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Image of Spain and Portugal in English written travelogues in
1750'

Obraz Španělska a Portugalska v anglicky psaných
cestopisech druhé poloviny 18. století

Master thesis

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Hereby I declare that I worked on this thesis independently and quoted all used sources accordingly. I did not present this thesis to obtain another academic degree.

Prague, 2nd August 2017

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Abstract in English

The master thesis is concerned with the analysis and interpretation of English written travelogues of the second half of the 18th century, which described Spain and Portugal. I work with two original texts and one translation from Italian, all texts were popular among their readers. The main goal of the thesis is to create the complex image of both respective countries and their inhabitants, based on the analysis of travelogues. As the fundamental concept of the thesis, I use so-called Black Legend, the negative view of the Iberian Peninsula originating in the 16th century. At the same time, the aim of the thesis is to compare the images in all works and come to more general conclusions about English perception of Spain and Portugal.

Keywords: Spain, Portugal, travelogues, image of the Other, Black Legend, Southey, Baretti, Young

Abstrakt v českém jazyce

Diplomová práce se zabývá rozбором a interpretací anglicky psaných cestopisů druhé poloviny 18. století, popisujících Španělsko a Portugalsko. Jedná se o dva původní texty a jeden překlad z italštiny, všechny texty přitom byly ve své době oblíbené mezi čtenáři. Hlavním úkolem práce je na základě rozboru cestopisů vytvořit komplexní obraz obou dotčených zemí a jejich obyvatel. Výchozím konceptem je přitom tzv. černá legenda, negativní vidění Pyrenejského poloostrova pocházející z 16. století. Zároveň je cílem práce srovnat obrazy v jednotlivých dílech a dojít tak k obecnějším závěrům o anglickém vnímání Španělska a Portugalska.

Klíčová slova: Španělsko, Portugalsko, cestopisy, obraz druhého, černá legenda, Southey, Baretti, Young

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Introduction

Definition of the topic

My master thesis is concerned with the image of Spain, Portugal and their respective inhabitants during the second half of the 18th century in England. Basically, it aims to show how the countries and people of the Iberian Peninsula were perceived, which ideas and stereotypes were connected to them and to which countries they were compared. Not all elements of the image, however, were equally important and some of them had greater role in defining given country. In my case, sources of these perceptions are the travelogues written about respective countries. Such works described foreign cultures through images and stereotypes and influenced how they were perceived. At the same time, character of these images revealed the opinions of travel writers themselves. Especially during the 18th century, travelogues played significant role in describing far away countries such as Spain and Portugal. Since many such perceptions existed during the specified period, one can by no means encompass all of them. For this reason, I only focus on the image presented in English travel accounts about Spain and Portugal, and, in one case, English translation of the foreign travelogue.

In my work, I focus on the peninsular territories of the Spanish and Portuguese kingdom in the second half of the 18th century. This period was chosen because of the rising number of travellers to these countries, many of which were English. Furthermore, it also witnessed the new approach to foreign countries and their governments, marked by the Enlightenment and its philosophy. At the same time, both England and Spain underwent great social and economic changes during that time, such as the democratization of travelling or beginning industrialization.

As for the definition of the peninsular territory, this means that I will be interested neither in possessions of the two kingdoms outside their mainland nor in their overseas colonies. The reason is that the most travellers only connected the term “Spain” and “Portugal” to respective territories of the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, travelling to Spain was much more common than journeys to other parts of Spanish empire and most of the travellers did not travel beyond it. The same is true for Portugal. As for the sources of their image, these will be primarily

travelogues available in English in given period, be they original works or translations. I focus on the works presented as accounts of concrete journeys. For this reason, various books dealing with the Iberian Peninsula in a more general way (even though they were often based on travel experiences) are included only as references.

My research question is what the images of Spain and Portugal in those books were like, which issues were connected to them and whether they were positive or negative. At the same time, I am interested in the differences between these two views. My hypothesis is that the image of Spain was rather negative in English travelogues, marked by the old enmities and so-called Black legend, the phenomenon which I explain later in my thesis. On the other hand, Portugal could have been seen in different light, given stronger economic and political ties between the two countries and the absence of such long-lasting hostilities.

As for the choice of Spain and Portugal, both countries were rather specific in the context of 18th century Europe. Being once the important powers, their rather quick decline was considered remarkable by many writers and thinkers of the period. This is particularly visible in case of Spain. Secondly, there was an Islamic and Jewish heritage in both cases, together forming a unique feature among the European states in the eyes of contemporary observers. Thirdly, the Iberian Peninsula had a specific position both culturally and geographically, being the westernmost part of continental Europe and the one closest to Africa.

Basically, I analyse the perception of both countries, although Spain plays major role in this analysis for several reasons. Firstly, there was the long history of English enmity with Spain, but not with Portugal. Secondly, Englishmen usually travelled to Portugal for different purposes, such as their health.¹ Even though my attitude is asymmetrical in favour of Spain, the image of Portugal is also very important to me. Given its positive relationships with Great Britain, it can act as a model for different view of the whole Iberian Peninsula. While Spain was traditionally seen as a periphery of the western world, Portugal might have appeared as more civilized and “Europeanised” of the two kingdoms. Besides, two of the travellers in my analysis visited Spain and Portugal during the same

¹ See for example Fielding 1755.

voyage and could compare them. Nevertheless, Spain is still the key object of the thesis, given both more extensive literature on its perception and my own previous research about it.

I divided the body of my thesis into three main chapters. First, I characterize 18th century travelling, with focus on English travellers to the Iberian Peninsula. In the second chapter, I introduce authors of the chosen travelogues, their background and the basic characteristics of works they have written about the Iberian Peninsula. In the third chapter, I focus on specific topics rather than on concrete travelogues. Firstly, I talk about the literary sources for travellers in more detail, since they conditioned their expectations of the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, they probably influenced the route they took and the places they wanted to visit. Secondly, I analyse the itineraries themselves and compare them. For better illustration, I list their itineraries in the table. I also pose a question to which extent were they usual or unusual in 18th century context.

In the rest of the third part, I pay attention to different aspects of the image of Spain and Portugal. These are chosen either because of their importance to the traveller (quality of roads and inns, meeting with the countrymen) or because they were part of the Black Legend (religion, racial specificity). Since these two groups naturally overlap sometimes, I do not put a strict distinction between them. As for the actual analysis, I look for the view of all authors and compare them. I also put them into the context of 18th century travelling and the state of Spain of that time. In the last analytical part of the thesis, I focus on the question of identity, which was raised by the stay in a foreign country. In the concluding part of the thesis, I draw basic conclusions from the preceding analysis. Then, I also come to the comparison between the images of Spain and Portugal in general. To illustrate the differences between the routes travellers were taking, I also include the outline of their itineraries on the 18th century map of Spain and Portugal.

Beside the definition of main research issues, there are several other remarks. Throughout my thesis, I use the adjective “English” instead of “British” when talking about the image of Spain and Portugal in the 18th century British Isles. In all three travelogues I analyse, the former term is used much more frequently. This practice also prevails in many other 18th century travelogues

about the Iberian Peninsula.² Concerning the spelling of Spanish and Portuguese geographical names, I chose the one which was used the most often, in the most travelogues respectively. If there were differences among authors, I chose the variation which was the closest to the present-day name of the visited place. If the 18th century spelling differed substantially from the modern name, I always wrote the contemporary spelling in brackets when mentioning the place for the first time.³ In accordance with the travelogues, I also used the Spanish way of spelling in the case of Catalonian or Galician places, which often had different names in local languages. Concerning the denomination of the place, I again used the one which was used the most in travelogues themselves. Therefore, I use the term village or town for many places which have the character of cities today. As for the order of the three travelogues, I usually sort them in the chronological order. However, it is sometimes more illustrative to begin with the author who dealt with certain topic in a more detail or had a specific point of view.

Methodology, conceptual framework

As the primary method in my thesis, I employ the textual analysis of selected travelogues, focusing on the list of specified problems. One of these areas is the question of sources which the travellers themselves used in their books. As an example of such analysis, I use the article by José Pérez Berenguel, which deals with the other 18th century Spanish travelogue by Henry Swinburne. In case of Swinburne, the author distinguishes three types of sources which the traveller used. Firstly, these are literary sources, mostly well-known and respected works, such as *Don Quixote* by Miguel de Cervantes. The second type of sources includes specific topics, among which belong history, art or language. The last group which Berenguel distinguishes encompasses the contemporary works on Spain, regardless on the aim of those books. All these groups include English books as well as Spanish or French ones. (Berenguel 2009: 68-69) In the same way as Berenguel, I look for the sources which are mentioned in selected

² See for example Darlymple 1777, Fielding 1755 or Twiss 1775.

³ I also apply this rule in case of French names which appeared in travelogues.

travelogues, classify them and observe in which connection they are mentioned. I also focus on the purpose of such references, which can be strengthening of author's argumentations or criticism of other authors.

Other topic I am interested in is the identity of the travellers, which was crucial for judgements about foreign country they visited. For the analysis of this aspect, I use the concepts proposed in the article by Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, dealing with the notion of identity. To substitute this concept as too wide for the analytical use, authors come up with other ones which could cover each of its different meanings. From several terms which they propose in the article, I chose the identification and commonality, being the two most suitable for my work. The former refers to putting one into the social context, to characterize oneself in relation to others. The latter, on the other hand, means the sense of belonging to the group with some common attribute. (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 14-15, 19-20) In case of my analysis, I observe how the authors defined themselves in opposition to the reality of the Iberian Peninsula in terms of these two analytical concepts.

I also employ the comparative method, given the fact that I work with three different sources and the images of two countries. First, I compare the travellers themselves, then their views on different topics and, finally, on Spain and Portugal as such. By using this method, the results of my analysis can show how much the view of Iberian Peninsula has changed over time, since the journeys were undertaken within 37-year period. Furthermore, comparison can show the similarities and differences within a group of authors which can all be marked as "scholars." In case of the English translation of a foreign travelogue, I can how much it differed from the works written by Englishmen.

As the major concept in my work, I use the Black legend, the phenomenon first described by Spanish journalist Julián Juderías. Originating in the 16th century, it was produced mainly in England and Netherlands, Protestant countries which felt threatened by Spanish political ambitions. (Maltby 1971: 4) Originally, it was based on inside criticism by Spanish clergyman Bartolomé de las Casas, who attacked brutal behaviour of his countrymen in America. His work *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* was soon translated into English and Dutch and followed by many works of Protestant authors. (Juderías 19--: 303-

305) According to these books and pamphlets, the typical characteristics of Spaniards were cruelty, greed and pride. The Catholic religion also had an important place in this image, especially in connection to the inquisition, which tortured and burnt anyone who was against Catholic orthodoxy. (Juderías 19--: 243, 294, Hontanilla 2008: 129-130) Even after the period of Spanish decline and its diminishing power, many of these original stereotypes prevailed and new ones also appeared. For example, the role of Catholicism in suppressing free thinking was stressed. (Juderías 19--: 350) and they condition the view of Spain up until the present day. (Juderías 19--:, 342)

Literature and sources

Concerning the literature, I mostly use works on travelling and travel writing of the 18th century, general ones as well as those specialized on Spain and Portugal. These include books and articles by *Mónica Bolufer Peruga*, *Ana Hontanilla*, *Charles Batten* or *Ester Ortas Durand*. However, I also add books on 17th and 19th century as references. For the concept of the Black legend, use the work *Leyenda negra* by Julián Juderías, together with *Black Legend in England* by William Maltby. Concerning my methodology, I draw inspiration from respective articles by *Rogers Brubaker* and *Frederick Cooper* and by *José Pérez Berenguel*. Another group of works I use contains biographical information about the authors, being biographies or literary compendiums.

The corpus of the primary sources used in my work is necessarily selective, even though 18th century travelogues about Spain and Portugal were scarcer than those of the following period. To realize an in-depth analysis, I work with three main primary sources in total, supplemented by several other works. The main criterion for their choice was naturally availability, followed by the supposed popularity in England. Even though it is difficult to measure actual popularity and influence of such works, I judged so according to their quotation by other writers and to the number of editions and translations. Also, there has already been certain scholarly interest in all the works. Finally, all the authors were respected figures in English intellectual circles, although not always in the field of travel writing. Two of them visited both Iberian countries at once, giving me an

opportunity to compare their views on each of them. As for Young, there is the similar opportunity as for the comparison of Catalonia and France, which he also visited. Furthermore, Catalonia was not such a frequent destination for an Englishman, at least if he did not travel through France. Therefore, I can compare Young's and Baretti's image of the province. Also, I can put their views on this quite specific land into context of the whole "Iberian" discourse.

Chronologically, first of the travelogues is *A Journey from London to Genoa* by Giuseppe Baretti⁴ from 1770, followed by *A Tour in Catalonia* by Arthur Young, published in 1787. The last work, *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal*, was written by Robert Southey in 1797. In case of all three travelogues, the years indicate the first English edition, which I also used for my analysis. In this place, I would also like to emphasize that for my analysis, I only use the parts of the travelogues that deal with Spain or Portugal. This applies for Baretti and Young, whose travelogues described longer journeys across several European countries. As referential works, I also used other Spanish and Portuguese travelogues of the period, such as the ones by Henry Swinburne, Richard Twiss or William Darlymple.

Besides travelogues, I also use other types of primary sources. For the overview of 18th century literature on Spain and Portugal, I refer to contemporary statistical works by J.G. Meusel. Although published in Germany, it includes the most important travelogues published both in English and French. As the reference to major Spanish sights and most common itineraries, I use the English edition of the popular travel guide by Louis Dutens from 1782. For the better illustration of the itineraries the travellers were taking, I also work with 1790's maps of Spain and Portugal by William Faden and Tomás López.

⁴ Full title is *A Journey from London to Genoa, through England, Spain and France. Although the author was Piedmontian, he is sometimes referred to as Joseph Baretti.*

1 Travelling in 18th century Europe

1.1 *General characteristics*

From the beginning of the 18th century, and especially from the 1760's, Spain was becoming much more desirable travel destination than it was during the reign of the Habsburgs. (Bolufer 2009: 86) This change partially overlapped with changing attitude to travelling in general. Firstly, cheaper transport and better state of the roads enabled more people from the middle class to go abroad, not only for business, but for their own pleasure as well. The international situation from 1763 onwards also spoke in favour of travelling, since there was no major war on the European continent. (Batten 1978: 2) In case of Spain, there were no doubt other and more specific factors, such as change of the ruling dynasty. The ascension of Bourbons was said to make Spain more influenced by France, but also less connected to its "violent" past. The enlightened governmental reforms also played their role. (Bolufer 2003: 275-276, Bolufer 2009: 93-95)

Together with improvements in the means of travel, the change in forms of travelling also occurred. Work, pilgrimage, or educative journeys were not the only reasons for travel anymore. Now, travelling for pleasure became possible, as the travel for knowledge of foreign countries did. As for the latter, the "representative" countries as France and Italy were not the sole destinations anymore. Furthermore, the Enlightenment had impact on the popularity of travelling. On one hand, writers and thinkers were travelling abroad to learn about improvements which they could use for the sake of their own society. On the other hand, one was supposed to know the foreign countries as a part of enlightened ideals.

Before approaching the specifics of English travelling, it is necessary to outline the character of 18th century travelogues. Firstly, these works were much more respected than nowadays and many contemporaries spoke of them as the most popular literary genre aside from novels. Undertaking the journey and writing the travelogue about it was considered a worthwhile employment for educated circles. Even such respected writers as Daniel Defoe or Henry Fielding were among authors of travelogues. Furthermore, the information contained within these works were often used by renowned philosophers or scientists who

could not or did not want to travel themselves. (Batten 1978: 1, 3) Secondly, 18th century travelogues were expected to be literary works and sources of information at the same time. The absence or prevalence of either element in the travel work was often criticized. According to the 18th century convention, the ideal travelogue was supposed to bring useful information and entertain its readers at the same time. (Batten 1978: 5-6, 49-50) Since literary conventions influenced 18th century travelogues to a great extent, it is impossible to understand them as direct and immediate impressions of their authors. Instead, each author had to pay attention to the critic and readers. It was not unusual that some travel writers visited certain place not so much because he wanted to, but because he was expected to. (Batten 1978: 4) Furthermore, the travelogues were not supposed to be only authentic, but they should have also seemed probable to the reader. (Batten 1978: 56-58) All these conventions played much more important role than in case of today's travelogues

Together with the enlightened demand for the descriptions of foreign countries, the number of printed travelogues also rose rapidly. As the readers were becoming more familiar with neighbouring lands, other ones were added to the "repertoire" of travel writers. What is even more important, still wider circle of people could travel and thus verify the statements of such books. In case of Spain, all these changes significantly contributed to its perception abroad. Rather than being judged according to obsolete works of 16th and 17th centuries, it could have been perceived through the eyes of contemporary travellers.

1.2 English travelling to Spain and Portugal

Compared to other European countries, the English attitude to travelling to Spain was specific in certain aspects. Given long-lasting hostilities and geographical distance of both kingdoms, mutual visits of travellers were not very frequent at the beginning of the 18th century and this trend only started to change during its second half. However, the enmity between England and Spain was still present during that period. At the same time, Spanish kingdom was perceived as the country in decline, forming cultural, political and economic periphery of Europe. Therefore, Spain was visited for different reasons and by different groups

of travellers than other European countries. Most of them were merchants or officials, who travelled there because of their duty or as part of their job. (Hontanilla 2008: 123, Bolufer 2009: 86) Many of such travellers wrote a travelogue about their stay, which could later start their literary career. Even though not all visitors of Spain have published a record of their journeys, the rising number of travelogues during the second half of the century shows more interest in Spain, be it from the part of travellers themselves or of their readers. This trend continued in the period of romanticism, which witnessed the greatest number of such travels. (Bolufer 2003: 262, Meusel 1790: 51-54)

As for the Portuguese kingdom, the English attitude was very different from that to Spain. The economical treaty between England and Portugal existed already from 1642 and mutual relations only strengthened thanks to following treaties of 1654 and 1703. Thanks to them, English merchants in Portugal had partial religious tolerance, their own jurisdiction and their trade with Portuguese colonies became easier. Aside from economical connections, both countries were allies against Spain both in 17th and 18th century. (Jones 1919: 407, 409, 413) Portugal, mainly Lisbon, has been visited for different purposes than its bigger neighbour, one of them being its wholesome climate.⁵ Despite better relationships, English travels to Portugal were even scarcer than those to Spain, at least judging from the number of travelogues on that country. According to the statistical literature of the period, it seems that only travelogues on Portugal before 1760's were published in French and that the English ones only appeared from this decade onwards. (Meusel 1790: 40-42) In 1760's and 1770's, however, many English travellers connected Spain and Portugal in their journey.⁶

⁵ See for example Fielding 1755.

⁶ See for example Clarke 1763, Darlymple 1777 or Twiss 1775.

2 Authors

In the second chapter, I focus on travellers themselves as authors of selected travel accounts. Chronologically, I introduce all three principal writers whose travelogues I analyse and focus on three main topics concerning them and their works. Firstly, it is their biography and literary work, with stress on travel literature. Secondly, these are their reasons for visiting Spain and Portugal, which were still not entirely common destinations during the second half of the 18th century. Thirdly, I pay attention to the position of selected travelogues in their work and lives, their success and other editions or translations. Furthermore, I outline formal characteristics of travelogues and their literary form. Already in this part of the thesis, I proceed to the first comparison of the background, other literary work and general style of writing travelogue.

2.1 *Giuseppe Baretti*

2.1.1 *Life and literary work*

Giuseppe Marco Antonio Baretti (1719-1789) was a literary critic, linguist and writer from north-Italian Piedmont. He was born in Turin and after unsuccessful literary career in his home country, decided to move to England in 1751. There he became a teacher of Italian and published his first works in English. He also became acquainted with Samuel Johnson and his intellectual circle, including such figures as Henry Fielding or James Boswell. Thanks to the success of his books in England, he could undertake the long journey through Iberian Peninsula and France to Genoa in 1760, which gave him material for his later travelogue. (Hainsworth 2002: 44-45, Brand 1999: 376, Bondanella 2001: 29) He spent the next six years in Venice, where he published first two volumes of his travelogue as *Lettere familiari a suoi tre fratelli*. During this period, he also began to issue his fortnightly *La frusta letteraria* (The literary scourge), where he criticized contemporary Italian literature, above all the influences of French enlightenment. He returned to England in 1766, after his journal was banned. Three years later, he got a post of the secretary for foreign correspondence at the

Royal Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture. He was also offered the university position in Dublin, which he refused, and in 1782, he was granted the royal pension. Apart from several other journeys to the continent, he stayed in England until his death in 1789. (Bondanella 2001: 30, Hainsworth 2002: 45)

Baretti's work mostly focused on Italian language, literature and culture and some part of it had a didactic character. However, he has also published some poetry before he came to England. His probably most successful book was *Dictionary of English and Italian languages*, published already in 1760. It continued to appear in many editions throughout the following century and served as the reference for both languages even until the beginning of the 20th century.⁷ Before Spanish and Portuguese journey, Baretti has also published his polemic with Voltaire, in which he defended Italian literature. However, most of his works were written after his return to England in 1766, including the English edition of his Spanish-Portuguese travelogue. His later writings often had a polemic character and Baretti used them to defend Italian and English literature against enlightenment criticism. Such was the case of *Discourses sur Shakespeare et sur Monsieur Voltaire*, another polemic with the French philosopher. In similar way, his *Account of the Manners and customs of Italy* was targeted against Samuel Sharpe's *Letters from Italy*. Besides, Baretti has also published *An Introduction to the Italian Language, A Dictionary-Spanish and English* or the edition of Machiavelli's works. (Hainsworth 2002: 45, Brand 1999: 376-377, Bondanella 2001: 29, 30)

2.1.2 Motivation for the journey

Baretti himself named two main reasons for travelling to the Iberian Peninsula. Firstly, Portugal and Spain were part of his itinerary to Genoa, where he intended to meet his brothers. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 1: 1) Secondly, he stated that Spain was chosen so he could observe its contemporary state. He justified his choice by an additional argument that Englishmen did not have reliable information of Spain from available travel accounts, which were often obsolete. Curiously, Baretti did not even mention other country than Spain in the general introduction to his book, although he has travelled through Portugal, France and

⁷ Bondanella 2001: 30. See for example Davenport 1854.

part of Italy. As for publishing a travelogue about the journey, it should have been his friend Samuel Johnson who advised him to do so. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 1: V-VII, Brand 1999: 376) According to the literature, however, Baretti's choice was also determined by the hostilities between France and England, which did not allow him to take a direct land route to Genoa. (Walther 1927: 36)

2.1.3 Character and context of the travelogue

The travelogue I use in my analysis, *Journey from London to Genoa*, was an English translation of first two volumes of Baretti's *Lettere familiari* published in Italian between 1762 and 1763. However, the third and fourth part of the original travelogue were never published thanks to the censors and were only included in the English version. *Journey* was the first and only travelogue in Baretti's literary career, although he was already an established author in the field of linguistics, especially thanks to his Italian dictionary. (Brand 1999: 376-377) The travelogue as a whole was first published in 1770, and experienced quite positive reception from the critique. Especially the novelty of a journey to such unknown country as Spain was highly praised. The shortened German translation of the work followed in 1772 and the French one in 1776. (Batten 1978: 93, Meusel 1790: 42)

According to the travelogue, Baretti's journey began after he left London on 14th August 1760 and ended in Genoa on 18th November the same year. From this time span, Spain and Portugal, together with the sail from England, encompassed more than two months (from 23rd August until 2nd November). Formally, travelogue consists of four volumes and is written in the epistolary form, presented as letters of Baretti to his brothers in Genoa. The final volume contains index to all others, with list of letters and their topics. Besides, it includes the "practical" part of the travelogue with detailed instructions for the travellers to Spain, overview of possible routes, warnings etc. It is also worth noting that Baretti's travelogue begins already in London and devotes great space to the description of journey from London to Falmouth. Even the maritime route from Falmouth to Lisbon occupies whole eight letters out of total 89. (Baretti 1770)

2.2 *Arthur Young*

2.2.1 *Life and literary work*

Arthur Young (1741-1820) was an English agronomist, writer and political economist from London. In 1761, he started his literary career by publishing a periodical *Universal Museum*. During years 1763-1766, he has taken over the family estate in Bradfield Hall and became a farmer. Although he was not successful at first, this experience contributed to his interest in farming and agriculture. From 1767 to 1770, he travelled around northern, southern and eastern England and described the state of agriculture there in several travel accounts. He was elected the Fellow of the Royal Society in 1774 and later became honorary member of agricultural and geographical societies in Mannheim, Florence or Saint Petersburg. During years 1776 and 1777, he has also undertaken the tour to Ireland, which gave him material for another travelogue. During 1780's, he invited many of his friends and colleagues to his manor in Bury, among them French agriculturalist Maximilien de Lazowski and Duke of Liancourt. On their invitation, he could make several tours through France between years 1787-1789, at the beginning of the French revolution. Influenced by his experiences in France, he later became opponent of radical reform movement in British parliament. (Betham-Edwards 1898: 26-205)

Young published the most travelogues from all three travellers, even though they were mostly related to agriculture in his case. His tour in Catalonia was preceded by total of seven volumes of agricultural Tours through England, published between 1768 and 1771 and *A Tour in Ireland* from 1780. However, his most famous and most extensive work in this respect were *Travels during the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789*, which offered the complex picture of the French kingdom at that time. (Jones 2012: 1108, 1100) The Spanish journey itself was undertaken during this long stay in France, even though its description was published separately from the main travelogue. Aside from travel writing, Young was the author of *Farmer's calendar* and the editor of the successful periodical *Annals of Agriculture and other useful arts*. In fact, several of his travel narratives, including the *Tour in Catalonia* itself, were published within these

annals.⁸ He also left the manuscript of his autobiography, which was later published by Matilda Betham Edwards. (Drabble 2006: 1126)

2.2.2 Motivation for the journey

Arthur Young is one of the authors who choose the destination according to their field of interest, which was agriculture in his case. His reason for visiting Spain, concretely Catalonia, was his first stay in France in 1787. (Jones 2012: 1101) According to his correspondence, he was invited to accompany his friend Maximilien Lazowski and Count de la Rochefoucault to the spa town of Bagnere de Luchon, on the French side of the Pyrenees. In his own words, Young decided to set out on the journey, since he was interested in French agriculture very much. His study of the subject in England proved unsatisfactory, since he was not able to find much reliable data from available literature. As for Catalonia, Lazowski described it in his invitation letter as the “finest province” from the whole itinerary, which it would be possible to visit during the long stay in Bagnere de Luchon. (Betham-Edwards 1898: 154-157) Unlike Baretto or many other 18th century travellers to Spain, Young did not claim to be interested in the whole country as such, only in one of its provinces. In the description of his journey, he even described the trip to Spain rather as an immediate idea than something which he planned. (Young 1787: 193)

In the main body of his *Travels during the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789*, Young talked about the reasons for writing and publishing the travelogue in more detail. In their introduction, he expressed his desire to contribute to wisdom of the people of England. In his opinion, the travelogue should have offered new information to the reader and they should also be somehow important. Therefore, he decided not to write about his personal experiences, since they would not be of much use to others. From such position, he criticized Baretto's travelogue for his banality, which the former tried to defend. (Young 1792: 2-3) Still, one must bear in mind that such introduction was expected by the literary conventions of the time and did not tell so much about the specific goals of the author. On the other hand, this “erudite” position was different from the one defended by Baretto and showed another way to convince readers and the critique about qualities of the

⁸ See for example *Annals of Agriculture and other Useful Arts. Vol. 6, 1786 and Vol. 8, 1787.*

book. However, it is not entirely clear whether the author also wanted to apply these criteria of selectivity for *A Tour in Catalonia*, which was not included in his French *Travels*. Still, the very fact that it was published in a specialized periodical about agriculture suggests that the whole journey was intended to be more than a simple distraction of its author.

2.2.3 Character and context of the travelogue

The Catalonian travelogue forms a separate work from Young's main writing about France and was published already five years before it. Unlike Young's extensive work on pre-revolutionary France, it encompasses less than hundred pages and was originally published only as part of the periodical *Annals of Agriculture and Other Useful Arts*, edited by the author. Some of his other travel accounts, describing English countryside, also appeared there, together with the travelogues of several other English and French agriculturalists.

Given the separate publication of *A Tour in Catalonia*, it can also be supposed that it did not achieve the popularity of the French travelogue at first. However, the description of Catalonian journey became part of the *Travels* already in its 1793 edition and at least in one more. Curiously, it seems that the description of Catalonia was absent in numerous French editions of the original work and was only incorporated around the half of the following century. According to his autobiography, *Annals* experienced enormous success, although it is perhaps of the project as such, not of the Catalonian tour itself. (Beltham Edwards 1898: 112, 309) Furthermore, his French travelogue rather made him famous than have any commercial success, at least according to Leslie Stephen. Only the French translations should have been sold in greater quantities. (Stephen 1898: 196-197)

Same as 1792 *Travels*, Catalonian travelogue consists of two parts, first descriptive and the second one analytical. While the former contains observations in the form of travel diary, the latter sums up results of the journey. In this way, Young combines both literary forms of travelogue that he defines in the introduction to his *Travels*-the "diary" and the "essay," as he calls them. (Young 1792: 1) Formally, the travelogue is written as the homogenous text, without

further division into chapters or letters. For the easier orientation in the text, it only contains the itinerary with the list of distances.

2.3 Robert Southey (1774-1843)

2.3.1 Life and literary work

Robert Southey was the poet and writer from Bristol, one of the “lake poets” and probably the most famous of the three writers I chose for my thesis. During his studies at Oxford, he had a reputation of “Jacobin” and was known for his radical opinions. He later became friend of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and together with him planned to form the utopic society of intellectuals in America (so-called pantisocracy). However, he left the plan and instead went to Spain and Portugal in 1795 to prepare for his future life and career. (Simmons 1945: 37-39, 58) After the return from the Iberian Peninsula, he studied law in London. He quitted his studies, however, and decided to devote himself entirely to writing. Despite his radical youth, he started contributing to the periodical *Quarterly Review* in 1809. In 1813, he was also named poet laureate. After the death of his wife in 1837, his last years were marked by a mental disease. (Simmons 1945: 93, 129, 140, 204)

Even though I approach Southey as a travel writer, this literary form occupied only the small part of his writings. His work included variety of different genres, poetry, prose and drama alike (*The Life of Nelson, Joan of Arc, Madoc*). Nevertheless, his probably most widely-read work is the fairy tale *Goldilocks and the Three Bears*, the tale which is usually not connected with Southey’s name. His attraction to the Iberian Peninsula is visible in his plan to write the history of Portugal, from which only the first part, *History of Brazil*, was published. He was also a translator from Spanish, *The Chronicle of Cid* being his major work. Aside from the Spanish-Portuguese travelogue, he only published one more travel account, *Journal of a Tour in Netherlands*. Even though he has visited Portugal once more in 1800, he did not publish any travelogue about this journey. (Simmons 1945: 88)

2.3.2 Motivation for the journey

Robert Southey travelled for different purposes than the other two travellers. Being only 21 years old, he took a trip to the Peninsula as an opportunity to think about his future life and literary career. He was invited there by his uncle reverend Herbert Hill, chaplain of the English factory in Lisbon. Using uncle's library in Portuguese capital, Southey planned to start his studies on Spanish and Portuguese literature. Before the journey, he also arranged with his friend, publisher Joseph Cottle, the future publication of the travelogue about Spain and Portugal. (Simmons 1945: 59, 63) Unlike Baretti or Young, this was not Southey's last stay in the Iberian Peninsula and he returned to Lisbon once more in the years 1800-1801. (Simmons 1945: 84-85)

2.3.3 Character and context of the travelogue

Southey had undertaken the Journey to Spain and Portugal at the very beginning of his literary career and the resulting travelogue was one of his first works. However, it was right before the journey when he published his poem Joan of Arc, which became successful already before his return. Southey's travel account resulted from the journey undertaken between 1795 and 1796 and its first edition appeared in 1797. The travelogue begins on the 8th December, when Southey set sail from Falmouth, and ends on the 14th May 1796, when he returned to England. Unlike Baretti and Young, his itinerary only consisted of the Iberian Peninsula. His stay in Spain and Portugal was also much longer than in case of former authors, given by his long residence in Lisbon. Concerning the popularity of the work, it was probably most widely read from all three travelogues. Its first two editions appeared during 1790's and one more at the beginning of the 19th century. (Simmons 1945: 65) Some authors, such as Charles Batten, also speak about it as quite popular work. (Batten 1978: X-XI)

From the formal point of view, the first edition of the travelogue contains the itinerary with overview of distances, contents and, quite unusually, index to the poetry. This is given by the fact that besides the description of the countries and their people, one can also find many information about Spanish and Portuguese literature and poetry. These topics are discussed in much detail and Southey even includes several essays about them. Great part of the work consists of extracts

from the Spanish and Portuguese poetry, as well as Southey's own poems connected to some parts of the journey. Several longer stories relating to Spanish and Portuguese history are also included. Besides these, the travelogue contains some notes about the Spanish and Portuguese language, monetary systems and measures, making it possible to use the book for the preparation of the journey to the peninsula. (Southey 1797)

3 Selected problems

3.1 Sources of the authors

As the first element of the analysis, I chose sources which travellers themselves used. While classifying them, I use the system of José Pérez-Berenguel, who distinguishes traveller's sources into three categories: literary works, specialized works, such as those of history or art and finally, direct testimonies. (Berenguel 2009: 68-69) Same as him, I look for sources and divide them into these groups. I also compare which of them was the prevalent one and whether there was any difference among three authors. At the beginning, it is necessary to say that the number of sources was quite asymmetrical as for the two countries of the Iberian Peninsula. Most of the travelogues quoted only talk about Spain, while there were much less sources mentioned in case of Portugal. Therefore, most of the sources I enumerate only concern Spain.

As the starting point of my analysis, I focus on quotations of classical works of Spanish literature from the period of *Siglo de oro*. These works, such as Don Quixote by Cervantes or plays of Lope de Vega, were often translated into English and had an important role in the development of modern English literature. (Juderías 1920: 123, 124, Berenguel 2009: 69) In fact, they were some of the few works of Spanish literature widely known in Great Britain of that period. (Berenguel 2009: 69-70) Even though both authors lived already in 16th and 17th century and their works were fictional, they were often considered reliable sources of information about Spain of the 18th century. Especially Don Quixote had an important position in an English imagination of Spain. (Ortas Durand 2006: 120-121) For this reason, I look for references to Cervantes and Lope de Vega in all travelogues I analyse. Only then I proceed to other groups of sources, the specialized works and direct testimonies.

Despite their popularity, however, the travelogues in my analysis quote works by Cervantes or Lope de Vega only sporadically. Baretta quoted the former only once, surprisingly not in connection to Spain, but already in Portugal. This remark concerned the strong crackling of the cart-wheels, a common phenomenon in the streets in Lisbon. According to Baretta, Portuguese thought that the noise scared away the devil. As this reason seemed ridiculous to him, he quoted Don

Quixote for another explanation. As the extract from the work said, the crackling was used in Spain to scare wolves and bears. In his opinion, this was at least probable, while the Portuguese reasoning was nonsense. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 1: 279-280) Otherwise, the works of Cervantes and another Spanish classic, Calderón, were only mentioned as normative texts of Spanish language. Concretely, the jargon of Spanish lawyers was said to be different from the Spanish of these authors and thus completely unintelligible. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 3: 282). Southey mentioned Cervantes and Lope de Vega, although he did not use them as direct sources. They were only part of his contemplations about Spanish literature, together with such authors as Luis Ponce de Leon or Francisco Quevedo. In fact, he did not even mention the name of Don Quixote in connection to the literary work of Cervantes. (Southey 1797: 182, 481-482) Concerning Young, neither Cervantes nor his famous book were mentioned, which could be ascribed to quite brief and sober style of his work. Situation was the same as for Lope de Vega. Even though it was still possible that the literature of *Siglo de Oro* was normative for analysed travelogues, it was only Baretti who quoted any such work in connection to his travels.

As for the other sources, the third group defined by Berenguel was the prevailing one and for this reason, I focused on it already before the second one. To be more specific, these “direct testimonies” were mostly other 18th century travelogues. Even though some of them were very influential and well-known, each author used different ones and none of them overlapped. However, one must bear in mind that the three travelogues were written within a longer time span and each author probably referred to the most recent works of their time. The principal travel source for Baretti was an English clergyman Edward Clark, who published his *Letters concerning the Spanish nation* in 1763. This choice was logical, since Baretti published his work only seven years after Clark. All these references concerned the description of palaces or churches, in one case also the practices of the Spanish inquisition. However, the numerous quotations did not seem to be aimed for additional information or to support Baretti’s own statements. On the contrary, he used them to make ironic remarks on Clarke’s opinions and ridicule his national and religious prejudices. In this connection, he even quoted one work by Spanish inquisition to show that Clarke’s hatred against this institution was

based on false information. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 2: 197, 249, Baretti 1770 Vol. 3: 54, 144). In a way, his whole work could be considered a polemic with English protestant travel-writers such as Clarke was. Several times in his *Journey*, Baretti criticized earlier travelogues on Spain as obsolete and even incorrect. For example, he expressed his disagreement with the “far spread notion” that Spaniards had natural and unchanging traits, such as laziness or pride. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 3: 1-8, Bolufer 2003: 273) Concerning the second group of sources, references were much scarcer than those to travelogues. In the city of Alcalá (Alcalá de Henares), for example, Baretti got the information about its history from the work of Spanish historian Mariana. In connection to language of the Basques, he also quoted works of several linguists, such as father Laramendi. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 3: 182, Vol. 4: 24)

Southey's references were less polemical and mostly provided the reader with additional information. The most often quoted source was the travelogue by Spaniard Antonio Ponz. Most of references to this work concerned the inscriptions on monuments, interesting stories connected to concrete places or statistical data. For instance, Southey used the book to support his statement about the depopulation and decay of Estremadura. (Southey 1797: 203, 226-228, 232, 238, 239) Less often, he also referred to the similar work by Juan Álvarez de Colmenar, the work which was itself based on the older travelogue by Marie Catherine d'Aulnoy. (Ortas Durand 2005: 61) Colmenar's name appeared in connection to Medina del Campo and while Southey passed through the countryside of Estremadura. An unknown work by Louis Dutens, the author of a popular travel guide, was also quoted twice in the *Letters*. (Southey 1797: 185, 202) He also devoted the greater part of his 24th letter to one more work with a character of direct testimony. It was the supposed memorandum on the state of Portugal written by Portuguese secretary of state, which I analyze in more detail in the chapter about religion. (Southey 1797: 407-463) From the second group, Southey also referred to several authors, mainly scholars and academics, such as José Andrés Cornide and César Oudin. He quoted these works mostly in connection to historical monuments and facts about Spanish history. (Southey 1797: 19, 226) However, this type of sources did not appear as often as the travelogues.

Arthur Young did not name his sources very often, at least compared to other two authors. If he did, they were mostly from the second group, concretely specialized texts about agriculture or political economy. Furthermore, some of them have been written by his friends, such as Professor John Symonds. (Young 1787: 211-212) One of the few direct testimonies he mentioned in his work was the travelogue *A year's journey through France and Part of Spain* by Philip Thicknesse. While visiting the Catalonian Monserrat, Young wrote that he wanted to see this place because of its description by Thickness. (Young 1787: 228-229) He was the only author who admitted he has visited some place because it was mentioned in other travelogue.

3.2 Itineraries-general characteristics

After sources, I proceed to the main chapter of my analysis, the itineraries of all three journeys. Firstly, I outline the itineraries chosen by selected authors of the travelogues. In the second one, I pay attention to the places which overlapped in these itineraries. Then, I look at the way how these cities, towns and villages were presented in different travelogues. Firstly, it is necessary to stress that all the travel accounts were written only in the second half of the 18th century. This implies that their destinations and itineraries have undergone certain changes compared to English accounts on Iberian Peninsula written before 1750. On one hand, it was now less common to take Minorca as a starting point anymore due to its conquest by Spain in 1782. On the other hand, it seems that the number of travelogues to Portugal was increasing towards the end of the century. It is also possible to judge that the route through France also became less popular during the French revolution. For the basic overview, two of the three travellers chose to visit Spain and Portugal during a single journey. Arthur Young, on the other hand, only visited north-eastern Spain as a part of his travel across France.

There were some generally known routes which travellers could take on their journey to Spain or Portugal. Basically, it was possible to travel through France by land or by sea from the north-west. Both directions had several variations from which the traveller could choose. Concerning the French route via Pyrenean mountain passes, it was usual to travel from Bayonne to the Basque Country,

which was the case of the famous travelogue by Marie Catherine d'Aulnoy or of the one by Henry Swinburne.⁹ Other possibility was to travel from Belgarde or Bagnere de Luchon to Catalonia and then to Madrid. One more possibility was to visit Valencia on the way from Catalonia and only then head to Madrid. (Dutens 1782: 130-151) As for the maritime route, there were three principal parts of the Iberian Peninsula where the traveller could land. It was either Lisbon in Portugal or the English enclave in Gibraltar. Galician ports were not so widely used at that time, although this trend started to change during the second half of the century.¹⁰

Since all travellers had different destination and reasons for visit, they also used different routes. Besides, the itineraries were influenced by the Spanish attitude to travelling as such. For example, it was considered suspicious to travel without the proper reason and Spaniards themselves mostly travelled along well-defined routes among the capital and provincial centres, the seats of the king respectively. (Shaw 2012: 372) While this suspicion did not have to apply on foreigners, it certainly influenced their itineraries concerning the quality of the road or the service they could expect.

Starting with Young, perhaps the most exceptional of the three, his itinerary was leading from French province of Béarn (Bagnere de Luchon) through the north-western Catalonia. Then he turned seawards, heading along Catalonian coast until Calielli (Calella) and consequently turning back to the inland. He returned to France via county of Rousillon (Jonguières). On his journey, he passed through major Catalan towns and cities, namely Barcelona, Mataró and Girona. The itinerary only covered about half of the Catalonia, completely avoiding the southwest of it. Compared to his extensive tour in France, stay in Catalonia was only a short trip and it seems that Young also perceived it as such. Neither did he consider Catalonia to be a typical part of Spanish kingdom, at least in the field of agriculture. (Young 1787: 193) However, he is a good example of the traveller visiting part of Spain, even though France was his main interest.

Other two travellers have itineraries very different from that of Young. Not only did they visit much greater part of both Iberian kingdoms, but they also did

⁹ See Aulnoy 1708, Swinburne 1787.

¹⁰ Lindoso-Tato 2015: 215. Besides Southey's travelogue, see for example Clarke 1763.

not pay such attention to Catalonia as a specific part of Spain. In fact, it was only Baretti who also visited this province. If we look on the routes of Southey and Baretti, they are almost identical between Lisbon and Madrid. The only difference was Baretti's side-trip to Toledo. However, the rest of them varied significantly. While Southey started his journey in Galician town of Coruna and then proceeded to Madrid and Lisbon, Baretti travelled the other way around. Arriving from England to Lisbon, he visited Madrid and then continued northwest through Aragon and Catalonia, leaving Spain to French Perpignan.

On examples of Southey and Baretti, one can see the type of a traveller from England who visited Spain and its metropolis, but at the same time used the capital of Portugal as a point of his arrival or departure. Despite their mostly different routes, the two travellers visited both kingdoms on the Peninsula, which gave them opportunity for their comparison. Also, they could benefit from English presence in Portugal, reflected by each of them. Moreover, it was quite interesting that reversed route between Lisbon and Madrid appeared to have influenced their judgements on both countries. Southey, travelling from Spain to Portugal, expressed his gratitude of leaving Spain immediately after crossing Portuguese borders. (Southey 1797: 242) Baretti, on the other hand, criticized number of issues in Portugal and described Spain with much more understanding than its western neighbour. Moreover, both Southey and Baretti travelled over the extensive part of Spain, while their stay in Portugal was limited to crossing borders and heading straight to Lisbon (or the other way around). Although this pattern of the journey was connected to the geographical situation of the capital, it also suggests that north and south of the country were not favourite destinations during the period.¹¹

In conclusion, none of the travellers used the same route, given by their interests and by the fact that they travelled within thirty-five-year period. Except for Southey, however, their itineraries were not very surprising and followed the patterns I wrote about earlier in this chapter. It is visible that when travelling between same places, they also had the same itinerary. Of course, this was given

¹¹ Apparently, one of the first English travellers who visited these parts was James Murphy in the years 1789 and 1790. See Meusel 1797: 23.

by the character of the road network, connecting main centres and not giving travellers so many options to choose from. However, it also shows that places visited by more than one of them were probably considered somehow interesting for the foreign visitor. Besides gothic monuments or Roman ruins (Mérida, Truxillo, Cintra), some towns were also the seats of the Spanish or Portuguese king and offered the possibility to see his palace there. It is also visible that some parts of both countries were still beyond the interest of many English travellers. Aside from north and south of Portugal I wrote about, this means also Andalusia. Even though several English travellers visited this province during 18th century, it only achieved greater popularity during the period of romanticism. (Bolufer 2009: 88) Northern Spanish provinces of Asturias and Cantabria were also omitted. All these parts of Spain were relatively remote, with the bad state of communications. Also, their climate could be considered too harsh for the traveller from north-western Europe. Last but not least, the “Moorish” heritage of Andalusia still did not attract so many visitors at that time.¹²

3.3 Comparison of itineraries

In this part of my work, I focus on the descriptive and comparative part of itineraries. Besides recording the list of places all travellers visited or mentioned, I also analyse the way how they described different cities, towns and villages. To be more concrete, I identified the positive and negative stereotypes connected to each place, neutral descriptions respectively. Also, I pay attention to what they were describing, being it landscape, impression of the city or behaviour of the people. I also singled out the cases when the place was visited on purpose, not just because it lay on the same route. I did not analyse the description of all places, but only of the provincial capitals, or other cities or towns of a particular importance for some author. Besides, I also looked at smaller towns and villages visited by at least two of the travellers.

As a starting point, I use the itinerary of Giuseppe Baretti, being the longest of the three. I have composed the table with the list of places he visited and the

¹² There were some exceptions, such as William Darlmyple, Henry Swinburne or William Beckford. See Bolufer 2009: 88.

ones he just mentions as well. Alongside this, I place the ones of Southey and Young, since both of them have partially common route with Baretti. For the sake of comparison, I write the Southey's itinerary in the reversed order, so that the places would follow in the same way as in Baretti's itinerary. For this purpose, I also write Young's itinerary next to respective places in Baretti's account.

Of course, this comparison has limitations in the sense that Baretti's, Young's and Southey's journeys were undertaken within almost 40 years. For this reason, some phenomena were necessarily absent in one of the books, even though they appeared in the other. Still, it is presumable that certain characteristics, such as the size and general character of visited places did not change completely during this period. Possible difference may have been caused rather by author's particular point of view or by the circumstances of the visit (travelling at night, in bad weather, with broken chaise).

<u>Baretti</u>	<u>Southey</u>
Lisbon	Lisbon
Aldeagallego	Aldea Gallega (Montijo)
Estallage of Peagones	Atalaya
Vientasnuevas	Ventas de Pagoens
Montémor	Ventas Novas
Arrayolos	Ventas Silveyras
Vienta do Duque	Montemor
Estremor	Arroyolos
Villa Vizosa	Venta del Duque
<u>Elvas/Yelvas</u>	Estremos
CAYA, GUADIANA	Venta del Ponte
Badajoz	Villa Vizosa
Talaveróla	Fort la Lippe
Lobon	<u>Elvas</u>
Mérida	Badajos
San Pedro	Talaveruela
Meaxáras	Lobon
Truxillo	Merida
Puerto Santa Cruz	San Pedro
Zarayzejo	Miajadas
Los Casas del Puerto	Puerto de Santa Cruz
Castillo de Mirabete	Truxillo
TAGUS	Jarayzejo

Almaráz	Las Casas del puerto
Navál Morál	Venta Nueva
Calzada de Oropeza	TAGUS
Cuesta de Oropeza	Almaraz
Venta Perralvanegas	Naval Moral
Torralva	Calzada de Oropeza
Talavera la Reyna	Torralva
TAGUS	Venta de Peralbanegas
Cevolla	Talaveyra de la Reyna
Carichéz	TAGUS
Zenindote	Bravo
Castle of Barriente	Santa Olalla
Rialves	Maqueda
GUADARAMA	Chrismunda
Toledo	Santa Cruz
castle of Pelavenegua	Casarubios
Villa Mejór	Naval Carnero
Aranjuéz	Mostoles
Valdemoro	Madrid
Pinto	Las Rosas
Villaverde	Escorial
Madrid	Guadarama
MANZANARES AND	
XARAMA	Funda San Rafael
Torrejón de Ardóz	Villa Castin
Alcalá	Labajos
Venta de Meco	Espinosa
Venta de San Juan	Aribalo
Guadalaxara	Artequines
Taracena	Medina del Campo
Val dé Noches	Ruada
Torrixa	Tordesillas
Grajanejo	Vega de Valdetroncos
Triqueque	Vega del Toro
Algóra	Villar de Frades
Alcoléa	Villapando
Maranchon	Benevente
Terra Molina	Puente de Bisana
Tortuéra	Baneza
Embid	Astorga
Uséd	Manzanar
Sanséd	Benveveria
Daroca	San Miguel de las Duenas
Retascón	Ponferrada
Young	Carcabalos
Bagnere de Luchon	Mainár

Botoste	Venta de San Martin	Villa Franca
Vielle	Longáres	Herrerias
Port of Piass	María	Castro
Briasca	Zaragossa	Lugares
Laboursel	La Puebla	Marillas
Rudáse	Venta de Santa Lucia	St. Juan de Corbo
Scillo	Bujalaroz	Lugo
Poeblar	Venta de Fraga	Ravadi
Fulca	Fraga	Bamonde
Calati	Alcáraz	Griteru
Montserrat		
Esparagara		
Martorelle	Lérida	Betanzos
Barcelona	Molérusa	Coruna
Ballalo	Cervera	
Gremah	Venta del Violino	
Meliasa	Piera	
Maturó	Igualada	
Arrengs	Monserrat	
Canet	LLOBREGAT	
Callieli	Molin de Reys	
Penether	Barcelona	
Malgra	Lináz	
Goronota	Las Mallorquinas	
Gerona	Girona	
Figueras	Pontemayor	
Jonquieras	La Jonquiera	

3.3.1 Southey and Barette

The most obvious result of the analysis is that the itineraries of Barette and Southey had much in common, since they both travelled in the same part of Iberian Peninsula. From Lisbon to the town of Talaveyra, there were only a few places which were not mentioned in both works. However, following part to Madrid lead through completely different places, given Barette's wish to visit Toledo. Their following journeys from Madrid onwards were again completely different and thus did not offer space for direct comparison.

Besides the similarities and differences in routes, the comparison also concerns the very description of each place, together with the topics which each writer paid attention to. Since both writers were foreign travellers in Spain and Portugal, it is natural that much of their travelogues consisted of the description of

roads, inns and food. Therefore, they wrote about these topics when they stopped in almost any village or town. It was also the weather and the character of the landscape (mountains, swamps) which fell into this category. Secondly, they were interested in the general state of the visited places, such as the level of agriculture, economy and prosperity. The behaviour of the people was perhaps slightly less important, given the fact that both authors were foreigners. Therefore, their knowledge about locals largely came from someone else's experience. This was especially true in bigger towns and capital cities, when they could meet their countrymen, who already had some knowledge of the local society.

One can also divide the journey according to the size of visited places. All authors visited cities, smaller towns and villages during the journey. Different attention was paid to each place, given by their sources or the information they gathered along the way. The first group were the capitals of Spain and Portugal, which encompassed the greatest part of both travelogues. Madrid was seen by Southey as unpleasant, dirty and very expensive to live in. He also noted the immorality and hypocrisy of local nobility. (Southey 1797: 109, 112) Considering Baretti, the only major issue he did not like about the capital was the detestable and omnipresent stench. Even though this was enough for him to leave the place very early, his general description of Madrid was much more positive than Southey's. On the other hand, he tended to be biased against Lisbon, which he considered dirty and full of beggars. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 1: 279-280) Southey tended to see the Portuguese capital in relatively good terms, especially compared to Madrid. On the other hand, he spent more time there, which gave him additional opportunities for his criticism. However, critical remarks were mostly aimed at Portugal as such, not specifically on Lisbon. Concerning the religious practices, for example, he thought that "superstition" was much stronger outside the capital. The major issue he complained about was the astonishing filth in the streets, together with the large number of wild dogs and rats. (Southey 1797: 263, 358-363) The character of their stays in both capitals is also worth mentioning. In Lisbon, both travellers went to see its surroundings, particularly Cintra and Cork Convent. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 1: 212-259, Southey 1797: 509-518) In Madrid, only Baretti went for a trip to the king's hunting residence in Pardo, while Southey did

not leave the city until his departure. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 3: 143-144, Southey 1797: 107-185)

In case of cities and bigger towns, it was mostly their history and monuments which both writers were interested in. This applied for Mérida, Trujillo and Talavera, apparently the biggest towns between Madrid and Badajoz. Badajoz itself could also fall into this category, but it was much more important for each author as the border town between Spain and Portugal. As for the smaller towns along the way, there was a difference in what both authors paid attention to. For example, Baretti made a remark about the town fortifications many times, while Southey only wrote about it once. In that very case, the latter stressed its bad state and used it rather as a symbol of the Spanish decay. (Baretti Vol. 2: 42, 62, 196, Southey 1797: 42)

Besides, there were several topics which appeared throughout the travelogues and which were specific to each author. For example, Baretti noticed beggars on many occasions in Portugal and western Spain, although Southey did not talk about them at all. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 2: 132) What also differed very much was the attitude of custom-men and innkeepers. Baretti generally described it in the positive light, while Southey only portrayed a negative picture of them. This was visible in Badajoz, when their descriptions of border crossing were contradictory. The other important topic in Southey's travel account was the rude behaviour of the Spanish king and his retinue during their way from Madrid to Badajoz. Since the writer followed the retinue, he claimed to have witnessed all the results of such movement. However, lack of provisions or desolate character of the villages were also mentioned by Baretti, who travelled through the same places. (in the village of Zarayzejo, for instance) The use of the local language was also different. It is interesting that Baretti strictly divided between Spanish and Portuguese names in most cases. At the same time, Southey did not pay so much attention to such differences, for example when using the word "venta" in case of Portuguese inns. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 2: 9, 29, Southey 1797: 471)

3.3.2 Baretti and Young

Although both travelogues described extensive part of Catalonia, their itineraries overlapped less than Baretti's work with that of Southey. Again, it could have been caused by the inverse direction of their travels, as well as by their different interests. From all the places they mentioned, only Barcelona, Monserrat, Girona and the border town Jonquiera appeared in both works. Unlike in the previous comparison, where villages and little towns prevailed, these were all important cities, famous sanctuary and the border crossing respectively. While Barcelona was the provincial capital and had the reputation of the trade centre, Gerona was apparently the last bigger town before reaching the Pyrenees. At the same time, it seemed that all major routes from eastern Catalonia to France were leading through it. In case of Monserrat, both travellers heard of it as the famous place of Catholic pilgrimage, well known throughout Spain and beyond. Even Young, who was not Catholic, read about the sanctuary and wanted to visit it. Overall, the places which overlapped in these two travelogues were not particularly surprising, given such characteristics.

What is perhaps more interesting, is the difference in their itineraries from Barcelona to Pyrenees. While Young continued along the shore before reaching Gerona, Baretti took the inland route. Even from Girona to France, they passed through different places. (Young 1787: 275) The differences in the last part of the journey are quite understandable, since Baretti headed to Italy and Young to southern France. Still, it seems logical that both travellers should have taken the coastal route from Barcelona to Girona, given the relatively dense population and thus the more possibilities to buy provisions or find accommodation. However, their basic direction was the same and it was probably also the *calesseros* who chose the precise route.

Starting with the provincial capital of Barcelona, the description of both authors was mostly positive. Both also decided to stay in the city for several days. However, Young's description was much shorter than the Baretti's, which encompassed whole three letters. Since the Catalanian language was different from Spanish, none of the authors spoke it, but they both claimed to have all the information from reliable sources. Already during his arrival, Baretti praised the fertility of the soil around town and the way how the fruit trees and grain were

planted along the road. Young's first impression was similar, stressing the quality of mulberry trees, which Baretti also mentioned. Same as in other parts of his travelogue, Baretti made notice of the size of the city and its strong fortification, similarly as Young. Both also observed that the streets in Barcelona were very narrow, especially for such a populous city. Baretti described Barcelona as "the best built town I have yet seen in Spain" which is quite a strong judgement after travelling through much of the kingdom. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 4: 76) Young also considered Barcelona a very well-built city and both travellers paid attention to its good situation between the hills and the sea, together with its temperate coastal climate.

One of the few negative features in this picture was the thick layer of dust in the streets, mentioned by Young. However, Baretti wrote that the streets of Barcelona were everywhere paved with regular stones. Both authors also appreciated the cheapness of all provisions, which were not more expensive than in the inland. Furthermore, Young added the remark on the variety of fruit found on the market, such as peaches, figs and melons. Both authors talked about the harbour, although Young paid more attention to it. He also used it as an example of good work which the Spanish king Charles III. has done. As for the historical monuments, it was only Baretti who wrote of the reputed remains of Roman lighthouse on the top of mountain Montjuic. As the sort of curiosity, both authors also mentioned punishments to Catalonians by Philip V. However, Baretti wrote that these orders were slowly being revoked and Catalonians were rather in favour of the present king Charles III. Still, Young wrote 17 years later that all these laws, such as the one which prohibited carrying any weapon, were still functioning.

What was also common for both travelogues were the descriptions of new town called Barceloneta with wide, regular streets and regulated height of houses. According to Baretti, this part of Barcelona was home to many "merchants and traders of considerable note." (Baretti 1770 Vol. 4: 83) However, Young described it as the residence of mainly sailors, little shopkeepers and artisans. (Young 1787: 236) Regarding the building of, Barceloneta, Baretti stressed the name of Marquis de las Minas, who once led Spanish forces against Italians. This

information and other references to the Italian trade with Catalonia were naturally absent in Young's travelogue.

Much space was devoted to the enumeration of the manufactures there and Catalonians were said to make most of clothes and weapons for the rest of Spain. While Baretto stressed the manufacture of woollen fabrics, Young talked about the extensive production of silk and said that the wool is not processed there in the considerable amount. Both authors also seemed to admire the gun foundry, which Baretto also visited. Unlike Baretto, Young also described the local theatre and also the custom of the clergymen and workers to go there, which would not be seen in France. He also paid attention to the fashion, which was mostly in French style among the rich people. To complete the entirely positive image, Baretto said that the inn he stayed in while in Barcelona was the best one since leaving London. (Baretto 1770 Vol. 4: 91) Young wrote about the extraordinary quality of the accommodation and food too. He went as far as saying that they were better than in many places in England, the judgement which did not appear very often in his travelogue. Upon leaving Barcelona, however, both travellers had rather different experience. Baretto talked about kind custom men who did not even searched the luggage. In his opinion, this behaviour was present everywhere in Spain where he went through the custom-house. Young was apparently searched at the same place, which he saw as the nuisance, since he already had to pass through the custom-house upon entering Barcelona.

The mountain and convent of Monserrat were also mentioned by both travellers, although the character of their visit was rather different in each book. As written already, Young chose to visit Monserrat, because he read about it in the other travelogue, concretely the one by Philip Thicknesse. At the beginning, he noted the steep climbing up the hill and the beautiful scenery with many hills and rocks of different sizes. He spent the night in the convent and then headed towards the summit, after which he continues to Barcelona. (Young 1787: 228-230) Baretto did not visit the convent himself, but just travelled under the mountain the whole day. He excused himself by the strong wind, which supposedly did not allow him to ascend the mountain. Being accompanied by the canon going to Barcelona, he only told the story about the foundation of the sanctuary, which he heard from the clergyman. Same as Young, he noted the

picturesque look of the whole mountain. Based on canon's testimony, he gave the topography of the convent and various hermitages on the mountain and describes the custom of local monks to offer accommodation for all travellers for almost no money. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 4: 55-65) The similar description can be found by Young. (Young 1787: 229-230)

In Girona, the last major town before France, Young noticed above all its obsolete fortification and absence of any significant manufactures. He also mentioned the cathedral and the encounter with the local bishop. Besides the prices and wages, he did not see anything interesting there and left the town the same day. (Young 1787: 255-256) Baretti also did not stay long in Girona and his description was even shorter than Young's. However, he described the town as big, nice and seemingly full of people. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 4: 97) Not only were both these descriptions very brief, but they also did not overlap very much, except the stress on the town's fortification. Young described Gerona as quite insignificant from both economic and defensive point of view. All its riches were said to be due to the travellers coming from and to France and the workers from Castile and France. (Young 1787: 255) Given Baretti's description, it did not really say much about the town as such. In fact, he devoted much more space to the description of the quarrel with the rude Spanish soldier there. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 4: 98-104)

The mention of Jonquiera was even briefer than that of Gerona and practically did not say anything important about the place. Baretti limited his description to a "poor village," while Young mentioned that it was a dirty town where he stopped to have breakfast. However, it is worth noticing that he regarded smuggling the only "industry" there. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 4: 105, Young 1797: 258-259) It is possible, however, to see the different position which this place occupied in both travelogues concerning the Spanish border. Firstly, Baretti called it "the last village on this side of Spain," and located the border on the bridge, lying an hour from it. Young did not explicitly mention position of Jonquiera at the border. In fact, the overview of his itinerary named the French fortress Bellegard as the limit between the both countries, although Baretti already placed the fortress on the French side of Pyrenees. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 4: 105, Young 1797: 275) These differences in placing the direct border seem to show that the

Pyrenees were to a certain degree permeable and it was difficult to say the precise point where Spain ended and France begun.

In conclusion, the material for comparison of Baretti's and Young's travelogue was rather asymmetrical. Both books paid much attention to Barcelona. They describe its situation, architecture and manufactures, all in mostly positive light. The case was different for the Monserrat and Girona. The description of both places was very brief, especially regarding the latter. Only Young truly visited the convent at Monserrat, which is interesting enough for the non-Catholic. In case of Girona, both travellers just passed the town on their way to the Pyrenees and only gave its basic overview. This contradicts with their description of Girona as quite large, fortified town. The case of Jonquiera showed how differently the border could be described, especially in the high mountains. Regarding the topics which the writers focused on, it was mostly economy and architecture. Even Baretti, who paid more attention to the literature, judged Barcelona and Girona from these two points of view. It is then visible, that the reputation of Catalonia as the most industrious part of Spain did not change significantly in the period between the two travelogues. The same can be said for the reign of Charles III., who was mentioned as an important supporter of development in this province by both Baretti and Young. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 4: 86, Young 1787: 238)

3.4 View on the centre/provinces

One of the important aspects of the foreign image of Spain was its division into various provinces. Even though the kingdom was presented as united (and during 18th century, it was closest to such state), all the travellers noticed the existence of different smaller entities within its borders. In case of Portugal, such division was mostly omitted, given the smaller territory of the kingdom and perhaps less visible specificity of the provinces. Apparently, this aspect only started to interest English travellers towards the end of the 18th century. (Meusel 1797: 23) As for the term "province" used in this part of the thesis, it is mainly the way to include all the geographical units from which Spain consisted of at the

time. Therefore, I apply this name to each of them, be it officially called province, kingdom or principality.

Of course, attention to some provinces was given by the very route the traveller was taking. However, all of them had to visit some part of the country beyond Castille and Madrid, given their geographical situation in the centre of the kingdom. It is therefore apparent that most of travellers had to pass certain 18th century provinces, such as Galicia, Estremadura, Vizcaya, Giupuzcoa and Catalonia respectively. In case of Spain, the centre mostly overlapped with the notion of Castile and, perhaps even more often, with that of Madrid. It was the city visited by most travellers to Spain and described in many travelogues of the period. Still, its very wealth and pompous representation could have been also subject to severe criticism.¹³ In Portugal, the direct road to Lisbon was practically the only part of the country which appeared in travelogues.

As for Southey, his view of the Spanish capital was ambiguous. Overall, it made a good impression on him, especially when approaching it on his journey. What he highly appraised from the aesthetic point of view, was the fact that it had no suburbs and distinguished itself clearly from the surrounding landscape. However, its streets were very narrow, unpaved and dirty and houses mostly without fireplaces or chimneys, as everywhere in Spain. The general characteristics of the metropolis should have been unpleasant living environment and exceedingly high prices of all necessities. Its inhabitants were considered immoral and unfriendly. Also, the climate was said to be very uncomfortable, with hot summers and equally cold winters. Madrid was also the place where Southey described the first bull fight he has seen in Spain, which no doubt strengthened the negative image of the city. According to his testimony, there were more spectators in the arena than in Spanish theatre performances he has visited before. Furthermore, all of them seemed to enjoy such form of amusement, while the author considered it a very disgraceful one. (Southey 1797: 109-112)

In his travelogue, Southey noticed the fact that he has crossed various Spanish provinces during his journey. However, he paid more attention only to some of them. One was Galicia, where he started the journey and which he visited

¹³ See for example Clarke 1763, Twiss 1775.

as the first part of the whole Iberian Peninsula. Its most visible characteristic was a wild and rocky landscape, at least in its coastal part. (Southey 1797: VII, 2, 15) Then there was Castile, chiefly represented by Madrid. The last province he mentioned more often was Estremadura, through which he travelled on his way to Portugal. The main reason why he wrote so extensively about it was its “poverty and wretchedness,” enhanced by the presence of king’s retinue. In this province, he put the most stress on its decline since the medieval Arabian rule. (Southey 1797: 232-233)

Baretti crossed provinces of Estremadura, Castile, Aragon and Catalonia on his journey and paid relatively lot of attention to each of them. To the first one, he was not as critical as Southey, although he still noted high number of beggars there. Unlike Southey, he notices the continuity of the province across borders and distinguishes “*Estremadura Portugueza*” and “*Spanish Estremadura*”, (Baretti Vol. 2: 62, 133) Regarding Madrid, his first impression, which he repeated several times during the visit, was the omnipresent stench. He even went that far as writing that it was mainly the smell which forced him to leave the city after several days, even though he has originally planned to spend a whole month there. (Baretti Vol. 2: 256-259)

However, his stay in the capital was otherwise quite pleasant, having visited several of his friends there. He admired the number of monuments and churches, some of which were decorated by renowned Italian artists. He also appreciated the refined manners of the people there. After leaving Madrid and travelling towards Aragon, he noted several times that the behaviour of the people, state of the inns and the possibility to buy provisions gradually improved. Aragon was described as a pleasant province, together with its capital, Zaragoza. Equally positive judgement was expressed in the province of Catalonia, the last one he passed through before crossing Pyrenees. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 2: 319, Baretti Vol. 3: 213)

In Young’s travelogue, one cannot talk much about a relationship between centre and provinces at a first glance. However, some of the characteristics of Catalonia were put into contrast with those of the rest of Spain. The very supposition that Catalonia was “infinitely better cultivated than any part of the kingdom” showed its privileged position within the kingdom, together with Valencia. Then, the industriousness of local people was considered much greater

than in any other part of the country, especially given the number of catholic festivities in the Spanish calendar. (Young 1787: 193, 261-262) Another aspect of this relation was the connection of Spanish nobility to their land in Catalonia. In Young's view, most of its members lived in Madrid or Barcelona, not taking care of their Catalonian estates whatsoever. They only used their property as the source of ready money they could spend on their comfortable life in the capital. This attitude was severely criticized by Young, since it hindered all possibilities of economical improvements and modernization of Catalonia. (Young 1787: 268-269, 273-374)

In conclusion, neither of the authors went as far as strictly separating all the Spanish provinces he has passed through. After all, they always referred to the whole kingdom as "Spain," implicitly connecting its various provinces in terms of political unity. In fact, even the certain cultural unity of the kingdom was supposed, given the fact that only its eastern provinces were described as remarkably different in language or customs. If one should have posed the question which province represented the whole Spain, it would have probably been Castile and its capital, Madrid. Compared to the 19th century romantic perception, which increasingly identified "true" Spain with Andalusia or Asturias, there is quite a huge gap.

3.5 Perception of racial differences

According to the "classical" forms of the Black Legend, it was primarily religion which differentiated Spain (and possibly Portugal) from its rivals, mainly England, Netherlands and at the beginning also France. However, the concept of racial differences also played a significant role already in the early-modern period. By such a term, I do not mean only supposed difference in racial character of Spaniards, given by the long Islamic history of their country. On various occasions, authors also referred to less explicit issues, such as encounters with different ethnicities on the Peninsula (Jews, Africans).

Arabian and Muslim influences were often referred to already in 18th century texts about Spain.¹⁴ Sometimes, their aim was to demonstrate Spanish and

¹⁴ See for example Dutens 1782, 133, 141.

Portuguese “civilizational” feats during Reconquista as bringing Christian rule over peninsula once again. However, with the appearance of Black Legend and external criticism from the 16th century onwards, the interpretation of this legacy started to change. On one hand, Muslims started to be perceived as tolerant rulers, who brought prosperity and knowledge to the whole peninsula.¹⁵

Another point of view stressed Muslim past and racial mixing in a negative way and its goal was to discredit Spaniards. According to Southey for example, inhabitants of La Coruna were “a Jew looking race.” (Southey 1797: 6) However, the Jewish heritage was particularly stressed in case of Portugal, where secret Judaic worshippers were still being present. However, enlightenment authors did not consider the racial preconditions to be the sole sources of negative Spanish character. In fact, equal stress was put on other factors, mainly despotic government and natural conditions, such as hot climate. (Hontanilla 2008: 133-134)

One interesting example of racial differences, this time connected to Lisbon, could be observed in the work of Baretti. According to him, extensive numbers of black Africans coming to the city were a major issue, influencing a racial character of Portuguese. As he supposed with a certain disgust, these people were allowed to marry white Portuguese and therefore have children of mixed ethnicity. Baretti also mentioned them on other occasions in Portugal. During the walk on the quay by the river Tagus in Lisbon, he saw two black Africans swimming in the water with extraordinary skill. When he gave them a few coins, they were singing songs in what he calls “Mosambique language.” During his trip to Mafra he mentioned another “negro” to demonstrate that not even him could eat the dinner in the inn. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 1: 169, 216, 273) Aside from them, there were also many Jews in Portugal, who could intermarry with Portuguese as well. According to his information, racial mixing was so widespread at the time of his visit that being called *blanco* has become a title of honour, not being necessarily connected to one’s race. He saw all these factors as influencing Portuguese ethnicity in a rather negative way, calling children from mixed marriages “human

¹⁵ See for example Southey 1797: 232, Miralles 2005: 202.

monsters.” He even went as far as writing that given the look of people there, Lisbon almost did not seem a European town. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 1: 274-275)

Other two authors paid much less attention to the racial character of Spanish and Portuguese. Southey, however, also commented on the presence of Africans in Portugal, although on one sole occasion and not from his own experience. In his supposed transcription of the *Memorial on the State of Portugal*, there was the mention of “a Negro, asking for charity.” (Southey 1797: 441) Although this might indicate that he connected black Africans to the poor strata of Portuguese society, it is difficult to justify such statement by only one example. Much more often, Southey referred to the race in connection to Jews. He related the history of their persecution in Portugal and added that it had but a little effect. In his words, Jews could still preserve their religion and “the true Israelite physiognomy is evident in half the people you meet.” (Southey 1797: 311-316) In Spain, his references to racial differences were rather marginal in context of his whole journey. However, they apparently formed great part of his first impressions of Spain when he landed in Coruna. Much of his first judgements consisted of the ugliness of women and the “Jewish” character of men. (Southey 1797: 6) Still, the race was not the main character which defined Spaniards or Portuguese in his travelogue. Unlike previous two authors, Young did not pay any attention to racial character of Spaniards whatsoever. However, one must remember he only visited Catalonia, quite specific province both geographically and culturally. For this reason, he probably did not connect traditional judgements on Spain with it. Furthermore, he described Catalonia as sometimes more similar to France than to Spain.

3.6 Perception of the religion

As stated earlier, the Protestant countries are generally considered main authors of the Black Legend. In case of England, the religious aspect played an important role too when perceiving Spain and Portugal, both being Catholic countries. Therefore, the attitude to the religion is also an important category in analysis of different English travelogues. On one hand, 18th century travel accounts usually do not pay so much attention to confessional differences as their

counterparts from 16th and 17th century. However, English Protestant writers could be more critical to these issues than their counterparts from France or Italy. Moreover, marking of Spain as a country of bigot Catholics already became a commonplace in that period, together with the cruel practices of the Spanish inquisition. (Maltby 1971: 4, Hontanilla 2008: 128-129)

Among the three writers, each had a slightly different attitude to Spanish Catholicism and religion as such. Baretti was the only Catholic among them and as such should not have been so apt to perceive the religious criticism. (Bolufer 2003: 273) Therefore, remarks on religion and religious ceremonies did not play such an important role in his observations. Not only that, he even took part in Catholic masses on several occasions. Even though, this element was not entirely missing in his travelogue, but it was more connected to Portugal than to Spain. He tended to compare English and Portuguese forms of piety, stressing exalted character of Portuguese religious ceremonies. In fact, he considered Portuguese much more bigot than people in some parts of Italy. Interestingly, this devotion was supposedly not caused by despotism or ignorance, but by passionate character of the people, given by hot climate. On the other occasion, he took part on the religious procession and then proceeded to the church. There he witnessed quite strange religious ceremony, during which a clown sprinkled holy water into both of his eyes. As Baretti remarked, this ritual reminded him the one practiced by Irish porters in London. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 1: 299-302, Vol. 3: 98, 237-238)

Young's *Tour in Catalonia*, on the other hand, paid relatively little attention to religion of the Iberian Peninsula whatsoever. It was given by the fact that he was mainly interested in economics and agriculture. Moreover, his travelogue was published in the agricultural periodical, which naturally somehow limited its audience. Perhaps the only mention of religious issues was the short part about the state of the Spanish inquisition. According to his information, this institution only solved particularly grievous cases of immoral or lawless behaviour at the time of his visit. However, the inquisitor coming to Catalonia was in a paradoxical situation. While he mostly solved cases not connected to religion at all, the official accusation still had to be of religious nature. (Young 1787: 240) By stressing other aspects than religion, Young's travelogue represented quite specific view on Iberian Peninsula in the century of enlightenment.

As for the Southey's account, the situation was remarkably different from both previous authors. Even though he described himself as not very interested in the issues of faith, Catholicism was still one of the chief elements which should have differentiated Spain from England. Aside from this, he developed his ideas of religion in many parts of his book. According to them, Catholicism could be a good faith for weak-minded people, to which it gave necessary hope. However, he later drew to a conclusion that it could also have negative influence on their knowledge and free will. One aspect he judged in a particularly severe way was the role of the Catholic Church in strengthening of what he calls "despotic government" over Spanish people. (Southey 1797: 15, 29-30, 59)

Unlike Baretti or Young, Southey observed manifestations and proofs of catholic faith literarily everywhere in Spain and Portugal. Apart from the crosses in the landscape, he noticed holy pictures and religious tractates in many households or taverns. Also, he remarked on many popular "superstitious" customs, such as scaring the devil away by bells. (Southey 1797: 29) However, critique of Catholicism in Southey's travelogue was manifested most explicitly in the Portuguese part of his travelogue, although not in his own words. He reprinted the supposed memorandum by the Portuguese secretary of state, where the author summed up the state of the kingdom around 1740. Among other topics, he devoted much space to the critique of the religious situation in the country. For instance, he pointed to the great number of convents in every town of Portugal, which "drain the country," presumably of its economic productivity. In his opinion, monks and nuns needed someone to produce food for them, but they themselves did not contribute with any work. Not only the superstition, but also the "natural indolence of the Portuguese" should have contributed to this evil. The author thought that the religious orders of Portugal had too much money, which could lead to the same destiny as that of the English church during the times of Henry VIII. In his opinion, the situation was even worse in the Portuguese colonies, where many clergymen refused the authority of the king and replaced it with their own. As a remedy for such situation, he gave a positive example of the French monastery, where all monks devote themselves to manual labour instead of such indolence (Southey 1797: 413-422)

Later in his travelogue, Southey added other examples of superstition in Portugal. For example, street lamps in Lisbon were only lighted if they lay in front of the sacred image. He described the case of an Englishman, who had to place the image of saint to his door to keep the lamp lighted. Likewise, Southey described exorcism as the widely used means against swarming ants. He noted several other examples of worshipping miraculous corpses or the statues of Virgin Mary. These prejudices were said to be much worse in the provinces than in the capital now, an example being the funerals in Porto, attended without a clergyman. There appears another anecdote of the English watchmaker who performed this service and being drunk, he read from the war history instead of the prayer book. (Southey 1797: 358-359, 362) As already mentioned, Southey sometimes connects superstition to the ignorance of the people. During his stay in Lisbon, there was the little snow, which caused confusion among many Portuguese, since nothing like that happened in the city for 14 years. As the result, one chaise-driver ran to the nearest church, thinking it to be the end of the world. Southey's notes on superstition contain another anecdote ridiculing of Irish Catholics-this time the emptiness of their sermons. Instead of writing the proper sermons, they pray to the divine forces to inspire them. (Southey 1797: 364-365) In other part of the travelogues, there appears another anecdote of the friars, who are ignorant, but do not want it to be known. Overall, in the attention given to religious issues, his work was similar to the Spanish travelogue of William Darlymple from the 1770's.¹⁶

3.7 Inns, food and drink

In this part of the thesis, I will focus on the quality of inns, their food and drink. Obviously, all the travellers had to cope with these problems every day during their travels. For this reason, they played a very important role in their judgements on Spain and Portugal. Travellers were often warned to take food with them, since they "will find nothing at the inns of Spain to eat," as Dutens' travel guide writes as late as 1782. (Dutens 1782: 129, 139) Especially for the food,

¹⁶ See Hontanilla 2008: 128.

drink and table manners, the tendency to compare Iberian Peninsula to one's own country was visible among many English authors. (Agustín 2010: 16)

As Michael Crozier Shaw shows, Spanish inns varied quite a lot and so did their quality. This was given by the prosperity of the region, but also by the distance from major cities. One of the better ones, for example, could be found in Valdemoro, a town lying between Madrid and the residence of Spanish king (*sitio*) in Aranjuez. This very condition meant that also richer travellers would use it and the services were relatively good. Such state was better than most other inns, since many of them were in need of repair and often without much furniture. There were attempts to build unified, stone inns throughout the kingdom, directed by the Count Floridablanca from 1781. Despite all the effort, the plan failed and travelling in Spain did not really improve much during the second half of the eighteenth century. (Shaw 2012: 367-368, 381) The bad state of Spanish inns has become commonplace during the 18th century.¹⁷

The number and state of the inns could influence the itinerary of the traveller. For instance, Roman ruins in Mérida were not frequented by travellers, despite their historical interest. The bad state of inns was given by the fact that most of the travellers were muleteers, who were used to harsh conditions. There were also other reasons for neglecting repairs and modernization of the inns, such as high rental fees and taxes. This situation no doubt contributed to the reputation of innkeepers as thieves who overcharged the traveller whenever they could. (Shaw 2012: 368-369, 373, 377) The quality of food in the inns was occasionally demonstrated by the fact that the author had to bring his own food and wine with him. However, this mostly applied to the inns in the surroundings of Madrid, already described as very poor.

Starting with food, there was usually stark contrast between English and Spanish cuisine. It was visible very much in Southey's account. Especially in the beginning of his stay in Spain, he was disgusted both by the drinking of wine as such and by its low quality. The same was true for the extensive use of oil and aromatic spices in Spanish cuisine. However, it seems that during the journey, Southey started to change his opinion on Spanish food and even to like some of it.

¹⁷ See Dutens 1782: 136.

Still, he stated that whenever possible, he ate “English” food (mostly meaning beef and bread). Especially after reaching Portugal, he seemed delighted by the possibility of having a “toast and butter” for a breakfast, which apparently was not possible in Spain. In conclusion, he connected English food to the idea of comfort and saw it as a positive value. On the other hand, his judgement on Spanish cuisine was generally unfavourable, especially if he encountered it in the countryside. In connection to food, it is worth mentioning that even if Southey did not like Spanish meals very much, he often appreciated the civility with which Spaniards offered it to him. (Southey 1797: 4-5, 13, 37, 82, 94)

Young’s travelogue was generally in agreement with the opinions of Southey. Inns were mostly described as bad, especially in the countryside. Among their main drawbacks count the absence of chimneys, no panes in the windows and the lack of beds, most of which were inhabited by fleas. The similar quality was ascribed to the local oil, wine and Spanish brandy. The white wine being of superior quality, the red was spoiled by its storage in pig skins and brandy was seasoned with aniseed. Food, however, was considered relatively good, with only a few exceptional remarks on truly disgusting meals. (Young 1787: 206, 212, 230)

Baretti’s opinions on quality of the lodgings, food and drink were given by the very direction of his journey (from Portugal to Spain). Also, he apparently established some contacts within both countries already, which gave him some advantages during travelling. He was invited for a meal by his acquaintances several times and did not have to dine only in the inns. As the material for his travelogue, these visits also allowed him to describe domestic gastronomy and table manners in Spain. As for the inns, he originally stayed in the one owned by an Irishman when residing in Lisbon. According to his judgement, there was nothing truly positive or negative on this inn. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 1: 109) After leaving the town for trips to Mafra and Cintra, however, he had to sleep in other places, which he judged very negatively. To describe one of them, such expressions were used as “the room would be a tolerable lodging for a Gipsej or a Jew.” In a similar way as Southey, he even described space for the mules as being better than his own bedroom. He also mentioned fleas and other insects in the bed, accompanied by rats living in the house. However, this situation changed when he visited tavern owned by non-Portuguese, such as the “English inn” which was

supposed to be very good. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 1: 212-217, 255-256) In Madrid, Baretti stayed at the inn owned by a Venetian and rated it very highly. However, its major flaw was supposed to be the terrible stench and dirt, typical for the whole metropolis of Spain. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 2: 256)

Considering the diet and cuisine of not only Portugal, but of the whole Peninsula, Baretti proceeded to more general conclusions. In the second volume of his *Journey*, he gave other travellers advices concerning the food and cooking in Spain. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 2: 263) Food was often highly seasoned with garlic and pepper, but bread, wine and water were excellent. (Baretti 1770, Vol. 1: 215-216, 227-228) He also highly appreciated the Lisbon market, calling it “perhaps the most variously supplied in Europe.” Particularly in Spain, he also mentioned an abundance of fresh fruit during summer, which could be bought very cheaply or even gained for free from the peasants. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 1: 303-304, Vol. 2: 265, 291) Same as Southey, however, he could not encounter any butter during his travels. However, he did not describe it as such an inconvenience as the former. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 2: 263-264) Overall, Spanish cuisine was not perceived as particularly bad, as was sometimes the case in other travelogues. However, the way of cooking in Spain was limited to the roasting on the hand-spit, which Baretti called “Tartarick” manner. He made the remark that if any Spanish kitchen would be equipped with more advanced equipment, everyone will come to look at it as some wonder. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 2: 263-265)

The other issue I observed was the price of accommodation and provisions. This topic does not seem directly connected to the image of the country presented in the travelogue, but it still provides vital information. Firstly, it shows how much the prices have changed between publishing of different travelogues, if the travellers had common itinerary. Secondly, it shows whether this information is part of the travelogue at all, even though it must have been of great importance to the traveller in foreign country, with foreign currency system. Thirdly, prices themselves can be the part of the country’s image. In case of Spain, it can form one of the negative stereotypes, for instance when the traveller had to pay too much to the innkeeper. However, prices can also function as a positive stereotype, such as in the case of cheap provisions or horses.

3.8 Meeting with countrymen

One aspect I also wanted to observe was whether the travellers spend time with their countrymen during the journey and to which extent. Among the countryman, I also count any non-Spaniards and non-Portuguese, such as French or Italians. They were not natives either and because of the black legend, they could have been perceived as the better companions than the Spaniards or Portuguese. At the same time, they could have offer better services as innkeepers or owners of shops. According to the literature, this view was sometimes shared even by Catholic English travellers, such as Henry Swinburne. (Shaw 2012: 369)

Besides this, I also pay attention to the fact whether the author of the travelogue travelled with the Spaniard as the “guide” and what was his attitude to him. However, this chapter must be taken with some reserve as for the truthfulness of such meetings. According to Percy Adams, it was nothing unusual to change some elements of the 18th century travelogue for the sake of the narrative. (Adams 1962: 9-10) Especially in case of Giuseppe Baretti, Mónica Bolufer doubts that all the people he mentioned in his travelogue really existed. (Bolufer 2003: 273) Moreover, it was quite difficult for the contemporaries to verify the existence of such people, especially in such distant countries as Spain or Portugal. Nevertheless, even the fictional characters can be used as the part of the analysis. On one hand, they are used to show that the traveller had first-hand information from the locals. On the other hand, even the fictional characters serve to express author’s opinions on the country, forming part of his image.

In the oldest of the travelogues, one sees rather cosmopolitan attitude of its author. He is the specific example, since he considered “Italians” his countrymen together with the English. Being Piedmontian living in England, he supposedly travelled all the way with his French servant Batiste. Despite his generally good attitude to the Iberian Peninsula and its inhabitants, it was already in Lisbon where he stayed in the inn kept by an Irishman. (Baretti 1770, Vol. 1: 109) Later, he found accommodation in the Venetian inn in Madrid, and in the French one in Guadalajara. In all cases, Baretti praised the quality of such inns, the last being described as the best one he has yet seen in Spain. (Baretti 1770, Vol. 2: 156, Vol. 3: 193) However, it does not mean he despised the quality of Portuguese and Spanish inns. In Badajoz and Trujillo, for example, he noted quite good quality of

the inn and extraordinary civility of the innkeepers. During his stay in the inns, he also appreciated the evening dancing and the beauty of the Spanish women who took part in it. (Baretti 1770, Vol. 2: 66-67, 136-137)

As for the fellow travellers and the other people he met on his journey, these were again people from various countries. When residing in Madrid, he visited his old Spanish friend Felix d' Abreu and his wife. He also met another of his acquaintances, Diego Martinez, in Longáres. (Baretti 1770, Vol. 3: 236-237) On other occasion, he conversed with a Swiss lady in the city of Talavera. (Baretti Vol. 2: 161-167) When looking for the city gate in Zaragoza, he met the drummer who also turned out to be an Italian. (Baretti 1770, Vol. 3: 252-253) As for his fellow travellers, he was apparently accompanied by the group of Spanish knights at first. For the later part of his Spanish journey, he should have travelled with the canon from Sigüenza, who told him much information about the Northern provinces of Spain, their customs and their specific languages. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 3: 245-246) In both these cases, he said to have been in very good terms with his Spanish companions.

Concerning Southey, he probably spent the most time in company of his countrymen. Already in Coruna, he met the English major Alexander Jardine, who was himself an author of travelogue about Spain. Later, he mentioned several times that he had met an English officer, especially in Portugal. From Spaniards, he visited philosopher in Galicia and academics in Madrid. (Southey 1797: 22-23)

3.9 Meeting with officials

One specific group of people the travellers could meet were the officials, mostly Spanish and sometimes also English. Such meetings were usually shorter than encounters with other people and their character was more formal. Under officials, I understand all people who represented the Spanish state, mostly governors and custom-men. Each of the three travellers met them on at least one occasion, since he needed a passport to travel around the country. Such meetings were described in very different ways and with different frequency in each travelogue.

In Portugal, Baretto met the English ambassador in the town of Estrémor, who helps him obtain the passport so he could enter the town. In the same place, he also had to obtain another document from the local governor. He did not meet the governor himself, but was only confronted with one of his subordinates who checked his appearance before giving him a passport. Traveller ridiculed such ceremony and complained that nothing alike happens in Britain. (Baretto 1770 Vol. 2: 27) Baretto only met the governor in person in Talavera, after the meeting with the Swiss lady. The purpose of the visit was to cancel the embargo imposed upon on all chaises in the city, because one of Baretto's calesseros stabbed someone in the quarrel. To ridicule the circumstances of this meeting, he recorded it as the theatre performance. He especially targeted the rude way with which he was accepted and the fact that the *corregidor* lay in his bed and the night gown. Soon after this incident, however, he found out that such behaviour was not aimed at him but was quite customary even among nobility. Furthermore, the governor was offended by the too familiar tone which the Baretto used, given his imperfect knowledge of Spanish. (Baretto 1770 Vol. 2: 169-174) In the village of María, he was invited to the dinner with the Corregidor. (Baretto 1770 Vol. 3: 246)

Southey visited the "general" of Galicia immediately after his arrival to Coruna, in company of major Jardine. Being his first encounter with the Spanish noble, he described both his figure and his house as indifferent and not very dignified. (Southey 1797: 21-22) Young's meeting with the governor took place already in Vielle, to obtain permission to travel to Spain. He was said to receive the traveller with "Spanish formality" and tell them how roughly the travellers without the passport were treated in the past. Furthermore, Young described that the governor was knight of the order of Calatrava and in his house, there was the portrait of the king, pair of pistols and the crucifix. (Young 1787: 202-203)

3.10 The identification/commonality of travellers

The last aspect of my analysis is the way in which the travellers defined themselves, often in opposition to the countries they had visited. I approach this self-definition in terms of, "identification" and "commonality," concepts proposed by Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper to substitute the term "identity." In

case of my analysis, the former refers to the position of travellers within the foreign society during their stay in Spain and Portugal. The latter focuses on their self-definition within some group with common attribute, such as nation or language community. Above all, I focus on the kinds of commonality they referred to, especially those connected to the positive meaning. Apart from that, I paid attention to the words which they themselves used to describe said identification or commonality.

In case of Southey, the stressing of author's particularity was perhaps visible the most. References to England were used the most often to distinguish the traveller from countries he had visited, while he also defined himself with a word Englishman. Mostly, these words had a positive meaning, contrasting with rather negative connotations of the adjectives Spanish or Portuguese. Certain practices or impressions connected to them were therefore described as strange or even disgusting to an English traveller. On other occasion, Southey claimed that it was impossible for an Englishman to imagine Spanish poverty. (Southey 1797: 3-4, 229) Author sometimes went as far as connecting the adjective "English" with reason and practicality, while the adjective Spanish implied superstition and irrationality. In this view, the similarity of Spanish or Portuguese reality to England was usually considered positive. (Southey 1797: 29, 53) However, not solely negative aspects were connected to Spain. Especially the politeness of the people, which should have been an example for England. In other occasion, Southey said to have used the Spanish words not to offend the English inns. When describing both the Spanish cities and countryside, he also used comparisons to England. (Southey 1797: 4, 53, 55) In the 22nd letter of his travelogue, Southey described how he felt as the stranger in the country where he could not understand anyone. In his words "the very dogs could not understand English...if I whistled, even that was the foreign language." In the meantime, he has learnt both Spanish and Portuguese tolerably. (Southey 1797: 366)

On the other hand, Arthur Young paid much less attention to his own identification in his travelogue. Unlike Southey, he devoted most of his work to observations about Catalonian agriculture and commerce and was using rather neutral descriptions. However, when he identified himself, it was also with the word English. (Young 1787: 209, 267) In a similar way as Southey, he used

England as an example which he compared Spain to. Therefore, one can find expressions as “our English” or “as in England.” (Young 1787: 195, 199) Compared to Southey, however, these mentions are mostly only referential and rather neutral. Young wrote about English prices, agricultural practices or animal species. Unlike Southey though, none of these mentions seemed to express any ambiguously positive or negative connotations. (Young 1787: 197, 201, 224)

The last of the travellers, Giuseppe Baretti, probably expressed his identification in the most complex way from all three authors. Being the native of Piedmont, he saw himself as an Italian, using expressions such as “our Italian.” (Baretti 1770 Vol. 1: 176, 210, 291) In the travelogue, he also manifested this identity by the use of Italian language. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 2: 22). When he met his countrymen, they were also universally called Italian, without mentioning from which part of Italy they actually came. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 1: 205) Despite being an Italian, Baretti used English miles to measure the distances and counted the prices in Pound Sterling. (Baretti 1770 Vol. 2: 206, 254) However it may have been because of his English readers and because he had already spent several years in England. Unlike other two travellers, he also used the Catholic religion to define himself. Even though his faith was same as that of most Spaniards and Portuguese, he does not identify with their affected forms of piety. *At the* same time, he stressed the fact that he was a foreigner in both England and Spain as the part of his identification, (Baretti 1770 Vol. 2: 301, Vol. 3: 140-141)

In the end, all three authors tended to define themselves in terms of “nationality,” even though not in a modern sense of the word. They referred to the groupness given by common language, culture and government. Quite interestingly, both Southey and Young used almost exclusively references to England and English ways, not to Britain or “Britishness.” At the same time, Baretti rather saw himself as an Italian than the inhabitant of Turin or Piedmont. He was also the only one who defined himself according to his religion. While the other two authors used religious differences as constitutive element of their identities, they did not explicitly call themselves “Protestants.” It is probable then, that Protestantism formed integral part of the English commonality, the one they did not have to stress. However, this could also be given by rather reserved approach to the religion, at least in Southey’s case.

Conclusion

Different views of the peninsula/one shared view, comparison

Given the fact that all the three travelogues were written during more than thirty years, one can see how they reflect changes in literary conventions, travel writing and a more general state of a society. Even though they are only isolated examples of all the travel accounts from the period, they still can be used to represent different approaches to the Iberian Peninsula. However, one also must bear in mind that only two of the travelogues were written by Englishmen and one by a foreigner living in England. Furthermore, there is also the role of the market, which forced the writers to describe Spain and Portugal in certain light. With such a reserve, one can generalize the conclusions from the three different travelogues.

In the case of Baretti, especially Spain was portrayed as a country with a promisingly developing economy, enlightened government and refined manners. Its appearance was novel and it seemed as much more advanced than for example Italy. Also, the stress was put on its very rich literary heritage. When proceeding eastwards towards Aragon and Catalonia, the author notices a better state of the inns and generally improved behaviour and living conditions of the people. Only a major nuisance whatsoever is the rudeness of the beggars and some soldiers encountered mainly in parts of Portugal and Estremadura. In short, both countries were not considered very different from the rest of "Europe." In short, Baretti saw Spain in mostly positive light and even considered some features better than in his home Piedmont or in England. What was more important, he explicitly denied the popular notion that Spaniards were naturally idler or more jealous than inhabitants of other countries. As for Portugal, he had many complaints, but still did not see the country in completely negative light.

Young views the Peninsula in a different way, that of agriculture and commerce, even though such a view only applied to a small part of Spain he actually visited. According to his observations, Catalonia was mostly rocky, with relatively monotonous vegetation, even though it was supposed to be the most fertile province of whole Spain. Therefore, it was neither very pleasing to an eye, nor prosperous very much. Its agricultural products were of a low quality, given the insufficient use of the soil and the bad state of irrigation. The land was

generally underfinanced and neglected by its owners, many parts of the province were very poor. Nevertheless, Catalonians were considered very industrious, especially compared to other Spaniards. Even the inhabitants of remote and poor areas seemed to be working very hard, which was all truer for large towns on the sea shore. However, this generally negative image was given rather by Young's disappointment than straightforward condemnation. He did not compare Catalonia so much to England, but mostly to France. Compared to Baretti, he has also questioned the traditional picture of Catalonia as agricultural and manufacture centre of Spain, even though Baretti wrote about it only seventeen years later.

Southey, on the other hand, described Spain as the country dominated by the despotic government and superstitions, with almost no contemporary literature worth mentioning. This state was all the worse since it could have been prosperous with only a slight effort on the part of its government. He described Spaniards and Portuguese as people living equally in the past and not interested in any improvements. More than in Baretti's travelogue, it was also the character of the Spanish king himself which strongly influenced the overall negative image of the country. Also, absence of richer eastern provinces of Spain in Southey's travelogue determined the kingdom as generally poor, without much commercial activity or agriculture. Southey's focus on the countryside also determined such a negative view in a certain sense, although he sometimes praised the civility of country people. In this way, Southey was probably the most negative of the three authors, criticizing two countries from the position of development and modernity. Furthermore, such a view is most explicitly given by the fact that the Iberian Peninsula was different from the author's homeland, England.

Generally, the image of whole Iberian Peninsula shifted from great expectations to the condemnation, or indifference at best. Relatively unknown area of the Peninsula, which was described in positive terms in 1770, gradually became synonymous to backwardness, at least concerning its biggest part. Only exceptions to this image were "peripheral" parts of the Peninsula, Portugal and Catalonia. While the former was sometimes judged differently because of the English influence, the latter avoided complete decay thanks to the industriousness of its people and perhaps because of its contacts with France. Nevertheless, the whole Iberian Peninsula, experienced the renaissance of the Black Legend in a

certain way. Thanks to the higher number of travellers during the second half of the century, many negative aspects were added to its 16th and 17th century form.

Comparison of Spain and Portugal

Within the whole image of the Iberian Peninsula, there were also differences between its two parts, Spain and Portugal. Comparison of these countries was specific, since it only involved on two of the three travellers, Baretti and Southey. Same as in previous part, there was the difference in aims of their journeys, their itineraries and the ways how they changed their works for publication. In the case of comparing the two countries, it is also important that also the length of their stay varied and sometimes resulted in discrepancies of these two images. In more detail than in previous part, it was also possible to observe the supposed unity or heterogeneity of the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, the political changes have taken place between the publications of the two travelogues. While Baretti visited Spain of Charles III and Portugal ruled by Marquis de Pombal, Southey talks about the rule of Charles IV., Maria I. respectively.

Concerning the actual differences between the two countries, one of the most visible ones was the language. When describing the same phenomena in either of the countries, both Baretti and Southey mostly acknowledged the existence of two distinctive linguistic forms. However, Southey generally paid more attention to the specificity of Portuguese language, given his interest in the literature of the kingdom. Even

As for the religion, both authors naturally connected Spain and Portugal with Roman Catholicism, which was sometimes supposed to be even more devoted than in Rome itself. However, there were references to the stronger presence of Protestants in Portugal, Lisbon respectively. In connection to faith, there was also a notion of inquisition. Again, there are certain differences in the perception of Spanish and Portuguese holy tribunal. At least in Southey's travelogue, Spanish inquisition has already ceased to be the "bloody tribunal," described by many authors before him. Instead, it has turned to a controlling mechanism, mainly censoring new books and thus influencing the public opinion. On the other hand,

there were still religious processes and executions in Portugal, given by the large Jewish population in the country.

Regarding the general state of population though, there was a tendency to stress unity of both countries. Common people were usually poor, ignorant, but hospitable and civil on the other hand. According to Southey's account, idleness and pride were also a characteristic common to both nations. Aside from this, there were many thieves among the poor people, which was probably not a specific of the Iberian Peninsula. In Southey's case, Portuguese poor were equally wretched as the Spanish ones, although no connection was made between their poverty and the despotic government. Instead, Portuguese Catholic church should have been the main factor which kept people in such state and drained the country of its wealth. As for the behaviour of nobility and higher classes, Spain was appraised higher in Baretti's letters, given the refined manners of many people he has met there. On the other hand, Southey apparently did not meet these circles and could not write about them.

Overall, Spain and Portugal formed certain homogenous whole for Baretti as well as for Southey. Despite language and cultural differences, both countries had similar climate, religion and similarly underdeveloped economy. The local inns were equally wretched. Concerning Baretti, Spain and Portugal differed mainly on language grounds, by their monetary systems and the poverty in the Portuguese countryside was greater than in Spain and brought with it also a greater number of beggars. However, Baretti spent most of his time in Spain and his observations on Portugal were not so detailed as in case of Spain. Southey saw main differences in the government, which was not so despotic in case of Portugal.

In conclusion, one can say that Portugal and Spain were doubtless perceived as very similar countries in those travelogues, although not without reserve. Spain was perceived as the country with rich history and literature, although they were sometimes judged negatively and according to the Black Legend. For this reason, there were many places of interest in Spain, connected to Roman or Arabian history. However harmful their faith was, it influenced mainly individuals, not the functioning of the whole society. It was rather the royal power which had such effect. On the contrary, Portugal was country famous more for its present alliance with England than for its past power. Besides Lisbon, only the royal palaces in its

surroundings were considered places worth visiting. Compared to Spain, the Catholic faith was consuming much more resources of the country and remained a great problem for its economy. It can be said that despite its connections to England, Portugal was in many aspects considered the more backward of the two countries. It can be even said that some aspects of the Black Legend, such as bigotry and religious intolerance, were stronger than in Spain. This could have been given by the constant presence of Englishmen in the country, who reminded the traveller of great differences between his country and Portugal.

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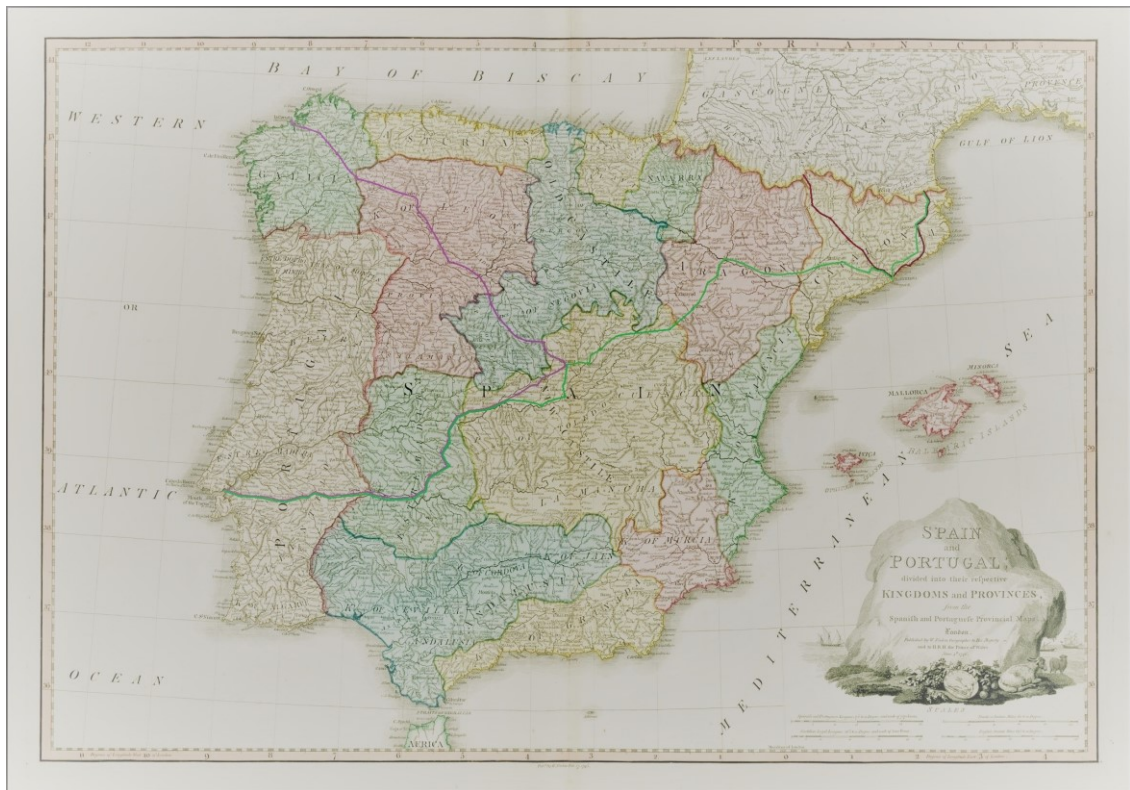
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Attachment

- Illustration of itineraries



The itinerary of Giuseppe Baretti is marked in green, the one by Robert Southey in purple and the last one by Arthur Young in dark red. Routes of Baretti and Southey overlap from Talavera de la Reina in New Castile until Lisbon. Baretti and Young have partially common itinerary from Girona to Jougiera. The map used in this illustration was published by William Faden in 1796 (see literature and sources).

Source of the illustration

www.raremaps.com [accessed 2nd August, 2017]

URL:

https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/23686/Spain_and_Portugal_divided_into_their_respective_Kingdoms_and_Provinces/Faden.html