in the varying descriptions of their character. Gerard Keller, in 1862, contrasted the activity of the Gypsies with the Spaniard whom he saw as more inclined to laziness.\(^{362}\) Adrien Obreen (1884), although calling the quarter where the Gypsies live “authentically Spanish”, also established that the Gypsies were more cheerful than the common Spaniard.\(^{363}\) Felix Rutten, in 1924, placed the Gypsies firmly outside the Spanish race:

> Mysterious people, these pariah’s of society, who come – nobody knows from where, who live – nobody knows how. Here Spain ends and a republic begins. It is the Spanish race no more; the Mongolian type is recognizable in all of them \(^{(13)}\).\(^{364}\)

For the majority of the Dutch travellers, however, the Gypsy’s represented, above all, the essence of Spanish music and dance, which they saw, at the same time, as

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\(^{360}\) Alma, *Carmen zonder Make-up*, 113.


\(^{364}\) Rutten, *Spanje*, 164.
“the national amusement par excellence in Spain”[^365]. While already in the second half of the 19th century travellers complained about the commercialization of, particularly, flamenco music and dance, the Albaicín was, at least until the 1950s, seen as a place where the ‘real thing’ could still be seen and heard. To be sure, to participate in this experience, the traveller had to conquer a repugnance to extreme poverty and filth, as well as fear of the Gypsies’ reputation as thieves and knife fighters, but then he was rewarded by an experience of authenticity as well as adventure.

In the 1950s the commercial aspect of the ‘Gypsy experience’ became a major disappointment and frustration for the travellers. Jacques den Haan, in 1958, compared the Albaicín to Marken and Staphorst, similarly commercialized tourist attractions in The Netherlands:

> It is clear that in Granada being a Gypsy has become a profession. And obviously by no means a bad one, for my neighbour, who passes off as an American here – which usually means someone from South America here -, speaks English reasonably well, but is a Spaniard, tells me that some of the cave dwellings are furnished no less than luxuriously, with radios and bathrooms (14).[^366]

### Formation of the Image Content

In Chapters II, III and IV, for each travelogue, six factors have been described which underlie the stereotypical content of the author’s image of the Spanish national character. In this paragraph, the influence of five of these factors on the image-formation will be resumed: the Dutch self-image; the consciousness of the historical conflict between Spain and the Netherlands; the textual sources mentioned and/or quoted, the author’s views on politics and religion and his or her attitude towards other tourists. Subsequently, the remaining factor: personal meetings with Spanish individuals, will be discussed in a separate paragraph which shows how this factor, combined with the textual baggage of the researched authors, results in the formation of ethnotypes. In a final paragraph attention will be paid to the discourse of exoticism, in which intertextual connections also play a significant part.

#### Self-image

The self-image of the Dutch travellers follows, to a large extent, the traditional North-South opposition as introduced in the mid-1700s by Montesquieu in his *De l’esprit des lois*. They saw themselves as “the cool-

minded, calm inhabitants of northern regions”, 367 who observed their southern counterparts with reactions varying from indignation, disdain and patronizing superiority to undiluted admiration.

From a distinct Centre versus Periphery viewpoint that became popular since the period of Enlightenment, the backwardness of Spain was the first and foremost impression that the Dutch authors presented to their readers. As Heni van Wermeskerken wrote in 1910: “Yes, it is true, we are in Spain and we have no right to demand a complete European civilization. This we should no longer forget” (15). 368 How this so-called backwardness was appreciated, however, is conditional upon each author’s personal view on modernity. And, furthermore, it is remarkable that even those who most severely criticised or ridiculed this cliché about Spain, tended to nuance the country’s total lack of progress. For authors like Gerard Keller (1863) and Marcellus Emants (1886), it was mainly practical examples of modernity which surprised them. Keller appreciated the fact that entrance to museums was free in Spain and wrote that “also in this respect Spain is ahead of us”. 369 Emants admired the excellent street lighting in Barcelona and commented, in one of his footnotes, and playing on the double meaning of ‘light’ in this context: “Although, naturally, we see ourselves as much more enlightened than the Spaniards, in this matter we have every reason to blush shamefacedly” (16). 370 Others, like Maurtis Wagenvoort (1907), admitted that in spite of the “embryonic concept of civilization”371 in a country like Spain, the national character included positive qualities that sensible northerners like the Dutch lacked, such as self-sacrifice and resignation. Henri van der Mandere, in 1929, praised the Spaniard’s courage in both material and moral danger and attributed this quality to a “peculiar southern and sunny resignation”. 372 And even Felix Rutten, who in 1924, found very little to appreciate in this narrow-minded people “puffed up with its excellence and ignorant of everything”, 373 was touched by the egalitarian atmosphere as well as the lack of indecent behaviour at popular feasts like the Feria in Seville.

Where Spain’s reputation of backwardness is concerned, the tables were completely turned in the Dutch travelogues of the 1950s. In this decade the country predominantly produced a profound nostalgia for a world that had been eradicated by northern modernity. The “huge gap between living and thinking in Spain and in the rest of Europe”374 was for Bert Schierbeek a gap between basic

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367 Van Wermeskerken, Door Spanje, 9.
368 Ibidem, 8.
370 Emants, Schetsen uit Spanje, 20.
371 Wagenvoort, Van Madrid naar Teheran, 7.
372 Van der Mandere, Indrukken uit Spanje, 346.
373 Rutten, Spanje, 249.
374 Schierbeek, Op reis door Spanje, 10.
humanity and soulless scepticism. While Jacques den Haan, in 1958, regretfully contrasted his own “reliable countenance, which reflects almost permanently life’s seriousness and the question what is to become of it all” with the carefree joie de vivre of the Andalusian woman whom he met at Montserrat.

As typically Dutch, instead of generally northern qualities, (religious) tolerance, open-mindedness and cleanliness were most frequently mentioned and contrasted with a southern opposite. However, comparing the Spanish conditions with the proverbial Dutch cleanliness, the majority of the authors came to the conclusion that Spain’s reputation of being extremely filthy was exaggerated. “Oh well”, Van der Mandere wrote in 1929, “it isn’t as clean as in The Netherlands, and Spanish villages do not shine like our clean-washed and well-kept villages do. But do not generalize too soon as typically Spanish what can also be found elsewhere” (17).

**Past Relations.** The echoes of the 80 Years War between Spain and The Netherlands resound in the majority of the travelogues, particularly when the authors visited the Escorial, the palace designed by King Philip II and completed in 1584, when the long-lasting conflict between the two countries was in progress. There, the image of a sombre, unwordly, ultra-Catholic and tyrannical monarch was remembered as it had been taught in Dutch history lessons. The portrait of Philip II was not painted in the same way, however, by all authors. Catholics, like Felix Rutten, though criticising the king’s pride and severity, also praised him for his unrelenting faith and for his laudable aim to “keep all of Europe on the right Roman Catholic track”. Furthermore, following a tendency initiated by Dutch authors like Potgieter in the 1830s, to create a more balanced and truthful image of the former enemy, even Protestants and non-believers tended to make differentiations in the original Black Legend picture of King Philip II.

Adrien Obreen, in 1884, reminded the reader that the politics of this Spanish king forced the Dutch to act, while this action subsequently brought them great wealth and power. Henri van der Mandere, in 1929, found that the king had been sufficiently punished for the atrocities committed against the Dutch and reminded his readers that the fiercely hated Duque of Alba was also a first rate warrior who remained loyal to an ungrateful king.

It is particularly when irritated by what they see as unjustified chauvinism of the Spaniards, that authors refer to the past conflict. Gerard Keller, for example, in 1863, would have liked to remind the Spaniards who bragged about

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376 Van der Mandere, *Indrukken uit Spanje*, 351.
their glorious past, that once their power was broken by the “sons of The Free Netherlands” 380.

In the 1950s, the echoes of past tensions were still audible, but the memories of the hostilities were fading. Bert Schierbeek (1952) praised the sacred conviction of the Spanish king and saw him as a symbol of a much admired ability of the Spanish people to undertake and complete a great adventure. “Go and see this Escorial”, he wrote, “for the symbolic power of this building is great! And its builder was a remarkable monarch! A very Spanish monarch!” (18).381

Politics/Religion. Interest in Spanish politics is not something which all the authors share. Some of them ignored the political context completely, while others included extensive information about the country’s political history in their travelogues. An early example of an author, who thought that information about the political context was relevant, is Adrien Obreen who, in 1884, prefaced his travel account with an introduction in which he went from a general question about the causes of the rise and fall of nations to the specific case of Spain. The decline of this country, he wrote, was caused, firstly, by a weakness in the character of the Spanish people, who could not resist the temptation to work less after having become rich with the gold that came from the colonies, and secondly, by failing governments that took advantage of their passivity.382 These two factors, a default in the Spanish national character and deficient leadership are a recurring theme in the later travelogues, the burden of guilt lying sometimes more on the former and at other times on the latter. For Marcellus Emants (1886), for instance, it was in the first place the lack of strength of mind - a flaw in the Spanish national character - that had resulted in an ineffective and disorganized society and in the country’s industrial inferiority compared to the rest of Europe:

Although he is generally well equipped with the qualities that would enable him to fulfil his social duties adequately, the Spaniard always seems to act in a halfhearted and lethargic way, as long as he does not see the chance of being rewarded for his efforts by an immediate advantage or an instantaneous applause (as, for example, in the arena) (19).383

While, until the 1900s, the country’s decline was primarily related to a defect in the character of the Spanish people, which was called, alternately, weak, indifferent and too inflammable, the authors who published their travelogues in the first decades of the 20th century were much more inclined to blame the country’s

381 Schierbeek, Op reis door Spanje, 151.
382 Obreen, In Spanje. Reisindrukken, VII.
383 Emants, Schetsen uit Spanje, 46/47.
leaders. In their comments on the exploitation of the essentially good people, one can hear an echo of both the psychological analysis of the national character of the Spanish Generation of 1898 and the more objective study of the causes of Spain’s decline by the intellectual and political movement in Spain that, in the late 19th and early 20th century, was called Regenerationism. Maurits Wagenvoort, in particular, in his analysis of the character of the Spanish people on the basis of literary protagonists, followed a popular theme of the *noventaochistas*, while his expression of sympathy with the exploited Spanish people closely resembles ideas of Joaquín Costa, one of Spain’s first Regenerationists. “At the same time”, Wagenvoort writes:

> the Spanish people labour under a blazing sun in the fields which they sprinkle with their sweat for a harvest that, if not destroyed by the disfavour of the elements, will be divided later between the landowner and the treasury, so that what remains for the peasant hardly equals what was left for Ruth in the field of Boas (20).384

The need of a strong and capable figure to lead this essentially good, but uneducated, people, was another important theme of Regenerationists like Costa, who introduced the term *cirujano de hierro* (iron surgeon) as a symbol for a leader who would cut detrimental customs like the widespread clientelism out of Spain’s political system. Similarly, Wagenvoort thought that the day when a Napoleon or a Bismarck would take command in Spain, would be the first day of its resurrected greatness.385

From the late 1920s, the Dutch travellers felt that the political situation in Spain was changing. Henri van der Mandere, in 1929, wrote about a transitional period and established that, in the minds of the Spanish people, an awareness was growing that all could not be, nor should be left to the State. Jos. Janssen, five years later, experienced the loss of state power in the last phase of the Second Republic, when red revolutionaries seemed to lay down the law. Convinced, however, of the strong religious character of Spain, he saw the ‘red rage’ as the drowsy gesture of a people that was waking up and that would, ultimately, recognize its true Roman Catholic and monarchist nature.386

For the authors of the 1950s, finally, the political context was something which could not be ignored. All three of the authors of this period wrote about or made references to the Franco regime, primarily, either to minimalize the political oppression or justify its necessity. Spain is, undoubtedly, a dictatorially governed

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384 Wagenvoort, *Van Madrid naar Teheran*, 43/44.
385 Ibidem, 12.
country, Bert Schierbeek wrote in 1952, but the Spaniard does not have to be taught what freedom is. With his strongly individualistic nature he is either an anarchist or a separatist, whatever the kind of government that tries to rule over him.387 Hans Alma, in the same year, found, after initial reservations, that the police state he was visiting functioned quite well and he came to the conclusion, furthermore, that the presence of all those policemen and military in the streets of Spain’s cities could well be necessary to protect this passionate and inflammable people from itself.388 And Jacques den Haan, in 1958, although admitting that Spain was a country where a great many time-consuming formalities had to be attended to, wrote that this did not particularly bother him, nor did he see that it presented many special problems for the Spaniards themselves. Nevertheless, his concise and straightforward conclusion about the state of affairs in Franco Spain was less favourable:

The political (tyranny) is simple: all political discussions are forbidden and the religious (tyranny) is such that all mental life outside the church has become a mockery and the percentage of illiteracy is the highest in the whole of Western Europe (21).389

Both the role of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain and the religious feelings of the Spaniard are topics that get attention in all the researched travelogues. The role of the Church, in the past as well as the present is, without exception, criticised, even by Dutch travellers who belonged to the same religion. The two main points of reproach are the Church’s intolerance and the ostentatious showing of its wealth.

A visible symbol of the intolerance was, for many, the Mezquita in Cordoba, where, during the reign of Charles V (Charles I of Spain), a cathedral was built inside the great mosque. Especially while visiting this famous building, the religious intolerance of the Roman Catholic Church was commented on and frequently contrasted with the more liberal religious politics of the Muslims in Spain. Face to face with the cathedral-mosque, in 1862, Gerard Keller, for example, pondered that supposedly Christian values, like love of one’s fellow man, tolerance and generosity, were better understood by the followers of the Prophet than by the Spanish Catholics.390 Henri van Wermeskerken, in 1910, saw the Mezquita as an example of a general practice in Catholic Spain to destroy other religious buildings:

388 Alma, Carmen zonder Make-up, 40.
389 Den Haan, Bevindelijk reisboek, 87.
Centuries ago, heathen temples disappeared from there, on their foundations synagogues and mosques were built, but Christianity zealously destroyed or rebuilt them, smeared the Moorish mosaic with concrete. Can anything be more Christian? (22).391

Even a Roman Catholic like Felix Rutten (1924), who greatly admired the religious fervour during festivities such as the Holy Week, deplored the “vandalizing intrusion” of conquering Christianity in Cordoba’s mosque.392

Together with the country’s leaders the Church was also held responsible for the lack of progress in Spain, a topic which was particularly relevant for the travellers from the period 1900-1936. Maurits Wagenvoort was convinced that the Roman Catholic Church was the cause of the “mental deadness” of the Spanish people, as its objective was and always had been to keep them quiet as well as ignorant with promises of a better life in the hereafter. Henri van Wermeskerken was equally indignant when he heard that a priest had demanded that Spanish women should be given the right to vote. In his opinion the only reason for this surprising initiative was that the Church knew that, while Spanish men were waking up, Spanish women had remained its most staunch supporters.

In the same period the richness of the interiors of Spanish cathedrals was frequently and angrily contrasted with the great poverty of the Spanish people. Some authors, however, thought that the highly decorative style of the churches was primarily an expression of a feature of the Spanish national character: a partiality for tangible forms. For Adrien Obreen, the lifelike statues of Christ, “with human hair and, as some say, even covered with human skin”393 were an example of this propensity. That in Spain form was more important than content, both in social intercourse and in the practise of religious rites is something many Dutch travellers commented on.

The fact that the Spaniards are deeply religious and that religion is a fundamental part of their national identity, was denied by no one. Even Abraham Capadose, the most anti-Catholic of them all, had to admit this, when he visited the country in 1864. Furthermore, this conclusion made him think of religion in general as something that, ideally, should correspond to the particularity of each nationality. Also, the Dutch travellers tended to demonstrate their own religious tolerance by emphasizing the need to respect in the foreign country the rules and customs of a religion that was not their own. Gerard Keller, for example, made a habit of crossing himself on entering Roman Catholic churches and, knowing

393 Obreen, *In Spanje. Reisindrukken*, 12,
of his compatriot Capadose’s efforts on behalf of the Protestant Matamoros, considered this to be an incorrect intervention in the laws of Spain. 394

For those who preferred to see Spain as a living Middle Ages, where mysticism could still be experienced, the contemporary reality was often disappointing. Louis Couperus, in 1915, was one of those who visited the cathedrals with this objective, but the gloomy darkness of the interiors made him feel that “the mystic soul was pressed down into the cold church stones”. 395 For the authors of the 1950s, however, mysticism was still very much alive in Spain and the religious fervour of the Spanish people was one of the characteristics that distinguished them from the bland and over-rational man of the north. Particularly Bert Schierbeek, in 1952, praised the Spanish religiosity as something unique in modern Europe when he wrote:

The Spaniard is, besides, still one of the few who knows devotion, Romantic devotion; that feeling that lifts him up from the raw conditions of his life and lets him become part of a higher entirety (23). 396

Travel/Tourism. Whether visitors to Spain saw themselves as ‘common tourists’ or as travellers, not only influenced their itinerary, but also their view of the country and the people living there. The Dutch authors of the first period, 1860-1900, did not seem to feel the need to distinguish themselves as travellers, avoid touristic highlights or reject the use of travel guides. Travelling through a country like Spain was in itself adventurous enough in the late 1800s. Jozef Israëls, in 1899, was an exception in the sense that he, on one occasion, spoke denigratingly of “ordinary tourists with travel booklets”, 397 but this was only to distinguish himself and his companions, in the Prado Museum in Madrid, as real and knowledgeable art-lovers.

Henri van Wermeskerken was, in 1910, the first one to complain about the “permanently annoying tourists”; 398 but precisely because there were so few tourists there, recommended a journey to Spain, rather than Italy. Van Wermeskerken greatly admired the sublimity of the Spanish landscape, where nothing disturbed the deep silence: “Here everything is still wild and in its natural state, in Italy almost everything is constructed and beautified by human hands”, he wrote. 399 Louis Couperus, in 1915, also spoke negatively about modern tourism, but this was not because he longed for adventure or original experiences. There

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394 Keller, Een Zomer in het Zuiden, I, 71.
395 Couperus, Spaansch toerisme, I, 21.
396 Schierbeek, Op reis door Spanje, 41.
397 Israëls, Spanje. Een reisverhaal, 41.
398 Ibidem, 197.
399 Ibidem, 197.
are two reasons why Couperus did not like Spain very much: firstly, he found everything too gloomy, too dark and serious compared to his beloved Italy and, secondly, he constantly felt as if he was being urged on. Spain, he wrote, was a country which had never been, like Italy, a place where foreigners settled down and stayed for a long time, like “great tourists such as Byron and Goethe”\textsuperscript{400} had done – and, incidentally, something which he also liked to do. In Spain he missed the feeling of embracing sympathy with the atmosphere of the country, something which modern tourists, who hastily went from one place to another, could never achieve.

It was in the 1950s, however, with the beginnings of mass tourism, that the anti-tourist mentality began to play a significant role in the formation of the Dutch image of Spain and the Spaniards. Raw adventure and original experiences were what the travellers of this decade sought, and they saw Spain as one of the last places in Europe where these were still to be found. Even there, however, it was increasingly difficult to avoid the “touristic hordes” as Hans Alma called them in 1952.\textsuperscript{401} While in the 19th century it was mainly English tourists that were criticised, in the 1950s the Americans became the new prototype of the superficial tourist, incapable of personal initiative, insensitive to the country’s culture and afraid of any discomfort. Alma’s description of his visit to Toledo perfectly resumes the effect of the anti-tourist mentality on the formation of the image of the country. Twice he toured the city, first in the company of an American family, with their booklet \textit{A Day in Toledo}, and then on his own. The first visit, he writes, taught him nothing about the city. The second - without any sort of guide - presented him with a group of raggedly dressed Gypsy children who danced spontaneously and with only himself as an audience. “It wasn’t perfect, but full of temperament and passion”,\textsuperscript{402} he writes. Next, he observed for a long time two Spanish gentlemen sitting in a sidewalk café, so that he might get to the bottom of the “mystery of idleness”\textsuperscript{403}, as the art of doing nothing was something he more than anything admired in the Spanish national character. Alma’s travelogue is filled with these kinds of original experiences as well as adventures such as hitchhiking by night when he and his friend ran out of money.

Poverty, filth and bad food, but also passion, violence and style, this is the ‘real Spain’ these neo-Romantic travellers of the 1950s wanted to present to their readers in The Netherlands.

\textit{Intertextual References.} In the context of this research, the study of cultural references has been limited to written (and in some cases cinematographical)

\textsuperscript{400} Couperus, \textit{Spaansch Toerisme I}, 67.
\textsuperscript{401} Alma, \textit{Carmen zonder Make-up}, 118.
\textsuperscript{402} Ibidem, 87.
\textsuperscript{403} Ibidem, 93.
sources, to determine which role these references play in the shaping of national stereotypes. There are, however, other components of the cultural baggage of the travellers that merit further research. One of them is the experience of having visited Italy before going to Spain, which in the case of authors who mention having done so, more than once leads to explicit comparisons between the two southern countries. Cornelia Vissering, for example, who came directly from Italy when she arrived in Spain, came to the following conclusion:

Spain and Italy, two southern country’s, completely different one from the other; Italy, except for its antiquities, so much more modern than Spain, so much more in tune with modern times; the Spanish land the same as it was centuries ago (24).404

The effect of the comparison between Italy and Spain is particularly relevant in Louis Couperus’s predominantly negative view of Spain. Between 1900 and 1915, the author spent a part of each year in Mediterranean countries, preferably in Italy. He was, therefore, familiar with Italian culture and the way of life and expected to find something similar in Spain. Especially the oppressiveness of Spanish Catholicism was a disappointment, as he was looking forward to an atmosphere of mysticism, but often missed the festive lightness of Italian religiousness. Instead, he found Spain’s Gothic cathedrals gloomy and dark and described them as places where the mystic soul lies pressed down on the huge, cold church stones.405 In 1924, Felix Rutten clearly voiced the expectation of similarities between Italy and Spain when he wrote:

De Amicis may have said that an Italian does not feel closer to Italy in any other country in the world than in Spain; against this I should state that a foreigner does not feel as far from Italy anywhere but in this country, where, precisely because of the affinity, he expected so many similarities, and, in practice, found so many differences (25).406

Apart from their experience with other cultures, all authors carried with them and, in many cases implicitly, incorporated their textual baggage in their travel accounts. While this is a common feature of all written texts, it is typical of the genre of the travel account that the authors often mention their sources explicitly, referring to or quoting from texts they consider relevant, which makes it feasible

to take a closer look at the relation between these sources and each author’s image of the visited country.

In the researched corpus four types of intertextual frames of reference appear:

1. Travel Guides
2. Travel Accounts
3. Background Information about Spain
4. Literary Fiction

Below, each one of these frames of reference will first be presented separately in a diagram, to show the distribution of its use in the corpus of researched travelogues. Subsequently, the weight and relevance of the four categories will be discussed.

1. Travel Guides

In the diagram below the use of travel guides by the researched authors is shown. The full title and date of the first appearance of each guide are mentioned underneath the diagram. (For the abbreviation of each author’s surname, see page 133).

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Germond de Lavigne, *Espagne et Portugal* (1858)
Ed. Hartleben, *Illustrierter Führer durch Spanien und Portugal* (1884)
Karl Baedeker, *Spanien und Portugal* (1897)
*Both the French Guide Michelin and the Guide Bleu for Spain became available in the 1950s.*

A first conclusion that can be drawn from the above diagram is that the authors more or less follow the chronological sequence of the travel guides, substituting older guides for newer ones when these became available. Secondly, the diagram shows that the Baedeker guide was used more frequently than any other and for
a longer period of time. From the year of its first appearance, in 1897, this guide not only provided the Dutch travellers with background information, but also, to a great extent, determined their itinerary, which was fairly standard and led them to the same touristic highlights. In the centre of the country Madrid (with excursions to the Escorial and Aranjuez), Toledo and Avila, on the east coast Barcelona and in the south Cordoba, Granada and Seville were almost invariably visited. The authors of the first two periods (1860-1936) followed the directions supplied by the travel guides without much comment and regularly recommended a specific guide to their readers. Henri van der Mandere, for example, wrote in 1929 about a visit to the Royal Palace in Madrid:

He who wants to get the best view of the Palace, should follow Baedeker’s advice and observe the Palace from the valley of the Manzanares (26).\(^{407}\)

For the anti-tourists of the 1950s, however, the use of a travel guide became more problematic, as it obviously spoiled the spontaneity and originality of their journey. Hans Alma, in his travelogue that was published in 1952, refused to give his readers details about the cathedral of Toledo, because he did not want to be a Baedeker guide which gives stars to particularly interesting tourist attractions.\(^{408}\) Bert Schierbeek, in the same year, told his readers, rather patronizingly, that, while he had just wandered around in the Prado Museum, they had better buy a guide-book.\(^{409}\) The only author in this last group who admits that he used a guide, Jacques den Haan, whose travelogue was published in 1958, mentions the French Guide Michelin and Guide Bleu on several occasions, but also makes it clear that he is, at least, a critical user, when he writes about a walk around the city of Toledo that is recommended by the Guide Bleu:

In my opinion this travel guide (which in other respects gets full marks) has not handled this well. I have made this walk along the left bank of the Tagus and in my opinion it should be made compulsory. […] And in the guide I would lavishly praise this walk and write, untruthfully: “Do it! Absolutely do it! It is not far!” Actually, it is quite far, a walk of about an hour and a half, to which at least a couple of hours of looking around can be added, for it is very very special! (27).\(^{410}\)

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\(^{407}\) Van der Mandere, *Indrukken uit Spanje*, 119.

\(^{408}\) Alma, *Carmen zonder Make-up*, 78.


\(^{410}\) Den Haan, *Bevindelijk reisboek*, 151/152.
2. Travel Accounts

The attitude of the Dutch travellers towards travel accounts written by others who went to Spain before them, is ambivalent throughout the researched corpus, as all authors were faced with the dilemma of describing in their own original way places, people and events that had been described before. In this sense, the Dutch travellers were, from the late 1800s, examples of what Ali Behdad has called “belated travellers” (Behdad 1994), travellers that are aware of the inescapable intertextuality of their experience. The diagram below shows (in chronological order) which travelogues are explicitly mentioned by the researched authors. The full titles and dates of publication are mentioned underneath the diagram.

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Joseph Townsend, *A Journey through Spain in the Years 1786 and 1787* (1791)
Théophile Gautier, *Voyage en Espagne* (1840)
George Borrow, *The Bible in Spain* (1842)
Friedrich Wilhelm Hackländer, *Ein Winter in Spanien* (1855)
Edmondo de Amicis, *Spagna* (1873)
Marcellus Emants, *Uit Spanje: schetsen* (1886)
Albert Verwey, *Spaansche Reis* (1893)
Jozef Israëls, *Spanje. Een reisverhaal* (1899)
Maurits Wagenvoort, *Van Madrid naar Teheran* (1907)
Henri van Wermeskerken, *Door Spanje. Schetsen en Verhalen* (1910)
Elizabeth Boyle O’Reilly, *Heroic Spain* (1910)
Louis Couperus, *Spaansch Toerisme* (1915)
Edmond Joly, *L’Oeillet de Sèville* (1922)
Alfred Kerr, *O Spanien!* (1924)
Amongst foreign travelogues about Spain, Edmondo de Amicis *Spagna* (1873) – the Dutch translation of which was available from 1875 – was, by far, the most popular with the researched authors and it was openly referred to by five of them between 1860 and 1960. The fact that Hans Alma, who shunned the use of travel guides and was always looking for original experiences, quoted a description of a Cordobese patio from *Spagna* in his own travelogue (1952), is a remarkable token of the appreciation of this travel account that dated from the late 1800s.\(^{411}\) Henri van der Mandere, in 1929, followed De Amicis’s text particularly closely in his *Indrukken uit Spanje*. Writing about the view of Granada from the Alhambra, for example, he includes an extensive quote from *Spagna* and adds that, even without being as poetic as this brilliant Italian writer, one can feel that this view is close to looking at paradise itself.\(^{412}\) However, in an attempt to avoid imitating this predecessor blindly, an occasional critical remark is added to the references to *Spagna*, such as:

> But nevertheless, whether, as Edmondo de Amicis wants us to believe, the Alameda\(^{413}\) was really so extraordinarily wide that fifty carriages could ride through it next to one another, seems dubious (28).\(^{414}\)

In a similar way, Marcellus Emants, in 1886, although admitting that he admired De Amicis, remarked that it was a pity that this author was unable to tell about his experiences in a more pleasant way and added a footnote saying that De Amicis’s travelogue about Holland was much better.\(^{415}\) Théophile Gautier’s *Voyage en Espagne* (1840) is the second most frequently mentioned travelogue. Emants, Israëls and Rutten refer to, and/or quote, this predecessor in their own travel accounts. Both Emants (1886) and Rutten (1924) distance themselves from Gautier’s portrait of Spain, although from a different perspective. Emants objected to Gautier’s romanticized image of the country, a rose-tinted picture that he also found in the poetry of other French Romantics, such as Victor Hugo and Albert de Musset. In Emants’s opinion, their portraits of Spain are too full of hospitable robbers, poetic monks and gorgeous women, figures who never crossed the Dutchman’s “prosaic path”.\(^{416}\) After having quoted both Victor Hugo and Gautier on the subject of Granada, he writes:

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411 Alma, *Carmen zonder Make-up*, 121.
413 Esplanade near the Alhambra in Granada.
416 Ibidem, 84.
I doubt very much whether these gentlemen – and De Lavigne, who quotes them – have done anything but paint, in bad faith and with exaggerated colours, what they had not seen, but copied from other books or, maybe, heard from thoroughly wilted lips (29).417

References to Gautier’s *Voyage en Espagne* in Felix Rutten’s travelogue mainly serve the purpose of contrasting the Frenchman’s predominantly negative picture of King Philip II with his own more positive view. After having quoted Gautier’s description of the Escorial as a “lugubre fantasie du triste fils de Charles Quint”, Roman Catholic Rutten adds his own characterization of the building:

[…] in my opinion, it is a safe stronghold, founded on the understanding of earthly transience and of God’s exclusive and lasting trustworthiness, as a bulwark against all vanity for this ruler and, at the same time, despiser of the world, who, in the words of Catulle Mendès: “Seigneur du monde immense et souverain de soi”, only wanted to be what Suau calls “gendarme de Dieu” (30).418

Travel accounts by other Dutch authors are rarely referred to and it is exceptional for one author to refer to more than one predecessor. This is probably because the competition with compatriots whose accounts were destined for the same readership, was more strongly felt. Louis Couperus, who had read Maurits Wagenvoort’s travelogue before going to Spain, more than once called his friend to account as he did not agree at all with the latter’s enthusiastic praises of the country and its inhabitants. The author who more than any other refers to travel accounts written by fellow-countrymen is Felix Rutten, particularly in the chapter “Welkom Vreemdeling” (Welcome Stranger) of his travelogue *Spanje* (1924). In this chapter Rutten analyses his negative impression of Spain. He tells how he is being ridiculed when he tries to speak Spanish, complains about the horrible food and the omnipresent beggars and wonders how it is possible that some travellers seem to prefer Spain to Italy. In doing so, he quotes extensively from other travelogues, amongst them those of Emants, Wagenvoort and Van Wermeskerken. Comparing their impressions with his own, he finally comes to the conclusion that he can only understand Van Wermeskerken who described Spain as a world of annoyance for foreigners.419

419 Ibidem, 250.
3. Background Information about Spain.

Without exception, the authors of the researched travelogues include background information (mainly historical) about Spain in their books, which does not mean that they always mention specific authors and/or titles. Jozef Israëls, for example, describes in the first chapter of his travelogue *Spanje* (1899), a reunion with his two young travel companions, during which a pile of books about Spain is lying on the table, of which only a few titles are mentioned. Furthermore, it is likely that at least some of the background information was taken from other travel accounts or from travel guides like the Baedeker, the earlier editions of which included a 50 pages long art-historical introduction by the famous German art historian Carl Justi.

The diagram below shows, in chronological order, which books about (the history of) Spain are explicitly mentioned by the researched authors. The full titles and dates of publication are given underneath the diagram:

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Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d’Espagne* (1861)
Karl Gutzkow, *Philipp und Perez* (1872)
Jacques Edouard de Sturler, *Granada en de Alhambra: geschiedenis en reisherinneringen* (1880)
Emilia Pardo Bazán, *La Mujer Española* (1882)
Paul Vasi, *La Société de Madrid* (1886)
Maurice Barrès, *Du Sang, de la Volupté, de la Mort* (1894)
L. Higgin, *Spanish Life in Town and Country* (1902)
Henry Havelock Ellis, *The Soul of Spain* (1908)
Albert Dauzat, *L’Espagne telle qu’elle est* (1911)
Robert Klimsch, *Spaniens Städte, Land und Leute* (1912)
Maurice Barrès, *Le Gréco ou le Secret de Tolède* (1912)
Maurice Legendre, *Portrait de l’Espagne* (1923)
Ernest Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon* (1932)
Adolphe de Falgairolle, *L’Espagne en République* (1933)
Johan Brouwer, *Spaanse Aspecten en Perspectieven* (1939)
Idem, *Johanna de Waanzinnige* (1940)

As the diagram shows, not many specific titles of books about Spain were mentioned by the researched authors, Felix Rutten being responsible for the majority of the titles. The presentation, as well as the measurement of the amount of background information, was not always easy and most of the authors seem to have been aware of the fact that this kind of information interrupted the flow of their travel account. Some of them, like Van der Mandere, chose to present the background information in separate chapters. The first three chapters of *Indrukken uit Spanje* (1929) are dedicated to the history and geography of Spain, until in chapter IV, the journey is begun. Bert Schierbeek, more than once, apologizes for the historical elaborations in his travelogue *Op reis door Spanje* (1952), for example in Cordoba where he describes the history of the Moors in Spain and adds:

I hope you will forgive me, reader-tourist, for this historical elaboration, right in the middle of sunny Cordoba. But, surely, it would be a shame if, back at home, you could only tell about Cordoba that the sun was shining so lovely there (31).

Felix Rutten was, in this category of intertextual references as well as in the two previous ones, the author who, more than any other mentioned or quoted from texts other than his own. In most cases, when secondary sources are explicitly mentioned, this is because the author is looking for confirmation of his own opinion on things Spanish. When Rutten, for instance, has his first experiences with Spaniards who are mocking him and tricking him out of his money, he mentions Albert Dauzat (author of *L’Espagne telle qu’elle est*), which was

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published in 1912) and writes that this author said that this kind of behaviour is normal in Spain. And to underline his own admiration of Salamanca he writes that now he understands why Maurice Legendre, author of Portrait de l’Espagne (1923), went there thirty times and never tired of admiring the city. Jacques den Haan, when giving his opinion about the bullfight in his travelogue Bevindelijk reisboek (1958), well aware of the fact that this is a controversial subject in The Netherlands, writes that he has read about the corrida for years and particularly admired Ernest Hemingway’s Death in the Afternoon (1932), presenting himself in this way as a knowledgeable spectator.

4. Literary Fiction

More frequently than any other cultural source, (fragments of) literary texts are referred to or quoted by the authors of the Dutch travelogues. Furthermore, the influence of this kind of cultural baggage seems to have been particularly significant in the formation of the images about the country and its inhabitants. Some of the researched authors, like Felix Rutten, quote or mention literary sources on almost every page and seem to wander around in a hall of textual mirrors that project the images already existing in the heads of the travellers on the reality of the country they are visiting.

421 Rutten, Spanje, 12.
To avoid getting lost in the forest of literary references, the diagram below shows the texts mentioned or quoted from by at least two of the researched authors. The titles appear in order of frequency. As it is not always clear which version of a literary work the traveller knew, the author and title of the original version are given underneath the diagram.

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Miguel de Cervantes, *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha* (Part 1, 1605; Part 2, 1615)
Anonymous, *Cantar de Mio Cid* (14th century)
Pierre Corneille, *Le Cid* (1636)
Washington Irving, *Tales of the Alhambra* (1832)
Prosper Mérimée, *Carmen* (1845)
Pierre Beaumarchais, *Le Marriage de Figaro* (1786)
Tirso de Molina, *El Burlador de Sevilla y Convidado de Piedra* (around 1630)
Friedrich Schiller, *Don Karlos* (1787)
Albert de Musset, *Contes d’Espagne et d’Italie* (1830)
Emanuel Geibel, *Der Zigeunerknabe* (1837)
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1796)
Heinrich Heine, *Almansor* (1821)

The above diagram shows, first of all, that this type of intertextual reference recurs more frequently than the other three. The travelogues show a widespread familiarity with both (legendary) historical figures and literary heroes which the authors know from literary sources. Whether, in fact, the travellers knew these figures from the original texts or from later elaborations is not always clear, although certain versions seem to have been better known than others. The
authors knew El Cid, for example, mainly from Corneille’s play (1636) and not from the Spanish Cantar de mio Cid, the oldest copy of which dates from the early 14th century. Apart from El Cid, Rodrigo, the last king of the Goths and Boabdil, the last Arab ruler in Spain, were best known. The legends of these last two figures were retold by several authors, amongst them Washington Irving.

As literary heroes, Don Juan, Don Quixote and his servant Sancho Panza, as well as Don Carlos, Figaro and Carmen figure in the majority of the travelogues. The strong reflection of these literary models in the personal meetings with Spaniards described in the researched travelogues is discussed in the next paragraph. Apart from a tendency to see in individual Spaniards descendants of these literary protagonists, a relation is also frequently established between these figures and the national character of the Spanish people as a whole. In 1884, Adrien Obreen, for example, wrote:

What Leporello sings in Don Juan: “In Spanien Tausend und Drei”,422 is today still the dream of every good Spaniard. There has only been one widow in Spain who, twenty years after the death of her husband, still thought of him, whereupon all Spaniards have unanimously declared that the poor soul was crazy423 […] (32).424

In 1907, Maurits Wagenvoort explicitly voiced the conviction that the character of legendary and/or fictional national heroes is deeply embedded in the personality of the Spanish people:

Five figures in Spanish literature comprise the Spanish people as a whole: it is don Rodrigo de Vivar, also named “el Cid”, it is don Quixote, it is Sancho Panza, it is don Juan, it is “la Celestina”425 (33).426

Subsequently, Wagenvoort explains that the Spaniard has inherited his readiness to serve his country from El Cid, his willingness to fight for his ideals, as well as his ingenuity and his tendency to stick to his impossible dreams, from Don Quijote and his sometimes surprising common sense from Sancho. The Celestina of modern times is the old and ugly woman for whom matchmaking is her most important aim in life. But more influential than any other, Wagenvoort writes, is the figure of Don Juan, whose character he sees as one of the main causes of

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422 A line from the so called Catalogue Aria from Mozart’s opera Don Giovanni, in which Don Juan’s servant Leporello describes and counts his master’s lovers.
423 Obreen is referring to the lasting devotion of Queen Joanna of Castile (1479-1555) to her dead husband Philip the Handsome.
424 Obreen, In Spanje. Reisindrukken, 72.
425 Protagonist of the novel Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea by Fernando de Rojas (1499).
426 Wagenvoort, Van Madrid naar Teheran, 11.
Spain’s decline. The lasciviousness of the Spanish man, in particular, and his obsession with chasing the female keep him from being useful and applying himself in the service of his country.

Washington Irving’s *Tales of the Alhambra*, which is mentioned in seven of the researched travelogues, plays a different role, which will be discussed later in a separate paragraph about intertextuality and exoticism. Irving was the first who inhabited the Alhambra with figures from its past and thus brought the empty buildings to life. The Dutch authors of the travelogues were often disappointed by the Alhambra, of which they had seen pictures and read wonderful stories. The recollection of Irving’s book seems to have inspired their fantasy when walking around the Moorish palace. “One should, wherever one finds oneself in the Alhambra, remember the tales of Irving” (34), Henri van der Mandere writes in his *Indrukken uit Spanje* (1929).

(Fragments of) poetry also crop up regularly between the lines of the travel accounts and add their content to the author’s images. An example which figures in two of the researched travelogues is the poem *De Klepperman* (The Rattle Man, 1787) by Hieronymus van Alphen. Van Alphen was an 18th century Dutch author who is mainly known for his pedagogic poems for children. In *De Klepperman*, a child tells the reader that he can sleep easily while the ‘rattle man’ keeps watch. Both Marcellus Emants (1886) and Jacques den Haan (1952) think of this poem when they meet the Spanish *sereno*, the nightwatch who opens the door for people who return from an evening out. Both the *sereno* and the figure of the lamplighter in the streets of Barcelona make Jacques den Haan think back to the days of his youth:

At eight o’clock a lamplighter arrives to light the gas in the finely tooled old lanterns in the square. He is provided with a ladder and a torch and he reminds me of Hieronymus van Alphen, whose edifying verses I once learned – alas in vain – at my mother’s knee (35).

Mediated by Van Alphen’s poetry, an atmosphere of timelessness as well as childlike simplicity is added to the image of the surrounding reality.

Summarizing, it may be stated that intertextuality plays a key role in the shaping of the traveller’s images, the influence of literary fiction being particularly significant. Furthermore, as the ‘classics’, in particular, remain part of an unchanging cultural baggage, this, probably more than the persistence of Black
Legend stereotypes, results in a remarkable continuity of the images about the country and its people. In the next two paragraphs the relationship between texts and images will be further explored.

**Intertextuality and ethnotypes**

One continuously thinks of Don Quixote, when one travels in Spain and Sancho Panza and the knight himself repeatedly appear before you in the crowd (36). Meetings with Spaniards are described in all the travelogues in this study and serve a variety of purposes. Firstly, they enliven the narrative and distinguish the travelogue from the travel guide, which generally limits itself to objective and factual information. Secondly, they accentuate the personal character of the travelogue, as, in most cases, the author is personally involved in the described meetings. And, lastly, they authenticate the information that the author wants to give about the country and its inhabitants, as they reflect how ‘real Spaniards’ behave, as well as what they feel and think. Whether these meetings are real or fictitious, is, essentially, irrelevant. What is relevant, however, is that the individuals chosen as protagonists of these meetings frequently reflect strong intertextual connections.

As a first example, the figure of Don Blas from Cornelia Vissering’s *Uit Spanje* (1905) may serve. Don Blas is the servant of a Dutch friend of the author who exploits a mine in the vicinity of Cordoba. This dwarf-like figure, who extracts metal from the mine and is described as clever and resourceful, lives comfortably with a young and beautiful wife. His surname, as well as his person, reminds one, first of all, of Gil Blas, protagonist of Alain-René Lesage’s 18th century picaresque novel *L’Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane*, who was born into misery, but thanks to his wit and adaptability ended up living in a castle to enjoy a hard-earned fortune. Secondly, the fact that Don Blas is a miner suggests a connection with Emile Zola’s novel *Germinale*, which was, before its publication in 1885, serialised in the Parisian literary periodical *Gil Blas*, that existed between 1879 and 1914. Not only Gil Blas reappears in Miss Vissering’s travelogue. The author’s persistent suitor, Don Agustin de M., with his catalogue of no less than 13 fiancées, shows a more than superficial likeness to the literary Don Juan figure.

The most important literary role model is, undoubtedly, Prosper Mérimée’s heroine Carmen, whose personality strongly influences the travellers.

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The Image of Spain in Dutch Travel Writing (1860-1960). Survey and Analysis

image of Spanish women. Since the publication of Mérimée’s novella (1845) and its re-mediation as an opera by Bizet in 1875, Carmen became one of the most powerful, widespread and enduring literary carriers of a Spanish ethnotype (Leerssen 2013: 140). As such, her image was also an important part of the preconceptions that Dutch travellers carried with them to Spain.

Marcellus Emants, in his Schetsen uit Spanje, obviously had her image in mind when he described Mrs Carmen X, the Andalusian woman to whose house in Malaga the author and his wife were invited and who enchanted her guests with her singing and dancing. In his description of the looks of the hostess Emants paraphrases the picture of Carmen given by Mérimée in the first chapter of his novella, something to which he indirectly owns up in the first sentence:

Which muse will help me now to paint you a picture of this authentically Andalusian type? I can write down nicely that she was of small stature and thickset, with dainty little feet and thick little hands, almond-shaped jet-black eyes, long hair that covered her forehead with countless little curls, a straight, pointed nose, a wide mouth and round cheeks of a southern colouring … but this enumeration will not give you an idea of the quickly alternating graceful positions of the limber figure, of the restlessness of the tiny feet, of the continuous gesticulation of the little hands, of the sparkling, almost talking and laughing of those marvellous eyes and of the peculiar sensual smile which played about her lips (37).431

Although Carmen is, on the one hand, responsible for a large part of the general admiration of the beauty of the Spanish, and particularly the Andalusian, woman, it is, on the other hand, precisely the “peculiar sensual smile”, combined with the story of the novella and, even more so, the libretto of the opera Carmen, that gives rise to moral concerns, not only with respect to the character of the Spanish woman and relations between the sexes in Spain, but also, on occasion, about the country as a whole. This is particularly evident in some of the travelogues from the first decades of the 20th century, the period in which the majority of the authors showed a more critical view of the country.

Both Henri van Wermeskerken and Felix Rutten dedicated a separate chapter to the Carmen figure. Felix Rutten’s view on Spain was not a very positive one, due in part to the fact that, as a foreigner, he had a constant feeling of being ridiculed. The chapter titled “Carmen” in Rutten’s travelogue Spanje (1924) informs the reader about Seville, the city where Mérimée’s heroine was employed in the tobacco factory. Shortly after his arrival, the author is warned by his host that Seville is not what it once was, but still Rutten diligently goes in

431 Emants, Schetsen uit Spanje, 122/123.
search of the soul of the city.432 After several disappointments, he visits a dance show where Andalusian girls in traditional costumes perform. In spite of the liveliness of the show, Rutten’s moral concerns about the women dominate the experience: “They weren’t shy, these children of Seville, and they assessed their admirers with such a presumptuous and uninhibited glance that it hurt” (38).433 It is the mixture of gracefulness and provocation that both attracts and repels the author who admits that the beauty of the eyes of the Sevillian woman is unique in Europe and probably in the whole world,434 but that these famous eyes are doll’s eyes, glassy and lifeless:

The Sevillian woman can eye you up with a look that makes you feel miserable; she can stare at you, fixate you with the greatest ease and endures a look back without any effort or emotion. It is just that it isn’t easy for the foreigner to remind himself at all times that this beautiful mask with the doll’s eyes hides the emptiness of an uneducated and proud soul (39).435

Henri van Wermeskerken was disappointed when he saw the working girls leaving the tobacco factory in Seville:

Are these the cigarette girls from “Carmen”? Those shabbily dressed, dirty women, with bags under their eyes, painted faces, their hair plastered down and their skirts frayed? Carmen’s like that you can also find in our country, in the Jordaan or on the Zeedijk436 (40).437

This disappointment was shared by both Van der Mandere and Den Haan. The latter wrote in 1952, describing the waitresses in his hotel and expecting them to be more beautiful: “Not exactly the Carmens of our dreams”.438

In Van Wermeskerken’s travelogue, the figure of Carmen reappears on several occasions. One of the sketches written in Barcelona, between October 1908 and July 1909, and included in his travelogue Door Spanje, is titled “Barceloneesch straattype. Carmen”.439 It tells the story of an old lady whose real name nobody knows, but whom everyone calls Carmen as a reminder of “the days of her glory, when no one could play the role of Carmen as she did,
when her voice filled the great hall of the Teatro Real and her figure made the Caballeros shudder” (41).\footnote{Van Wermeskerken, *Door Spanje*, 208.} What is left of this once famous singer is an old beggar woman who lives in the streets, but still sings “with the tired, hoarse, worn-out voice, a desperate guttural sound that in the high notes resembled a cry of despair” (42).\footnote{Ibidem, 209.} With her desperate voice she goes on singing and acting until she dies on the pavement, unaware of the mockery of the passers-by and singing the song of the dying Mimi in Puccini’s *La Bohème*.

She did not understand that she was ridiculed … she did not know that the sound of her singing was painful for the passers-by …, she still saw herself as an actrice, an artist, for whom the people stopped to listen (43).\footnote{Ibidem, 212.}

It is not difficult to see in this portrait of the dying singer a symbol of the Spanish people, who Van Wermeskerken calls, in the introductory letter that precedes his travel account, childishly naive in their bragging about the great Spain of the past, refusing to realize that the gilding of those days has decayed to rusty copper.\footnote{Ibidem, II.}

Finally, in Hans Alma’s travelogue *Carmen without Make-Up* (1952), the significance of the Carmen figure as both a prototype of Spanish women and a symbol of the country as a whole, come together. The search for Alma’s own Carmen, the Spanish woman whom he met and fell in love with in Austria, and with whom he did not dare to begin a serious relationship, but still has not forgotten, is the thread that shapes his journey through Spain. And it is while he is looking for the woman of his dreams that he falls in love with the country. At the end of the trip, when Alma has found his Carmen, now a mature housewife and mother, the two love-affairs are combined in his final conclusions about Spain:

And because, in my imagination, I had come to see Carmen, during these weeks, as the embodiment of this magical country, I had thought, perhaps, that she was the love of my life, but in that house in Sitges, stained by the smoke of trains, I also realized that now, without make-up, she was not the same as she was in the somewhat unreal atmosphere of a spring love in Austria. Spain, however, had touched and affected me most of all when there was no make-up and for this reason this love might prove more enduring perhaps (44).\footnote{Alma, *Carmen zonder Make-up*, 180.}
Chapter 5

In Alma’s final characterization of ‘the real Spain’, with its combination of beauty and horror, followed by the rhetorical question: “[…] but isn’t it true that real beauty often contains an element of horror?” (45), the author admits that the fascinating mixture of eros and thanatos, of love and death, which is the essence of the Carmen-story, is what made him fall in love with the country.

While many of the encountered Spaniards bear a strong resemblance to literary protagonists, these were also used to distinguish the ‘real persons’ the authors met from the fictitious models. Marcellus Emants was looking forward to his meeting with the Marquis Don Juan T. in Elche, because he was thrilled by the idea “to get to know a real Don Juan in his native country”. To his surprise, his host is a married man who, moreover, looks more like Sancho Panza than Don Juan, “an old potbelly with a grey moustache and goatee, wearing glasses and a threadbare, almost scruffy jacket around his fat limbs” (46). The only likeness with his famous namesake is Don Juan’s marked gallantry towards Emants’s wife, whom he bids farewell - after a meal that is described in great detail - by “lying (verbally) at her feet”.

Similarly, the first Spaniard Josef Israëls and his companions met in the train from Paris to San Sebastian, was named Señor Tenorio. When asked whether he was married, the Spaniard showed the Dutch travellers a little box, decorated with the portrait of a young woman. Then he told them his life story. Coming from a typical Spanish family, “strong and hot-headed”, he was afraid of nothing when he was a young man. However, as a diplomat in Germany he fell in love with a Protestant girl. Driven apart by both their families they separated, but years later he came back looking for her and found her married to another man. As a consequence of this experience he has lost all faith in love and marriage and, in contrast with the literary hero with the same surname, all he believed in now was a life of peace and quiet.

‘Spain is Different’: The Discourse of Exoticism

It is incomprehensible how familiar one becomes with the 15th and 16th century when one travels through Spain (47).

From the Age of Romanticism, Spain was a popular place for those who were seeking the exotic, which for many equalled the Oriental. In his book, Orientalism

445 Ibidem, 182.
446 Emants, Schetsen uit Spanje, 63.
447 Ibidem, 66.
448 Ibidem, 77/78.
449 Israëls, Spanje. Reisverhaal, 17.
450 Obreen, In Spanje. Reisindrukken, 58.
Edward Said defines Orientalism as a Western European tendency to profile its own positive self-image against an inferior Other, the Oriental. Spain’s status, in the Orientalist tradition is, however, a special one, as Said acknowledged in the preface to the Spanish edition of his book that was published in 2003 (Domínguez 2006: 425). As a part of Europe, albeit in its westernmost corner and behind the barrier of the Pyrenees, Spain - other than Asia or The East, the areas designated as Oriental by Said (Said 2003: 31) - had once been part of modern Europe’s own past. For this reason, Spain could give the European traveller, as Richard Ford had already emphasized in his Handbook, the unique experience of the exotic within the familiar (Iarocci 2006: 21). As a result, the exoticizing representations of Spain combine an Orientalist stereotyping with a European medievalism, depicting the country as a beginning-of-Africa, as well as a living Middle Ages.

The peripheralizing aphorism “Africa begins at the Pyrenees” was repeated by many of the Dutch travellers and with it the Orientalness of Spain. This Orientalness was recognized in both physical features, clothing, customs and national character traits. Adrien Obreen, in 1884, suggested that the Spanish cruelty to animals could well be “one of the many things that the Spaniard has inherited from the Arab” (48). Not much later, Marcellus Emants, always trying to avoid cliché’s and after summing up a list of Oriental aspects of Spain, added in a footnote that his list was incomplete but that, “nevertheless, the saying that Africa begins at the Pyrenees becomes more incorrect every day” (49).

In the early 1900s, Maurits Wagenvoort saw a connection between the age-long exploitation of the Spanish people by its leaders and his opinion that “the Spanish people, in its majority, is a completely Oriental people, indifferent where its common good is concerned” (50). Henri van der Mandere saw a similar resemblance when he talked about the “peculiar southern and sunny resignation” (51). And finally, in the 1950s, the aphorism about African Spain was still very much alive in Bert Schierbeek, when he wrote:

At all times, one has to realize that south of the Pyrenees Europe is finished. For the Spaniard this will sound strange and unsympathetic to his ears, but it is a fact. Spain is more like North Africa than like France, has a more Oriental than Western character, and its landscape is

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451 See note 8 page 10.
452 Obreen, In Spanje. Reisindrukken, 70.
453 Emants, Schetsen uit Spanje,106.
454 Wagenvoort, Van Madrid naar Teheran, 10.
455 Van der Mandere, Indrukken uit Spanje, 346.
more wild, more dry and of a more primitive greatness than elsewhere in Europe (52).456

To give shape to the image of temporal paralysis in Spain, the literary figure of the chronotope, as a means to materialize time in space, is a useful mechanism, of which many of the Dutch travellers made use. In their dressing up of specific sites with historical figures of the past, they frequently used other textual sources. Two legendary figures, in particular, were regularly brought to life, as representatives of the Christian and the Muslim past respectively. The first one is Roderic, famous in legend as “the last King of the Goths”, who was defeated and killed by the invading Muslims in the 8th century, and the other is Boabdil, or Muhammad XII of Granada, the Moorish sultan who was forced to surrender the city to Ferdinand and Isabella in 1491.

One of the places in which the travellers did their best to bring the past to life, was the Alhambra in Granada. The first encounter with the buildings was often a disappointment. Gerard Keller, in 1862, wrote about the “vandalism of both the demolishing and the restoring authorities” (53)457 and remembered what Heinrich Heine had said to Gautier when the latter told him about his plan to visit Spain: “To be able to remain crazy about it, one should not see it” (54).

Soon after, even the much used Baedeker guide warned the visitors: “The first impression of the Alhambra is for the majority of the travellers not exempt of disillusionment” (55).458

Felix Rutten’s visit to the famous Alhambra is an illustrative example of ‘intertextual dressing up’ of a building and bringing its past to life for the readers at home. When he first saw the palace, Rutten thought that Baedeker’s comment was a euphemism. A young priest, whom he met at the gate, told him that this palace, once a pleasure garden of fantasy, should be looked at with the help of the imagination. And this was what Rutten subsequently tried to do, following the example of Washington Irving and of his compatriot Louis Couperus, who was also inspired by Irving when he wrote his novel De ongelukkige (1915).459

In this novel the story of the unfortunate King Boabdil is retold. Following the advice of his guide, Rutten tells the story of Boabdil in a separate chapter before continuing the account of his experiences in the Alhambra. In the next chapter, entering the Patio de los Leones, his guide urges him to keep the images of the past alive by visualizing “Boabdil himself, in gleaming silk, feeding his peacocks from his richly beringed hand …” (56). For all his imaginative efforts, however,

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456 Schierbeek, Op reis door Spanje, 54.
457 Keller, Een Zomer in het Zuiden, I, 158.
458 Baedeker, Spanien und Portugal, 1912, p. 342.
459 The Unfortunate.
Felix Rutten’s enrapture by the Alhambra is still mixed with disappointment at the end of his visit:

[...] I have walked in dreams, floated in music, on the bottom of the sea or inside a magic mountain, in an enchanted castle, in Aladdin’s garden of pleasure, in the Arabian Nights. And it was a fairy tale, it was incredibly beautiful. But I ask myself, with an endless melancholy: Is this what it is? Really? No, no, no, no, I have not seen the Alhambra, the real, MY Alhambra (57).460

Louis Couperus’s description of his visit to Avila is another example of the use of the chronotope, by means of intertextual connections, to saturate a contemporary reality with its historical past. The author’s preconceptions about the city appear in the first sentence of the article:

Avila, isn’t she the Spanish city that has the fame of being more full of atmosphere than any other town in Spain? For her dark medievalism, for the very Spanish, dark, black hue, with which one imagines her? For her sombre, pious, no longer Moorish, but Christian mysteriousness, her shadows and shades, especially the shadow of Santa Teresa …? (58).461

Next, Couperus tells us that he has read and thoroughly enjoyed Enrique Larreta’s La Gloria de Don Ramiro. Larreta’s historical novel (1908), subtitled “A Life in the Times of Philip II”, takes place in Avila in the late 16th century and tells the story of the aristocratic Ramiro who falls in love with Aixa, a morisca, as the Muslims who converted to Christianity were called. The love affair symbolizes the conjunction of two different worlds, the Spanish Christian and the Islamic world. The former is painted as dark, intolerant, fanatic and violent, while the latter is characterized by a playful and sensual vitality. It is Larreta’s Avila which Couperus expects to find and disappointment is inevitable when he sees on arrival that “new things and colours shout at the beautiful weather-beaten stones” (59).462 But Couperus is determined to see the ‘real’ Avila and with his friend Orlando decides to see the city by night and with a full moon. First they meet a sereno, the classical figure of the night watchman, with his cries of Ave Maria purisima. When, some time later, they see a large stone cross, the shadows of two other 16th century figures appear in their imagination: the mystics Santa Teresa de Avila and San Juan de la Cruz. The author tells the story of Santa Teresa’s life

460 Rutten, Spanje, 149.
461 Couperus, Spaansch toerisme II, 48.
462 Ibidem, 49.
and quotes her famous lines: “Vivo sin vivir en mi / y de tal manera espero / que muero porque no muero”. Now he has seen Avila, Couperus writes, for the first time (italicization by the author), now that he realizes that ‘La Santa’ is still present in this dark medieval city, as the great, white shadow of the soul of an almost incomprehensible, holy woman (60).

Rutten and Couperus are only two examples of what was common practice in the majority of the Dutch travelogues - at least until the late 1930s – in trying to bring to life a medieval Spain, by putting real or fictional figures of the past in contemporary places. The fact that the technique of the chronotope was less used by the authors of the 1950s does not mean, however, that they no longer saw the country as a living Middle Ages. For Bert Schierbeek, in 1952, one of the main attractions of Spain was the fact that “nowhere the past lives on in the present and determines the future as much as it does in Spain” (61). For these anti-bourgeois travellers, Spain was just as ‘different’ as it had been for their predecessors, but their exoticism is of a different nature. It is not so much the past in itself that they were interested in; what they appreciated more than anything else was what they saw as inherited values of that past, which had been lost in their own modern world. Values, such as, a sense of style, a less materialistic attitude, less scepticism, more chivalry, devotion, individuality and independence as well as spontaneity. In short, everything they found lacking in the “self-satisfied and diligent folks of the Low Countries” (62).

While the contrast between “European Africa” and the rest of Western Europe was acknowledged and commented on by all Dutch travellers, the difference was emphasized more by those who made their journey after 1900. The authors from the first period, 1860-1900, not only explicitly paid attention to positive aspects of Spain to counteract the predominantly negative image, but also called their readers’ attention to examples of modernity which belied the idea of Spain being a completely backward country. Pleasantly surprised by the poste restante system in Madrid, Gerard Keller, in 1862, wondered why this practical way of forwarding mail had not been introduced in other countries and concluded that this was probably as a result of the general opinion that nothing good could come out of Spain.

From the early 1900s, the difference between Spain and the rest of Europe, particularly in the level of modernization in all aspects of society, was more strongly felt. Felix Rutten, in 1924, gave expression to the problems and

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463 I live without living in myself / and I hope in such a way / that I am dying because I do not die.
464 Couperus, Spaansch toerisme II, 54.
466 Alma, Carmen zonder Make-up, 180.
467 Keller, Een Zomer in het Zuiden, 1, 211.
468 Ibidem, 84.
disillusionment that a modern European traveller could expect in Spain when he wrote in the opening sentences of his travelogue:

It is a journey that one undertakes only once, for more than one reason. And even then, only when one is still young, unhampered and carefree (63).

During the period 1900-1936, the ‘gap’ was only rarely experienced as positive, with the exception of Maurits Wagenvoort whose image of the courageous Spanish people and the country’s pristine nature was unreservedly positive. Henri van Wermeskerken, in 1910, explicitly warned his readers that they should, at every moment of their journey, be aware of the fact that Spain was not a complete European civilization.

The anti-bourgeois intellectuals of the 1950s, on the other hand, cherished and magnified the difference between ‘primitive Spain’ and the rest of Europe, as they thought the former had preserved all that had been lost in Northern Europe as a consequence of modernization.

From a rhetorical point of view, the consciousness of the difference manifests itself in the handling of what has been called ‘contextual disparity’ (Sell 2006: 13). Every traveller/writer who describes a country which he supposes the reader at home has not seen before, has to take into account the fact that the situationality of his narrative is different from that of his reading public. While some authors seek to bridge the gap, for instance by giving detailed descriptions and explanations, others accentuate the contextual disparity as a consequence of their desire to emphasize the difference.

Where the authors in this study are concerned, Marcellus Emants (1886) is an example of the first category, adding footnotes which not only explain Spanish terms and concepts, but also, on occasion, nuance or warn against preconceptions that the reader at home might have. For instance, after having described a cockfight in Alicante, Emants adds the following footnote:

A citizen of The Hague only has to visit the executioners of Scheveningen to convince himself that it is not only the Spaniards who act in a barbaric way now and then. Furthermore, I remind the reader of cat-clubbing and eel-heading (64).

From the 1900s onwards, however, the difference between Spain and the rest of Europe was emphasized rather than nuanced, particularly in the 1950s, when

469 Rutten, Spanje, 1.
470 Emants, Schetsen uit Spanje, 60.
the authors tended to hammer out the message that they were in Spain and that everything there was Spanish.

In 1910, Henri van Wermeskerken, disgusted by the spectacle of the bullfight, cried out:

> With increasing hoarseness, always more inhumanly, the crowd roars, enjoying itself, drooling with joy and … victory! Ugh! A Spanish victory. Typically Spanish! (65).\(^{471}\)

Apart from the frequent use of exclamation marks, the repeated and pleonastic adding of the adjective Spanish is particularly manifest in the travelogues of that period. Bert Schierbeek, in 1952, recommended a visit to The Escorial to get to know Philip II, a “very Spanish monarch”,\(^{472}\) while Jacques den Haan, in 1958, described the traffic in Zaragoza as follows:

> And meanwhile the whistles squeal of the traffic policemen who, energetically, put a curb on the Spanish individualism. And then there is the rattle of the Spanish conversations, loud, hard, fast and apparently endless. Talking is, I think, one of the favourite occupations of the Spaniard (66).\(^{473}\)

In both Den Haan’s and Hans Alma’s travelogue, the adjective Spanish became an epithet, as they wrote, without further explanation, about Spanish individualism (A, 33), Spanish courtesy (A, 63), Spanish pride (A, 70), Spanish jealousy (A, 92), Spanish passion (dH, 62), Spanish dignity (dH, 86), Spanish patience (dH, 102) and Spanish noise (dH, 155). Hans Alma, finally, found it necessary to give his readers the rather superfluous sounding warning:

> And, above all, remember one thing: It is not Dutchmen that are living in Spain, but Spaniards! (67).\(^{474}\)

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\(^{471}\) Van Wermeskerken, Door Spanje, 15.
\(^{472}\) Schierbeek, Op reis door Spanje, 151.
\(^{473}\) Den Haan, Bevindelijk reisboek, 119.
\(^{474}\) Alma, Carmen zonder Make-up, 42.