

Hungarian Travellers' Writings on Spanish Women, 1808-1911

Escritos de viajeros húngaros sobre las mujeres españolas, 1808-1911

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Abstract

Although Spain and Hungary are geographically distant, the transport revolution taken place in the XIXth century provided travels between both countries with fruitful opportunities. In this study we shall examine narratives of travellers, who set foot in the Iberian Peninsula in those years. These took the form of printed works in Hungarian language, particularly travel guides and newspaper articles, offering detailed descriptions on a long list of aspects such as landscapes, architecture, settlements, history, politics, music, lifestyle, dress, appearance, and gastronomy. It is about an information with interesting details concerning coeval society, and specially contemporary women – an aspect which is highlighted in the article –, based upon clichés and stereotypes about the national character or so-called Spanish temperament. Stemmed from romantic canon, in women's case, they emphasised qualities such as beauty and exotism, and emotions such as the passionate character. In women travellers' specific account, is to also worth adding that most of them did not know the Spanish language.

Keywords

Travel guides to Spain, women's history, 19th century, Hungarian sources, romantic stereotypes

Resumen

Aunque España y Hungría se hallan alejadas geográficamente, la revolución del transporte acontecida en el siglo XIX proporcionó fructíferas oportunidades para los viajes entre ambos países. En el presente estudio examinamos relatos de viajeros, quienes pisaron la Península Ibérica en aquellos años. Tales relatos adquirieron la forma de obras impresas en lengua húngara, sobre todo guías de viaje y artículos periodísticos que ofrecen descripciones detalladas de aspectos tales como los paisajes, la arquitectura, los asentamientos, la historia, la política, la música, los estilos de vida, las vestimentas, la apariencia y la gastronomía de la España de entonces. Se trata de una información con interesantes pormenores sobre la sociedad coetánea y especialmente sobre las mujeres de aquella época –aspecto en el que se hace hincapié en este artículo–, que abundan en los clichés o estereotipos sobre carácter nacional o el llamado temperamento español. Enraizados en el canon romántico, en el caso de las mujeres, estos inciden en cualidades tales como la belleza y el exotismo y en emociones tales como el carácter apasionado. En el caso particular de los relatos de las viajeras, debe añadirse que la mayoría de ellas no tenían conocimientos de la lengua española.

Palabras clave

Guías de viaje a España, historia de las mujeres, siglo XIX, fuentes húngaras, estereotipos románticos

Introduction

This study connects to a special group of analytical works on the history of travel, focusing on how the descriptions of a traveler depicted the life, customs, landscapes, and settlements of the inhabitants of another continent or country. From the 19th century onwards, the number of travels, and consequently travel narratives, has increased significantly, thanks to advancements in transportation, the rising number of literate individuals, and the growth in the volume of book and newspaper publishing. Private trips taken for the sheer pleasure of travel, journeys between countries, and even across continents became more common, leading to the advent of tourism. Alongside groups who traveled for military, commercial, diplomatic, or academic reasons, a growing number of adventurous men and women seeking experiences appeared. Many of them documented their travel experiences in letters, diaries, travelogues, and in sources belonging to the group of ego-documents, as well as in newspaper articles and travel guides.

The Iberian Peninsula, particularly Spain, was already a popular travel destination in the 19th century. “The real Hispanophiles emerged during the first half of the 19th century thanks to fine arts. Spain was becoming an irresistible destination for romantic travellers”.¹ As Alberto Egea Fernández-Montesinos writes, the travelogues written by men have been analyzed by many for their contributions to national identity building and understanding the image of the country. He himself examined the travel writings of women who came from Northern Europe and North America, noting that they sometimes tried to escape the clichés and stereotypes recurrent in the texts written by their male counterparts.² In addition to Marta Jiménez Miranda, among the researchers whose works we have reviewed for this study, we would like to highlight the names of José Antonio Gonzalez Alcantud,³ Pere Gifra-Adroher,⁴ Xavier Andreu Miralles and Mónica Bolufer Peruga,⁵ among others.

The topic of this study is to review who were the 19th-century Hungarian travelers who published printed works about their travels in Spain and to investigate how they portrayed Spanish women in their books or articles. In earlier centuries, there was little contact between the two distant European countries, but at the turn of the 18th and 19th

¹ Marta Jiménez Miranda, *The curious look of English women travellers on Spain* (Londres: Instituto Cervantes de Londres, 2022) <https://blogs.cervantes.es/londres/2022/02/28/the-curious-look-of-english-women-travellers-on-spain/> [last access in June 2024].

² Alberto Egea Fernández-Montesinos, “Constructing a Picturesque Spain: An Empirical Approach to Women Travelogues Written in English (1842-1949)”, *Confluencia*, vol. 37, 1 (Fall 2021): 112-129.

³ José Antonio Gonzalez Alcantud, *Qué es el orientalismo. El oriente imaginado en la cultura global*. (Córdoba: Almuzara, 2021).

⁴ Pere Gifra-Adroher, *Between History and Romance: Travel Writing on Spain in the Early Nineteenth-Century United States* (London, Cranbury, NJ, Mississauga: Associated University Presses, 2000).

⁵ Xavier Andreu Miralles and Mónica Bolufer Peruga (eds.), *European Modernity and the Passionate South: Gender and Nation in Spain and Italy in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2023) (*Studia Imagologica*, vol. 32).

centuries, particularly during the Napoleonic Wars, interest in Spain somewhat increased in Hungary. News arrived about the heroically resisting Spaniards, with whom the Hungarians, who were also opposing Napoleon, sympathized. In the second half of the 19th century, more Hungarian travelers reached the southwestern part of Europe, and thanks to the flourishing book publishing and press of the era, their writings have survived and are still readable today. Thus, people in Hungary could learn about the life, customs, monuments, history, and economic life of the Spanish people through travelogues and newspaper reports. In the works we examined, the impressions of the average Hungarian traveler about Spain are reflected, which means that the descriptions of the locals are quite subjective, mirroring personal tastes and interests. These books and articles clearly show the prejudices and beliefs that Hungarians had about Spain. One such stereotype was the emphasis on the Spaniards' combativeness and volatility, and another was the frequent mention of the beauty of Spanish women. Almost every author expressed their opinion on these two "Spanish traits" – either pro or contra. The female characters in the sources often resemble the seductive, beautiful woman created by French writer Prosper Mérimée (1803-1870), a master of the French Romantic school, in his 1845 work *Carmen*, a story that later became a hit on stage with Bizet's music after the opera's premiere in Paris in 1875. The tragic female figure portrayed in the work, with her beauty and passion, became an embodiment and symbol of the seemingly exotic Latin-Spanish temperament for the inhabitants of other European countries. Her fictional character has attracted the attention of many travellers, both in Spain and more widely in the Mediterranean. In the case of several of the authors featured in this study, we can attest to this by the fact that during their travels they visited Seville, visiting the cigarette factory there, and Granada, where they strolled the streets of Sacromonte. This feminine ideal, the myth of *Carmen*, is not just about women: it was part of and a counterpoint to the prevailing ideal of masculinity in the Romantic era. This portrayal of women and men was one of the foundations of the "Hispanicism" that gradually developed in the 19th century, mainly in the works of writers, writers and travellers, and which in the 20th century changed considerably in content and focus.

The basis of the research was five Hungarian-language travel guides created between 1808 and 1911, and about a dozen contemporary newspaper articles, with all the travelers except for Majthényi Flóra being men. The research primarily sought to answer how Hungarian travelers perceived Spanish women.

A travel guide from 1808

In Hungary, the first travel guide that provided a detailed description of Spain appeared in 1808, published by János Kis (1770-1846), a Lutheran poet, writer, and philosopher. The book was translated from German to Hungarian and is considered the first book to give a detailed presentation of Southwestern Europe in Hungarian.⁶ With this book, among many others, János Kis aimed to make young Hungarians love reading and to deepen their geographical, historical, and artistic knowledge. In this volume, as in later works, the author devoted significant space to describing Spanish women. In addition to their physical description, he touched on women's passion, love life, clothing, work, and forms of entertainment. The author presented the women city by city, highlighting regional peculiarities. He did not take a definite stand on the beauty of

⁶ János Kis, *Nemzeteket és országokat ismertető gyűjtemény. II. k. Spanyol országba és Portugáliába való utazás. (Collection of presentations of nations and countries. II. volume. Journey to Spain and Portugal)* (Budapest: István Kiss, Bookseller, 1808).

Barcelona's women, but he described Madrid's women as very beautiful, elaborating that they were tall, had wonderful eyes, and an enchanting gaze, and men fell in love with them easily. The author described Spanish women in general as passionate lovers, while Spanish men were described as very timid.⁷ According to the travel guide, this timidity is the reason why Hispanic men make very slow advances in winning a woman's love; a Spanish man might love a woman for a year without revealing his feelings and would rather die than confess his love. This issue of committing murder or suicide out of love, often described in other contemporary works, was also depicted as a common "Spanish custom".

This German-translated volume also extensively covered the traditional clothing and dressing habits prevalent in different regions of Spain. For example, the author found the clothing of Aragonese peasant women ridiculous and ugly. According to the description, women in Aragon wore three or four thick skirts and two or three wool blouses, and if all their clothes were weighed, they would amount to half a quintal. The author also discussed the popular hats of the time, the frequent use of veils in Spain, and hairstyles. He wrote that a Spanish woman never leaves home without a veil. He explained that as Spanish women tried to follow French fashion, heavy gold and silver materials gradually disappeared from their wardrobes, replaced by light muslin and batiste.⁸

We can also learn about contemporary facial painting and cosmetic procedures from the volume; the author dedicated a separate section to describing face paints and perfumes, which he claimed Spanish women used excessively in the early 19th century. This kind of luxury was typical of all women, regardless of their social standing, according to the book.

Although the author harshly criticized Spanish women's dressing habits, he spoke approvingly of their work ethic and diligence. He believed Spanish men were very lazy, but this could not be said about their women. Based on his observations in Valencia, for example, he stated that women even worked in the evenings, sitting in front of their houses, winding silk. He observed similar things in Andalusia and Catalonia, and he particularly highlighted – something later authors also noted – that Spanish women spent a lot of time with their children. However, he disapproved of the widespread Spanish practice of employing wet nurses, pointing out that only commoners and bourgeois women nursed their own children. He rejected the custom among wealthy Spanish families of sending newborns to rural wet nurses. He warned that Rousseau had already written about this issue in his 1762 novel, *Emile, or On Education*.⁹

When describing women's entertainment, this book mentioned theater performances and bullfights. The author noted as a peculiarity that in Madrid theaters, female roles were mostly played by men, and he mockingly expressed his bewilderment at the popularity of bullfights and the "gentle women's" interest in them.¹⁰

In the first half of the 19th century, no other Hungarian-language travel guides about Spain can be found. This was likely because very few people from Hungary traveled

⁷ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 80-81.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

to the Iberian Peninsula, and those who did were mostly nobles who reported their experiences in private letters at most.

Sources from the 1860s

In the 1860s, when several magazines aimed at women were published in Hungary, the magazine *Nővilág* (Women's World), a weekly illustrated newspaper published between 1857 and 1864, frequently included news about Spanish women. These reports primarily reinforced the stereotypical image of Spanish women's passion and fiery nature among Hungarian readers. For example, an 1862 article claimed that Spanish women were masters of seduction and conquest. In a comparison of women from different European nations, the author wrote that Hungarian and Polish women were the best in enthusiasm and patriotism.¹¹

After the 1867 Austro-Hungarian Compromise and the formation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the economy began to prosper, transportation improved significantly, and book and newspaper publishing flourished as part of the burgeoning cultural life in Hungary. The expanding international relations and the burgeoning economic and commercial life brought Spain closer to Hungary. The 1868 law mandating compulsory public education led to a rapid increase in literacy rates in Hungary, so travelogues, among other reading materials, could reach a wider audience. The rapid expansion of the railway network and the development of steam navigation changed travel habits and possibilities. Journeys to distant countries no longer seemed so dauntingly long. Ordinary people, who could only make short domestic trips at most, became curious about the inhabitants of distant lands. From the 1880s onwards, the burgeoning mass press "delivered" real and fake news about foreign countries. Among the readers of travel guides were potential travelers, including women.

In 1868, Roman Catholic priest János Zádori (1831-1887) traveled from Italy to Barcelona by ship and published a printed account of his journey in Hungarian in 1869.¹² In the preface to his book, he wrote that such a work was greatly needed because there was no Hungarian travel description of Spain yet. (He did not mention the book by János Kis, as it was translated from German.) From Zádori's book, we learn that during his travels in Spain, he mostly traveled by train, and his focus was mainly on visiting pilgrimage sites. Among many other topics, he also observed and described Spanish women very thoroughly. In his book, he highlighted three things about them. First, he described the use of fans by women, presenting it as an exotic feature. He illustrated that women even fanned themselves in church. Traveling from Madrid to Toledo by train, he observed how women behaved and conversed among themselves. He wrote that Spanish women talked a lot, accompanied every word with gestures, and communicated as much with their shoulders, fingers, and fans as with their tongues. In Andalusia, one of his main objectives was to investigate whether the women were indeed beautiful. Observing in Seville and Malaga, he repeatedly stated in his book that Sevillian women weren't more beautiful than other European women. He even wrote that in Spain, men were more beautiful than women. He had a similar opinion of the women of Malaga and quoted a Spanish poem, saying, "It is said that the women of Malaga are beautiful, but the lion is

¹¹ *Nővilág* (*Women's World*), 10 March 1862, 107.

¹² János Zádori, *Spanyol út* (*Spanish journey*) (Pest: Athenaeum, 1869).

not as wild as it is painted.” (in Spanish: “Malaga tiene la fama / De las mujeres bonitas, / Mas no es tan fiero el león, / Como las gentes lo pintan.”).¹³

Travelers at the century’s end

After János Zádori’s book, there was no Hungarian language description of Spain for nearly two decades. However, after 1879, the presentation of the country somewhat came to the forefront in the press. This was because in that year, King Alfonso XII of Spain married Princess Maria Christina of Austria, born in 1858, the eldest daughter of Archduchess Elisabeth and niece of Joseph, Duke of Austria. In 1879, the weekly illustrated newspaper (published between 1854 and 1921) the *Vasárnapi Újság* (Sunday Newspaper) published a detailed biography of the young bride, and in 1886, upon the death of Alfonso XII, they published a long tribute on the front page, presenting him with his daughter Maria de las Mercedes.¹⁴ This very popular Hungarian weekly frequently published articles related to Spanish culture and lifestyle. In an article introducing Spanish cuisine, for example, the journalist mentioned the local women’s hospitality, baking, and cooking habits, highlighting how much Spanish women loved sugary pastries and sweet-tasting cigarettes.¹⁵

Another prestigious Hungarian scientific journal of the Hungarian Geographical Society, issued monthly from 1873, *Földrajzi Közlemények* (Geographical Bulletins), also published several descriptions related to Spain towards the end of the 19th century. Until 1888, no new books followed Zádori’s volume, but in that year, a work by a woman, Flóra Majthényi (1837-1915), a poet and composer, was published. Previously, excerpts from her travel sketches had been published in the *Budapesti Hírlap* (Budapest Newspaper). In 1886, Flóra Majthényi arrived in Barcelona by ship from Marseille and visited the most significant Spanish cities. *Földrajzi Közlemények* described her as being more knowledgeable than her Spanish acquaintances she met during her travels, who knew little about Hungary beyond associating Hungarians with long-haired black people who came to work as tinkers or pot menders, equating Hungarians with a group of gypsies.¹⁶

This Hungarian woman traveler wrote very little about Spanish women in her book, only briefly mentioning their beauty and lack of education. She noted that only a few Spanish noblewomen could read and write, and she found it difficult to endure when a shop doubted her arithmetic skills.¹⁷

After her travel sketches, another decade passed before more Hungarian travelers’ accounts of Spain were published. In 1897, the great Hungarian world traveler, originally an optician by profession, Ferenc Hopp (1833-1919) crossed the sea and entered Southern Spain near the Strait of Gibraltar. Regarding this leg of his journey, he wrote in the “*Földrajzi Közlemények*” that when he crossed into Gibraltar, many passengers were seasick on the steamer, including many beautiful Spanish women. Throughout his

¹³ *Ibid.*, 196.

¹⁴ *Vasárnapi Újság* (Sunday Newspaper), 4 (1886): 50.

¹⁵ *Vasárnapi Újság* (Sunday Newspaper), 27 (1886): 438-439.

¹⁶ Sándor Márki, *Magyar nők utazásai*. (Hungarian women’s travels) *Földrajzi Közlemények* (Geographical Bulletins), 17 (1898): 129.

¹⁷ Flóra Majthényi, *Spanyolországi képek* (Pictures from Spain) (Pest: Published by F. Wodianer and Sons, Róbert Lampel, Imperial and Royal Court Booksellers, ed.: Antal Radó), Magyar Könyvtár, 165. vol.

travelogue, we can find enthusiastic lines about the beauty of Spanish women. He wrote, for example, that the most beautiful women in Spain could be found in Seville.¹⁸

Kálmán Pintér (1854-1902), a Piarist literature teacher from Budapest who traveled extensively, also visited Spain in 1896 and published his travel experiences in a standalone volume in 1900.¹⁹ He traveled as a member of a 39-person group organized by the Hungarian Engineer and Architect Association, mainly making observations related to Spanish architecture. However, alongside admiring the Alhambra and the Giralda Tower, he did not forget to observe Spanish women. He paid particular attention to describing their attire, writing that middle-class women typically wore dark clothing and that their favored garment was still the black lace veil. He did not find Spanish women beautiful, stating that women in the Hungarian capital, Budapest, were much more beautiful. Similar to János Zádori's 1869 opinion, he also believed that in Spain, men were more handsome than women in both face and physique.²⁰

By the time Ferenc Hopp and Kálmán Pintér returned to Hungary, Spain had lost its last colonies. In 1898, therefore, the world's – and the Hungarian public's – attention turned again towards the Spanish people. The Hungarian readership could learn about the military events from numerous articles, from descriptions and illustrations of military equipment and ships to discussions of diplomatic steps, all related to the Spanish-American War. However, among the readers of entertaining and educational periodicals at the end of the 19th century, there were also many women, who were likely less interested in descriptions of military technology. For them, journalists wrote longer and shorter news items about the lifestyles, clothing, and hairstyles of Spanish (and North and Central American) women. For example, the weekly *Új Idők* (New Times) published a two-part article comparing the morals of American and Spanish women. The article portrayed Americans as free-spirited, while Spanish ladies were described as romantic and passionate lovers, who, although religious, continually deceived their husbands' vigilance and kept lovers.²¹ The author asserted that Spanish women were true women, passionate in nature. Although less educated compared to American women, their passion enabled them to achieve what they desired.²² Adding to the cliché-laden description, the author noted that Spanish women had not changed at all in 300 years.

In the *Vasárnapi Újság* (Sunday Newspaper), an author named “Deli” expressed similar views. In a travel letter describing Spain, he also stated that Spanish women were very ignorant. Overall, he painted an unflattering picture of the Spanish, finding them improper and pretentious, and he belittled their food and customs. He wrote that in wealthier families, the servant was the real master, women only concerned themselves with painting their faces and dressing up, paid little attention to their children, did not engage in housework, and did not even go to the market, only to church. He mentioned that he even saw two nuns at the Bobadilla railway station whose faces were painted.²³

¹⁸ Ferenc Hopp, *Téli utazás a Földközi-tenger körül fekvő országokban*. (A winter journey in the countries of the Mediterranean Sea) *Földrajzi Közlemények* (Geographical Bulletins), 17 (1898): 11.

¹⁹ Kálmán Pintér, *Vázlatok Spanyolországi és portugáliai utamról* (Sketches of my travels to Spain and Portugal) (Budapest: Ed. Ruschmann, 1900).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 67.

²¹ *Az amerikai és a spanyol asszony*. (The American and Spanish lady) *Új Idők* (New Times) 20 (1898): 429-430 y 22. (1898): 471-472.

²² *Ibid.*, 471.

²³ “Deli”, *Spanyolországi levelek egy tekintetes úrhoz*. (Letters from Spain to a gentleman). *Vasárnapi Újság* (Sunday Newspaper), 45 (1898): 90.

A book from the early 20th century

In 1911, just before World War I, a book was published in Hungary about Spain that detailed the distant country more extensively than any publication in the previous hundred years, including the depiction of Spanish women. István Altmann's book, *A jelenkori Spanyolország* (Present-Day Spain) – similar to contemporary books by other foreign authors – did not provide descriptions of travel routes, cities, or landscapes, but presented the southwestern European country in a systematic way with sub-chapters organized around specific themes. In the third chapter about the population, he mentioned the Asturian women whom elite families in Madrid employed as wet nurses and who were also described in detail by Zádori in his 1869 work. Besides these, he only mentioned women in one other place, while describing Andalusian Gypsies, noting that they made their living by fortune-telling, dancing, begging, and stealing.²⁴

The author emphasized that Spaniards were generally very courteous to women, raising their hats to ladies and addressing them as if they were princesses. He also elaborately and colorfully described the attire of women in the middle and upper social strata, ironically depicting the opulence and the following of French fashion. He wrote that the upper middle class spent the summer in places like San Sebastian or Biarritz, or other fashionable resorts. From his description, we learn about the fashion of bright-colored dresses, fans, black lace veils, and flowers pinned in hair.²⁵ However, the author expressed his dismay at the custom of Spanish women spitting on the ground while riding in carriages.

The “Spanish version” of early 20th-century women’s emancipation movements also appeared in this book. Altmann highlighted Spanish women’s diligence, work capacity, and wrote about their employment opportunities and struggles for legal rights. However, he opined that Spanish women were not yet mature enough for voting rights, as their general education level was lower than that of northern peoples. During his travels, he observed that Spanish women were content with their roles as housewives, wives, and mothers, and only a few had any desire for political rights.²⁶

Summary

Despite the great distance, several Hungarians managed to travel to Spain in the 19th century, and a few published their experiences in travel guides or newspaper articles. Until the advent of mass communication tools, this was essentially the only way to shape public opinion in Hungary. It mattered greatly where a traveler had visited, how long they stayed in the country, who they met during their travels, and whether they spoke Spanish at all.

Regarding Spanish women – similar to descriptions by travelers from other countries and stereotypes known from literature – most Hungarian authors highlighted that they were passionate lovers, easily seduced men, extensively beautified themselves, painted their faces, took great care with their attire, wore lace veils, carried fans, talked a lot, gestured broadly, and had beautiful skin, hair, and eyes. They also noted that the

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 47.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 73-74.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 57-58.

women frequently attended church and were uniformly considered uneducated. Further research could explore the sources of these one-sided clichés drawn presumably by Hungarian travelers who likely did not speak Spanish. Novel and opera literature likely contributed significantly to the image of the fiery, uneducated, and fervently religious Spanish woman.

According to our research on the depiction of Spanish women in Hungarian travel guides and newspaper articles from the 19th century, we do not find what Marta Jiménez Miranda observed in her studies of British travelers' works: "Everything they saw contrasted with the literature they had previously read outside of Spain, and consequently they managed to break with the Spanish clichés written up until then".²⁷ The travelers whose works are presented in this study mostly highlighted the well-known stereotypes about Spaniards throughout the 19th century: they mentioned the beauty of the women, their extravagant clothing, erotic allure, diligence, religiosity, love and care for their children. However, several authors also emphasized their lack of education. The men were described as polite and gallant, yet lazy individuals. In most of the Hungarian travel writings, the Spanish men were depicted as "weak", with the strong and determined women "seducing" them. The descriptions suggest that during the Romantic era, the development of relationships between the two sexes on the Iberian Peninsula was almost entirely directed by women. The image of women portrayed in the travel guides we reviewed during our research is very similar to what Joep Leerssen described in the volume edited by Xavier Andreu Miralles and Mónica Bolufer Peruga. In his study, Leerssen referred to a Mediterranean populated by Byronic heroes and sensual seductresses.²⁸ In Hungary, the "turning point" named by the Córdoba researcher, Marta Jiménez Miranda, meaning the emergence of travel descriptions free from harmful criticisms and inaccurate information about Spain, might be more likely attributed to the 20th century.

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²⁷ Jiménez Miranda, Marta: *The curious look of English women travellers on Spain*. <https://blogs.cervantes.es/londres/2022/02/28/the-curious-look-of-english-women-travellers-on-spain/>

²⁸ Joep Leerssen, "Honour and Violence: Mediterranean Exoticism and Masculinity", in: Xavier Andreu Miralles, Mónica Bolufer Peruga (eds.), *European Modernity and the Passionate South: Gender and Nation in Spain and Italy in the Long Nineteenth Century*. (Leiden y Boston: Brill, 2023), 92-107.

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