

LIT & TOUR

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TOURISM RESEARCH (IJLTR)

Special Issue · 2023 ·
Literature, Tourism,
and Waterscapes

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Editorial

Na última década, a investigação em literatura e turismo cresceu de forma exponencial. Investigadores de áreas como o turismo, a literatura, a economia, a museologia, a geografia e a história colocaram na sua mesa de trabalho o estudo das relações que se estabelecem entre a literatura e o turismo, a partir das mais diversas perspetivas. Multiplicaram-se as conferências, os artigos e os capítulos de livros resultantes da reflexão sobre temas como o turismo literário, a cartografia literária, a representação do fenómeno turístico em textos literários, as metodologias e os conceitos referentes à área da literatura e turismo, mas também referentes a produtos, experiências e práticas de turismo literário já existentes ou em construção. Aos poucos, formou-se uma rede oficiosa de investigadores que partilham interesses e conhecimentos, complementando-se e apoiando-se mutuamente de uma forma tão cooperativa que tem permitido um enorme avanço quer em termos conceptuais quer metodológicos.

A crescente proliferação e qualidade dos encontros científicos em torno destas matérias têm demonstrado o fulgor que caracteriza este domínio de trabalho e estudo, ao qual corresponde a vontade premente de verter em publicações especializadas o resultado dos mesmos. Importa, sem dúvida, divulgar o saber consolidado pela investigação, análise e reflexão acerca destas temáticas, de modo a contribuir para a construção, cada vez mais segura e estável, de uma esfera de conhecimentos que permita, por um lado, fixar os contornos do âmbito de ação, e, por outro lado, criar condições para refinar metodologias de trabalho, apontando caminhos de futuro, com vista à dignificação desta área disciplinar que se tem enriquecido com grande vitalidade.

Sentimos que faltava um lugar de partilha, para que a investigação que se faz em literatura e turismo fosse devidamente valorizada enquanto tal e para que os investigadores, estudantes e outros interessados tivessem um espaço dedicado a esta área científica, que servisse de referência e de ponto de convergência da boa investigação que se faz um pouco por todo o mundo. É dessa necessidade que nasce a *LIT&TOUR: International Journal of Literature and Tourism Research* (IJLTR). Trata-se de uma publicação semestral em acesso aberto, promovida pelo Centro de Investigação em Artes e Comunicação da Universidade do Algarve e financiada pela Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia.

O primeiro número, que agora temos o prazer de partilhar convosco, é um número especial, no qual encontrarão dez artigos dedicados ao tema “Literature, Tourism, and Waterscapes”. Reúne, assim, artigos de investigadores de diferentes nacionalidades e proveniências académicas que se centram nas relações entre a literatura, o turismo e a paisagem aquática.

Sugerimos, pois, que naveguem connosco por estes novos mares que agora desbravamos, numa viagem para a qual vos convidamos como leitores e também como possíveis futuros autores.

Os editores

O imaginário romântico do Rio Douro: Dos viajantes na primeira metade do século XIX aos nossos dias

The romantic imaginary of the Douro river: From travellers in the first half of the 19th century to the present day

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Resumo

A proposta deste trabalho é destacar uma entre as várias possibilidades de leitura das viagens pelo rio Douro nos relatos de viagem produzidos por estrangeiros que visitaram o Alto Douro Vinhateiro, na primeira metade do século XIX, em contraponto com algumas leituras do presente. Recorreu-se à análise de documentos como método de pesquisa central. Como género específico, a literatura de viagem retrata a representação do espaço, possibilitando reconstituir o que podemos chamar viagens do passado e como construções culturais do seu tempo. Mas, mais do que o exame das narrativas de viagem, a pesquisa inscreve-se no campo das formas de se deslocar para e pelo rio, de permanecer nos lugares, o compor a paisagem. O presente estudo examina ainda a produção informativa constante nos guias de viagem da época, os textos encontram-se impregnados de descrições do rio Douro, da área de vinha rochosa, dos terraços, dos seus afluentes e das encostas vertiginosas do vale do Douro. Mas, também são emocionantes os relatos das difíceis jornadas empreendidas no rio Douro, nos frágeis barcos rabelos, face à necessidade

de vencer a irregularidade do leito do rio, à data cheio de perigos. Perante as más condições das vias terrestres na região do Alto Douro, a via fluvial foi sempre a mais apetecível. De facto, até ao aparecimento das vias ferroviárias, as vias fluviais detinham um papel de fuga face ao isolamento a que a região se encontrava votada. O rio Douro foi caminho do vinho e manteve a união dos durienses perante a adversidade do rio. Hoje, com a navegação segura, o turismo fluvial surge como um produto dinamizador e tem ganho enorme visibilidade no rio Douro, sempre assente na visão romântica que perpetua.

Palavras-chave

Rio Douro • Literatura de viagens • Viajantes • Paisagem • Romantismo

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to highlight one of the several possibilities of reading the travels along the

Douro river in travel narratives produced by foreigners who visited the Alto Douro Wine Region in the first half of the 19th century, in contrast with some presentday readings. Document analysis was used as the main research method. As a specific genre, travel literature portrays the representation of space, making it possible to reconstitute what we may call journeys of the past and as cultural constructions of their time. But, more than the examination of travel narratives, the research is inscribed in the field of the ways of moving to and through the river, staying in places, the composing the landscape. This study also examines the information contained in the travel guides of the time; the texts are full of descriptions of the Douro river, the rocky vineyards, the terraces, its tributaries and the vertiginous slopes of the Douro valley. But the stories of the difficult journeys undertaken on the Douro river in the fragile rabelo boats are also exciting, given the need to overcome the irregularity of the riverbed, which has long been full of dangers. Assumed the poor conditions of the land routes in the Alto Douro region, the river route was always the most attractive. In fact, until the advent of the railways, the river had a role of escape from the isolation to which the region was condemned. The Douro river was the wine route and maintained the unity of the Douro people in the face of the river's adversity. Today, with safe navigation, river tourism has emerged as a dynamic product and has gained enormous visibility in the Douro river, always based on the romantic vision that it perpetuates.

Keywords

Douro river • Travel literature • Travellers • Landscape • Romanticism

1. Introdução

Esta investigação tem em vista revelar as leituras que o rio despertava nos que o visitavam, sendo que estes olhares se reportavam a uma vivência temporária e ausente de raízes, embora se saiba que a história e a situação económica e conjuntural da região se encontram sempre na bagagem de quem viaja, sendo as suas visões um reflexo desta amálgama de informações e sentimentos.

E porquê viajantes? Como respeitar os seus testemunhos? O que se pode apreender? Como articulá-los? Qual a sua utilidade enquanto fontes para os Estudos Locais e Regionais? Muito embora não se pretenda discutir de um ponto de vista literário a expressão “literatura de viagens” tendo em conta

as suas múltiplas interpretações, impõe-se analisar a validade e a utilização destes relatos no panorama de investigação, particularmente no reconhecimento de espaços no passado.

Será que um relato possibilita apreender um território e conceber como “era” a paisagem ou dada região, nas suas particularidades, debilidades e vocações? Imperativo abordar algumas modalidades de entendimento da paisagem vinculadas a práticas de viagem de diversa índole e, em particular, na construção da paisagem, na tentativa de elaborar uma imagem da organização humana no passado.

E quem escreveu essas histórias? De que viajantes nos apropriamos? Que narrativas deixaram? Sobre o que escreveram? Para quem? O que os motivava? Que representações possuíam inicialmente e quais construíram? De que forma a linguagem do Romantismo, à luz dos paradigmas culturais da época, está presente nos guias de viagem?

Após estas considerações indispensáveis no entendimento da desconstrução subsequente, será concretizada a viagem pelo Rio Douro. Mesmo elegendo relatos alusivos à primeira metade do século XIX e a um mesmo espaço geográfico, surgem diferentes olhares e diferentes escritas.

A leitura prende-se com o estudo de conceitos que, de algum modo, pudessem traduzir a realidade espacial dos viajantes e dos durienses no período em análise, ou seja, rasgos básicos da geografia do rio através dos viajantes: o espaço Douro – água, solo e vertentes. Mas, sabendo que a viagem nunca se pode dissociar dos meios e das formas de viajar, centrámo-nos nas jornadas por esta via de comunicação a par do indissociável relato da paisagem.

Por fim, uma das questões que mais nos interessou começa a revelar-se mais nítida: de que forma a representação do rio Douro foi sendo apreendida, relatada e sucessivamente reestruturada e ressignificada? E qual a sua ligação com a produção discursiva atual?

2. Metodologia de investigação

Este é um trabalho desenvolvido num contexto multidisciplinar, porque falar de viagens e de literatura de viagens remete-nos para o turismo, campo de estudo que utiliza um conjunto misto de conhecimentos que interligam técnicas científicas distintas.

2.1. Método de pesquisa

Tendo em conta os objetivos, o conteúdo e o contexto da investigação, a escolha da metodologia recaiu sobre a abordagem qualitativa, uma vez que esta se mostra

adequada para compreender a natureza de fenómenos sociais e proporciona uma melhor visão e compreensão do contexto do problema (Kripka *et al.*, 2015).

Neste trabalho, recorreu-se à análise de documentos como método de pesquisa central, sendo que, neste caso, os documentos são o alvo de estudo por si próprios.

A investigação incidiu, num primeiro momento, na análise dos reportórios bibliográficos sobre livros de viagem editados desde os finais do século XIX, que nos revelaram uma tendência para definir o que é um livro de viagens.

Num segundo momento, procedeu-se à elaboração de uma base de dados sobre fontes, relatos de viagem e materiais iconográficos relativos à viagem e imagem de Portugal.

Após a pesquisa sistemática em arquivos, a recolha centrou-se nos fundos documentais de bibliotecas nacionais e estrangeiras detentoras destes manuais.

Na análise documental, é frequente a quantidade de material existente ser excessiva para o tempo de que o investigador dispõe, vendo-se este, assim, obrigado a adotar uma estratégia de seleção de fontes que deverá ser adequada e justificável perante a finalidade do seu trabalho.

Cada relato descreve vários locais, efetuando anotações da paisagem, ou melhor, das paisagens, perdendo-se entre informações práticas e divagações que, muitas vezes, dificultam a análise e a recolha de informações. Deste modo, tornou-se imperativo produzir uma grelha de observação textual que culminou na elaboração do instrumento de recolha de informação, permitindo não só uma melhor análise qualitativa da informação, mas também um trabalho sistémico.

Após a inventariação das necessidades de informação e a seleção das variáveis de pesquisa, foi efetuada uma consulta e observação exaustivas das fontes selecionadas, nas diversas instituições detentoras das mesmas e uma posterior análise de conteúdo das obras.

2.2. Fontes e Corpus

Para além dos critérios de seleção de relatos de viagem, outras limitações surgem naturalmente. Se, na generalidade, os viajantes que se deslocavam a Portugal não visitavam o país vinhateiro, os que o faziam eram maioritariamente ingleses. Aceitamos que, dada a maior proliferação de estudos acerca deste tipo de textos no universo anglo-português, tivéssemos encontrado maior número de relatos de viajantes ingleses do que de outras nacionalidades. Acresce a secular presença dos ingleses no negócio do vinho do Porto ampliando o interesse pelo país do vinho.

A época escolhida, a primeira metade de Oitocentos, quando surgiu o romantismo em Portugal, partindo precisamente dos reportórios bibliográficos gerais, foi um período de intensificação das viagens de estrangeiros ao nosso país, cruzando-se com as Invasões Francesas e com a Guerra Civil (Coelho, 1992: 119). Assim, visámos encontrar relatos que revelassem uma visita mais conotada com motivações associadas a escolhas pessoais e ao lazer e menos a um carácter de obrigatoriedade.

Obviamente que a primeira opção passou pela observação mais demorada dos textos escritos por viajantes que, de facto, se deslocaram até ao Alto Douro na primeira metade do século XIX. Dos cerca de 30 relatos pessoais analisados, apenas 6 escritores visitaram o Alto Douro (Tabela 1).

Perante o reduzido número de relatos selecionados, e apesar da razoável dimensão dos mesmos, quase todos acusam estadas curtas de três a quatro dias, excluindo a incursão de William Henry Giles Kingston que dura, na sua primeira visita ao Alto Douro, perto de 10 dias. Deste modo, procurou-se, sempre que possível, captar informação inclusa nos relatos que continham descrições acerca da região do Porto e a sua ligação ao Vale do Douro. Do total de obras analisadas, cerca de 27% das mesmas apresentam estas características. No entanto, a maioria, 53% dos autores, não se desloca a esta cidade ou mesmo ao Norte de Portugal. De facto, a maioria dos relatos de viagem escritos sobre Portugal, nos limites cronológicos impostos, reporta-se a Lisboa e às áreas envolventes. E ainda que alguns se tivessem deslocado ao Norte do país, esta incursão particulariza-se no Porto. Embora o País do Vinho despertasse interesse paisagístico, a região do interior norte foi descoberta por uma minoria.

	Referência Porto/Alto Douro, 8
Ausência, 16	Visita ao Douro, 6

TABELA 1.
Presença/ausência do Douro na narrativa dos autores

Centremo-nos, pois, naqueles que efetivamente se deslocaram ao País do Vinho. Destes, dois autores viajaram pelo Douro no virar do século XVIII, outros dois durante o período da Revolução Liberal e os restantes já no final da primeira

metade do século XIX. As cartas de Costigan, que compõem uma obra de grande circulação, *Sketches of society and manners in Portugal*, publicada pela primeira vez em Londres em 1787, revelam-nos uma viagem pelo território português, que passa pelo país vinhateiro, no regresso de Almeida, por S. João da Pesqueira, tecendo breves considerações acerca da jornada empreendida e acerca da paisagem envolvente. Link oferece-nos um conjunto de rotas e percursos estabelecidos de norte a sul no nosso país, durante o ano de 1799, enquanto acompanhava o conde de Hoffmannsegg à procura de espécies botânicas desconhecidas. Da edição analisada – *Voyage en Portugal, fait depuis 1797 jusqu'en 1799*, o que nos deteve particularmente foram os capítulos dedicados ao percurso estabelecido entre o Marão e Pezo da Régua e à cultura da vinha, respetivamente, e ainda o trajeto entre *Villaréal e Pezo da Régua* a caminho do campo da Villariça.

Todos os outros relatos pelo país do vinho são de individualidades inglesas já terminadas as Invasões Francesas e com o cidadão estrangeiro habituado a ler sobre Portugal dada a proliferação de narrativas surgidas neste período e editadas em Inglaterra e em França. Deste modo, na primeira metade de século, a necessidade de dar a conhecer o povo português e as suas características vai gradualmente diminuindo. Porém, com a Revolução Liberal, as obras de literatura de viagens ainda surgem e a presença inglesa em Portugal leva à necessidade de atualizar a informação acerca de um país em mutação. Na generalidade, os relatos votados à época das lutas liberais excluem-se de pormenores ligados aos costumes e descrições paisagísticas; porém, o Conde de Carnarvon, na verdade, Henry John George Herbert, deixa-nos uma obra – *Portugal and Galicia: With a review of the social and politica state of the Basque Provinces* – relativa a uma viagem que empreende em Portugal durante o ano de 1827, na qual alude às tradições e ao carácter dos portugueses e onde tece considerações pessoais e interessantes nomeadamente no seu trajeto entre a cidade do Porto, o Marão e Lamego. Deve-se igualmente destacar William Morgan Kinsey, um eclesiástico da Igreja Anglicana que percorre Portugal durante as lutas entre miguelistas e liberais, escrevendo, durante o ano de 1827, uma obra – *Portugal illustrated*, repleta de informação e que face à região em estudo se debruça sobre os vinhos, sobre a história da criação da Companhia Geral da Agricultura das Vinhas do Alto Douro, sobre a navegabilidade do rio, empreendendo a viagem aventureira de barco, pelo Douro, no seu regresso da Régua ao Porto.

Já numa data mais tardia, Kingston redige os seus *Lusitanian sketches* em momentos diferentes dos

dois anos de residência no Norte de Portugal – 1844 e 1845 – tal como é mencionado no prefácio da obra.

Já para os primeiros anos da década de 1850, analisou-se o livro de Oldknow – *A month in Portugal*, que reflete uma curta estada em Portugal, cerca de um mês, percorrendo, no entanto, grande parte do território, nomeadamente o eixo Mesão Frio – Régua – Lamego.

Em todos os autores, algumas características comuns: todos dialogam com o leitor, contam uma história de viagem, própria deste tipo de literatura; todos tecem muitas considerações acerca do “Paiz do Vinho” e vão a vaguear pelas informações que haviam obtido e pelas que vão recolher; todos fazem quase que o relato diário da viagem, o que nos levou a prosseguir os seus trajetos, tornando-as narrativas voltadas para a recreação do leitor. Uma linguagem, própria da época romântica que vivenciavam, gera novos valores históricos, sociais e culturais.

Ao longo da primeira metade de Oitocentos, denota-se uma tendência para que as narrativas se voltem mais para um género literário mais “recreativo”, ou com a inclusão das experiências dos autores nas suas viagens, ou pela produção de publicações de carácter puramente orientador. Estes começam a ser imprescindíveis pelas informações práticas incluídas, tendo em conta a evolução das deslocações e do número de viajantes. Quanto mais a viagem se institucionaliza, mais instruções práticas são necessárias e, neste sentido, optou-se pela análise de guias de viagem, tidos como literatura utilitária. Embora se compreendam as manifestas limitações dos guias de viagem, o que nos cabe destacar será a sua função de contribuir para “musealizar” (Vicente, 2003: 153) os países que abordavam. Sugerem a escolha de caminhos, destacam objetos de coleções vastas, para que os visitantes se concentrem no fundamental, sem perder tempo com exemplares menores (Vicente, 2003: 152-154).

Os guias de viagem foram também formas de apreensão do espaço que contribuíram para a divulgação ou construção de imagens acerca de novos lugares. Na nossa abordagem, considerámos manuais simples e relativamente desconhecidos e guias publicados por conhecidas editoras que encontraram grande projeção europeia (Fernandes, 2014). Destas obras, um terço, ou seja, 33% do universo estudado, sugere itinerários pela região do Alto Douro, tendo sido, assim, utilizados na análise da perceção das formas mais comuns e aconselhadas aos viajantes para alcançarem e de deslocarem na região. No entanto, há que ressaltar que, dos guias que contêm descrições da região do Alto Douro, cerca de 75% correspondem a de edições de fim de metade do século, denotando uma tardia divulgação da região em estudo.

3. Os relatos de viagem como fontes de estudo

Identificar as viagens de hoje com esta prática na época em estudo não tem igualmente qualquer consistência. O género de narrativas que estudámos é considerado por inúmeros autores como uma etapa fundamental no ato de viajar, sendo possível criar uma marca de distinção e um percurso individual através da escrita (Vicente, 2003: 27).

Mas a expressão “literatura de viagens” levanta alguma polémica no tocante à sua utilização como fonte de investigação, porque se reporta a testemunhos deixados acerca das passagens dos viajantes por outros locais que não os deles. Adams (1988) que dedicou grande parte da sua investigação a esta temática, defende que a literatura de viagens tem sido, ao longo dos séculos, tão popular como qualquer outro tipo de literatura, sendo, no entanto, muitas vezes negligenciada. Ao longo dos tempos, este género tem sido utilizado como fonte de informação, tendo proliferado, nos últimos anos, os estudos sobre a Viagem e sobre a perceção da sua relevância para o conhecimento das atitudes perante um dado espaço estrangeiro, geográfico, social e cultural (Coelho, 2003: 10). Estes testemunhos poderão ser de variada ordem, “desde o escrito mais ou menos autobiográfico e memorialista até ao relato de viagem, passando pelo relatório e apreciação de índole puramente comercial ou científica” (Clara, 1991: 57), e, apesar da evidente subjetividade que caracteriza estas obras e do “problemático relativismo que é característico da perspetiva dos viajantes”, este tipo de relatos poderá constituir uma fonte quase inesgotável para o conhecimento da realidade, neste caso portuguesa, em momentos específicos na história e, como tal, fontes incontornáveis. No entanto, há que fazer a sua utilização, ponderando sempre a “intrínseca subjetividade das mesmas, os seus vestígios caricaturais e metafóricos” (Clara, 1991: 65).

Nesta perspetiva, defendemos serem sempre novas formas de olhar: é através dele que se avaliam as mudanças no espaço e se captam as diferenças culturais (Rojek & Urry 1997: 5). O território estrangeiro é uma novidade, mas também um espaço de aprendizagem. Desde sempre se escreveu acerca da “Arte de Viajar” (expressão encontrada no título do livro de Alain de Botton, *A arte de viajar*, de 2004, próxima da visão do estrangeiro, a sua recriação do Outro e a natural atração pelo desconhecido).

A questão coloca-se: como interpretar as paisagens ao analisar um relato ou uma narrativa? Quais os seus significados? Até porque a atividade percetiva parece condicionar a atitude descritiva e esta última indicia a consciência do exercício da perceção como

o lugar de uma escolha, de uma discriminação e, por isso, de uma produção de sentido (Buescu, 1990: 181).

4. O Rio Douro nos relatos dos viajantes

A primeira metade do século XIX foi para Portugal uma época de guerra e golpes militares pouco propícios às viagens e deslocações. Mas, paradoxalmente, fizeram despertar o interesse pelo país e uma certa curiosidade por esta periferia europeia. Surgem os viajantes que, teimosamente e com motivações díspares, circulam nas nossas estradas, superam as dificuldades e percorrem o território.

Assim sendo, se são inúmeros os relatos escritos sobre viagens no Portugal do século XVIII, muitos mais são os que se situam no século posterior. Entre uns e outros, as diferenças são notáveis, até porque as obras literárias, na sua generalidade, não se podem alienar da época em que foram escritas. Mais ainda, tratando-se de literatura de viagens onde as descrições abordam sempre questões da atualidade política e social. As motivações para a viagem e os objetivos e predisposição dos viajantes começam a alterar-se. Esta começa a ser encarada mais como uma experiência para a alma do que uma atividade intelectual, mais uma satisfação pessoal e individual, do que uma experiência para benefício da sociedade, através dos conhecimentos acumulados (Serrano, 1993: 1).

A narrativa do viajante do século XVIII foi dando lugar à escrita do viajante dito romântico do século XIX, mais sensível a novas experiências. E, se Portugal não era assim tão distante geograficamente, era seguramente um reino desconhecido e como tal aliciente para os ditos românticos, em busca do extraordinário e distante do seu quotidiano. De facto, sustenta-se ainda, no período cronológico em análise, a ideia de que, embora europeus, os portugueses eram povos do Sul, “território longínquo no tempo e no espaço, conotado com barbárie e incivilização, mas, também por isso, simultaneamente sonhado e desejado” (Coelho, 2003: 8).

O viajante romântico permite-se a sentimentos próprios, sendo muitas vezes o protagonista da viagem, ocupando não só o lugar de narrador, mas também tecendo comentários acerca do seu estado de espírito. As descrições perduram, porém, menos na perspetiva descritiva e procurando mais a diferença e a identidade do local, face à sua própria realidade observada. Os viajantes românticos passaram por caminhos semelhantes aos das décadas anteriores;

porém, estes denotavam um espírito contemplador para com a paisagem, com a qual se extasiavam.

Será precisamente esta sensibilidade que determinará uma perceção da paisagem mais complexa, mais como um tema em si mesmo. Dentro deste contexto, poder-se-á justificar o papel da busca do exótico como corrente impulsionadora das viagens em Portugal, viajantes atraídos por terras periféricas, mais distantes e tradicionais.

Estes interesses levam-nos ao propósito da viagem, que obviamente influenciava a forma de escrever o relato. Será difícil encontrar o protótipo do viajante que percorreu Portugal na primeira metade do século XIX, sendo estudiosos ou eruditos que aproveitaram a sua estada em Portugal para conhecer os seus costumes, manifestações culturais, históricas, sendo que o objetivo principal se transformava numa transmissão de conhecimentos e, para tal, muitas vezes, compilavam informação sobre os aspetos geográficos, económicos, históricos e etnográficos. Quando se encontram relatos menos rigorosos no seu conteúdo informativo e descritivo sobre o espaço, sente-se mais presente o espírito do romantismo e, conseqüentemente, uma qualidade literária diferente, mais próxima do leitor. Conjuntamente não se pode falar de rutura entre os relatos do início e do fim da primeira metade do século XIX. Pode-se, sim, considerar que alguns se inscrevem nos enciclopédicos, embora coexistam os que nos foram mais úteis, com características marcadamente mais românticas, não se podendo estabelecer um ciclo temporal eficaz para a sua classificação. Se conseguimos localizar algumas motivações nos campos do lazer e da aprendizagem, encontrámos sempre, igualmente presente, a vontade de instruir futuros interessados na mesma experiência. São os casos de Kinsey e de Kingston. O primeiro informa-nos, no prefácio da sua obra, de que o objetivo da sua visita se relacionava com a recolha de factos interessantes através da sua observação pessoal, pretendendo dar a conhecer aos ingleses os costumes e usos dos portugueses (Kinsey, 1828: vi). Simultaneamente, revela-se uma personalidade com sentido de viajante, pois valoriza o ato de viajar, como fonte de conhecimento e de aprendizagem, apesar das contrariedades que se encontram nesta atividade lúdica (Kinsey, 1828: 13). Kingston mostra também muito cedo um evidente gosto por viajar o que revelaria através da publicação de diversas narrativas de viagem. Desejava abarcar muitos pontos de interesse diferentes, deixando-se levar pelas suas anotações tomadas durante as viagens, completando um *Guide-book to travellers* (dedicado a *english readers* para aperfeiçoarem o conhecimento acerca do país), ilustrativo do estado político, social e religioso dos portugueses (Kingston, 1845, I: v).

4.1. Território: água, solo e vertentes

A nossa abordagem, no presente estudo, estará sempre mais próxima da região designada no início do século XIX por “País Vinhateiro do Alto Douro”; os limites da região produtora de vinho do Alto Douro e o levantamento cartográfico do seu espaço são representados tardiamente, aquando da publicação, em 1843, do *Mappa do paiz vinhateiro*.

Nos finais do século XVIII, Murphy introduz as condições da navegabilidade do rio Douro e a ideia do termo do território, pois, de facto, a 22 léguas do Porto, o Cachão da Valeira, em S. João da Pesqueira, funcionava como o limite à navegabilidade do Douro, o que se repercutiu no espaço, dada a impossibilidade de escoamento da produção vinícola. Este ponto do Cachão vê-se refletido nas demarcações, quer nas Pombalinas (1757-1761), quer nas Marianas (1788-1793), e a sub-região a montante, hoje denominada Douro Superior.

Carnarvon, em 1827, confina sempre o *wine-district* como parte integrante de Trás-os-Montes, não se referindo ao Alto Douro. Já Kinsey, em 1828, mais documentado, vai construir o seu texto sobre o *wine-country* do Alto Douro e os *upper Douro wines*. Estas expressões inglesas seriam as que dariam título ao mapa de Forrester: *Map of the wine district of the Alto Douro* e à expressão *Paiz vinhateiro do Alto Douro*.

O valor excecional da Paisagem Vitícola Duriense (Figura 1) sempre assentou na unicidade da relação do homem com a natureza e na adversidade dos seus elementos – água, solo e vertentes (Aguiar, 2002: 146).

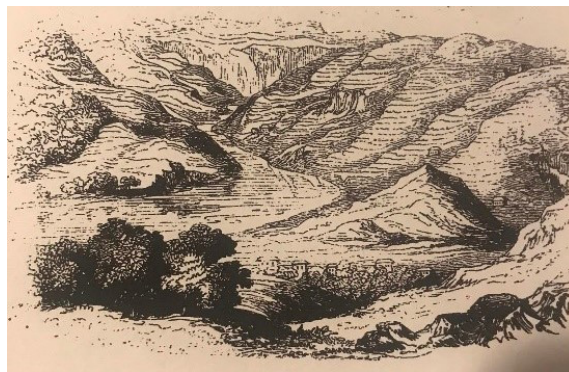


FIGURA 1.
View of the Alto Douro. Fonte: Kingston, 1845, I: 51

Estes elementos são recorrentemente referidos pelos viajantes e presentes nos seus relatos, e a observação do rio Douro surge quase sempre circunscrita à paisagem envolvente.

As características do rio Douro que mais impressionam os visitantes são a irregularidade do seu regime, as variações do seu caudal e o carácter de rio de montanha. Com as cheias súbitas e destruidoras.

Kingston atribui a tonalidade do rio e o amarelo das suas águas a estas chuvas abundantes, escrevendo: “The rio d’Ouro is, literally, the river of gold. I suspect however it gained its name from the colour of its waters after rain [...]” (Kingston, 1845, I: 61).

Todos se mostram impressionados com os vales profundos e os íngremes penhascos por onde corria o rio Douro.

Os registos dos viajantes reportam-se quase exclusivamente ao rio Douro, como se este fosse um elemento isolado, não sendo possível descortinar a densa rede hidrográfica da área em análise. O facto de os afluentes não serem navegáveis talvez seja uma das razões para a sua exclusão nas descrições do Douro.

O contraste entre as margens, a do Norte, mais soalheira e com mais vinha, e a do Sul, mais pobre, vai surgindo no discurso dos viajantes, quando estes se acercavam do rio Douro, ou seja, quando lhes era possível observar as duas margens em simultâneo. Kinsey refere a eleição da margem norte do rio como produtora do melhor vinho (Kinsey, 1828).

Kinsey diz-nos que as vertentes preferidas para a cultura do vinho eram de declive tão acentuado que a terra era suportada por pequenos muros que convertiam as vertentes da montanha em terraços (Kinsey, 1828: 328). E, para os viajantes, o surpreendente era observar os terraços, um atrás do outro, desde a água até aos cumes, acompanhando as curvas do terreno. Esta configuração “inclinada” do território chega a criar um desgaste no olhar do turista que, então, procura paisagens mais amenas, como o Peso da Régua (Figura 2).



FIGURA 2.
Região. Fonte: Forrester, 1848, constante no *Mappa do Douro portuguez e paiz adjacente (...)*

Para além da paisagem predominante no Alto Douro, o esforço humano de adaptação da cultura da vinha às difíceis condições, como aprender a superar a escassez de água e o declive do terreno, é exposto pelos viajantes, tal como é referido nos relatos de viagem de Kinsey (Kinsey, 1828). Foi este esforço que levou, 173 anos depois, à inscrição do Alto Douro Vinhateiro na Lista do Património Mundial da UNESCO na categoria de Paisagem Cultural Evolutiva e Viva.

Mas, se os viajantes, na primeira metade do século XIX, eram unânimes em considerar que o vinho era a principal produção do terreno e que a forma assumida pelas vinhas no terreno era muito graciosa, frequentemente consideravam ser a união com outras espécies o que dava uma aparência pitoresca ao vinhedo, tal como nos descreve Kinsey:

After all, however, the most graceful form by far assumed by the vine, is when it united with the branches of the oak, the chestnut, the myrtle, or the cork tree, displaying itself in luxuriant festoons, and appearing to struggle with its ally for distinction. Intercepted among the vines are often seen orange, lemon, almond, peach, cherry, olive, plum, mulberry, fig, and chestnut trees, which add greatly to the picturesque appearance of the vineyard (Kinsey, 1828: 336).

O autor mostra-se impressionado com o facto de se encontrarem espécies mediterrâneas como citrinos, a oliveira e o sobreiro a estas latitudes e sob a influência atlântica.

No entanto, estas “outras” espécies não seriam tão frequentemente encontradas nos vinhedos onde os melhores vinhos eram produzidos, sendo que, nestas áreas, apenas se avistava vinha, originando monotonia. Kingston, em 1845, com o olhar cansado das vertentes intermináveis em terraços, encanta-se com a paisagem para leste do santuário de São Domingos do Monte Coxo pela sua diversidade: algumas montanhas coroadas de vinha, de algumas árvores, mas outras áridas e acidentadas, mais sombrias e verdes vales e riachos, intrincando o seu curso até ao rio.

Não se pode estranhar esta hiperconotação do vinho na paisagem, dado que seria esta a grande referência que os viajantes traziam no seu íntimo, o que, de certo modo, veio desertificar um pouco a paisagem descrita (Kingston, 1845, II: 166).

4.2. A navegação fluvial do Douro

Se, no começo do século XIX, a generalidade dos caminhos portugueses permanecia num estado obsoleto, resignados ao que a natureza havia cedido, no

interior, não existiam estradas merecedoras desse nome (Ferreira, 1999). Desta forma, as barcas de passagem tinham um papel muito importante na ligação que faziam entre as margens, nos diversos cais e portos, sendo, assim, possível prosseguir as comunicações.

Particularmente Kingston, porque circulou mais pelo Douro, desanimava com a lentidão nas deslocações na região. As problemáticas estradas do Douro fazem com que, já no fim da primeira metade do século XIX, estabeleça uma comparação entre a marcha nas viagens em Inglaterra e em Portugal (Kingston, 1845, II).

O autor reforça a ideia de que esta área empobrecida possuía recursos para se tornar um forte destino de visita, particularmente por ingleses, não fossem os maus acessos: “Should this road be formed, the Douro will be as much visited as the Rhine; and the English tourists, satiated with other beaten parts of Europe, will flock in crowds to Portugal, scattering their wealth over the now impoverished land” (Kingston, 1845, II: 360).

Comprovada a condição das vias terrestres neste território, a via fluvial torna-se a mais apetecível. Os viajantes também atribuem às vias fluviais um papel de fuga face ao isolamento a que a região se encontrava votada. E quem fazia esta viagem pelo rio considerava-a agradável e um escape às viagens terrestres proporcionadas no território português.

A circulação fluvial era vista pelos passageiros como relativamente ativa, com muitos barcos, descendo o rio cheios de vinho e subindo de regresso à Régua, carregados de pipas vazias (Figura 3) e de vários artigos de consumo para a população do país vinhateiro (Kinsey, 1828: 334-335).

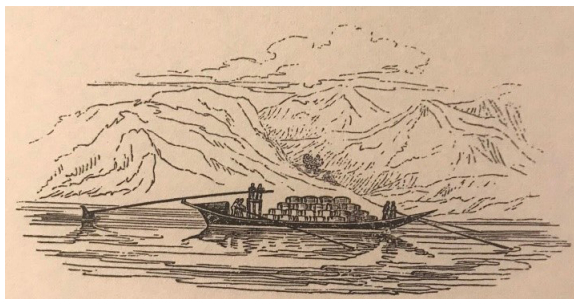


FIGURA 3.
The Wine Boat. Fonte: Kingston, 1845, II: 364

As maiores dificuldades em transpor os obstáculos eram observadas nas embarcações que subiam do Porto, para um qualquer porto do Cima Douro. O

movimento no rio era intenso, mas continuamente delicado, muitas vezes só exequível recorrendo a cordas e à força animal (Kinsey, 1828).

Os viajantes procuravam descrever os barcos de madeira, os rabelos, que navegavam no rio Douro (Figura 4). Curiosamente, detêm-se pouco em detalhes estéticos e mais em questões técnicas e práticas para o viajante.



FIGURA 4.
Um barco do Alto Douro. Fonte: Forrester, 1848, constante no *Mappa do Douro portuguez e paiz adjacente (...)*

Assim, segundo Kinsey, os barcos eram planos e baixos, o que seria inevitável, para poderem ultrapassar os baixios e contornar os rápidos com segurança. A tripulação era geralmente composta por cinco homens, um dos quais, aparentemente o patrão, estava encarregue do leme (Kinsey, 1828: 333). No período das cheias, descritas com frequência, a navegação muitas vezes era interrompida. De facto, são emocionantes os relatos das viagens empreendidas no rio Douro, face à necessidade de vencer a irregularidade do leito do rio, onde, além de cachões (saltos na corrente, formando turbilhões) e saltos (quedas de água) existiam muitos pontos (Figura 5) que comprimiam as águas contra as rochas, muitas vezes, escondidas pela subida do caudal (Cardoso, 1998: 119; Pereira, 2001: 6197).

Nesta primeira metade do século XIX, entre aqueles que visitavam o Alto Douro, um número substancial optava por regressar ao Porto pelo rio apesar das dificuldades de navegação. A navegação da Régua ao Porto durava dois dias, sendo possível encurtar esta duração, se o vento e o rio o permitissem. Kinsey tinha como objetivo chegar num dia e, como era inevitável ultrapassar numerosos baixios e enfrentar um vento desfavorável, embarcaram muito cedo (Kinsey, 1828). Começamos então a viagem na Régua, onde o rio era relativamente calmo. Carnarvon, contemplativo, quando entra no barco que o

transportaria até ao Porto, conta que a manhã estava deliciosa, sem nuvens, sendo a água de uma profunda cor verde. Observada do rio, a natureza parece-lhes mais variada e os viajantes comentam a vinha com a oliveira e os sobreiros. Com as vinhas a começarem a assumir a cor outonal vermelha (tinta), Carnarvon compõe: “The banks were hilly, and the windings of the river exhibited a succession of pleasing landscapes: terrace rose above terrace, and the vines beginning to assume the bright autumnal tint, formed a lively contrast to the grey clive and dark that stood in the background” (Carnarvon, 1836: 103104).



FIGURA 5. Ponto do Salto da Sardinha. Fonte: Forrester, 1848, constante no *Mappa do Douro portuguez e paiz adjacente (...)*

O ciclo e o alterar das cores da folhagem das vinhas, verde após o inverno, que se prolonga pela primavera e verão, para ganhar os tons outonais, depois da vindima.

A uma milha do ponto de partida na Régua, passavam pela colina vinhateira de Cambres, na outra margem, elevada sobre a Régua e limitando a linha do horizonte para o Sul. Olhando para trás em direção ao Peso, Kinsey observa as numerosas montanhas, esguias e distantes, como que marcando a direção e os limites do País do Vinho, ou seja, as manchas sucessivas de vinha pelos montes. Após Moledo, aproximam-se das quedas. Kinsey é exemplar na descrição da sua aventura, salientando o barulho das correntes, a gritaria dos homens do barco e as apreensões constantes, traduzindo respeito e prazer em simultâneo (Kinsey, 1828: 339).

Kinsey descreve que as matas que adornavam as margens rochosas do rio abundavam de rolas e rouxinóis. O cenário do Alto Douro consistia, como já se referiu anteriormente, em pinheiros, carvalhos, castanheiros e oliveiras, entremeadas, por sobreiros e mirtos. Mas, à medida que avançavam, a paisagem

compreendia rochas completamente destituídas de vegetação em contraste com árvores até aos cumes das montanhas.

Mas não havia muito tempo para grandes considerações, pois, na área de Barqueiros, entravam nos rápidos e em estranguladas passagens, onde o rio corria por um estreito canal, envolto, de ambos os lados, por “black and inaccessible rocks of granite, iron, and basalt” (Carnarvon, 1836: 104). Em muitos locais, as rochas assumiam uma grotesca aparência, com formações singulares e estranhas formas; de facto, estas estariam perfuradas e trabalhadas pela constante ação da água. Kinsey descreve o cenário rochoso do Douro como muito característico, possuindo uma faceta que considera quase terrífica: “There is a wildness about it almost terrific” (Kinsey, 1828: 340).

Desta forma, o cenário, ao longo das margens do Douro, a pouca distância da Régua, é descrito como harmonioso, mas selvagem, e, a contrastar com a serenidade da paisagem, irrompia grande excitação na passagem dos rápidos ou saltos. A água, num espaço confinado, corria entre altos penhascos, sobre acidentadas pedras. As ondas espumosas saltavam alto, salpicando o barco, que se lançava para cima e para baixo; eram momentos de nervosismo para os viajantes; os rochedos escuros mostravam-se muito perto em cada margem, podendo a cada momento destruir o barco; porém, uma mão hábil guiava a vara do leme e, quando o barco parecia apressar-se para o “seu destino” (Kingston, 1845, II: 298), afastava-se da terra e o perigo passava.

Depois tudo acalmava. O cenário também assumia, progressivamente, um carácter mais suave; as margens, menos elevadas e mais abertas e cobertas de povoamento mais denso, são preenchidas por oliveiras, castanheiros e prados: há mais verde, manchas de pinheiros e hortas.

As propostas dos guias de viagem centram-se na descida do rio Douro, que, segundo os guias de viagem, era, já no início da segunda metade do século XIX, acessível e perfeitamente transitável. A viagem começava em Barca d’Alva, precisamente onde as margens são portuguesas. Deste ponto até ao Salto de Sardinha percorreria uma sucessão de enormes rochedos, com uma pernoita na Régua. Daqui podia-se chegar ao Porto em oito, doze ou dezasseis horas (Murray, 1852: 51-52).

Esta rota foi integralmente baseada no trabalho desenvolvido por Forrester, expresso no seu *Mappa do Douro portuguez e paiz adjacente*, de 1848. Este mapa inclui um outro mapa reduzido à escala de duas léguas por polegada, “a fim de mostrar o tempo que um barco pequeno gastava por legoa tanto no Verão como no Inverno”. Neste mapa, estão desenhadas as sinuosidades do curso do rio, marcados 210 pon-

tos de difícil navegação, como o temível Cachão da Valeira (Figura 6), assim como as léguas, estimadas pelos barqueiros desde a foz do rio Douro a todos os lugares onde havia barcas de passagem.

Para aqueles que pretendiam estar no rio apenas um dia, o pequeno itinerário de Lamego ao Peso seria agradável; obviamente que a descida e o seu encanto variavam com o tempo, com a quantidade de água no rio e com a capacidade do viajante em superar a fadiga provocada pelo barco (*Hints to travellers...*, 1852: 52).

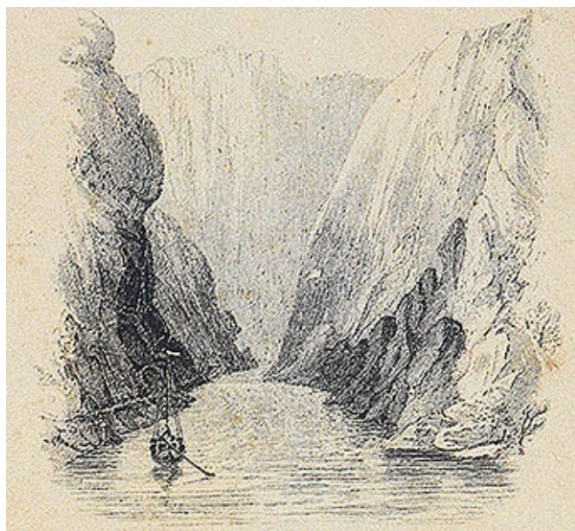


FIGURA 6. Ponto do Cachão da Baleira. Fonte: Forrester, 1848, constante no *Mappa do Douro portuguez e paiz adjacente (...)*

De facto, os guias, pelo seu carácter sintético e pelo facto de se apoderarem, sucessivamente, dos conhecimentos e relatos de viajantes, acabam por acrescentar pouco à nossa análise do Alto Douro.

O guia *Hints to travellers in Portugal* explica que, nas vertentes do Alto Douro, o cenário poderia tornar-se monótono, oferecendo pouca variedade, devendo os viajantes procurar conhecer a diversidade existente noutras porções do rio, mais graciosas (*Hints to travellers...*, 1852: 53). Destacam sobretudo a grandiosidade do rio Douro, mais do que a da vinha. Indiferente, o viajante não ficaria: “It were worth any person’s while to go to Portugal, if it were only to luxuriate in the never-ending beauties of this charming river” (*Hints to travellers...*, 1852: 53).

Obviamente que, durante a segunda metade do século XIX, a facilidade de navegação é notória, porque muitos dos impedimentos identificados no mapa são eliminados, mas a sua utilização por parte

dos viajantes não acompanhou este progresso devido à abertura da linha de caminho de ferro e no fim do século XIX começam a escassear as menções à utilização desta via.

Na verdade, apesar da linha férrea, o movimento fluvial continuava relativamente intenso. De acordo com Brito Aranha, nos finais do século XIX, ainda se observavam cerca de 800 barcos dos designados “barcos de carreira”, pois transportavam simultaneamente passageiros e mercadorias (Aranha, 1871: 204). Portanto, a par do seu aspeto peculiar, nada fazia esquecer a sua principal função, o transporte de vinhos até às caves em Vila Nova de Gaia, depreendendo-se pouca utilidade para uso turístico: “Néanmoins des barques à fond plat, en forme de navettes, pointues à chaque extrémité, font le transport des vins” (Gros, 1911: 194). Hoje, pelo contrário, a vocação é exclusivamente turística e conforme os dados pré-covid, em 2019, o número de passageiros foi de 1 645 133 (APDL, 2019). Existem a operar no Douro cerca de 186 embarcações que disponibilizam uma grande variedade de ofertas turísticas que vão desde o passeio simples de curta duração até ao cruzeiro semanal em barco-hotel de luxo. Mas tem-se verificado uma tendência de crescimento do número de turistas fluviais e da frota de embarcações navio-hotel para os cruzeiros turísticos:

Tipologia de embarcações	N.º Embarcações	%
Semirrígido/fibra/iate/veleiro	1	–
House Boat	0	
Pequeno porte	133	64%
Médio porte	14	7%
Grande porte	9	4%
Barco Rabelo	25	12%
Navio-hotel	26	13%
Total	208	

TABELA 2. Tipologia de embarcações no Douro. Fonte: APDL (2019)

Os barcos rabelos representam 12% do total da frota e 19% do total das embarcações de pequeno porte (Tabela 2).

No século XX, quando o transporte de vinho era já maioritariamente transportado pelo caminho de ferro, o rio mantinha alguma atratividade pela imponência e pela aventura, o que justifica que os guias as fomentassem. A viagem nos barcos era facilmente acessível se se contactasse um transportador previamente: “A voyage in one of these boats, which may be arranged by introduction to an Oporto wine-shipper, is an exciting experience, as much skill is required to navigate the rapids” (Muirhead, 1929: 277).

Nos anos seguintes, os guias vão escassear, mantendo a colagem à linha do Douro e à encruzilhada dos seus ramais, até esta informação deixar de ser útil nos guias. Em 1930, a viagem Porto-Barca d’Alva durava apenas 6 horas, tida como agradável e com grande beleza paisagística (Crockett, 1930: 325). Os caminhos de ferro haviam compreendido a importância do seu papel no desenvolvimento do turismo e, por tal razão, a informação acerca das linhas, condições, horários e pontos de contacto, estava agora disponível e com informação adicional em publicações específicas.

Na primeira metade do século XX, os transportes estavam instituídos e não tardaria que a essência dos guias de viagem sofresse um revés. Os guias deixam de propor itinerários e rotas ligados às vias de circulação e a preocupação centra-se na vivência local. O culminar desta mudança deu-se com o aparecimento de guias turísticos e literatura que contém leitura de entretenimento a par da descrição de lugares com o respetivo contexto histórico e cultural, abrangendo os habitantes locais e os seus costumes.

A viagem no rio Douro continuava a ser tida como uma aventura rara que conjugava a beleza das encostas com o aroma proveniente do vinho dos barris, e vai sendo repetidamente apresentada pelos guias da segunda metade do século XX de forma romântica, relatando as dificuldades e a necessidade de vencer a irregularidade do rio, onde, além de cachões e saltos, existiam muitos pontos que comprimiam as águas contra as rochas, muitas vezes escondidas pela subida do caudal (Cardoso, 1988: 119).

Denota-se, nos guias de viagem europeus do início da segunda metade do século XX, um retorno à imagem traçada do Douro e dos durienses provavelmente por força das políticas do Estado Novo face às tradições e ao turismo. Inesperadamente, voltava-se a impulsionar a descida fluvial do rio num barco rabelo, tida como uma rara e inesquecível aventura (Fodor, 1952: 405), mas, como já vimos, o rio já havia visto cair a sua vitalidade.

Esta imagem romantizada subsiste no tempo, mas, na verdade, a realidade era já outra, pois já era possível empreender esta viagem num barco a motor tal como nos explica Fodor, em 1960: “Ordinarily

it is enough to see all this in a motor trip” (Fodor, 1960: 404).

Sabemos que a construção de barragens e eclusas e a conseqüente regularização do caudal permitiram outra navegação mais segura. Hoje, cinco barragens permitem a gestão da água e o crescimento de uma nova prática – o turismo fluvial, mas agora em cruzeiros e em águas serenas.

As variadas formas de representação dos povos e espaços/lugares no mundo e como estão documentadas e relatadas ao longo dos séculos têm imenso impacto na configuração de como os turistas as imaginam e perspetivam. Deste modo, procurou-se fazer a aproximação dos relatos do passado e das leituras que o território em questão despertava nos viajantes, com a leitura presente e com a produção discursiva e opções promocionais atuais, numa análise qualitativa aos comentários do *TripAdvisor*. Na análise dos discursos presentes na promoção das excursões/cruzeiros/tours pelo vale do Douro e nas avaliações/opiniões dos viajantes, destacam-se os atributos constantes na Figura 7:



FIGURA 7.
Atributos nos discursos atuais

Nesta análise, muitos referem o “ainda” e a descrições perto das do século XIX. A paisagem, os socialcos, os vinhedos, o vinho e a sua história. A tranquilidade, o intimismo e o idílico numa região ainda hoje tão pobre.

Na verdade, nesta linguagem da imagem turística, Aramberri (2011: 326) fala de três R: romanticismo, regressão e renascimento. O romantismo refere-se aos objetos de desejo turístico, a regressão à promessa e à fantasia do regresso à simplicidade, e o renascimento

à ideia de natureza autêntica e do mito do genuíno. Mas, muitas vezes, os mitos, fazendo parte da tradição cultural de um povo, não são tão reais como parecem.

Mas era certa a aproximação da nossa leitura com a produção discursiva e opções promocionais atuais. Um estudo recente sobre os folhetos turísticos do Douro que também pretendia compreender de que forma são construídos a imagem e o imaginário do destino Douro nos folhetos turísticos, no que respeita à variável “natureza & paisagem”, os valores percentuais brutos revelavam a sua presença em 58,3% dos elementos textuais dos folhetos analisados. Os dados mostram que “água & rio” é uma variável presente em 46,2% dos textos dos folhetos turísticos, enquanto imagens alusivas a água e rio surgiram em 55,5% dos folhetos. No que se refere à “vinha & socalcos”, esta variável esteve presente em apenas 26,9% das descrições e em 37,8% das imagens, dando maior destaque ao rio do que à própria paisagem duriense patrimonializada (Bernardo; Mafredo & Pereira, 2021).

Nesta análise comparativa, podemos anuir que a imagem dos lugares, um fator fundamental na sua promoção, pode condicionar os discursos turísticos e os investimentos. Há uma constante reconstrução da imagem sobre o Alto Douro Vinhateiro na produção discursiva e opções promocionais atuais.

5. Conclusão

Para estabelecermos a imagem do rio Douro na primeira metade do século XIX, produzida por autores que percorreram e narraram esta região, tivemos que observar o universo dos viajantes e do viajar, em Portugal. E a história dos nacionais e dos estrangeiros foi-se associar, subtilmente, a esta análise. Para o fim proposto, trabalhamos os escritos dos viajantes estrangeiros, guias de viagem, as memórias de nacionais e os mapas. Consideramos que, por entre as opções metodológicas tomadas, uma das mais importantes foi o facto de se ter optado por analisar relatos diversos.

Neste exame, conseguimos compreender não só as particularidades de cada uma das fontes, mas, igualmente, aproximações distintas ao rio Douro da primeira metade do século XIX. Esta diversidade de materiais permitiu-nos uma viagem constante entre diferentes observações, o que possibilitou uma viagem com um único fim, mas com vários itinerários.

Há uma afinidade muito forte entre todos os relatos de viagem estudados, porque se denota sucessivamente que se releem e se reescrevem.

Procurámos viajantes que expressavam viajar sem imposições, para conhecer, para ver, para experimentar sensações. Mas, mesmo nestes, sentia-se

sempre uma vontade de regresso pré-anunciado ao seu quotidiano habitual: poucos ficaram muitas semanas, poucos aprenderam português, poucos se aventuraram em áreas pouco usuais. Todos se gabam de procurar nos locais as diferenças, particularmente das suas próprias referências, mas depois não sabem lidar muito bem com os constrangimentos associados a um país “mais atrasado” do que o seu: com maus acessos, com um povo possuidor de um modo de vida distinto.

Na verdade, as nossas leituras e itinerários nunca nos deixaram esquecer que, durante esse meio século, Portugal se encontrava dividido, instável e carregado de suspeição. Portugal, na primeira metade de Oitocentos, era para os portugueses um país desunido e incerto. Para os estrangeiros, era uma nação longínqua e exótica. E, para os viajantes, um território obsoleto, mas interessante.

Enquanto procurávamos visualizar o rio Douro, encontrámos a mancha de vinha e a área produtora de vinho, uma terra seca e acidentada, difícil de percorrer, repleta de vinhas e terraços. Imponente. Encontramos o confronto não com a riqueza e a abundância, mas com outra realidade mais adversa. Muitas vezes esquecem o trabalho de adaptação do homem a este ambiente e criticam a monocromia instalada que, por vezes, cansa-lhes o olhar.

Constantemente analisam o que a região não possuía em face do conforto necessário ao viajante, centrando-se nas dificuldades da viagem: que o afazer da viagem, especialmente para estas regiões mais recônditas era difícil de conceber. Deste modo, eram condicionados a realizar os itinerários mais seguros e comuns num barco rabelo com destino ao Porto. Mas mesmo esta viagem, embora com um balanço final agradável, era combativa e difícil.

Mais do que o encantamento face ao observado pelos viajantes, pretendeu-se transmitir a visão geral da paisagem envolvente do rio Douro e das suas vivências que se transportam até aos nossos dias. A viagem no rio Douro continua a ser tida como uma aventura rara que conjuga a beleza das encostas com o aroma proveniente do vinho dos barris, e vai sendo repetidamente apresentada, de forma romantizada na atualidade.

O viajante oitocentista, analisado, romântico, permite-se a sentimentos próprios, ocupando não só o lugar de narrador, mas também tecendo comentários acerca do seu estado de espírito. Tinham, como vimos, um espírito contemplador para com a paisagem.

Quando se encontram relatos menos rigorosos no seu conteúdo informativo e descritivo sobre os espaços, sente-se mais presente o espírito do romantismo e mais próximo do leitor.

A sua imagem romântica, tão fortemente divulgada no século XIX, subsiste no tempo e é o filão de ouro para o marketing do território duriense.

Hoje, tal como no passado, a viagem começa a ser encarada mais como uma experiência para a alma do que uma atividade intelectual, mais uma satisfação pessoal e individual do que uma experiência para benefício da sociedade, através dos conhecimentos acumulados. É o viajante em busca do extraordinário e do distante do seu quotidiano.

O artigo visou ilustrar o processo dinâmico de figuração cultural da região, que reflete a nostálgica visão do rio, dos socacos e da vindima. Apesar de o rio Douro possuir características turísticas específicas, vinculado a um eixo de identidade quase unitário, talvez se deva pensar na diversificação da imagem, atenuando estereótipos e redirecionando vocações para a sua nova funcionalidade: a turística.

Enquanto as representações turísticas se focam sucessivamente no vinho, um crescente aumento de procura turística “dita cultural”, com vontade de contacto com os locais e com o lugar e de conhecer os modos de vida das populações locais desde a sua própria autointerpretação, requer que a população local e o território sejam integrados no processo de desenvolvimento turístico, de forma efetiva, o que vem provar que o marketing territorial pode tirar partido de imagens simplificadas, mas pode também ser vítima desse mesmo reducionismo.

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Tourism and Modernity in 19th century Portugal: Ramalho Ortigão's national waterscapes travel books

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Abstract

Among his travel writing works, the Nineteenth Century Portuguese writer Ramalho Ortigão was dedicated to the knowledge of his national territory. He published *Banhos de caldas e águas minerais* (*Thermal baths and mineral waters*) and *As praias de Portugal* (*Portugal beaches*), two books that remarked on the qualities of Portugal as a privileged waterscape country with a great potential for the development of tourism. As an heir of literary Romanticism but also as a positivist, the author created a very particular discourse within those books: tensions between nationalism or cosmopolitanism, artistic and scientific aims, and even literary or pragmatic discourse reside in both texts. Explaining such tensions brought about philosophical concepts to the scene: the German philosopher Peter Sloterdijk used the term *Verwöhnung* (pampering) to describe new social needs oriented to relief and comfort, like the idea of vacation. In Ramalho's time, Portuguese waterscapes began to satisfy those needs, and a type of national proto-Tourism took shape. Besides, pampering was not only related to relief but also to health. Medical sciences contributed to a social transformation and recreational places became a necessity rather than a luxury. Massive and rapid transportation, mostly trains, supplied citizens with quick and safe access to beaches and thermal waters. The methodology consists in discussing Ramalho's observations about his travels across the waterscapes of Portugal considering Sloterdijk's ideas on pampering in Modernity, some of which can be applied to

the Portuguese reality of the nineteenth century. By reading Ramalho's *Banhos de caldas e águas minerais* and *As praias de Portugal* under the philosophical framework of Peter Sloterdijk, it is possible to understand the deep entailment between the development of tourism as a response to modern life needs and the transformations of the literary discourse, that gained levity and gradually prioritized informative function instead of the aesthetic one.

Keywords

Ramalho Ortigão • Portuguese Literature • Peter Sloterdijk • Travel Literature • Tourism and Literature

1. Introduction

Portugal is a nation almost surrounded by water, and this fact is too meaningful for the history of Portuguese identity. Poems like Fernando Pessoa's *Mar Português* have reinforced national identity among Lusitanian citizens. On the other hand, tourism still represents a main part of the Portuguese national income. Weather, Andalusian heritage, Manueline style on historic buildings, fado, beaches, and nature represent powerful attractions for travelers. However, this kind of "heavenly" perception lies also in a discursive construction. Now, we have professional brand managers, copywriters, and a large advertising industry working on touristic promotion and, logically, we

can figure out that this condition did not prevail before the development of several concepts, needs and infrastructures, all of them related to Modernity in different ways.

Like other nations in Europe, tourism came to the Portuguese scene in the middle of the nineteenth century. Portuguese writers, diplomats, and travelers began to progressively import some practices, trends, and even needs, mostly from France and England, nations which were supposed to lead the development model of Global Modernity. One of those characters was Ramalho Ortigão. Although his work is still a little disregarded, compared to renowned intellectuals of his time like Eça de Queiroz or Antero de Quental, his traveling experience, the writings resulting from that experience, and his acuity for understanding the development potential of his nation, earned him the epithet of “precursor” when talking about Portuguese Tourism.

Best known for *As farpas* – a collection of journalistic and political writings published between 1871 and 1882 –, Ramalho Ortigão wrote several other books, especially travel books. He went to England, which resulted in *John Bull* (1887); to Holland, which led him to write *A Holanda* (1883); to France, Germany, Italy and Argentina, nations that inspired *Pela terra albeia* (1887) and a lot of texts about Brazil, Switzerland and many small villages across Portugal are found within the pages of *As farpas*. Ramalho's travels along Portuguese territory originated two more books: *Banhos de caldas e águas minerais* [*Thermal baths and mineral waters*] (1875) and *As praias de Portugal* [*Portugal beaches*] (1876). So, the main purpose of this paper is to reflect on the relation between these books and the development of the touristic industry in that country, regarding aspects such as structure, tone and the contents of both books which were written due to the emergence of a suitable audience.

As shown in the paragraph above, Ramalho Ortigão was a great traveler for his time. Indeed, he was the one who traveled the most among his generation of intellectuals. All this traveler expertise explains very well his interest in bringing Portugal a touristic development at the same level he noticed in countries like England, France, and Germany. Because of this, it is important to remember a very recent type of books that was developed, many years before, within those countries: the traveler guidebooks, which had a very large distribution for that time. I am talking about the Baedekers' in Germany, the Murrays' Handbooks in England, and the Joanne guides in France. It is not easy to find out if Ramalho Ortigão knew about those books during his trips because the structure and style of those guidebooks are very different from the work of this Portuguese writer, although one of their

similarities could be highlighted: the catalog structure, where readers can go directly to the information they are looking for, instead of following a linear order like it used to happen with traditional travel writing where the experiences of the traveler-author were in the spotlight, leaving in the background all the practical information for incoming travelers.

This feature is a real innovation in Portuguese writing about traveling, mostly when considering the fact that Ramalho's later travel writings present a different structure, similar to a treaty about the countries he visited. Besides, it is of interest to notice the link between writing and the development of a local touristic market that takes the readers into consideration. Even when Ramalho Ortigão auto-characterizes himself as “mais literato do que outra coisa” (cited in Vilela, 2011: 19), this time his writing dealt with more than strictly Literature but with the now emerging activity in Portugal: tourism.

2. Science, humor and modern life: *Banhos de caldas e águas minerais*

As a traveler knowledgeable of foreign touristic infrastructures, he developed a certain type of awareness about the future of tourism and the Portuguese potential for this activity. Other than his contact with traveler guidebooks and foreign touristic infrastructures, Universal Exposition in Paris, 1867, played an important role in Ramalho's interest in waterscapes, because there, for example, he had learned about Seltz and Vichy waters possessing highly-valuable health properties that are described in the initial pages of this first book, because his insight led him to think that Portugal had something very similar and promissory.

Published in 1875, *Banhos de caldas e águas minerais* is, actually, a catalog of places that would solve the modern needs for rest, relaxation, and health. According to Quintela, thermal waters were recommended as a paradigm of wholesome nature, and its relationship with medical speech and touristic interests can be already traced back to the nineteenth century (2004: 7). Besides, it is difficult to isolate those needs from the old romantic topic of the “Change of Air”, mostly when associated with health, as I will discuss soon. According to Bastos (2011), we can trace back the origins of the thermal baths practice in Portugal by the sixteenth century, at least, when the queen Dona Leonor established a hospital in a place still known as *Caldas da Rainha*, in her honor.

When saying “a hospital”, a relationship with Science takes place. And it is pertinent to keep in mind that Positivism was a prevailing epistemological trend in the second half of the nineteenth century,

and the author used to sympathize with it. According to Catroga (1977), the name Ramalho Ortigão appears under the label of “integrated to Positivist movement intellectuals” within the *História das ideias republicanas em Portugal* [*History of republican ideas in Portugal*] by Teófilo Braga, a remarkable historian of Ramalho's generation.

As a man of his time and loyal to his thinking school, Ortigão tried to present a scientific discourse within *Banhos de Caldas e águas minerais*. For instance, the medical authority is energetically reinforced when his advice is posed as the first step before any baths: “A primeira coisa que importa fazer ao ir para as caldas é consultar um bom médico. Seguir no uso de qualquer medico os conselhos de um ignorante ou de um empírico é mil vezes mais perigoso do que não tomar remédio nenhum” ([1875] 2019: 23). In addition to that advice, the author lists a lot of technical information such as salinity, water temperatures, healing properties, etc., for each place mentioned in the book. Aspects like this could be understood because of Positivism, but it's interesting to point out as well the role of Hygienism in the medical thinking of the time, as Quintela did (2004: 7). All those ideas framed the legitimization of thermalism and bath therapy, which used to be an old and extended practice, but with new and solid scientific support at the end of the nineteenth century. So, it is possible to suggest that a new social need had been created.

Attentive to this phenomenon, and with a very pragmatic and versatile spirit, Ramalho took advantage of the new social need and tried to be useful to Portuguese readers. Even when, some decades ago, Murray and Baedeker guides were available for European travelers, it seems that the author didn't base his writing on those models: he presents a very flexible discourse which uses to mix science with triviality, humor with erudition, and even a kind of lyricism with a pedagogic tone. Those aspects earned his writing style the qualification of “multimodal” by Ana Luísa Vilela (2011), who is a major researcher on Ramalho's work. The “multimodal” discourse lets the writer to blend two personal interests, one of them as a result of his traveling experience, and the other as a science buff.

By the way, Ramalho Ortigão seems to be aware of what kind of reader he was trying to reach. As a feuilleton writer and as a humorist, he portrayed some particularities of thermal waters visitors who would have share some qualities with his readers:

O brasileiro doente [...] quando se dirige a outros enfermos ou os outros enfermos se dirigem a ele, nunca se cumprimentam senão por partes:

– Como vai a perna? – Como está o fígado? –
Que é feito do estômago?

E, em vez de apertarem a mão, mostram o artelho, desabotoam o colete ou deitam a língua de fora.

Esta sociedade inválida tem as suas respetivas senhoras, que jogam um pouco à manilha, conhecem as diferenças atmosféricas pela sua dor de joelho e vão sempre ao banho. Mas não vão nunca ao picnic. (Ortigão, [1875] 2019: 145)

As the quotation shows, there is a concern about studying and amusing society in addition to the purpose of listing the main places for thermal bath therapy within Portuguese territory. Another aspect is the awareness of the relationship between Modernity and the new health needs. Júlio César Machado, a contemporary feuilleton writer who signed the prologue of *Banhos de caldas*, recognized how life in thermal waters meant a real change, an authentic *vita nuova*, as he asserted when linking the new practice with modern life:

A vida moderna faz doenças novas, que encontram alívio no descanso e na distração; distrair-se alguém em Lisboa de abril a outubro é difícil: as caldas conciliam tudo: mudança de ares, exercício ameno, banhos, copinho, peregrinação, entretenimento, *vita nuova*! Era indispensável adotar este regime, e o entusiasmo por ele está sendo sincero. ([1875] 2019: 12)

Thereby, waterscapes began to be more and more sought by urban visitors, who actually incarnate modern life. Because people needed to transport themselves and to lodge near or around thermal waters, railways, roads and hotels gradually started shaping the landscapes between cities and water sources; new cities were born with the emergency of an idle bourgeoisie which aimed to imitate aristocratic uses, creating a quick democratization process that reaches very soon the rising middle classes as I will show further.

When talking about “illness” and “relief”, I'm considering a key concept in Peter Sloterdijk's understanding of Modernity: pampering. The German philosopher uses the term pampering [Verwöhnung] to denote all “psychophysical and semantic reflexes of the relieving process that was inherent in the civilizational process from the start, but could only become fully visible in the age of a radical de-scarification of goods” (2013: 212). Boredom, for instance, can be considered an illness, which is a “psychosemantic consequence of the stay in the comfort [...] of an existence that finds constant peace, constant sustenance, and constant entertainment in its milieu” (ibid.).

Sloterdijk sees pampering as a general result of the erosion of “labor idolatry” “by the postmodernization of consciousness” (ibid.). This de-idolization of labor led to a “poly-dimensionally relieved society” (ibid.).

Within this context it is possible to understand the rise of waterscapes as a new center of that relieved society. Some lines before, I have mentioned the old romantic topic of “Change of Air”, which increased its relevance and its frequency in the day-to-day speech with the deepening of urbanization. Even at the time, leaving the city meant avoiding noise, hurries, routine, worries, etc., long before the very familiar notion of stress developed, as discussed in Morris (2017), who focused on the “Change of Air” as a medical and social construction within the Victorian period. Thus, leaving the city became one of the main activities of an individual belonging to the relieved society, and here we have a perfect example of how a literary topic becomes a cultural practice which then becomes a trend which turns into a real need, and even more so, remains as a very lasting feature of society.

When looking within the journals of the time, the rise of businesses can be traced as well. In locations such as the Algarve, in the very South of the country, it's not strange to find advertisements in regional journals that reveal the availability of services such as lodging, which could be rented for the season of bathing, as shown in this image, from *O Comércio do Sul* (1878):



MONCHIQUE THERMAL BATHS

Until March 4th, proposals for the lease of the guest house of Caldas do Monchique for the future bath season will be received, in a closed letter, addressed to the undersigned. The lease conditions are valid at the signatory's residence.

Faro, February 11th, 1878.

Antônio Frederico Gomes
Director

So, even in its early stages, the need to “Change of Air”, the opportunities for business, and the medically prescribed thermal baths configured, little by little, the touristic infrastructure of Portugal. Although regions like the Algarve were quite far from big cities such as Lisbon, waterscapes appeared very soon as powerful attractions not only because of the medical reasons which enticed people to seek thermal waters but also in pursuit of relief and leisure. As Pinto refers, this guest house in Caldas de Monchique had a piano and a billiard table (2013: 74), showing the link between recreation and health over the background curtain of the waterscapes, a phenomenon whose relevance was increased in *As praias de Portugal*, the second waterscapes book by Ramalho Ortigão, published a year later (1876), where the presence of relief and pampering lost its medical-hygienic basis.

3. From health to leisure: *As Praias de Portugal*

As we read this second book, it's possible to notice that relief is not only physical but intellectual for individuals. Ramalho's way of writing lets us observe this when looking at how his audience is addressed with the promise of light reading. The major consequence of this awareness is noticeable when the author sets aside all kinds of scientific aims and refused to bore his readers with very precise information about water temperature, salinity coefficients, specialized book references, various medical and hygienic advice supported in mere factual information. Instead, *As praias de Portugal* presents a very light and delightful catalog of beaches along the Portuguese territory, with brief stops in meaningful places like Foz, near Porto, where the author recalls his earliest memories with a dose of the unavoidable Portuguese *saudade*:

Foz! Saudosa Foz! Residência querida da minha infância tão afastada já –ai de mim! –destes anos duros! Com que terno prazer eu te saúdo, sempre que te avisto, ou penso em ti!

Estamos bem mudados ambos –velha amiga! –tu do que foste, eu do que era!

No tempo em que eu ia de chapéu de palha e de bibe, à tarde, apanhar conchinhas na costa, pela mão da minha avó, tu eras grave, simples,

burguesa, recolhida e silenciosa como uma horta em pleno campo. ([1876] 2014: 35)¹

The Foz entry is just one among eighteen descriptions of Portuguese beaches personally visited and studied by the author. Despite the melancholic tone observed in the quotation above, Ramalho still perceived this book as a guide, as we can see in the sub-heading (*Guia do banhista e do viajante* [*Guide for bathers and travelers*]) something that did not happen with *Águas de caldas*, published a year earlier. Facts like the evocative and nostalgic tone in the chapter about Foz make us doubt if Ramalho knew the model of guides like *Baedekers*, but in the subsequent chapters the poetic writing progressively seems to be displaced by a more informative and precise one. For the case of *Banhos de caldas e águas minerais*, it is a remarkable fact that, instead of the author, it was Júlio César Machado, again, the one who used the term “guide” to classify the book: “Deste louvável empreendimento vai o livro [...] ser de ora em diante o melhor guia e o melhor companheiro” (Ortigão, [1876] 2014: 12).²

Moreover, within *As praias de Portugal*, it is possible to corroborate another inherent process of Modernity: the pampering's expansion and its link with the democratization of the habits that I have mentioned before, which I can illustrate with extracts like this: “[Pedrouços é] a mansão oficial da vilegiatura burocrática de Lisboa. Chefes de secretaria, oficiais, amanuenses, tabeliães, guarda-livros, caixeiros de escritório, escrivães, retemperam anualmente em Pedrouços a sua pálida e sedentária fibra plumitiva. Por isso, Pedrouços, a uma légua de Lisboa, tem um pouco o aspecto de uma secretaria de Estado – ao ar livre” ([1876] 2014: 61).³

The use of belittling expressions such as “pencil pusher” clearly suggests that the middle classes began to partake in pampering and to indulge in the new

activities that, a little while back, used to be exclusive to aristocratic and bourgeois groups. Pedrouços beach plainly illustrates a phenomenon, which Peter Sloterdijk, based on König ideas, named “democratization of luxury” (2004), showing how new needs came along with new treasures, like free time, which deserves a remarkable place, because it could be used for leisure, and for baths, of course. The de-idolization of labor shows, this way, waterscapes as a new scenario and *objet du désir* at the core of the touristic development.

Because of that, connecting cities with waterscapes is another frequent issue within *As praias de Portugal*. By the time Ramalho Ortigão published his books, Portuguese railways reached an important development. For instance, according to the chronology of Comboios de Portugal website, a line between Lisbon and Madrid was inaugurated in 1868; likewise, waterscapes like Caldas da Rainha were included in bigger railway projects. On the other hand, railways development allowed for the rise of a different kind of tourism: it's possible to find a link between a railway project which pretended to reach big historic and touristic highlights like Alcobaça and the development of cultural tourism in the country. Returning to leisure, there is information about how, in the same decade, railway lines for beach villages like Cascais or Póvoa de Varzim were in progress, in order to link them with the main cities of Lisbon and Porto, respectively. Ramalho's guide reports on how trains really accelerated leisure excursions and made them more affordable in terms of time and money: “Setúbal fica a sete léguas de Lisboa. A viagem faz-se com grande comodidade entre as duas cidades atravessando o Tejo e tomando o caminho-de-ferro de Sueste. Pode-se fazer a ida e volta no mesmo dia” ([1876] 2014: 162).⁴

Along with comfortable and fast paced transportation, bath and water therapies rapidly became a need for more and more people, who could afford them. After a big effort to support thermalism in scientific thought in *Banhos de caldas*, Ramalho avoided that exercise in *As praias de Portugal*, knowing that water had become a central element in recreation and leisure activities in a certain season of the year. This, without implication that he was not aware of this phenomenon since the first of those books, because it is possible to find some funny extracts where he advised about the coexistence of therapeutics and leisure:

1 Foz! Saudosa Foz! Beloved home of my childhood so far away –alas! – from these hard years! What a tender pleasure is to greet you whenever I see you or think of you! We are both very changed – my old friend! – you of what you were, I of what I was! On the days when I used to go out with my straw hat and my bib, afternoon, to collect shells on the coast, holding grandmother's hand, you were solemn, simple and bourgeois, sheltered and silent as a vegetable garden in the middle of the field.

2 From this laudable undertaking the book [...] will henceforth be the best guide and the best companion.

3 Pedrouços is the official mansion of bureaucratic holidays in Lisbon. Secretarial chiefs, officers, clerks, notaries, bookkeepers, desk cashiers, and more, annually retemper in Pedrouços their pale and sedentary “pencil pusher” fiber. Because of this, Pedrouços, which is three miles from Lisbon seems, a little, an outdoors State Ministry.

4 Setúbal is twenty-one miles from Lisbon. The journey between the two cities can be made with great comfort, crossing the Tagus and taking the Southeast railway. It's possible to make the round trip on the same day.

Cumpram porém advertir aos banhistas que as pessoas que geralmente frequentam durante o período das águas os casinos da Bélgica e da Alemanha não são propriamente os doentes. São as pessoas ricas e ociosas que procuram Badem ou Spa, como outras escolhem Mônaco ou o Cairo, como simples lugares de prazer e de jogo, com prazos anuais dados à moda, ao chic, ao amor fácil, à toilette ligeira. Nessa população ruidosa e garrida figuram principalmente os jogadores de profissão, as cocottes e os crevés, que não vão diretamente às águas, mas sim à roleta. ([1875] 2019: 27)⁵

So, waterscapes appear as necessary background for the development of leisure-traveling. Under the light of the “pampering” concept of Peter Sloterdijk, it is possible to find out how waterscapes and the progressive urbanization around them are symptomatic of the rise of a wealthy and relieved –if not an idle– European society. Furthermore, this cultural turn regarding waterscapes and their accessibility progressively implicated the establishment of the space as integrated into the market, and as a part of a new industry, one among the most powerful in modern life History: leisure industry, which, according to Henry Lefebvre “is as alienated and alienating as labor” (quoted in Butler 2004: 66), and the mention of gambling in the previous quotation can support that idea.

4. Leisure: Acceleration and frivolity

The advances in transportation and communication technologies played a crucial role in the process of creating new spaces now seen as necessary as a consequence of the acceptance of these new cravings for recreative activities and their medical justifications, which soon became irrelevant due to the rise of a pamper society with large exceedances of free and unconcerned time. Nevertheless, having access to so much spare time led to unlikable behaviors such as selfishness and frivolity, of which intellectuals noticed

5 However, it is convenient to warn bathers that persons who use to visit casinos in Belgium and Germany during the bath season are not exactly the sick ones. It is the rich and idle people who look for Badem or Spa, as others choose Monaco or Cairo, as simple places of pleasure and gambling, with annual periods for fashion, chic, easy love and light outfits. This noisy and flamboyant population includes mainly professional gamblers, cocottes and crevés [dandies], who do not go directly to the waters, but to the roulette wheel.

early on, as observed in the first pages of *Banhos de caldas*:

Diana de Poitiers, procurando o específico da formosura achou o verdadeiro segredo da longevidade. Sendo amada aos 70 anos com a veemência das mesmas paixões que inspirava aos 20, que melhores provas queria ela de que a eterna mocidade não é outra coisa mais do que a eterna beleza?

Que fez Diana para chegar a esses resultados miraculosos [...]? Simplesmente isto: conservou a pele por todos os meios higiénicos que podem manter-lhe a flor e o mimo; a saber: a cama dura; o travesseiro fresco forrado de marroquim; os banhos frios de cada dia em água desnevadada; os passeios matinais ao orvalho; a proscrição absoluta do álcool, das bebidas excitantes, de todas as demasias da alimentação; não passar uma só noite em claro; não chorar nunca. A frescura e o egoísmo. ([1875] 2019: 17-18)⁶

It would be pointless to remark on the occurrence of the word “pampering”, because the quotation mentions how this completely normalized phenomenon of our days, which today would be considered self-care, has its origins in very exclusive practices associated with the aristocratic sphere of European society. In an age when the middle classes went through remarkable growth, the democratization of luxury came along with search for comfortable living conditions, which is one of the main causes behind increasing the production of certain goods and the proliferation of services like transportation, lodging, dining and tourism –bathing tourism, specifically– as a collateral consequence of the progressive availability of these services in European host countries.

Considering The Grand Tour as a key phase in the History of Tourism (Towner, 1985), pampering would later become an underlying concept in the

6 Diana de Poitiers, concerned with the specificity of beauty, found the real secret of longevity. Loved at 70 with the vehemence of the same passions she inspired at 20, which better proof did she want about that eternal youth is nothing more than eternal beauty? What did Diana do to get those miraculous results [...]? Simply: she preserved her skin by all the hygienic means for keeping her bloom and pampering; namely: a hard bed, a fresh pillow covered in Morocco leather, cold baths every day in thaw water, morning walks in the dew, the absolute abstinence of alcohol, exciting drinks, and all the excesses of food; not a single night without sleeping; never crying. Freshness and selfishness.

development of modern tourism. So, if the travel idea could be framed into an “adventure” context, where travelers have a close contact with nature or non-civilized environments and face several difficulties, the tourism idea implies the increasing offer of services and means for comfortable and unworried traveling. Using Phileas Fogg, the Julio Verne’s novel character as a paradigm of the new way of traveling in Modernity, Peter Sloterdijk poses traveling as a non-experience fact, meaning that the establishment of a pampered society normalized travels, parting ways with the idea of “adventure”:

Jules Verne’s message is that adventures no longer exist in a technically saturated civilization, only the danger of being late [...] In Jules Verne’s tale, the globetrotter has abandoned his profession as a documentarist and become a pure passenger. He presents himself as a customer of transportation services who is paying for a voyage without any experiences that could later be recounted [...] Nonetheless, the figure of Phileas Fogg has prophetic traits, in that he appears as the prototype of the generalized stowaway, whose only connection to the landscapes drifting past is his interest in traversing them. The stoic tourist prefers to travel with the windows shut; as a gentleman, he insists on his right to consider nothing worth seeing; as an apathetic, he refuses to make discoveries. These attitudes anticipate a mass phenomenon of the twentieth century: the hermetic package tourist. (2013: 37-39)

It’s not difficult to link this apathetic attitude with Lefebvre’s idea of alienation within the leisure industry. As I will shortly discuss, Ramalho Ortigão wants to rescue a little bit of interest from his readers, not in his writing, but in certain phenomena that surround waterscapes: history, science, and culture. It could be that, in opposition to the plenty of touristic and informative writing of Baedekers or similar handbooks, Ramalho’s guides may represent an effort to resist the absolute loss of interest within the pampering society “superstructure”. In terms of reading, the pampering phenomenon is relevant as well. As a light and delightful catalog of beaches throughout the Portuguese territory, *As praias de Portugal* displays how to pamper the readers in order to relieve them of the intellectual effort of facing a more creative, challenging or deeper writing. Ramalho’s readers had the opportunity of using these two works as a mere container of information in a similar way to Diana de Poitiers, whose concerns were limited to keeping her beauty and youth. For the tourist, reading ought to be associated with fun and even with triviality,

because the new relieved society is placed, following Sloterdijk, in an anti-seriousness frame where “banality and freedom are converging” (2013: 211). Such a context could explain the trend of light and easygoing reads that aimed to please a specific kind of audience, the one who participates in a new relationship with waterscapes as a result of freedom and relief that, indeed, meant the possibility of spending lots of time in trivial and alienating activities.

From this position of resistance as a member of a very critical generation of Portuguese writers, Ramalho Ortigão addresses his readers (and it could be interesting to notice the frequency with which he used to characterize them as women) in order to awake their curiosity: “Estais nas praias. Empregai as longas horas de ócio tão estiradas, tão tediosas, tão enervantes, estudado o mar nos seus grandes fenómenos, nas suas portentosas criações” ([1876] 2014: 29).⁷ Even in an unhurried context like that, the author seems to be committed with making a final attempt to rescue some intellectual profit from the reading. Although a book like *As praias de Portugal* didn’t contain lots of specific and serious information about the sea, the author wanted his readers to go deeper about the portents of the sea, even when his book, forward, fulfills its intentions and turns more as a traveler guide than a sea treaty. This way, a final reflection appears when the market links waterscapes with a specific kind of reading, by using labels like “beach reads”, or “summer novels”, books that prioritize triviality, easiness in reading, or practicality; books that qualify better as an amenity than as a subject worth studying.

As a result, it is important to point out the oblivion that these two books have suffered along the passage of the time. Without the massive scope of journalistic texts as *As farpas*, with a notorious diminish of the fierce political criticism that characterized his generation, and without the erudition of the rest of his travel books, *Banhos de caldas e As praias de Portugal* are valuable works unfairly forgotten. Maybe the association with light writing, frivolity or his steps forward on the way to becoming actual tourist guides, led them out of a more critical appreciation. Whatever the dynamics of writing and reading we talk about, Ramalho’s books highlight the importance of waterscapes for the development of tourism in Portugal, and the need that writing had to evolve into more pliable texts and not restrict its functions to Literature, because the writing skills of

7 You are on the beaches. Spend your long idle hours, so strained, so tedious, so unnerving, studying the sea through its great phenomena, its portentous creations.

people like Ramalho Ortigão will be used more and more as a tool for the creation of multiple discourses that belong to a modern, interconnected and versatile world.

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Waterscapes literárias: A representação da água em *Viagem à Itália*, de Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

Literary waterscapes: Water representation in the *Italian Journey*, by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

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Resumo

O reconhecimento da água como atributo vital, bem cultural e tema artístico perpassa culturas e a própria trajetória de fixação e desenvolvimento da humanidade. Em tempos mais recentes, a água converteu-se em um dos recursos de maior valor recreativo, patrimonial e turístico, movimento este relacionado com uma interpretação sensível impulsionada pelo Grand Tour, iniciado no século XVII e praticado por grandes nomes das artes, a exemplo de Goethe. A intensa representação estética da água é parte do legado do Grand Tour e, embora disseminada nas artes, são reduzidos os estudos sob a perspectiva de *waterscape* cujo recorte de investigação aproxima literatura e turismo. A pesquisa explorou esta lacuna e indagou: como se apresentam as paisagens aquáticas nos relatos de Grand Tour de Johann Wolfgang von Goethe em sua obra *Viagem à Itália*? Objetivou analisar as paisagens aquáticas – *waterscape* – na obra *Viagem à Itália*, de Goethe. Aplicou o método topoanalítico, de análise do espaço a partir de oito tópicos, pertinentes de observação na literatura de prosa e verso. Constatou-se que a *waterscape* goethiana é conotativamente positiva e associa

as águas da Itália à vivacidade, alegria, luminosidade, fluidez. As viagens lacustres e marítimas são momentos carregados de emoção. As gôndolas, a imensidão do mar azul e os reflexos esverdeados da água marítima, os rios, as lagoas, as praias e os canais articulam a paisagem aquática italiana narrada pelo poeta.

Palavras-chave

Waterscape • Turismo literário • Topoanálise • Grand Tour • Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

Abstract

The recognition of water as a vital attribute, a cultural asset, and an artistic theme permeates cultures and the very trajectory of humanity's fixation and development. In recent years, water has become one of the resources with the greatest recreational, heritage, and tourist value, a movement that is related to a sensitive interpretation driven by the Grand Tour, which started in the 17th century and practiced by great names in the arts, such

as Goethe. The intense aesthetic representation of water is part of the legacy of Grand Tour and, although widespread in the arts, studies are limited from the perspective of the waterscape, whose research focus approaches literature and tourism. The research explored this gap, and asked: how are the aquatic landscapes presented in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's Grand Tour literary work *Italian Journey*? It aimed to analyze the aquatic landscapes – waterscape – in the literary work *Italian Journey*, by Goethe. The topoanalytical method was applied, from the analysis of space through eight pertinent topics of observation in the literature of prose and verse. It was found that the Goethian waterscape is connotatively positive and associates the waters of Italy with vivacity, joy, luminosity, and fluidity. Lake and sea trips are moments full of emotion. The gondolas, the immensity of the blue sea, and the greenish reflections of the maritime water, the rivers, the lagoons, the beaches, and the canals articulate the Italian aquatic landscape narrated by the poet.

Keywords

Waterscape • Literary tourism • Topoanalysis • Grand Tour • Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

1. Introdução

A água é recurso fundamental para a vida, determina as condições elementares para a fixação e vivência humana no território. Sua importância é reconhecida na história das civilizações a partir de uma multiplicidade de significados e representações que acompanham os mais variados aspectos da vida humana, desde a sua origem. Note-se que cada civilização é originada de um rio ou lago, e a humanidade vive e depende essencialmente da disponibilidade e usufruto da água (Lingyu & Yongkui, 2011).

Portadora de um vasto conteúdo simbólico que varia conforme o tempo e o espaço, a água participa de mitos, lendas, superstições e histórias em diferentes culturas. É um tema igualmente valorizado nas artes como a pintura, literatura, poesia, fotografia, cinema, entre outros. Nesse sentido, Rudzewicz (2018) enaltece o potencial estimulante da água para a percepção humana, considerando sua participação em emoções, sentimentos, inspirações ao longo da história da humanidade. É também instrumento e meio para a realização de práticas sociais diversas, englobando múltiplas dimensões e funcionalidades: biológica, simbólica, política, econômica, religiosa, espiritual, artística, paisagística, lúdica, esportiva, turística, patrimonial (Rudzewicz, 2018: 55).

Nas dimensões lúdica e da saúde, o contato com a água é prescrito para conforto, animação e tranquilidade (Shao, 2015), por isso, sua aplicação frequente no âmbito terapêutico. Segundo Doughty (2018), a água é um agente curador e um meio para a promoção da saúde e as experiências sensoriais praticadas em espaços aquáticos auxiliam na promoção do bem-estar humano. Para Shao (2015), a água natural favorece tranquilidade e paz, refletindo na vitalidade humana, no alcance sensorial e na paisagem.

Nesse contexto, o conceito de *waterscape* – compreendido por paisagens inerentes à água – provém de uma perspectiva da ecologia política que reconhece que a natureza e a sociedade não existem separadamente. Relaciona-se com diversas áreas do conhecimento e em diferentes contextos geográficos e recortes de investigação. Além disso, está alicerçado em um apelo para que a humanidade dedique maior sensibilidade à água e seu uso, estreitando as relações humanas com as paisagens aquáticas (Karpouzoglou & Vij, 2017).

Rudzewicz (2018: 91) aborda a água como elemento material de forte valor paisagístico e patrimonial, que dialoga historicamente com o Turismo a partir das dimensões física, funcional, cultural, simbólica e estética. A água, em seus diferentes estados físicos, é elemento determinante para fruição turística, dado que inúmeros territórios turísticos determinam atividades, empreendimentos e práticas segundo disponibilidade de neve, praia, cursos e quedas d'água, termas, lagos e paisagens associadas.

Apesar do atributo vital, ativo cultural e artístico e recurso turístico, no domínio científico, a água, sob a perspectiva de *waterscape*, pouco foi estudada considerando um recorte que intenciona aproximar literatura e turismo. Desse modo, esta investigação partiu da seguinte indagação: como se apresentam as paisagens aquáticas nos relatos de Grand Tour de Johann Wolfgang von Goethe em sua obra *Viagem à Itália*? Assim, o presente estudo objetivou analisar as paisagens aquáticas, doravante *waterscape*, na obra *Viagem à Itália*, de Goethe. A análise desenvolveu-se a partir do método topoanalítico, que permite o estudo aprofundado do espaço a partir de oito tópicos, passíveis de observação na literatura de prosa e verso (Borges Filho, 2007).

2. Turismo literário

O turismo literário consagra-se em viagens motivadas pela literatura e efetiva-se do encontro do turista-leitor com os lugares literários. É entendido “como um nicho do turismo cultural que tem a especificidade de implicar a deslocação a lugares relacionados com a literatura” (Quinteiro & Baleiro, [2017] 2019: 34),

cujos turistas são atraídos para visitar lugares que estão descritos em obras literárias ou que estão relacionados com a vida dos escritores (Squire, 1994). Os lugares literários ultrapassam a ideia de um acidente ou coincidência histórica, estes lugares “são construções sociais, criadas, ampliadas e promovidas para atrair turistas” (Herbert, 2001: 313).

O turismo literário é uma manifestação da busca por espaços e ambientes significativos, e se dá a partir de imaginários e representações derivadas de textos literários que refletem e recriam paisagens que constituem a história de um local (Pinzon, 2017), como também pela busca de lugares que fizeram parte da vida dos escritores. A viagem materializa os lugares que até então eram apenas uma representação literária ou uma imagem gerada pela literatura na imaginação do leitor (Quinteiro & Baleiro, [2017] 2019).

Esta perspectiva teórica é recente, pois o turismo literário é tido como um campo de pesquisa emergente (Çevik, 2020). Todavia, as origens das viagens com motivações literárias estão calcadas no Grand Tour, cenário de concretização de viagens por estímulo da literatura e com objetivo de conhecer a vida e os lugares associados à figura de escritores ilustres à época (Quinteiro, Gonçalves & Carreira, 2021; Quinteiro & Baleiro, [2017] 2019).

Na seara do turismo literário, textos literários que têm o atributo de acrescentar valor turístico a um lugar, motivando e incentivando viagens, designam-se como literatura de turismo e são reconhecidos por promoverem o deslocamento aos lugares literários (Quinteiro & Baleiro, [2017] 2019; Lopes, Baleiro & Quinteiro, 2017).

Travels through France and Italy de Tobias Smollett (1766), *Expedition into Sicily* de Richard Payne Knight (1986) e *Viagem à Itália* de Goethe são exemplos de diários de viagem clássicos dos *grand tourists* e que, posteriormente, foram publicados em formatos acessíveis aos leitores, configurando obras de referência da literatura de turismo. O conteúdo desses diários incentivou, desde sua origem, percepções, desejos, motivações e viagens. Alguns lugares descritos seguiram por décadas como alvos de visitaç o intensa e se consolidaram como destinos centrais dos fluxos turísticos no continente europeu.

3. Grand Tour e *Viagem à Itália* (1786 a 1788), de Goethe

O Grand Tour representa um movimento de viagens sociais e culturais que conciliava formaç o artística, conhecimento e prazer sensorial. O circuito, realizado na Europa Ocidental, retrata um período notável na história do turismo e mobilizava uma elite social

para um tour de cultura, educaç o e prazer (Towner, 1985). Salgueiro (2002) descreve as viagens do Grand Tour como típicas da cultura europeia aristocrática do século XVIII. Eram marcadas por um forte desejo de aprimoramento pessoal, o que dependia, no entanto, da fruic o de determinadas paisagens e domínio de categorias estéticas.

Milheiro e Melo (2005: 116) consideram que, no período do Grand Tour, o viajante alcanç o pela primeira vez a condiç o de turista interessado na “descoberta de pa ses, monumentos, tradiç es, sabores e culturas diferentes”. O contexto histórico do Grand Tour recebeu forte influ ncia do Iluminismo e dos primeiros anos da Revoluç o Industrial, contudo, em 1789, o movimento cessou em raz o da Revoluç o Francesa e das Guerras Napoleônicas (Salgueiro, 2002; Milheiro & Melo, 2005). Na sequ ncia desses acontecimentos, as viagens retomaram em formatos diferentes e incluindo classes diferentes.

Diversas rotas e destinos faziam parte da viagem dos *grand tourists*. Milheiro e Melo (2005) indicam que a viagem do Grand Tour contemplava Paris e o Sul de França, os Pa ses Baixos, os Alpes, Viena, Praga e Itália. De acordo com L pez Mart nez (2015), o itinerário mais comum realizado pelos jovens praticantes do Grand Tour inclu a Paris, norte da Itália, Florença, Roma, Nápoles, Su ça e, às vezes, a Alemanha, em um período que durava em torno de dois a tr s anos, com caráter de ritual educativo.

Cada viagem assumia sua singularidade e dependia de diversos fatores para que o indiv duo chegasse às cidades, como a origem da rota, os trajetos, meio de transporte e condiç es climáticas. As visitas eram facilitadas por amigos e pessoas familiarizadas com os lugares, que se transformavam em guias. Os destinos eram geralmente narrados em diários de viagem, caracterizando uma literatura de turismo (Quinteiro & Baleiro, [2017] 2019).

Grandes personalidades do campo da cultura e das artes viveram a experi ncia, como por exemplo, Joseph Addison, Joachin Winckelmann, Horace Walpole, Thomas Gray e Johann W. Goethe. Esses e demais *grand tourists* faziam “culto ao sublime” e, segundo Salgueiro (2002), formaram uma sensibilidade especial que foi transportada para seus relatos escritos e registros visuais.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe é um dos mais notáveis *grand tourists*. Visitou a Itália no período entre setembro de 1786 e abril de 1788 e, em *Viagem à Itália*, relatou sua experi ncia no pa s, incorporando, para além de uma narrativa de viagem e registro autobiográfico, um relato de desenvolvimento pessoal com profundas mudanç as intelectuais (Maas, 2017; Guidotti, 2012).

Italienische Reise, ou *Viagem à Itália* [1816] (2017), da Editora Unesp, com coordenação de Mario Luiz Frungillo e tradução e prefácio de Wilma Patricia Maas, apresenta o texto narrativo de Goethe sobre sua viagem ao país italiano. Essa publicação é resultado das cartas que Goethe encaminhou aos amigos e dos diários a Charlotte Von Stein, escritos ao longo do percurso. De acordo com Guimarães (2017), houve longo transcurso temporal entre a viagem e o arranjo da publicação no seu formato “definitivo”. Ainda que reorganizado posteriormente à viagem, a obra é escrita com a narração em tempo presente, indicando local e data, sugerindo que Goethe quis ceder caráter fidedigno e testemunhal às experiências.

“A obra é um manifesto clássico após a Revolução Francesa e após a grande efervescência romântica nas cidades de Berlim, Heidelberg e Iena e, em adição, dá cabo à evolução da concepção artística madura de seu autor” (Guimarães, 2017: 57). E, para além disso, a obra é um diário de viagem proveniente do Grand Tour, ou também uma literatura de turismo. Para Bakhtin [1979] (1997), o romance de formação é praticado por Goethe e efetua-se no tempo histórico real, necessário, com seu futuro, com seu caráter profundamente cronotópico. É nesta tipologia de romance realista de formação que se torna possível

observar o tempo histórico na obra literária, uma vez que Goethe “possuía especial aptidão para ver o tempo no espaço e os sinais do tempo na natureza” (Bakhtin, [1979] 1997: 249).

A concepção do contexto espaço-temporal da obra literária expressa a mudança pessoal e intelectual que Goethe relata ao longo da jornada italiana. A viagem também forneceu conteúdo para as investigações e incursões posteriores e para a formação de Goethe na ciência natural (Diogo Filho, 2018).

A viagem de Goethe teve como percurso (Figura 1) sua saída de Karlsbad (atualmente Karlovy Vary) até Nápoles e uma segunda temporada em Roma. Ao longo da jornada, Goethe destacou elementos visuais e descreveu com precisão o espaço. O visível sempre foi de extrema importância para o escritor, daí a ênfase da redação e emprego recorrente de palavras para representar a experiência visual. Para Goethe, as noções e as ideias mais complexas e elaboradas sempre podem ser representadas de uma forma visível, por meio de um esboço, de um desenho esquemático ou simbólico (Bakhtin, [1979] 1997: 246). Goethe alude sobre a importância visual em toda a narrativa e a estética goethiana refere-se essencialmente à percepção sensorial (Guidotti, 2012).



FIGURA 1. Jornada de Goethe segundo a obra *Viagem à Itália*. Fonte: Diogo Filho (2018)

Segundo Guimarães (2017), o olhar goethiano se refere ao indivíduo em seu encontro com a obra de arte e/ou a paisagem natural. Goethe enfatiza a experiência originária da viagem, narra a imediatez e exalta o tom fenomenológico, por isso, escreveu o texto e preservou características epistolares, mediante indicação de data e local das experiências no relato presente. Esta é a razão pela qual se sugere que Goethe quis dar caráter testemunhal e fidedigno em relação aos fenômenos que se manifestaram em sua experiência na Itália.

Em *Viagem à Itália*, dois modelos de paisagem são operacionalizados na narrativa: geográfico e pictórico (Guimarães, 2017). O primeiro refere-se às passagens escritas com termos geográficos, cujo entendimento de paisagem está alinhado à geografia cultural (Cosgrove & Jackson, 2000) e exemplificado pela descrição corográfica, ou seja, das regiões e localidades que o autor visitou. O modelo pictórico, por sua vez, indica o movimento do olhar, com recursos adverbiais e cede forma temporal à imagem, isto é, o autor enumera os elementos do que vê e, na sequência, após esse percurso, lento na descrição dos elementos visuais, é que se obtém o todo paisagístico (Guimarães, 2017).

A narrativa transcendental dos espaços e paisagens contemplados no diário de viagem de Goethe alcança novos entendimentos a partir recurso topográfico, mediante ângulos aprofundados e na sequência rearticulados. Trata-se de resultados que contribuem no desvelamento da literatura sensível sobre o Grand Tour, assim como permite conhecer mais do estilo e estratégias de Goethe e de seus momentos na Itália, conforme será demonstrado na sequência.

4. Imersão em *waterscapes* a partir da Topoanálise

O termo topoanálise é proveniente do livro *A poética do espaço* (1989), de Gaston Bachelard. Segundo Borges Filho (2007: 33), a topoanálise “é a investigação do espaço em toda a sua riqueza, em toda a sua dinamicidade na obra literária”, considerando as inferências psicológicas, sociológicas, filosóficas, estruturais, abarcando a vida íntima e social do personagem no âmbito cultural e natural.

Borges Filho (2007) desenvolveu um método de topoanálise articulado pela análise de oito itens passíveis de observação na literatura de prosa e verso (Figura 2). Em primazia, o autor discute terminologias e conceitos de espaço, lugar, paisagem e território e, na sequência, introduz a topoanálise, as perspectivas

espaciais que podem ser analisadas em um texto, fazendo uso de um viés interdisciplinar.

A interpretação de cada texto literário é única e o roteiro proposto não é rígido. Portanto, é adaptável a cada análise e vinculado ao olhar crítico do topoanalista em sua interpretação.

A primeira tarefa do topoanalista é identificar os espaços do texto, o que é intitulado de “topografia literária”. Nesta fase inicial, cabe detectar a segmentação do texto em macroespaços e microespaços, assim como a verificação da existência de cenários – entendidos pela conceituação de espaços criados pelo homem ou natureza e analisar o ambiente em cada um desses espaços. Por fim, a verificação da paisagem, o cenário ou a natureza são classificados como paisagem quando tiverem três características: extensão, vivência e fruição. Essas características são essenciais no entendimento de paisagem, pois a considera como um conceito subjetivo, ligado à ideia do olhar e da vivência.

A inventariação do espaço é conduzida também pela busca na resposta de qual é a função e o percurso espacial do texto literário. A função do espaço pode ser: 1) caracterizar as personagens, situando-as no contexto socioeconômico e psicológico em que vivem; 2) influenciar as personagens e também sofrer suas ações; 3) propiciar a ação; 4) situar a personagem geograficamente; 5) representar os sentimentos vividos pelas personagens; 6) estabelecer contraste com as personagens; 7) antecipar a narrativa.

A topoanálise é uma ferramenta para desvelar obras literárias. Na alçada do turismo literário, a pertinência de sua aplicação advém do potencial de aprofundamento da obra de referência, o que representa um ganho de dupla perspectiva. Em primeiro momento com ampliação do entendimento dos lugares e paisagens literárias. Na sequência, por meio de estratégias de comunicação e desenvolvimento qualificado do turismo que podem desdobrar do primeiro momento. Fato central é que diligência analítica sobre obra abre campo de possibilidades para a concepção, planejamento e programação de recursos de visitação, mediante técnicas de interpretação elucidativas, educativas e interativas. Ademais, o método topográfico permite interpretar lugares literários para além da sua existência, enfatizando características intrínsecas, assim como os gradientes sensoriais, as coordenadas espaciais, a relação de topopatia, entre outros.

Em adição, a partir do momento em que *waterscape* se relaciona com a vida ou a obra de escritores, é a topoanálise que permitirá uma construção interpretativa para as paisagens correlatas à água, elucidando a importância dessa substância vital para o turismo.

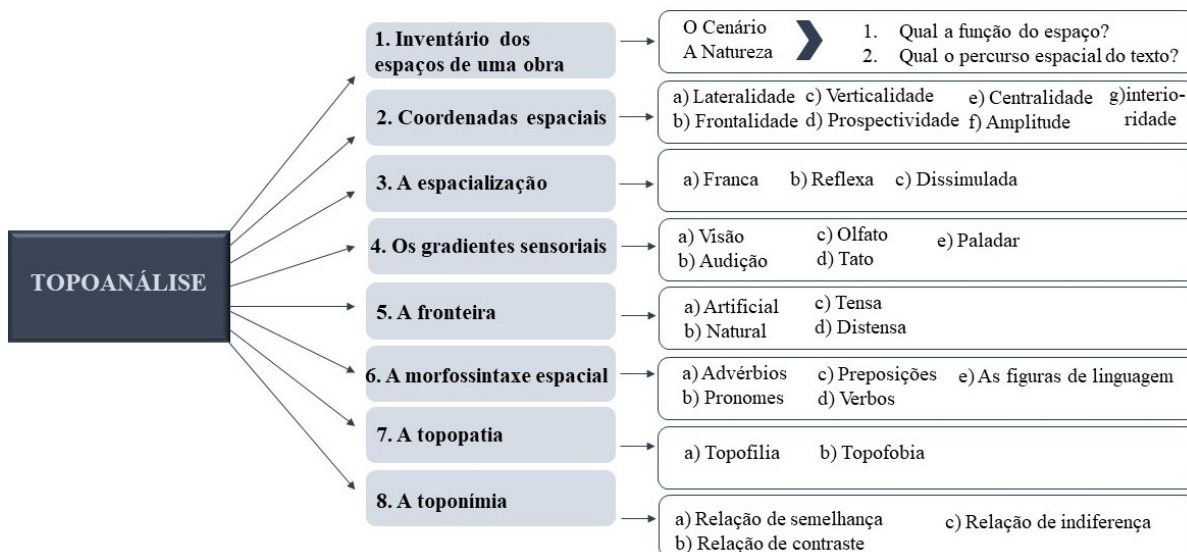


FIGURA 2. Percurso da topoanálise. Fonte: Baseado em Borges Filho (2007)

5. “Me faltam os sentidos capazes de representar tudo isso”: uma topoanálise da obra *Viagem à Itália*

A análise de *waterscapes* presentes em *Viagem à Itália*, narrativas da viagem de grand tour de Goethe, a partir da topoanálise, delimitou a jornada narrada na viagem de Karlsbad até Nápoles. Não se considera, portanto, a segunda temporada romana.

O ponto de partida da investigação correspondeu a um processo de leitura flutuante, seguida de uma leitura analítica, para marcação de trechos relacionados com a água. No total, 51 excertos foram selecionados e posteriormente transferidos em sua integridade para uma planilha do software Microsoft Excel (Tabela 1). Os trechos têm a indicação da página e as demais colunas apresentam as possibilidades de categorias da topoanálise (Borges Filho, 2007). O processo topoanalítico exige leituras recorrentes dos trechos e das minúcias do texto para identificar as representações das categorias.

O processo de topoanálise teve início com a inventariação dos espaços. A identificação alcançou microespaços que correspondem tanto ao cenário quanto à natureza. A jornada (Figura 1) indica os principais lugares percorridos por Goethe, o que envolveu monumentos, vilas, cidades e espaços naturais. Quanto ao cenário, diversas são as correspondências, tais como os meios de transporte, nesse aspecto sobressaíram os marítimos – barcos, navios, gôndolas – e os

coches que utilizou em estradas. Também há menção a ancoradouros e povoados italianos, às ruas pelas quais circulou e às casas em que se hospedou. Quanto à natureza, menções sobre montanhas, rios, o mar, praia, fontes e toda uma paisagem referente às águas, sejam elas marítima ou lacustre, que engendram uma *waterscape* peculiar. Goethe descreve os cenários e a natureza e explica contribuições desta vivência para uma jornada de caráter transcendental.

Percurso ¹	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Quantidade excertos	1	3	1	18	4	13	11
Total de excertos sobre água: 51							

TABELA 1. Quantidade de excertos analisados

¹ Percurso A: Karlsbad ao Brenner; Percurso B: Brenner a Verona; Percurso C: Verona a Veneza; Percurso D: Veneza; Percurso E: Ferrara a Roma e primeira temporada em Roma; Percurso F: Nápoles; Percurso G: Sicília.

O ambiente é representado pela soma de cenário ou natureza e o clima psicológico. Como exemplificação, temos a última viagem de Goethe a Nápoles, em que as condições marítimas e meteorológicas dificultaram a chegada ao golfo e os perigos iminentes de uma viagem são descritos em minúcia pelo escritor. A passagem “Contemplamos com horror o destino que nos aguardava” (Goethe, [1816] 2017: 351) representa uma situação negativa encontrada pelos passageiros do navio, que balançava em alto mar e se aproximava de rochas perigosas, sem previsão de uma enseada segura para aportar. O imaginário humano vinculado a condições meteorológicas está permeado de augúrios, percebe-se medo e riscos decorrentes do momento, por outro lado, existe também uma ressonância positiva com o espaço, haja visto que “a natureza é o único livro que oferece um conteúdo grandioso em todas as suas páginas” (Goethe, [1816] 2017: 227).

Para Borges Filho (2007), o conceito de paisagem é subjetivo e sempre dependente do observador. A paisagem ganha vigor e complexidade quando o personagem está diante de uma grande extensão visual e seu olhar imbuído de significados, vivência e fruição. A paisagem da costa italiana pode, entre tantas outras descrições, ser elucidada pelo seguinte excerto:

Era meio-dia e o brilho do sol estava muito claro, de modo que pude distinguir perfeitamente o que estava perto e o que estava longe, sem me valer da perspectiva. A maré cobria as lagunas, e quando dirigi o olhar para o Lido, a estreita faixa de terra que circunda as lagunas, vi pela primeira vez o mar, onde havia um veleiro. Nas lagunas havia galeras e fragatas, que deveriam encontrar o cavaleiro Emo, que faz guerra à Argélia. Porém, os ventos desfavoráveis não permitem que elas partam. Ao norte e a oeste as montanhas de Pádua e Vicenza, assim como a cordilheira do Tirol, completam lindamente o quadro (Goethe, [1816] 2017: 88).

Em *Viagem a Itália*, o espaço assume a função de representar os sentimentos vividos por Goethe, denotando uma homologia entre o escritor e o espaço, como por exemplo os trechos em que transparecem os sentimentos bons em relação ao ambiente vivenciado.

Superada a identificação inicial de inventariação e funções do espaço do livro, coube a topoanálise dos 51 trechos correlatos à *waterscape*. As coordenadas geográficas são representadas por trechos de lateralidade, frontalidade, verticalidade e prospectividade que indicam a presença de algum lugar na paisagem por vocábulos duais de esquerda e direita, diante e atrás, alto e baixo, perto e longe. Com efeito, o espaço

é instalado na narrativa a partir da visão do escritor e da sua jornada por terras e águas italianas, de maneira “reflexa”, ou seja, Goethe, situado em determinado ponto geográfico, apresenta o que vê, através de trechos de caráter descritivo com efeito de subjetividade, assim, o personagem ativo descreve sua visão de forma singular (Borges Filho, 2007: 64). “Guardei a imagem impressa em meus sentidos” (Goethe, [1816] 2017: 137). O ser humano percebe a realidade de formas variadas, ainda que os sentidos e estímulos sejam semelhantes, de modo que a topoanálise observa os gradientes sensoriais, através dos sentidos humanos. Goethe utiliza-se dos cinco sentidos para descrever as paisagens aquáticas, em especial a visão. Observem-se os seguintes excertos:

Mas que bela vista o mar oferece! (p. 109)

[...] a paisagem que se avista é simples e graciosa (p. 119).

Escutei um estrondo, era o mar. Logo percebi que ele crescia em direção à praia e depois recuava. Era perto do meio-dia, hora da maré baixa. Pude então ver com meus próprios olhos e caminhar pelo solo macio que ele deixa atrás de si, ao recuar (p. 108).

A claridade do céu, o hálito marinho, os odores, por meios dos quais as montanhas, o céu e o mar se diluem em um único elemento (p. 333).

Ainda no âmbito dos sentidos, o espaço está relacionado com a luz cromática ou monocromática. Uma paisagem dotada de cor está imbuída de significados, cada cor com seus simbolismos. Nas paisagens aquáticas goethianas, segue-se essa lógica, vide os exemplos a seguir:

Quando, sob o sol alto, percorri as lagunas e contemplei os gondoleiros de roupas coloridas movimentando-se suavemente ao remar, com as silhuetas recortadas sobre a superfície verde-clara da água e sobre o azul do céu, vi o quadro mais belo da escola veneziana. [...] O mesmo pode ser dito a respeito do reflexo da água verde do mar. Era como uma pintura apenas em tons claros, sendo que as ondas espumantes e o cintilar das luzes serviam de contraponto dentro dessa intensa claridade (p. 105).

Com o céu claro e uma atmosfera enevoadas, as escarpas rochosas de Sorrento adquiriam a mais bela cor azul. Nápoles, iluminada e cheia de vida, resplandecia em muitas cores (p. 257).

O mar parecia hoje – um dia extremamente límpido – azul-escuro, ameaçador e agitado (p. 262).

Sob um céu completamente limpo brilhava o mar tranquilo (p. 350).

A cor verde está intrinsecamente relacionada com a natureza e, no excerto acima, indica a cor da água em Veneza em sua conotação mais positiva, uma *waterscape* alegre, humana, de calma. Os “tons claros” e o “cintilar das luzes” (p. 105) reforçam a ideia positiva relacionada com a simbologia da cor verde. O mar, em outros lugares da Itália, assume descrições azuladas, referentes também ao céu. O azul simboliza movimento, o infinito, a imaterialidade (Borges Filho, 2007). No contexto positivo, o mar e o céu apresentaram-se de forma clara, em uma atmosfera tranquila. Contudo, o mar também se apresenta no azul-escuro, em uma conotação negativa, já que descrito em tom agitado e ameaçador.

A claridade e a luminosidade presentes nos excertos indicam uma ideia positiva em relação à cor branca, simbolizando luz, pureza, limpeza, vida. Por fim, a junção de todas as cores refere-se ao “colorido” e a “muitas cores”, em referência às simbologias positivas de todas as cores, um retrato de alegria, vida, iluminação.

Nesta topoanálise, as questões fronteiriças não foram distinguidas. Quanto ao espaço linguístico, considerando o volume de informações provenientes da análise dos 51 trechos, pode-se inferir que o espaço da jornada goethiana é expresso por determinadas classes de palavras como pronomes demonstrativos e advérbios que fornecem noção de lugar da descrição dos ambientes que o escritor visitou. Os verbos espaciais como partir, chegar, subir e descer também estão presentes e indicam o movimento do escritor em relação às paisagens aquáticas. Os adjetivos dimensionais, substantivos espaciais e advérbios geográficos são expressamente utilizados por Goethe para se referir aos trechos correlatos a *waterscape*. O seguinte trecho exemplifica os adjetivos: “Minhas janelas têm vista para um *estreito* canal ladeado por casas *altas*, logo abaixo do meu quarto há uma ponte de um único arco, e à minha frente abre-se uma ruazinha *estreita* e animada” (Goethe, [1816] 2017: 82). Esse trecho apresenta também afixo que indica espacialidade em diminuição representado pelo termo “ruazinha”.

O espaço que diz respeito à instância de criação do texto literário de Goethe infere-se por espaço da narrativa que coincide com o espaço da narração que aparece explicitamente, isso porque, apesar do livro ser reorganizado e publicado posteriormente à viagem, Goethe fez o esforço de apresentar as experiências de matéria imediata, como se estivesse vivendo no

presente, com caráter fidedigno e testemunhal às descrições de *waterscape* (Guimarães, 2017).

Após a análise morfossintática, a topoanálise aborda a relação sentimental, experiencial e vivencial entre o personagem e o espaço. Majoritariamente, Goethe possui uma relação topofílica em relação às paisagens aquáticas, com pequenas exceções, como problemas na viagem marítima, destrinchadas anteriormente, daí o escritor poder apresentar uma topofobia. A topofilia são os laços afetivos dos seres humanos com o espaço e diferem em intensidade, sutileza e modo de expressão (Tuan, [1974] 2015).

A topoanálise indica que Goethe está em harmonia com as paisagens aquáticas italianas, haja vista que no trecho “ainda que eu queira escrever palavras, a mim aparecem sempre imagens aos olhos, da terra frutífera, do mar sem limites, das ilhas perfumadas, da montanha que expele fumaça, sendo que me faltam os sentidos capazes de representar tudo isso” (Goethe, [1816] 2017: 241), o escritor encontra dificuldade para descrever a paisagem e expressar o que sente, contudo, o excerto indica uma relação afetiva e adorável com o lugar. Em suma, constata-se que Goethe se sente bem no espaço que descreve visualmente (Guimarães, 2017; Guidotti, 2012; Bakhtin, [1979] 1997).

Em síntese, a *waterscape* goethiana é conotativamente positiva, associando as águas da Itália à vivacidade, à alegria, à luminosidade, à fluidez. As viagens lacustres e marítimas representam a jornada do escritor por terras italianas e corroboram as principais vias de acesso tomadas pelos *grand tourists*. As gôndolas, a imensidão do mar azul e os reflexos esverdeados da água marítima, os rios, lagoas, praias e os canais compõem a paisagem aquática italiana, narrada pelo poeta que viveu uma jornada física e declaradamente transcendental.

A topoanálise permitiu alcançar e sistematizar significados e simbologias aos lugares associados à água visitados por Goethe, durante o Grand Tour. Demonstra potencial de colaboração no estudo de temas peculiares, como neste caso aplicado a *waterscapes*, o que é particularmente relevante para a análise de obras de referência para os praticantes de turismo literário. Infere-se, por extensão, que a topoanálise é um método promissor aos estudiosos de turismo literário, passível de aplicação em três etapas: 1) definição da literatura a ser analisada, considerando sua leitura integral e a marcação dos trechos que correspondem às duas possíveis interpretações, a primeira referente ao turismo literário e a segunda referente às paisagens aquáticas (ou tema da ocasião), em caráter não excludente; 2) desenvolvimento da topoanálise (Borges Filho, 2007), seguindo as orientações do fluxo proposto pelo autor. É nessa etapa que são analisados os espaços referentes aos lugares literários ou que

oportunizam as experiências literárias, correlatos à vida ou à obra de escritores. Em consonância, pode-se analisar *waterscape* (o presente estudo é o indicativo desta possibilidade). As possibilidades de interpretação são complementares e podem-se articular na análise; 3) relatar a topoanálise.

disso, sugere-se um amplo uso do método da topoanálise para o aprimoramento da interpretação dos lugares literários e espaços de *waterscape* interligados às obras literárias, aspirando visitas mais lúdicas, interativas e educativas.

6. Conclusão

Este estudo partiu da seguinte questão: como se apresentam as paisagens aquáticas nos relatos de Grand Tour de Johann Wolfgang von Goethe em sua obra *Viagem à Itália*? Deste modo, objetivou-se analisar as paisagens aquáticas, ou seja, *waterscape*, na obra *Viagem à Itália*, de Goethe.

O objetivo foi alcançado mediante uso do método de topoanálise proposto por Borges Filho (2007). Ao fim, constatou-se que as paisagens aquáticas no livro *Viagem à Itália* de Goethe são descritas num contexto nomeadamente positivo. Faz-se uso de recursos visuais, mediante elenco de cores e descrição da cena paisagística, através da qual o autor consegue transmitir ao leitor uma Itália colorida, repleta de vida e alegre, com uma imensidão de água.

A função do espaço na narrativa é de expressar os sentimentos vividos por Goethe, mostrando uma relação homóloga entre o escritor e o espaço. Goethe recorre à descrição dos cenários e da natureza, da mesma forma que descreve os ambientes e os fatores que implicaram nos sentimentos vivenciados no espaço.

A construção narrativa oportunizou a análise morfossintática, inferindo que Goethe escreve de forma a indicar as experiências no momento presente, convergindo o espaço da narração e da narrativa, assim, a jornada tem caráter autêntico e testemunhal das *waterscapes* italianas. E topoanálise também permitiu identificar as simbologias e os significados presentes nas descrições correlatas à água, constatando que o elemento é uma fonte infindável de representações e oportunidades para o turismo literário. Em suma, a relação de Goethe com o espaço é topofílica.

A topoanálise mostrou-se um método eficaz e pode ser replicada por estudiosos do turismo literário, no tocante à interpretação dos lugares literários e paisagens aquáticas, fortalecendo os significados e simbologias presentes no espaço.

Este trabalho não é livre de limitações, estas emergiram na constatação do volume de informações do livro, por isso, optou-se por preterir a segunda temporada romana de Goethe. Ademais, os excertos de *waterscape* podem ser ainda mais desvelados, em busca de outras configurações simbólicas na literatura. Essas limitações indicam oportunidades de estudos futuros no âmbito da literatura de Goethe, mas, para além

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Gothic Ocean in S. T. Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*

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Abstract

Colonial travel gave a decisive rise both to the proliferation of travel stories and the desire for tourist travel as colonizers and merchants brought stories of new, exciting, but also dangerous worlds. It is this latter, unsettling aspect of travel and tourism that the paper is interested in. Taking into consideration the liquid, unfixable nature of the oceanic setting, the paper will focus on S. T. Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (1798) to argue that the ocean represents a Gothic space. Due to its constantly changing nature, which unsettles the boundaries between the material and the psychological, real and imagined, the visible and the hidden, the sea literally and symbolically disorients the protagonist and pushes him toward the realm of the supernatural. The trials of maritime travel depicted as a form of (involuntary) Gothic tourism represent the ordeals of questioning dominant perspectives, of acknowledging the unthinkable, and therefore the transgressive. The ocean becomes a nexus of both the forces of life and death which changes the Ancient Mariner's view of both the world/nature and the humankind; it is also a liminal space where the Mariner is awarded knowledge of the previously unknown. However, this realization is not liberating, but represented as a curse. In relying on the theory of the Gothic, Gothic tourism, and the current perspectives on the maritime environment, the paper will show that Coleridge's Romantic poem offers a Gothic, transcendent, and unsettling view of both the ocean – as a natural and touristic space – and the human nature.

Keywords

S. T. Coleridge • *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* • Gothic • Ocean • Tourism

1. Introduction

Literature and travel have a long-standing connection as literary journeys, both literal – in the form of pilgrimages, grand tours, and everything in between – and metaphorical, which mimic life and foster the growth of human mind. Since its inception, colonial travel gave a decisive rise both to the proliferation of travel stories and the desire for tourist travel as colonizers and merchants brought stories of new exciting worlds. However, as Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs contend, “travel broadens the mind, and knowledge of distant places and people often confers status, but travellers sometimes return as different people or do not come back at all” (2002: 2). Much of the danger implied here by Hulme and Youngs arises from the travellers' inability to handle the reality of a radically different environment. Moreover, the journeys of exploration additionally sparked – and darkened – the imagination of those at home with their references to newly discovered animals that sometimes indeed caused the sinking of ships, verifying the travellers' stories of strange and dangerous sea creatures. It is precisely this latter, unsettling aspect of (colonial) travel and tourism that the paper focuses on in its examination of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (1798). Taking into consideration the liquid, unfixable nature of the oceanic setting, the paper will argue that the ocean in Coleridge's poem represents a Gothic space, which destabilizes, frightens, and changes those who voyage. Faced with the vast unknown and forced to question the limits and validity of one's knowledge and beliefs, the human reacts in unpredictable, frequently destructive or auto-destructive ways.

In line with this, the titular Ancient Mariner experiences the ocean as a Gothic landscape, “desolate, alienating and full of menace” (Botting, 2005: 2),

which unsettles him to such extremes that he feels compelled to kill an albatross, the sailors' good omen. In this constellation, the exotic bird is seen as an abject Other by the Mariner, but the Mariner himself is an Other relating to Nature, as he does not fit into the natural world but rather acts against it, and stands as an opposite to it. The senseless murder not only represents a rejection of "social proprieties and moral laws" (Botting, 2005: 2) but it is also an act of self-destructive transgression and excess that results in supernatural occurrences, hundreds of subsequent deaths, and in the Mariner's eternal misfortune, which renders both the story and its setting distinctly Gothic.

2. Gothic Tourism: Travel and Transgression

Although the idea of tourism is generally marked with a sense of pleasure and enjoyment, tourism, a distinctly economic (mercenary) activity, and tourist experience seem to be much more complex. Pointedly, in discussing the phenomenology of tourist experiences, Erik Cohen establishes that to understand tourists merely as travellers for pleasure is "a very superficial view of the tourist" (1979: 179) suggesting that different tourist experiences exist on a sort of a continuum. It seems apt, therefore, to understand tourism as an activity which provides tourists with new experiences (rather than just with pleasure), as it takes into account the multivalent nature of both tourism and the tourists' reactions to new surroundings and cultures.

The specific nature of the Ancient Mariner's voyage is not revealed, but its touristic aspect arises, on the one hand, from its *experiential* nature and, on the other, from its *economic* nature, since his voyage is, in all likelihood, a primarily mercantile endeavour. The Mariner sets sail with hundreds of other sailors from a coastal village or small town, "Below the kirk, below the hill, / Below the lighthouse top" (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 23-24¹). They are not distinguished in any particular way and the poem does not describe the Mariner as being of high birth or rich, which makes it likely that he is simply a member of a crew embarking on a voyage of colonial trade or exploration. The economic aspect of travel is made additionally plausible since for people of his social status travel was prompted by (the need to) work rather than

pleasure: "[m]annual labour, industry, whatever has to do directly with the everyday work of getting a livelihood, is the exclusive occupation of the inferior class" (Veblen, [1899] 2007: 8). Moreover, the concept of leisure time, that is "the nonproductive consumption of time" (Veblen, [1899] 2007: 33), which is integral to tourism understood as a purely pleasurable activity, emerges as a full-fledged phenomenon in Great Britain only during the nineteenth century and among the well-off who did not have to work for a living and still could afford to travel.

Travelling motivated by economic or political reasons bears an inherent sense of danger as it implies a strained contact with the Other due to monetary and imperialist propensities, whether they are emphasised or implied: "[t]rade, diplomacy, missionary endeavour, and scientific exploration... all contribute to the British expansion" (Bridges, 2002: 53). Moreover, the European technological expertise enabled influence or domination over non-Europeans as "with technological superiority came presumed intellectual superiority: Europeans could claim to be able to understand and interpret not only the terrain they entered but the inhabitants as well" (Bridges, 2002: 53). Consequently, the idea of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European travel is heavily burdened by the notions of colonialism and exploitation, which gives it a distinctly dark quality. For instance, famously and controversially, in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, Marlow refers to far-away, non-colonized places as "the dark places of the earth" (7). Like Coleridge's late eighteenth-century Ancient Mariner, Marlow is a late nineteenth-century "seaman... a wanderer" (Conrad, [1902] 1994: 8) and both of them have witnessed and participated in horrific acts of violence, which turned out to be transformational in a negative sense, leaving both seamen defeated, reflective, and compelled to retell their respective stories. Whereas Conrad literally speaks of the horrors of imperialist exploitation by referring to "the merry dance of death and trade" ([1902] 1994: 20), Coleridge alludes to the fatality of cross-ocean travels by picturing a ship that turns the ocean into blood: "But where the ship's huge shadow lay, / The charmed water burnt always / A still and awful red" ([1798] 2000: 269-271).

In addition to these problematic socioeconomic and cultural aspects of travel, the interaction with exotic landscapes is likewise seen as a source of tension, conflict and transformation. Conrad writes about "a colossal jungle, so dark-green as to be almost black" ([1902] 1994: 19), which causes "mental changes of individuals" ([1902] 1994: 29), and, a full century before Conrad, Coleridge also focuses on this facet of travelling – the alienating experience. *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* highlights the

¹ When referring to the poem, the lines are given instead of the page numbers for the reader's easier orientation in any edition of the poem.

horrific consequences of a disorienting experience of the ocean as a new medium, of the encounter with unknown flora and fauna, and of extreme climate changes. In this, the external and the internal become intertwined because the stories of the violent and strange events, beings, and locations simultaneously become stories of the transformation(s) of the psyche. Moreover, the Mariner's journey mirrors the fact that tourism is an extension of the mercantile (colonial) endeavour and represents the strained, disorienting, and mercenary relationship between people and (foreign) nature.

It is no wonder then that, as Andrew Hammond recognizes, the transference of the Gothic to travel literature occurs naturally and inevitably in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries (2010: 68). In the same vein, Benjamin A. Brabon recognizes that "strange and uncanny spaces became central to an emerging Gothic aesthetic in the late eighteenth century" (2014: 98), but that they serve to "interrogate the location of the Other and its relationship to a sense of English national identity" (2014: 98). Thus, texts that represent exotic localities serve as a means to comment on what is near and much more personal because in tales of travel, "the Other is located and defined as geographically removed and psychologically internalized" (Brabon, 2014: 99). In other words, in addition to the physical dimension of the reality in which geographical place is the site of contact or even conflict between the European and what is perceived as the exotic, the psyche also becomes a site of struggle between the foreign and the personal.

The uncanny effect of far-away travel is brought about not only by means of the implication of the change of the usual setting and an interaction with Otherness but also by the fact that a sense of displacement may result in irrational – sometimes even murderous – behaviour of the disoriented traveller. In *Gothic tourism*, Emma McEvoy suggests that "[t]ourism has been integral to the Gothic aesthetic from the very beginning" (2016: 4), which explains why people enjoy visiting places of both alleged and real mysteries and crimes; they wish to somehow experience the Gothic. But taking the reality of colonial history of the world into account, it may be suggested that there are hardly any places in the world left untouched by this metaphorical moral darkness, which allows for a possibility to see travel and tourism in general as a phenomenon marked by the Gothic. Additionally, it enables an interpretation of this phenomenon as an act of transgression – of crossing both literal (geopolitical) and moral boundaries – and the view of exotic locations as Gothic spaces. In case of Coleridge's poem of seafaring and the supernatural, the Gothic location in question is the ocean, understood as a vast

natural body of water surrounding the continents, rather than a geopolitical space divided by countries of the world into smaller parts by means of names and invisible, but legally binding, borders. The ocean is the very embodiment of nature, and although, at first, unconquered nature seems to be represented as the unknown and frightening Other, it is the Mariner who seems to function as the Other – a man fully detached from and unappreciative of nature's beauty and holiness. The violent crisis which arises from the encounter between human and nature transforms the ocean into a Gothic space.

3. Ocean as a Sublime Gothic Space

The ocean's primordial quality makes it a potent location for examining things both natural and supernatural. It is not only that the ocean is essential for life but it also *precedes* life altogether. Namely, in the Christian worldview, when earth was created, it was formless, lifeless, and covered by darkness and water: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. / And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters" (*King James version*, 1991, Gen. 1:1-2). Such a view of maritime space as a vast unpopulated void is echoed, as Tricia Cusack asserts, in a typical "Western conception of the sea as an empty 'uninhabited' space... available for exploration and appropriation" (2016: 1), similar to the infamous notion of non-colonized territories (particularly Australia) as *terra nullius*. In their analysis of the Gothic aspect of the ocean, Jimmy Packham and David Punter similarly contend that due to the inability to phantom the ocean's literal and symbolic depths, people treat it "primarily as surface" (2017: 16), which is vast and empty. The firm, even if incorrect, belief in the notion of the ocean and non-European territories as empty conceptualizes the violent European colonial endeavours as just and justified, and allows for the irrational and immoral perception of indigenous peoples, flora, and fauna as a void: a nothingness that is to be filled with European people, customs, and species. In addition to being frivolous and immoral, such a view of foreign locations and living beings is also deeply conflicted as it negates the reality of the situation and superimposes another, fictionalized view of the state of affairs creating a troubling relationship between people and nature, fact and fiction, as well as a deep rift within any individual forced to live in such a fictionalized reality. Indeed, this imbues the ocean space with a Gothic quality, as, for Botting, "the internalisation of grand Gothic devices is ambivalently externalised, diffused

throughout an everyday world itself composed of fictions” (2005: 71).

The fact that the ocean as a space is ancient and predates all life contributes to its Gothic quality. Namely, the Gothic is “characterized by a specific take on the relation between past and present” (McEvoy, 2016: 5), whereby the (sins of the) past violently erupt(s) in the present, destabilizing it. Both from a temporal and an ecological point of view, nature predates people; from a metaphysical point of view, it bears the stamp of the divine as it represents the material manifestation of the godly. Conrad, for instance, repeatedly emphasizes the ancient quality of the jungle and its “primeval mud” ([1902] 1994: 38), as well as the human role of an impostor in that primordial space: “We were wanderers on prehistoric earth, on an earth that wore the aspect of an unknown planet” ([1902] 1994: 51). Humans seem out of place in nature that has not been conquered and devastated by modern “civilization,” and their disorientation in this unknown, ancient space – whether Conrad’s jungle or Coleridge’s ocean – bears the quality of the Gothic. McEvoy explains that, “Gothic tourism has much to tell us about particular places and locality. It is bound up with the way in which we think about our past and our surroundings, and with the ways in which we construct our identities” (2016: 7). Indeed, the central conflict for Marlow and the Mariner is the issue of conceptualizing their identity in the face of realization of the essence of what they understand to be human civilization and values, and the reality of their practice. Furthermore, Coleridge’s main protagonist is referred to as the *Ancient Mariner*, which denotes him as a typically Gothic character from the past, forced to haunt the present in order to tell the story of his sin against nature, which was a result of his inability to view the world independently of the traditional misconceptions about life and nature.

Although the stages of divine creation, as represented in the Bible, dispel the notion of the emptiness of the ocean, they only serve to further establish the European sense of claim on foreign territories due to a “fundamentally anthropocentric” (Packham & Punter, 2017: 17) view of the ocean in particular, and nature in general. Namely, the Bible validates that (Christian) humans were given divine right to “have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth” (1991, Gen. 1:26). Thus, the cognitive dissonance created by the negation of the evident reality of the existence of indigenous life is “relieved” by recognizing its existence, but only as inferior to that of the Western people. Such culturally established hierarchy of life still fulfils the same purpose as the

initial negation of indigenous life: a justification of imperial and colonial endeavours. Yet, the Gothic rejects any form of order and thrives on the destabilization of both the protagonists and their world, and the ocean’s liquid nature embodies this strikingly.

Due to its constantly changing character, which unsettles the boundaries between the material and the psychological, real and imagined, the visible and the hidden, the ocean literally and symbolically disorients the *Ancient Mariner* and pushes him toward the realm of the supernatural. For the Mariner, who engages with the ocean as the unknown, the supernatural offers the only possible explanation of the phenomena he witnesses. He learns through experience, which leaves him utterly changed as his Christian perception of the hierarchy of natural beings is challenged since the maritime creatures turn out to be beyond human control. This confirms Nature’s superiority to any cultural construct and exposes the traditional genealogy of knowledge as flawed. The sea, according to Blum, “provides a new epistemology – a new dimension – for thinking about surfaces, depths, and the extra-terrestrial dimensions of planetary resources and relations” (2013: 151). For instance, the sea’s unique quality prompted Stanisław Lem to conceptualize alien life in his novel *Solaris* (1961) as a sentient ocean in order to avoid any possibility of anthropomorphization, as the ocean “cannot be reduced to human concepts, ideas or images” (Lem, 2002). Any fixedness is impossible and a fluid conception of the sea as a “material space characterized by movement and continual reformation across all of its dimensions” (Steinberg, 2013: 156) becomes a necessity. This is in line with the Gothic conception of space as one that is deeply unsettling, unfixable and that, according to Botting, “manifest[s] disturbance and ambivalence” as it is “beyond reason, law and civilised authority” (2014: 4). Gothic space is a space of isolation, incarceration, disorientation and power and as such invites self-doubt and vulnerability of the protagonist trapped in a hostile and sublime location (Botting, 2014: 4).

In fact, the ocean’s sublimity is one of its most important features. The Romantic worldview, inaugurated in the late eighteenth century by, among others, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, includes an almost sacred reverence for nature and its sublimity, an aesthetic quality that both Edmund Burke in *A philosophical enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful* (1757) and Immanuel Kant in *Critique of judgement* (1790) see as an alternative to what is beautiful, not as an opposition in the sense of lacking beauty, but as something that overwhelms and awes the observer, an entirely different aesthetic concept. Burke establishes that to know something

is to set limits to it, whereas the sublime is limitless and unknowable, as both Nature, God, and life itself, all of which are marked by a sort of “terrible uncertainty” (Burke [1757] 1998: 58). Significantly, “[f] or Coleridge as much as for any Romantic, indeed, the feeling of the sublime is the feeling of life itself” (Vallins, 2003: 4).

To experience this feeling, the young Coleridge, “an aesthetic tourist” (Vallins, 2003: 36), travelled frequently in order to visit places described and represented in literature and art of the period, and many of his writings represent attempts to record the vivid excitement provoked by the instances of his landscape-tourism (Vallins, 2003: 36). In line with the Kantian conception of the sublimity of landscapes, which intuits a connection with the divine (Kant, [1790] 2007: 78-90), Coleridge's works offer both an aesthetic and a transcendental experience of landscape and represent an exploration of “our own ultimate participation in or unity with the essence” (Vallins, 2003: 36-7). Coleridge cannot be said to reject Christianity, but, like most Romantics, he does detect its lack and ambivalence, which arises from its proclamation of humbleness and meekness as major values and its simultaneous highlighting of Christian humans as masters of the material world. The Romantic conception of Nature as divine and sublime is both more inclusive and quite progressive. In this constellation, to sin against nature is to commit the ultimate sin (Matek, 2020: 31), that is, to reject the divine, which, in case of the Ancient Mariner's transgression, results in his enduring curse of immortality.

Finally, Gothic sublimity of the ocean is also reflected in the ambivalent quality of human identity and self-perception, or their lack. Namely, in the fluid environment of the ocean, both the humans and the animals may function as the Other, because Gothic space is “a divided world of divided beings” (Botting, 2005: 8). So, in their rejection to comply with human standards and expectations, the birds and maritime beings become a source of *fear*. The human perceives the maritime beings as the Other; they are seen as frightening and even abject, “beyond the scope of the possible, the tolerable, the thinkable” (Kristeva, 1982: 1). Such a view of ocean life sets humans apart from the natural world, creating “the ambiguous opposition I/Other” (Kristeva, 1982: 7), and “[t]he one by whom the abject exists... *strays* instead of getting his bearings” (Kristeva, 1982: 8). In other words, by observing nature as Other and as threat, the humans become the Other and the threat themselves. The ambiguity of the opposition between I and the Other constitutes the human as the abject Other – the invader. People are not in tune with (maritime) nature and are instead unsettled

in their supposed role of a civilized master. Therefore, opposite to the usual mechanism of epistemic violence according to which the colonial subject is figured as Other (Spivak, 1994: 76), in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* the Western (European) subject is figured as the Other and, in a more general sense, the human being is constituted as Other to Nature, which represents the norm. In his interaction with the maritime surrounding, the character of the Ancient Mariner cannot intuitively sense harmony with the oceanic nature, and falls back on the two stereotypes that function as tools for Othering: he is at times a victim of the powerful unknown, and at other times he reacts violently to the unsettling surroundings, for which he is ultimately punished.

4. The Ancient Mariner's Crime and Curse

According to Packham and Punter, instances of oceanic Gothic literature offer an “uneasy balance between endless life and lifeless annihilation” (2017: 20). The destiny of Coleridge's Mariner may well be understood in these terms, as his immortality is both endless and, paradoxically, lifeless; he seems not to have any real agency but is trapped by and within his own narrative that compels him to retell and the listener to listen to it: “He holds him with his glittering eye – / The Wedding-Guest stood still, / And listens like a three years' child: / The Mariner hath his will” (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 13-16). The supernatural quality of the Mariner's gaze adds a sense of ominousness to his story. Although the lines depicting the departure from the town's port contain the atmosphere of homely happiness and establish the land as a known, safe space marked by Christianity, symbolized by the reference to “kirk,” and technology, symbolised by the “lighthouse” (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 21-24), the mood switches with the ship's entrance into the open ocean. The sailors lose control of the ship immediately and are left at the mercy of elements: “And now the STORM-BLAST came, and he / Was tyrannous and strong: / He struck with his o'ertaking wings, / And chased us south along (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 41-44). No knowledge or navigational technology can help them stick to their course; rather, the ship sails where the storm takes it. From this point on, the Mariner's tale becomes one of suffering, transgression, and the supernatural. Regardless of whether the sea is calm or rough, and whether the weather is warm or cold, the Mariner experiences only exasperation and want, an echo of the reality of the age of exploration marked by psychological and physical stress and horror (Alder, 2017: 8). The ocean is represented as a

“desolate, stormy and wild landscape” (Botting, 2005: 84) in which it becomes impossible for the Mariner to get his bearings.

The fallaciousness of the biblical idea that people are (or should be) given dominion over nature and natural creatures becomes evident in the sailors' utter helplessness against the elements, which is prolonged and emphasized throughout the poem, as the sailors end up being trapped by storm, dead calm, heat, and ice: “The ice was here, the ice was there, / The ice was all around” (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 59-60). The South Pole is the first location where the ship is taken since, according to Katherine Bowers, the polar space is figured as having supernatural potential (2017: 74) as “[t]he enormity and hostility of polar space pushes beyond the capacity of the so-called civilised mind, and, in so doing, becomes Gothic space” (2017: 72). In fact, the poem's two major supernatural beings, the Polar Spirit and the albatross, come “From the land of mist and snow” (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 134) and instigate the plot.

Nature, symbolized by the character of Polar Spirit, sends her envoy in the form of an Albatross to help the sailors escape the icy ocean, but also to test their moral qualities: “At length did cross an Albatross, / Thorough the fog it came; / As if it had been a Christian soul, / We hailed it in God's name” (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 63-66). The bird leads them to safety, saving their lives, and yet, after nine days, the Ancient Mariner fails the moral test by killing it for no good reason: “God save thee, ancient Mariner! / From the fiends, that plague thee thus! – / Why look'st thou so? – With my cross-bow / I shot the ALBATROSS” (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 79-82). His ominous expression reflects his disturbed psychological status, and the murder he committed sets all other violent and horrific events into action. The Mariner's extreme behaviour may be attributed to the fact that, as Andrew Smith suggests in his analysis of post-apocalyptic narratives, the purpose of such a voyage is self-discovery expressed in temporal and geographical terms (2013: 135). Whereas Smith conceptualizes the frontier as the space of self-discovery, in Coleridge's poem it is the ocean that is represented as “a liminal environmental place in which territory is both mastered and beyond control” (Smith, 2013: 136).

Once he shoots the bird that was, according to Coleridge's marginal notes to the poem, a good omen ([1798] 2000: 71, 79, 91), the Mariner's disrespect for natural beings is revealed as damning: “And I had done a hellish thing” (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 91). His disturbed behaviour is a confirmation of Kristeva's claim that those who perceive the abject lose a sense of centeredness, whereby the boundaries between the self and Other break and become ambiguous (1982: 7-8);

the Mariner is at the same time the killer of the abject and the abject itself. As Botting contends, “[p]sychological rather than supernatural forces became the prime movers in worlds where individuals could be sure neither of others nor of themselves” (2005: 8), which is one of the traits of Gothic excess, particularly in connection with the examination of “psychological horror and human evil” (Botting, 2005: 69). After their departure from the space of law, “Gothic subjects were alienated, divided from themselves, no longer in control” (Botting, 2005: 8) of passions that are normally policed, but that get free reign through the excesses of transgression.

The Mariner's own curse is caused by the murder, but his crewmates are not immune to the disorienting temptations of the ocean; the moment when they change their mind, and acknowledge that killing the bird was the right thing to do is the moment in which they are damned as well. It shows how poorly they can decipher Nature's acts, since they do not see themselves as parts of Nature, but rather set off from and in conflict with it. They suffer days of heat, thirst, and stillness “[u]pon a painted ocean” (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 118). Despite its vastness, the ocean is paradoxically figured as a Gothic space of incarceration and claustrophobia, the sailors trapped on its seemingly impenetrable, “painted” surface, the only aspect of the ocean that they can grasp.

Namely, in their alienation from nature, the sailors are unappreciative of the richness of life in the ocean's depths. As Packham and Punter contend, life in the deep is viewed as Gothic – it is unknown and uncanny, escapes the possibilities of terrestrial language, and is therefore marked by the process of abjection, which remains the only possibility in the human interaction with the incomprehensible depth of the ocean (2017: 28-9). For the Mariner, sea-life is equalled with “rot” (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 123) and both the sea and its creatures are “slimy” (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 125-126), and therefore abject, just like the albatross, a seabird, who inexplicably incited the Mariner's rage. Furthermore, the morbid hanging of the dead bird on the Mariner's neck represents the typical abject image of the corpse combined with the sense of monstrosity of both the Mariner as the murderer and the sailors who perversely hang the dead bird and thus become engulfed in the abject: “the corpse, the most sickening of wastes, is a border that has encroached upon everything.... It is death infecting life. Abject. It is something rejected from which one does not part, from which one does not protect oneself as from an object. Imaginary uncanniness and real threat, it beckons to us and ends up engulfing us” (Kristeva, 1982: 3-4). With this, the crew's damnation seems to be inevitable.

After days of standstill, the sailors notice a ghostly ship navigated by Death and Life-in-Death, coming to claim them. According to Botting, ghosts populating Gothic fiction represent “signs of internal states and conflicts [rather] than of external threats” (2005: 7). Similarly, for Kristeva, phantoms and ghosts represent phobic hallucinations that are construed by the psyche in an attempt to achieve the idealized social norm (1982: 47), which in the sailors’ case may be either death (end to suffering) or redemption. In a game of dice, the nightmare of immortality personified as a woman, Life-in-Death, wins the Mariner (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 185-198), whereas Death gets the crew. The dying sailors curse the Mariner (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 212-223), who is left “Alone, alone, all, all alone, / Alone on a wide wide sea!” (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 232-233). He remains isolated and condemned to an eternal voyage on the ghostly ship, suffering isolation and the accusing looks of the dead sailors. Significantly, he feels sorry for his crewmen, whom he sees as “beautiful” (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 236), but he still does not take pity on the albatross or see beauty in the maritime creatures. In this, he sins further against nature and is unable to pray: “I looked to heaven, and tried to pray; / But or ever a prayer had gusht, / A wicked whisper came, and made / My heart as dry as dust” (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 244-247). He seems completely oblivious as to the nature of his sins. Seeing the curse in the eyes of the dead sailors, he mistakenly believes that their death is the only thing he is guilty of. It is beyond his comprehension that any act of violence against, failure to act positively toward or think respectfully of animals or nature may be sinful. His perspective is strictly anthropocentric and terrestrial, which not only renders the ocean as abject and Other but – although he does not realize it – it also renders him as the abject Other: a sinner against nature.

After seven days and nights of isolated observation and contemplation, the Mariner experiences a moment of illumination and recognizes beauty in all, including the creatures inhabiting the ocean. The slimy water-snakes he once abhorred are revealed to him in a sudden epiphany as immensely beautiful creatures emanating “elfish light” (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 275), their skin a “rich attire” (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 278). The Mariner yells with joy: “O happy living things! no tongue / Their beauty might declare: / A spring of love gushed from my heart, / And I blessed them unaware” ([1798] 2000: 282-285). The realization comes to him “unaware”, that is, in the form of Divine Grace, as his mind and human language, both operating by means of anthropocentric concepts, cannot conceptualize the sublimity of

natural things. He feels (rather than understands) the change because the sublime is primarily a nexus of emotions: “Wonder, awe, horror and joy... expand or elevate the soul and the imagination with a sense of power and infinity (Botting, 2005: 25). Once he opens his heart to the sublime quality of the ocean, he is finally able to pray and the dead albatross falls from his shoulders, symbolically freeing the Mariner of a portion of his guilt. This moment of grace, the pity that his “kind saint” took on him (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 286), changes the nature of the curse, even though it cannot be fully lifted and a part of the price will be paid indefinitely: “The man hath penance done, / And penance more will do” (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 408-409). The idea that the sin against nature cannot be expiated is uncannily reminiscent of the current situation regarding both the Earth’s climate and mass tourism, as humanity seems to have made mistakes of such scale that certain devastations caused by greed, such as overproduction, overconstruction (of hotels and apartments at the very coastline), and deforestation, cannot be undone, but merely curbed by urgent action. Catherine Lanone’s suggestion that *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* is “a proto-ecocritical text” (2013: 30) confirms that such interpretations and associations are not far-fetched, particularly in line with one of the basic features of the Gothic, namely, that it is pliable enough “to resonate with the cultural anxieties of our time” (Lanone, 2013: 41).

Immediately upon his realization, the Mariner is blessed with the gifts of sleep and rain, which alleviate his insomnia and thirst, and the spectres animate the dead sailors into a “ghastly crew” (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 340) who will navigate the ship home. The Polar Spirit, an incarnation of Nature, who has initially sent the Albatross to help the sailors, and who has been following the ship from the South Pole, symbolizes the interconnectedness between the spiritual, the natural, and the human, and suggests that love is the link that binds them together. In killing the bird, the Mariner broke the connection and caused a tragedy of vast proportions. The irony of the situation is in the fact that ultimate cruelty was committed in the name of Christ, which again suggests that people abuse religious ideas to suit their selfish goals:

By him who died on cross,
With his cruel bow he laid full low
The harmless Albatross.
The spirit who bideth by himself
In the land of mist and snow,
He loved the bird that loved the man
Who shot him with his bow. (Coleridge,
[1798] 2000: 399-405)

In addition to illustrating how human actions break the link of love between all living beings, the poem may thus be said to implicitly criticize the overtly anthropocentric character of most religions. It is implied that the Mariner's inconsiderate treatment of the harmless bird results from the belief that, when they are declaratively acting in the name of God, people are exempt from responsibility for the consequences of their actions, even if these actions are violent and oppressive toward other living beings or nature. This view, which only takes into consideration the well-being of (certain) humans, is shown to be reductive and harmful for the entire ecosystem.

Ultimately, the sailors get a symbolic sea burial as their bodies sink with the ship in the hometown harbour. Their sin was to accept and condone the Mariner's deed, so they were guilty by association rather than action. They have paid with their life, but the fact that they were each animated by "A man all light, a seraph-man... a heavenly sight!" (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 490, 493) suggests that their souls may be saved. The Mariner, however, being an active sinner against Nature, is beyond salvation. He hopes to confess to the Hermit, "He'll shrive me soul, he'll wash away / The Albatross's blood" (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 512-13), and although he does tell his tale to the Hermit, an absolution never takes place. Prevented from ever attaining peace, the Mariner, a ghostly and terrifying figure with a supernatural sheen in his eyes (Coleridge, [1798] 2000: 3, 13, 618), roams the world retelling his story compulsively:

Since then, at an uncertain hour,
That agony returns:
And till my ghastly tale is told,
This heart within me burns.
I pass, like night, from land to land;
I have strange power of speech;
That moment that his face I see,
I know the man that must hear me:
To him my tale I teach. (Coleridge, [1798]
2000: 582-590)

The tale he tells is one of universal love, a moral he learns the hard way. Despite the fact that people lack awareness of the harmony and equality between all living beings and their natural surroundings, which is only made worse by the anthropocentric values and beliefs, the respect for all things natural is the only way to ensure survival:

He prayeth well, who loveth well
Both man and bird and beast.
He prayeth best, who loveth best
All things both great and small;

For the dear God who loveth us,
He made and loveth all. (Coleridge, [1798]
2000: 612-617)

5. Conclusion

In *Gothic tourism*, Emma McEvoy suggests that ghost walks are performative acts conjuring other versions of the town into being by means of storytelling and the tourists' imagination (2016: 125). Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* may be said to conjure a new view of the ocean in a similar way. The trials of maritime travel depicted as a form of Gothic tourism, that is Gothic *experience*, represent the ordeals of questioning dominant perspectives, of acknowledging the unthinkable, and therefore the transgressive. In the Mariner's tale, the ocean is an unsettling, Gothic space, teeming with abject life. Its darkness is underlined by the implied horrors of imperialism and colonialism connected with the eighteenth-century travel. However, the Mariner's actions constitute himself as an abject Other in relation to Nature.

The ocean is primeval and embodies Nature itself with its sublime quality, which transcends mere beauty, and terrifying power. Inculcated with traditional views, the Mariner finds himself disoriented at sea and unable to appreciate the overwhelming sublimity of maritime space. Instead of recognizing all forms of life as sacred, the Mariner irrationally and haughtily kills the benevolent albatross and despises other maritime creatures, whereby an unbridgeable gap is constructed between himself and the ocean, that is life.

The ocean's darkness is reflected in the Mariner's actions, designating not only the exotic location and life as Other but the Mariner as well. He is the Other to Nature, a barbaric, murderous being falsely believing to bear the stamp of light and civilization. In this way, the ocean becomes a nexus of the forces of life and death, a complex and fluid location where identities are upset and made ambiguous. Additionally, the ocean becomes a liminal space between nature and civilization, good and evil, where the Mariner is, through the divine grace of Nature, awarded knowledge of the previously unknown. Yet, the knowledge and insights gained during his ocean adventure do not liberate the Mariner nor exonerate him from his sins. His enlightenment and immortality are not represented as a reward but as a curse. Guilty of many deaths, which are a proof of his rejection of love and life, the Mariner is forced to roam the world for all eternity, retelling his cautionary tale about the necessity of universal love and ecological respect.

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Questions to tourists stopped by Walden pond: Waterscapes, words and literary tourism

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is twofold: first, to analyze the meaning of Walden Pond, a real body of water between Concord and Lincoln, Massachusetts, as it appears in Henry David Thoreau's *Walden* (1854). This pond is first and foremost a place on whose shores the writer decided to live between 1845 and 1847. Secondly, the literary representation of the lake functions as a symbol of simplicity, of observation and knowledge, and, in this sense, I seek to investigate how Thoreau's words about the Walden pond have contributed to the (trans)formation of readers' and tourists' minds. Moreover, my interest is to draw from works about literary tourism and to see how literary words construct the tourist vision, as "in literary tourism, narratives act as the primary source of information about a place, stimulating motivation to travel" (Charapan & Mikulich, 2019). Thus, my proposal aims to show that because water is characterized as mirrorlike, windowlike, and with no definite shape it is a fertile metaphor for poetic imagery. Additionally, to evince that (literary) words, place, waterscapes and tourists interrelate in the forging of (new) consciousnesses, better suited to practice reverence for our common home.

Keywords

Henry David Thoreau • Walden pond • Literature • Literary tourism • Environment

1. "Out of his daily niche, [the tourist's] potential for perception increases"

The title of this article comes from a poem by William Stanley Merwin: "Questions to tourists stopped by a pineapple field", published in *Opening the hand*, in 1983. The American poet (1927-2019) lived from the late 1970s onwards on an old pineapple plantation in Hawaii, a place that had been destroyed by commercial sugar and pineapple plantations, but which he restored to its original rainforest state. Related to this experience, the poem portrays human alienation from nature and natural environments, the death of native culture, lack of understanding of native environments and change of native cultures, elements which, according to the poet, evince not only natural loss, but historic loss as well. The poem in its content and form illuminates (and criticizes) Euro-Americans who go to Hawaii for industrial or recreational purposes without taking into consideration the history of the place and its relation to native people; ultimately, the poet's aim is that tourists and readers question themselves about the way the contemporary world reads nature and the relationships between environments and the people who inhabit them. Composed by one hundred verses, the poem is a long questioning about how much tourists know or care about the places they visit, what pictures they take, and what they invest their money in. An example:

how do you like these pineapple fields
have you ever seen pineapple fields before

do you know whether pineapple is native to
the islands
do you know whether the natives ate pineap-
ple
do you know whether the natives grew pine-
apple
do you know how the land was acquired to be
turned into pineapple fields
do you know what is done to the land to turn
it into pineapple fields
do you know how many months and how
deeply they plow it
do you know what those machines do are you
impressed
do you know what's in those containers are
you interested (Merwin, 2005: 248)

According to Merwin, an advocate of sustaina-
ble communities, in which people and environment
cohabit in a balanced way, both the reader and the
tourist should pay attention to the places they visit
because from that attentiveness may result the con-
viction that places and human destiny are intimately
connected. If this idea is recognized by biologists
and ecologists, my argument is that literary works
are also an important tool in that recognition. The
incisiveness on the relationship between human and
natural environments is the core of ecocriticism, the
critical field which intends to understand the many
ways humans interact with the nonhuman environ-
ment, and how humans affect and are affected by the
nonhuman. Reading environmentally is, according
to Lawrence Buell, a way of conveying how “literary
accomplishment illuminate[s] the history of pub-
lic taste and help[s] to shape its underlying values”
(Buell, 1996: 22). In this sense, I argue that reading
environmentally informed works also represents an
instrument for the individual tourist to recognize that
the tourism sector needs to incorporate the principles
of sustainable development.

Parallel to the general ideas postulated by Mer-
win’s poem and the theoretical framework of ecocriti-
cism, my particular aim is to understand the way these
issues are relevant to thinking about literary tourism,
namely the power of words to challenge and change
the human mind. Literary tourism demonstrates,
Ann Lund states, that “tourism destinations, liter-
ary or not, are not merely places of consumption.
The gaze is always complicated and offers a glimpse
into a variety of narratives: past, present and future”
(2019: 2). Thus, the ultimate goal of this reflection
is to think about sustainable tourism based on the
assumption that from an individual encounter with
a text a more informed perspective on the (natural)
world may emerge. Hopefully, reading “espouses

vigilance” (Felski, 2008: 12), that is, tourists would be
encouraged to critical reflection, resulting in a more
responsible tourism.

As such, my intention is to illustrate how Henry
David Thoreau’s writings on Walden Pond, a lake to
which he dedicates a chapter in *Walden*, published in
1854, may contribute to the growing consciousness
that literature is an important element in the tourism
system: “literature not only stimulates the desire to
explore the imaginary locations but also generates
new textual and visual artefacts of recent experiences,
adding an extra metalevel to the literary landscape.”
(Charapan & Mikulich, 2019: 15). Moreover, focusing
on waterscapes, I am also taking into consideration
the way literary texts help to shape the readers’ and
tourists’ minds, forging (a new) consciousness about
the importance of taking care of our common home.
At a time when water is the center of human endeavor
because of its significance as an increasingly precious
resource to the survival of life on Earth, it is important
that waterscapes be analyzed not only according to
scientific terms but in their cultural, spiritual, and
mythic dimensions (Devine & Grewe-Volpp, 2008: 3).

In this sense, I contend that Thoreau’s naturalist
writings about water and waterscapes function as an
invitation to the contemporary reader to follow new
paths of attention and apprenticeship in relation to
nature, and namely to nature-based tourism, based
on the conviction that “literature changes our under-
standing of ourselves and the world as well as its often
visceral impact on our psyche” (Felski, 2008: 16).
In this context, I suggest that through the agency
of words, leisure and travel can be understood as
moments that encourage reflection and change, and
in which the tourist may be changed, as Paul Shepard
in *Man in the landscape* attests:

Like the sportsman, the tourist moves in a sphere
which has no immediate connection to the
conduct of his daily business. He observes the
pattern of stream life in which lives the fish, and
the whole watershed may assume some signifi-
cance. The beauty of his activity is its complete
immediate uselessness and its ultimate value
for the survival of a culture and civilization”.
(2002: 156)

Shepard insists: “Out of his daily niche, [the
tourist’s] potential for perception increases. [...] His
possibilities know no bounds, for he is on a
pilgrimage or he is wayfaring, the best thing for his
soul (2002: 156). Shepard’s assertion is in accord
with Thoreau’s purpose as a nature writer: for him,
whatever takes place in mental or verbal space is
as important as what occurs in physical space: “to

get men to see their universe symbolically, to read beyond its lessons of matter-of-fact, was one of the most liberating things Thoreau had to offer” (Paul, 1976: 15). In turn, Sherman Paul’s claim is attuned to Anniken Greve’s vision of the possibilities tourism represents to human fulfillment: “as tourists, ambling and idling, we might open ourselves to the environment and ourselves (our sheer being) in virtue of the very *lack* of purposes and missions. As tourists, we are normally not here to *accomplish* anything, beyond simply *being here*, in the richest possible way.” (Greve, 2019: 86). As a result of what has been stated, I agree with Bill McKibben: in the twenty-first century, it is “most crucial to read *Walden* as a practical environmentalist’s volume, and to search for Thoreau’s heirs [...], those trying to change our relation to the planet” (Thoreau, [1854] 2004: viii). In the radical consumer society in which we live, to read what he has to say about the Walden waterscape will help twenty-first century tourists to raise essential questions about the way they want to live. Moreover, Thoreau, as naturalist and interpreter of nature, is relevant in the sense that, catching the traveler’s and the reader’s attention, he opens up a space away both from routine pathways and petrified perceptions and mainstream consumerism.

2. Walden Pond: “Lying between the earth and the heavens, it partakes of the color of both”

A well-known American author, Thoreau wrote everlasting literary nonfiction works, namely *A week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, and *Walden*, texts in which he portrays his love for nature. He records his affection for the world by walking and observing the environs of Concord, Massachusetts. As Robert Richardson, critic and biographer, affirms: “In the entire range of American literature there is no stronger tie between a writer and a place than the tie between Henry David Thoreau and Concord”. He explains:

[Thoreau] grew up in Concord, returned there after college and, except for a brief period, he lived there all his life. Concord was his world, the pivot of his emotional, intellectual, and physical life. His attachment to Concord gave his writing a sense of place unsurpassed in American writing. Even Thoreau’s characteristic form, the excursion, derives in part from the powerful centripetal pull of Concord on Thoreau, on his need to return home after every outing. (Richardson, 2000: 12)

Thoreau’s methodology consisted of cross-pollinating his readings and his affection for nature with scientific modes of measuring, calculating, and surveying, a combination that Laura Dassow Walls, acknowledging Alexander von Humboldt’s influence on Thoreau, refers to as ‘empirical holism’ (Dassow, 1995, quoted by Rossi, 2000: 29). In a time in which Thoreau’s writings are seen as portraying important bounds between human beings and place, it is my aim to present his words on Walden Pond’s waterscape as an example of his way of living attentively and of emphasizing human need, through the contact with nature, to purify both the eye and the soul.

In “Ponds”, the ninth chapter of the seventeen sections of *Walden*, and thus structurally central to the work, Thoreau portrays different ponds in the area of Concord, namely White Pond, Sandy Pond and Goose Pond, which, together with Concord River, are his “water privileges” (Thoreau, [1854] 2004: 186). However, it is Walden Pond that interests him most, a natural body of water which Thoreau visits every day in his solitary excursions during a fourteen-month period from 1845 to 1847. According to his description, he used to spend “the hours of midnight fishing from a boat by moonlight, serenaded by owls and foxes, and hearing from time to time, the creaking note of some unknown bird close at hand. These experiences were very memorable and valuable [...],—anchored in forty feet of water” (Thoreau, [1854] 2004: 165). During those moments of leisure and pleasure, his “thoughts [...] wandered to vast and cosmogonical themes in other spheres” (Thoreau, [1854] 2004: 166). His passion for nature led him to build himself a cabin and live near the shores of Walden Pond, a point for observing natural phenomena but also a place from where to articulate deeper universal truths based on what he observed and thought. He makes his point when he refers: “I have spent many an hour, when I was younger, floating over its surface as the zephyr willed [...]. Many a forenoon have I stolen away, preferring to spend thus the most valued part of the day; for I was rich, if not in money, in sunny hours and summer days” (Thoreau, [1854] 2004: 181).

Thoreau observes and describes Walden Pond based on objective information: “a clear and deep green well, half a mile long and a mile and three quarters in circumference, and [containing] about sixty-one and a half acres: a perennial spring in the midst of pine and oak woods, without any visible inlet or outlet except by the clouds and evaporation” (Thoreau, [1854] 2004: 166); “the sixth of March, 1846, the thermometer having been up to 65° or 70° some of the time” (Thoreau, [1854] 2004: 173); “There have been caught in Walden, pickerel [...], perch and pouts, [...] shiners, chivins or roach, [...]

a very few breams, and a couple of eels” (Thoreau, [1854] 2004: 174); “frogs and tortoises [...] ducks and geese” (Thoreau, [1854] 2004: 175). Asking his readers to pay attention, he portrays the waters of Walden as possessing two colors at least, one when viewed at a distance, and another, closer at hand: “Walden is as blue at one time and green at another, even from the same point of view. Lying between the earth and the heavens, it partakes of the color of both” (Thoreau, [1854] 2004: 167). If Walden Pond reveals itself a place for communion with the natural world, it also stands for an image of stability as “nations come and go without defiling it” (Thoreau, [1854] 2004: 178), and a mirror “which no stone can crack” (Thoreau, [1854] 2004: 178), reflecting the thoughts and considerations Thoreau brings to it. Accordingly, the narrator sees the waterscape of Walden Pond as more than a mere elemental sign in the landscape: “A lake is the landscape’s most beautiful and expressive feature. It is earth’s eye; looking into which the beholder measures the depth of his own nature” (Thoreau, [1854] 2004: 176).

However, whenever Thoreau writes about the purity of water, he aims at calling attention to human goodness: “the cars never pause to look at it; yet I fancy that the engineers and firemen and brakemen, and those passengers who have a season ticket to see it often, are better men for the sight” (Thoreau, [1854] 2004: 183). And also: “Many men have been likened to it, but few deserve that honor” (Thoreau, [1854] 2004: 182). In another passage he highlights the spiritual meaning of the lake:

[Men] who never *saw* it, who never bathed in it, who never loved it, who never protected it, who never spoke a good word for it nor thanked God that he had made it. [...] him who thought only of its money value; whose presence perchance cursed all the shore; who exhausted the land around it and would fain have exhausted the waters within it. (Thoreau, [1854] 2004: 185)

These statements illustrate the ultimate meaning of Thoreau’s words on writing about his beloved landscape; paraphrasing Anniken Greve, both landscapes and waterscapes are an exercise both in perception and reflection, making us see our dependence on the fragile equilibrium of nature (2019: 91). Moreover, Thoreau’s observation of natural facts such as the transformation of water into ice and then, in spring, the melting of the pond, the ice-thaw-flux, is an important metaphor to show what was vital to him: “to pass from a lower to a higher form of life, from fixidity to fluidity [...], from the innocence of youth

to the wisdom of maturity, from larval sensuality to aerial purity” (Paul, 1976: 35).

Most importantly, Thoreau’s observations occupy a special place in the American imagination not only because Thoreau lived there, but because he wrote convincingly about it. And because of that, his influence continues, and his works are used today to raise consciousness about the fragility of natural ecosystems, and to foster sensitivity towards natural landscapes in general. Also, Thoreau’s life and work serve as an example of a life lived “deliberately”, one that would “front only the essential facts of life” (Thoreau, [1854] 2004: 85), but, additionally, it has contributed to the preservation of large parts of the Walden Pond area from excessive human use and, therefore, he is considered to have contributed to the public interest in nature preservation. Consequently, Thoreau’s role is highly relevant when one considers his connection to nature, to the preservation and to caring for place. In addition, his work has foreground the nature writing literary tradition, a genre which is related to travel writing and, thus, to literary tourism. The detailed observations on the natural environment of Walden Pond lead us to better understand the link between language and tourism, as exposed by Anniken Greve: “What uses of language might help promote environmentally responsible tourism?” (2019:83). Greve reminds us that some writers are strongly connected with places and that their writing conveys that relationship persuasively, for the places portrayed also translate emotions about those places. The result is that the literary tourist will deepen his attention and care for the places he reads about. Greve sees it as “a reopening of our original openness. [...] a possibility [that is] more available to us in foreign places than at home, and more so if we are *tourists* in this foreign place than if we visit the place for work or with a mission” (2019: 86).

Thus, as examined above, Thoreau’s passages about the waters of Walden Pond serve not only to redirect the reader’s attention – and the tourist’s eye – to the natural environment but to contribute to the deepening of his/her thought as the water imagery is also “a fertile breeding ground for metaphor” (Papa, Jr., 2000: 72). As I have highlighted, the waterscape is a place for Thoreau-the-scientist to get to know the natural world better, but also in the waters of the pond he sees himself, the artist trying to make sense of and understand the world. Thus, the waterscapes near which Thoreau lives “do much not only to reinforce the consciousness [he] brings to his [...] observations of nature, but to shape such consciousness as well” (Papa, Jr., 2000: 78). Hopefully, his words on the Walden waterscape will impact the tourist’s concern about water resources, making

him/her wonder about water-related problems such as potable water, pollution, and justice, thus showing that literature and tourism are not only leisure and, thus, not completely separated from science and politics, that is, separate from human life.

3. "Tourism is, after all, a semiotic system that writes significance onto the landscape"

Currently, and through the strenuous efforts of many people, Walden Pond remains an attractive place, open to the public: "If you get there early in the morning and before the crowd arrives, it is still possible to experience it as Thoreau did" (Richardson, 2000: 22). For instance, a visit to the "Walden Pond State Reservation" tells us that in April 2022, besides several activities related to the Visitor Center, on Sunday, tourists and visitors may look for signs of spring; the program informing that one should "Use [our] senses, look for signs, and listen to sounds of spring as Walden awakens on this easy one-mile guided stroll in the woods with a Park Interpreter". But one can also "Discover how Thoreau's influence has grown to inspire generations of conservationists to protect our natural resources" and children are invited to discover "through stories, songs, and activities how different types of Walden birds lay their eggs in different places", or to "Explore Walden's ephemeral spring pools".¹ By signaling this information I intend to state that Thoreau's influence is real and that his writings are an important element to take into consideration when tens of thousands continue to make annually what Lawrence Buell terms "The Thoreauvian Pilgrimage" to Walden Pond (1996: 311). The journalist Sophie Yeo has recently confirmed that: "In the 1920s, Walden Pond started to become a popular recreational site for swimmers and tourists, who were drawn to its literary and philosophical significance, as well as to its natural beauty and crystalline waters (plus its proximity to Boston)". However, she claims, due to the great number of visitors and tourists the waters are now much more polluted, and according to scientists, it looks like climate change "is starting to have an unwelcome and unexplained hand in the growing murkiness of the pond, introducing a new kind of plankton to the water. Also, they fear that warmer weather will

mean more day trippers from Boston in the future".² On the other hand, Daniel Bono, as a member of a tourist group visiting Walden Pond, states: "our roles as tourists has given us the opportunity to, in the wake of questioning authenticity, escape the everyday mode of being, and situate ourselves in a performative framework that uses *communitas* to talk about a space that has cultural significance. This cultural renewal at Walden Pond showed us that our conversations led us to authenticity, at the very place that Thoreau found it as well" (Bono, 2008: 74).

In this context, we can better understand Robert Sattelmeyer's words on the reasons why people choose to go to Walden Pond: that happens not only because "Walden is a literary shrine but also a cultural site that provides a focal point for a series of environmental concerns and beliefs that continue to be central to [American] collective social life" (2000: 235), but despite the pressures of swimmers, picnickers, and pilgrims, because "thanks both to reforestation and the power of Walden's rhetoric, today's Walden Pond resembles the Walden Pond of the book more than the actual Walden Pond of 1845 did" (Sattelmeyer, 2000: 242-3). These thoughts mirror Barbara Schaff's statement about the meaning of literary trails; according to Schaff, "the sites may be imaginary, but they are real places as well and they can be signified by tourists by performative articulations of all sorts of imagined connections between text, place, and author. Tourism is, after all, a semiotic system that writes significance onto the landscape" (Schaff, 2011: 179-180). In other words, following the steps of an author comprises an active involvement, "enabling tourists to articulate different cultural values and desires" (Schaff, 2011: 180).

In conclusion, I would like to convene Merwin's questions to tourists once more—"do you know," "are you impressed," "are you interested,"—for these interrogations epitomize what we, as tourists, should ask ourselves; in addition, we should accept the moments of pause these questions offer as opportunities which ideally help us to halt the destruction of the natural world, "the great thinning" of our natural world (2015: 105), as Michael McCarthy puts it. The leisure time offered by touristic activities, and the intellectual space offered by literary reading about the places to visit, act as an open door to a more sustainable Tourism, as claimed by The One Planet Sustainable Tourism Programme.³

¹ See <https://www.mass.gov/locations/walden-pond-state-reservation>

² See <https://psmag.com/environment/can-walden-pond-be-saved>

³ See <https://www.unwto.org/sustainable-development/one-planet>

It is interesting that James Guthrie affirms that Thoreau's great contribution "was to see the landscape that no longer existed, or rather, the landscape that always exists, but which the limited temporal perception of humankind normally prevents it from seeing." Ultimately, Guthrie maintains, Thoreau "achieved an insight into the rhythms and currents of deep time" (2001: 233). Influenced by his writings, both readers and tourists can become companions on his search for springs that never fail. The texts resulting from his excursions along river and lake shores show that it is utterly important to care about place, as Paul Shepard reminds us: "Travel is broadening because of the nature not of travel, but of the traveler. He is apt to be a boob, but he may be the hope of mankind" (2002: 156). As a literature scholar interested in ecological thinking and in the way this critical perspective articulates with literary tourism, I have to agree with Lawrence Buell that, if rhetoric considerations are important, we should also consider ethics for it will lead us to developing a mature environmental concern (1996: 267). In this sense, we should pay attention to what Thoreau has to say to tourists stopped by Walden Ponds:

White Pond and Walden are great crystals on the surface of the earth, Lakes of Light. [...] They are too pure to have a market value; they contain no muck. How much more beautiful than our lives, how much more transparent than our characters, are they! We never learned meanness of them. [...] Nature has no human inhabitant who appreciates her. The birds with their plumage and their notes are in harmony with the flowers, but what youth or maiden conspires with the wild luxuriant beauty of Nature? ([1854] 2004: 188)

Thoreau's questions throughout *Walden*, and challengingly summarized by Bill McKibben: "How much is enough?" (2004: xi), and "How can I hear my own heart?" (2004: xvi) are attuned to Greve's: "How can tourism be conceptualized as an environmentally responsible activity?", "Is there a positive role for tourism to play in developing environmental awareness?" (2019: 83). It seems easy enough to account for the potential downsides of tourism on both the local and the global environment. Yet, the United Nations Environmental Programme aside from the environmental impacts of tourism, demonstrates how tourism can contribute to environmental conservation: "Tourism has the potential to increase public appreciation of the environment and to spread awareness of environmental problems when it brings people into closer contact with nature and the environment", and also: "Tourism can significantly con-

tribute to environmental protection, conservation and restoration of biological diversity and sustainable use of natural resources".⁴ In this regard, Thoreau's words about the healing power of water both to our bodies and souls and the practice of a sustainable tourism walk hand in hand, helping to sensitize the reader's and tourist's gaze to the importance of water and waterscapes, searching for a more symbiotic sensibility towards our increasingly endangered common home.

4 See <https://www.gdrc.org/uem/eco-tour/envi/four.html>

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Ruta literaria por la mar de Borriana: Experiencia de turismo literario, inclusivo y sostenible

Literary route through Borriana and the Sea: A literary, inclusive and sustainable tourism experience

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Resumen

En este artículo, mostramos el diseño de una ruta literaria que sigue la línea de costa de una ciudad mediana valenciana que todavía no ha sido explotada como destino turístico masivo. La ruta se ha diseñado pensando en promocionar la literatura y el paisaje locales, atrayendo visitantes interesados por el turismo cultural, con sensibilidad de género y ecológica, permitiendo a los visitantes conocer las múltiples facetas de la interacción entre los habitantes de Borriana y el mar. Además, esta ruta literaria se aprovecha como material didáctico en las escuelas locales, con lo que se convierte en un producto didáctico y divulgativo a la vez para los visitantes y para los autóctonos. El artículo comienza con un repaso de los principales conceptos relacionados con la literatura y con el turismo en contacto con el mar Mediterráneo. A continuación, se desglosa en qué consiste la ruta propuesta y se explica cómo ha sido adaptada al contexto sociocultural huyendo de ser un producto turístico desarraigado: autores y autoras locales, concienciación social e idiosincrasia particular de la localidad, como por ejemplo la amplia oferta de deportes náuticos que Borriana alberga.

Palabras clave

Turismo literario • Turismo sostenible • Ruta literaria
• Género • Experiencias hidrofílicas y divulgación

Abstract

This article offers the design of a literary route that follows the coastline of a medium-sized Valencian city that has not yet been exploited as a massive tourist destination. The route has been designed with the aim of promoting local literature and landscape, attracting visitors interested in cultural and sustainable tourism, with gender and ecological sensitivity, allowing visitors to discover the many facets of the interaction between the inhabitants of Borriana and the sea. In addition, this literary route will be used as educational material in local schools, with which this route becomes a didactic and informative product at the same time for both visitors and locals. The text begins with a review of the main concepts related to literature and tourism in contact with the Mediterranean Sea. Next, it is explained how the literary route has been strategically adapted, avoiding to be a decontextualized touristic product: local authors, social awareness and

other particular idiosyncrasies; for instance, the wide range of water sports that Borriana hosts.

Keywords

Literary Tourism • Sustainable Tourism • Literary Route • Genre Perspective • Hydrophilic Encounters and Divulgation

1. Introducción

Borriana es una ciudad mediana valenciana de costa de casi 40.000 habitantes situada unos 50 kilómetros al norte de València. Todavía no ha sido invadida por el turismo masivo, por eso parece un momento óptimo para poner en marcha propuestas de turismo sostenible que puedan marcar un camino propicio para la llegada de un turismo respetuoso con el entorno y enriquecedor para los habitantes de Borriana.

Existen una serie de documentos oficiales y de iniciativas públicas que en los últimos tiempos están intentando promover una explotación sostenible de la costa Mediterránea, con el fomento de la pesca artesanal de bajura respetuosa con la biodiversidad y de un turismo no masivo ni invasivo con el entorno y con sus habitantes. Entre estas iniciativas, destacamos el *Plan de acción del Mediterráneo occidental*,¹ el *Plan Economía Blava de la Generalitat Valenciana*² y los Grupos de Acción Locales Pesqueros (GALP).³ El primer GALP valenciano se creó a Gandia. Ahora, entre otros, también hay uno en el puerto de Borriana.

1.1. Hipótesis

La primera hipótesis de la que parte la creación de esta ruta literaria es que es posible la elaboración de un material para itinerarios turístico-literarios por el puerto y playa de Borriana que favorezca la cohesión social local, la conciencia social y que tenga interés para el turista, mostrando el tipo de futuro sostenible al que quiere acogerse la localidad, sin expulsar a la sociedad local para ponerse al servicio del turismo desaforado, como ha ocurrido en muchas localidades de la costa española Mediterránea. El modelo del

turismo masivo de sol y playa ya se ha demostrado obsoleto (Ponce, 2004; Milano, 2018).

La segunda hipótesis es que esta propuesta de ruta literaria puede contribuir al desarrollo turístico y cultural sostenible de Borriana, teniendo en cuenta: a) la diversidad de sectores y de oficios no turísticos locales que se dedican a trabajar del mar, b) la educación local en la sostenibilidad medioambiental, es decir, que les dejemos un pueblo en el que puedan dedicarse a oficios muy diversos más allá de la hostelería y de la restauración (que también); y c) el disfrute y el interés cultural del turista que venga haciéndole saber que este pueblo tiene una historia social propia y de trabajo en el mar, y que no lo supedita todo a servir al turista, que puede disfrutar de una experiencia auténtica y significativa en lugar de alienada y heterotópica (Foucault, 1984) típica de un no-lugar genérico (Augé, 1998).

1.2. Objetivos

Los objetivos de la elaboración de esta ruta literaria son los siguientes:

- a. Demostrar que el puerto y la playa de Borriana son lugares pertinentes para el turismo literario.
- b. Intentar crear unos materiales de rutas literarias que se puedan ajustar tanto al turismo generalista como a las salidas escolares fuera del aula.
- c. Contribuir a la concienciación de género, medioambiental y sobre la cultura propia, evitando la experiencia turística extractivista, tanto en el marco de una pedagogía turística como en el de una pedagogía escolar.
- d. Mejorar las posibilidades de atraer turismo de calidad a una ciudad mediana valenciana de costa que todavía no ha sido apenas explotada para el turismo.
- e. Además, este artículo también tiene el objetivo de profundizar en el marco teórico de las rutas literarias en paisajes hídricos (waterscapes), en especial de costa Mediterránea (Vallerani y Visentin eds., 2018).

1.3. Metodología

Para hacer posible la implantación de esta ruta literaria del mar de Borriana, se siguen los siguientes pasos:

- a. Revisión bibliográfica sobre representaciones espaciales del mar, sobre rutas turísticas y literarias, y sobre literatura autóctona que refiera espacios relacionados con el mar.

1 <http://www.cprac.org/ca/car-pl/presentacio/pam>

2 <https://hisenda.gva.es/va/web/modelo-economico/economia-blava1>

3 <https://www.divaladl.es/va/noticia/ver/el-grup-accio-local-pesquer-gandiaalbufera-dona-coneixer-seu-territori-video-subvencionat-diputacio/23565>

- b. La creación del libro *La mar de dones a Borriana* (Monferrer y Torres, 2022), que se ha elaborado con dos objetivos. Por un lado, recuperar la memoria histórica de los marineros locales; por el otro, visibilizar a las mujeres que trabajan en los diferentes sectores laborales en contacto con el mar de Borriana. De este modo, se han creado algunos textos que servirán para complementar la información literaria en algunos puntos de la ruta que quedaban deficitarios de contenido explícito y actualizado.⁴
- c. Elaboración de la ruta literaria por el puerto y por la playa con códigos QR y enlaces web para ir conociendo los espacios locales a partir de textos literarios, en colaboración con la concejalía de Turismo del Ayuntamiento de Borriana. La ruta se estrena el Día del Libro de 2023 (23 de abril).
- d. Para difundir la ruta literaria entre las escuelas locales y comarcales, se crearán unos materiales didácticos complementarios. Por otro lado, los textos de la ruta se podrán consultar todos en tres lenguas: catalán, español e inglés, para que sean también comprensibles para turistas extranjeros.

En el siguiente epígrafe, se presenta el marco teórico multidisciplinar sobre las representaciones literarias de los espacios relacionados con el mar que ha servido de base para el diseño de la ruta literaria del mar de Borriana.

2. Marco teórico

Lageiste (2004: 31) destaca la curiosidad del viajante navegante por los modos de explotación de los recursos naturales en territorios lejanos. La importancia de los vientos y de las corrientes en las sociedades marítimas es una constante en la que se fija el viajero navegante. Este aspecto es importante en la ruta literaria que presentamos, puesto que la enseñanza de la navegación deportiva es un oficio muy arraigado en el puerto de Borriana. La navegación a vela va ligada a la imagen prototípica de dos situaciones atmosféricas poco deseadas: a) la calma chicha (*pot-au-noir*, Lageiste 2004: 32), y b) el mito del temporal extremo y mortal (que se observa en *Moby-Dick* o en la leyenda del Triángulo de las Bermudas, entre muchos otros relatos universales). Los puertos, de hecho, se han construido para

resguardarse de las inclemencias meteorológicas. La mayoría de puertos de la costa valenciana que no son naturales se construyeron a finales del s. XIX (como el de Castelló de la Plana) y a inicios del s. XX (es el caso del de Borriana), sobre todo para exportar productos agrícolas con la consolidación del liberalismo económico y de la industrialización en este territorio.

Los primeros viajes turísticos de navegación también se originan a finales del s. XIX y a inicios del XX, como los que R. L. Stevenson llevó a cabo con su esposa atravesando el Pacífico en un pequeño velero (Lageiste, 2004: 27). Estos viajes decimonónicos, que han dado célebres frutos literarios, clavan sus hondas raíces en la cultura europea, desde la *Odisea* hasta las expediciones naturalistas de un científico como Darwin, pasando por las conquistas colonialistas de Magallanes, entre otros. En el libro *La mar de dones a Borriana* (2022), uno de los incluidos en la ruta literaria, se recoge el testimonio de una pareja de navegantes burrianenses que cruzaron el Atlántico a vela con un pequeño catamarán, emulando la expedición de R. L. Stevenson y su esposa hace más de cien años.

El velero es un medio de desplazamiento relativamente lento. Los viajeros navegantes están acostumbrados al ritmo lento de las travesías, que cuando duran muchos días se vuelven oníricas. Juanra y Marina, los dos burrianenses instructores náuticos (Monferrer y Torres, 2022: 84), relatan el onirismo y el tiempo cíclico que se establece durante la navegación de larga distancia. Los turnos y las guardias se convierten en un ciclo cadencioso que genera soledad y claustrofobia. El confinamiento de la covid-19 ha provocado que el grueso de la población sienta la misma sensación de claustrofobia que sufren los embarcados en tripulaciones de larga distancia, síndrome que recibe el nombre de *mamparitis*.

La relación entre el mar, la cartografía, los viajes y la literatura es larga y fértil. Podríamos destacar *La vie errante*, de Maupassant (1890), “L’Eau et les rêves. Essai sur l’imagination de la matière” de Bachelard (1942); podríamos remitir a los escritos de Herman Hesse sobre sus viajes por el Mediterráneo y revisar el arquetipo del mar en Carl Jung. Podríamos citar la geopoética de Kenneth White o bien visitar el Breviario mediterráneo de Predrag Matvejevič. Sin embargo, un trabajo de revisión tan extenso superaría las capacidades de este artículo. Borriana es una localidad mediana valenciana a la orilla del mar Mediterráneo, conectada con todas estas mitologías, unida a un mar cantado por poetas neorománticos y con ecos de la tradición helénica.

Se sabe que los arquetipos *junguianos* se manifiestan en la psique individual mediante imágenes, pese a que provienen del inconsciente colectivo como una marca o impresión de caracteres arcaicos con sig-

⁴ Tanto para la ruta literaria que presentamos como para la elaboración del libro *La mar de dones a Borriana* (Monferrer y Torres 2022), se ha contado con la colaboración del Ayuntamiento de Borriana y de la Agrupació Borrianenca de Cultura.

nificaciones míticas: hadas, sirenas, mujeres de agua y otros personajes míticos nos llegan mediante el folclore (Bataller, 2020). Si revisamos el arquetipo del mar en la cosmogonía de Carl Jung, distinguimos cuatro elementos: agua, tierra, aire y fuego, relacionados a la vez con funciones psicológicas y con operaciones alquímicas. En *Memorias, sonhos e reflexões* (1975), Jung describe el mar como una grandeza y simplicidad cósmica que impone silencio. Algunos dirían que el mar es como música porque hace aflorar los sueños del alma.

El mar se puede leer como una epidermis con la cual solemos interactuar los humanos. En la cicatriz longitudinal que es la costa valenciana, las interacciones humanas con el mar son como puntos de sutura que cosen el agua a la tierra.⁵ Pero cuando atravesamos esta epidermis aparece un inframundo submarino en 3D de gran densidad. El submarinista se nos muestra como un astronauta. Si alguien ha practicado submarinismo, sabrá que moverse por ese submundo de atmósfera densísima debe de ser parecido a mantenerse estable en gravedad cero. Jung asocia las profundidades marinas con un desierto que nos empuja a hundirnos en las simas fecundas del alma (Jung, 1975: 316), donde flotamos inestables entre pecios en forma de vivencias, de traumas y de recuerdos.

El arquetipo del mar recoge dos rasgos ligados al Femenino: maternidad (y por extensión, fertilidad) y seducción; y dos más próximos al masculino: purificación y castigo violento (en forma meteorológica). En cuanto a la maternidad, Jung la encuentra en el gesto poético del mar, que, con el ir y venir de las olas, forma una cadencia que remite al gesto de columpiar a un niño. Los mamíferos nacemos de un líquido amniótico. Además, como pronosticó Anaximandro, los primeros seres vivos de la Tierra provienen del mar.

Si nos remontamos a los mitos griegos recogidos en las *Teogonías* de Hesíodo, hay que destacar un relato ligado a la fertilidad del mar: el nacimiento de Afrodita. Uno de los hijos que Urano (cielo) tiene con su madre Gea (tierra), acaba rebelándose contra la tiranía de su padre, le corta el pene y lo lanza al mar. De la espuma del miembro de Urano lanzado al mar, nace Afrodita, la diosa griega del amor, de la belleza y de la fecundidad.

Los viajeros navegantes se lanzan al mar a descubrir islas y litorales poco frecuentados donde habitan personas con otros modos de vida y se interesan por

conocerlos (Lagaiste, 2004: 27). Las maneras de vivir de un lugar retienen la atención de los viajeros. La ruta literaria del mar de Borriana permite observar todavía algunas casas, chalés (e incluso un antiguo almacén de naranja) de estilo arquitectónico modernista en la zona del Grau (véanse las paradas 7, 8 y 9 en la figura 1). El visitante de Borriana puede estar interesado en conocer la relación entre la comunidad y el mar, que en el caso de Borriana todavía es rica y diversa.

La playa del Arenal de Borriana se ha salvado de la invasión del ladrillo vacacional que el desarrollismo franquista de los años sesenta del s. XX llevó a muchas partes de la costa española. Este modelo turístico, que se conoce como *turismo de sol y playa*, se ha demostrado poco sostenible y a menudo ligado a términos como *turismo de borrachera*, *balconing*, *gentrificación*, *turistificación* u *overtourism* (Ponce, 2004; Milano, 2018). Intentar abastecer la costa de Borriana de ofertas de turismo cultural puede protegerla de la sobreexplotación turística que hemos podido ver en otras ciudades valencianas como Benicàssim, Orpesa, Benidorm, Xàbia o Dénia.

Vallerani (2018: 6) define *hydrophilia* como “an ancestral perception concerning the aesthetic experience that begins with the physical stimulation of the senses and ends with moods, emotions and meanings”. El encuentro con el mar puede ser casi lisérgico. Lagaiste (2004: 29) recuerda ciertos paisajes que pueden crear emociones fuertes, como las que causaron las islas polinesias a J. Slocum (citado en Lagaiste, 2004: 29), que al verlas sintió una sensación de descarga eléctrica, o como Gerbault (citado en Lagaiste, 2004: 33), que tuvo que contener un grito de admiración ante una bella playa. La categoría de sublime en el arte se relaciona con ciertos fenómenos geológicos o meteorológicos que causan sobrecogimiento al contemplarlos. En muchos de estos paisajes sublimes entra en juego el mar, como un *Sturm und Drang* de pintura romántica, presente en el célebre cuadro *Andando sobre un mar de nubes* de Caspar Friedrich (1818). El paisaje de alta montaña tiene algo de masa infinita y sobrecogedora semejante a un paisaje de mar abierto y encrespado.

Esta sensación de sublimidad, de síndrome de Sthendal que el mar tiene la virtud de causar en el espectador, puede ser un camino para despertar el compromiso ecológico en un visitante, sea turista o sea alumno de una escuela cercana. Contamos con esta potencia de interpelación que tiene la contemplación estética del mar para dotar de impacto a nuestra ruta literaria por el mar de Borriana.

Una de las tesis de Vallerani y Visentin en *Waterways and the Cultural Landscape* (2018), es que escribir historias de caminantes junto al agua cultiva la escucha dialógica del espacio y facilita que ocurran

5 Pensamos en el trazo de las estelas de los barcos o de los surfistas, en las incisiones de los buceadores, en las tiritas que representan las grandes piscifactorías o en los puntos de sutura que son los espigones.

los encuentros hidrofílicos. En la misma introducción del libro (2018), estos autores expresan la necesidad de conexión estética con los paisajes fluviales a través de la atención a las experiencias multisensoriales, el afecto, las emociones y la memoria. Varios autores reconocen la atención que en los últimos años se está produciendo en los estudios de las ciencias humanas sobre el acto de andar y la *camminabilidad* (*walkability*) de los espacios (Vallerani y Visentin, 2018; Solnit, 2000; Wylie, 2005; Hall, Ramo y Shoval, 2018).

Andar, pasear o correr es el medio de transporte más ecológico, solo comparable con nadar, ir en bicicleta, patinar o navegar a vela o a remo, solo que sin necesidad de equipamiento especial. Rabbiosi (2020) defiende la importancia para el turismo de implementar la *camminabilidad* en un territorio. En este sentido, la creación y aplicación de la ruta literaria por el mar de Borriana incrementa el valor del caminar por estos lugares. Por tanto, es un paso más hacia el turismo sostenible, tan necesario en un territorio sobreexplotado como la costa Mediterránea de la Península Ibérica.

Además, Vallerani y Visentin hablan de los *walking-travelling objects* como artefactos que favorecen los encuentros hidrofílicos. Los definen con las siguientes características: a) artefactos representacionales socialmente producidos, b) que estimulan la conciencia medioambiental, y c) que evocan prácticas performativas, incluidas las turísticas. Sin duda, podríamos considerar los códigos QR y toda la información cultural que se puede obtener mediante el uso de TIC en cada una de las paradas de la ruta como *walking-travelling objects*, necesarios para fomentar los encuentros hidrofílicos entre los visitantes y los autóctonos de Borriana (2018: 236).

Después de haber enmarcado la cuestión de las representaciones simbólicas y poéticas de los paisajes relacionados con el medio acuático, pasamos a redefinir la terminología básica del turismo literario. Baleiro y Quinteiro (2018: 13) definen el *turismo* como un fenómeno humano que implica un movimiento temporal voluntario hacia enclaves diferentes de los lugares de residencia habitual, motivado por el deseo de prácticas de ocio. También relacionan el turismo con la creación y resignificación de los lugares, es decir, con atribuir a *espacios* la categoría de *lugares* mediante la conexión emotiva con ellos.

Como escribe Michel de Certeau en uno de los textos clave de la antropología humana (1990: 139-164), los espacios son lugares con historias fragmentarias y replegadas, pasados robados a la legibilidad por el prójimo; tiempos amontonados que pueden desplegarse, pero que están allí como relatos a la espera permaneciendo en estado jeroglífico; dicho de otro modo, se trata de simbolizaciones enquistadas en

el dolor y en el placer del cuerpo. La topografía se asemeja a un cuerpo con marcas simbólicas.

Siguiendo a de Certeau, en que los escritos sobre un punto cartográfico concreto se podrían concebir como tatuajes en la epidermis de un lugar. En el caso de un lugar de costa, esta piel se encuentra a remojo en un agua salada que puede desdibujar dichas marcas. En este sentido de mutación, en la primera parada de la ruta se explica que el contorno de la costa de Borriana no ha sido siempre como ahora ni se mantendrá siempre así. Antes de la construcción del puerto, en los años veinte del s. XX, el mar se adentraba más en la parte norte de lo que ahora es el puerto mientras que la tierra ganaba terreno al mar por la parte sur. Gracias a algunos de los textos literarios de la primera parada de la ruta, se tratará la cuestión de la mutabilidad de la línea de costa con perspectiva ecológica.⁶

La ruta literaria del mar de Borriana es una actividad de turismo cultural, dentro del nicho del turismo literario, contemplada como un *short itinerary* (Baleiro y Quinteiro, 2018: 70). Siguiendo la clasificación de Baleiro y Quinteiro (2018: 92), el público principal de esta ruta literaria correspondería a los siguientes tres tipos: a) *domestic tourists* (aplicación didáctica en las escuelas públicas locales y visitas de vecinos de Borriana y pueblos del alrededor), b) *social interest tourists*, y c) *leisure and holiday tourists*. El objetivo es atraer visitantes con inquietudes culturales y a la vez mostrar la riqueza literaria propia (a menudo desconocida) a los vecinos y a los jóvenes.

Ya existe alguna ruta histórico-cultural, medioambiental y literaria por Borriana centrada en el casco urbano histórico y en el Clot (Piquerías, 2020). Sin embargo, este es el primer itinerario literario pensado para el mar de Borriana, puesto que la costa contiene el potencial de devenir el principal foco de interés turístico local. Incluso los propios habitantes de Borriana cada vez se trasladan más a vivir cerca del mar, abandonando el casco urbano, que se encuentra dos kilómetros hacia el interior (Cabrera y Fenollosa, 2014: 99-100). En definitiva, esta ruta está destinada a hidrofílicos (Vallerani y Visentin, 2018) e incluye el puerto, la playa, algunos espigones y la desembocadura de un río que es paraje natural (el Clot) que posee una torre construida en el s. XVI con función

6 La amenaza de la subida del nivel del mar, causada por el cambio climático, es una realidad a nivel mundial que también tiene su plasmación en Borriana (Monferrer y Torres, 2022: 83). En la aplicación didáctica que acompañará a la ruta, se relacionarán algunos de los textos de la primera parada con una actividad online de sensibilización mediante el siguiente simulador del aumento del nivel del mar: <https://www.floodmap.net/?ll=39.901309,-0.052357&z=13&e=2>

de vigilancia contra piratas. La ruta está pensada para favorecer las experiencias hidrofílicas mediadas por textos de escritores que ya han experimentado esas sensaciones en ese mismo *cronotopo líquido*.⁷

En una ruta literaria, compartimos el cronotopo de un texto literario con el espacio real en que el visitante-*flâneur* se encuentra. Bakhtin (1989: 241) define el *cronotopo* como el marco espaciotemporal en el que se desarrolla un argumento literario; las conexiones y la estructura de las relaciones cardinales en una novela o en otro tipo de texto literario. En todos los textos elegidos para la ruta, el cronotopo tiene alguna relación con el espacio real del mar de Borriana, de una manera más directa y geolocalizada o en el sentido de analogía.

Baleiro y Quinteiro (2018: 78) definen el lugar literario (*literary place*) como una porción de espacio cuyo significado está mediatizado por la literatura. Dicho en palabras suyas (2018: 69), las rutas literarias mezclan geografía (mapas) y palabras creando un imaginario especial y multisensorial. Westphal (entrevistado por Eissa, 2020) llega a afirmar, mediante una lógica de *modus ponens*, lo siguiente: leemos un libro, pero el libro lee el mundo. Entonces, leer libros es leer el mundo. Las rutas literarias son espacios que, mediante el desplazamiento anclado en puntos cartografiados que contienen *walking-travelling objects*, hacen circular la metáfora entre el mapa, el lugar, el cuerpo y la representación simbólica a través de la literatura. Si a esta fluidez semiótica le añadimos el componente de ir todo el tiempo siguiendo la costura que separa la tierra del mar, dos superficies en que la representación del lugar es totalmente diferente, la potencialidad de significados y de sensaciones se dispara.

El terreno del turismo literario se sitúa en la interacción creativa entre turismo y literatura (Baleiro y Quinteiro, 2018: 26). Hemos intentado nutrirnos de este espacio transversal que fomenta la creatividad para, a partir de un conocimiento profundo del territorio, de la literatura propia y del contexto sociohistórico de Borriana, crear una ruta literaria ajustada a la necesidad de atraer turismo cultural. Apostamos por el turismo literario porque es un nicho turístico sostenible con perspectivas de crecimiento (Baleiro y Quinteiro, 2018: 43).

Estas autoras (2018: 65-66) subrayan dos miedos a la hora de elegir los textos para una ruta literaria. En

primer lugar, cuando creamos una ruta literaria, nos encontramos con la necesidad de fragmentar los textos escogidos. No sería práctico (ni legal) poner como texto en los QR o en los dípticos novelas o poemarios enteros, sino que se extrae el fragmento concreto que interesa por su relación con ese punto de la ruta. En segundo lugar, existe el miedo a escoger un texto que no sea de la suficiente calidad literaria. Relacionado con el primer miedo, el conocimiento social de los géneros de texto nos permite reconstruirlos a pesar de que los encontremos fragmentados (Consejo de Europa, 2002: 121-122); esto sirve para poesía, novela, cómic, ensayo, memorias, relato corto o cualquier otro subgénero literario.

En cuanto al segundo miedo, partiendo de la base de que el canon literario tiene algo de arbitrario y que tradicionalmente se ha dado más prestigio a los textos escritos por hombres (caucásicos) y a los escritos en lenguas con potencia mundial como el español (Bloom, 1994), hemos considerado una estrategia de recuperación adecuada el hecho de incorporar a la ruta una parte importante de textos escritos por mujeres y en catalán, la mayoría de ellos de procedencia local, independientemente del prestigio social con el que cuenten. Recordemos que todos los textos dispondrán de traducciones.

Según Baleiro y Quinteiro (2018: 53), y siguiendo lo dicho por de Certeau, el acto de leer en un lugar concreto ressignifica este lugar. El texto literario da prestigio al *sitio* (convirtiéndolo en *lugar*) y ayuda a focalizar el interés en aspectos concretos. En la ruta del mar de Borriana, se han elegido específicamente los puntos de focalización según las necesidades sociales, medioambientales y culturales, con el fin de mostrar al visitante que queremos conservar un entorno marítimo sostenible, solidario y habitable. Por eso se ha elegido mostrar la historia del puerto, de los centros de instrucción náutica, de la pesca artesanal, de la desembocadura del río Anna, de los barcos de refugiados que se reparan en el varadero local y de la playa del Arenal, todavía virgen a pesar de la amenaza que constituye la presencia de un macrofestival de música que se celebra cada año a finales de julio.⁸ Mostrando voces de personas que han ubicado sus relatos literarios en esos lugares, se recogen algunas historias que, como diría de Certeau (1990), han quedado marcadas como cicatrices semióticas en las piedras y en la arena de Borriana, que podemos hacer aflorar como aquel señor que pasea con un detector de metales por la arena buscando encontrar monedas perdidas en otro tiempo.

7 Entroncando con la tradición bakhtiniana, Peterle y Visentin (2018: 122) se refieren a un cronotopo líquido como a un paisaje de agua que afecta tanto al plano narrativo-metafórico como al físico-geográfico.

8 <https://www.arenalsound.com/>

	Autores	Género literario	Lengua	Temática o escenario
1	Iban L. Llop + Pedro Cifuentes + textos anónimos de Wattpad	poesía + cómic	cat. + esp.	Recuerdo de infancia en la Serratella en formato poema y en formato de tira cómica + relato de preocupación sobre la subida del nivel del mar por el cambio climático
2	Ausiàs March + La mar de dones a Borriana	poesía trovadoresca + ensayo	cat. + cat.	“Veles e vents”, poema sobre navegación medieval y amor cortés + relatos sobre el trabajo de las instructoras náuticas
2*	Joan Garí + Lourdes Burdeus	ensayo + estudio histórico	cat. + esp.	Descripción del puerto + explicación histórica sobre la construcción del puerto de Borriana
3	Julià i Gordillo + La mar de dones a Borriana	narrativa + ensayo	cat. + cat.	Relatos sobre el Open Arms + ensayo sobre el trabajo de las mujeres en los barcos de rescate y sobre la pesca artesanal local
4	Gil Cheza + Domènec Marzà	ensayo + memorias	cat. + cat.	El surf en Borriana (el festival de surf clásico Quasimoto) + memorias de una infancia humilde (años 50) en el Grup Roger de Flor
5	Textos anónimos de Wattpad	relatos cortos	esp. + cat.	Relatos anónimos escritos por jóvenes sobre experiencias en el macrofestival Arenal Sound publicados en la red social Wattpad
6	Alfonso Navarro	novela	esp.	Relatos de ficción pop basados en los paisajes de la playa de Borriana
7	Carme Rufino	poesía	cat.	Poemas sobre el mar escritos por una poeta burriana
8	Vicent Marco Miranda	memorias	esp.	Recuerdos de juventud feliz de un político de la Segunda República (años 30 del s. XX) en la playa de Borriana (memoria histórica)
9	Ángel Gil Cheza	novela	esp.	Ficciones basadas en la Malvarrosa y en la playa de Borriana
10	Joan Garí + Llibre dels fets de Jaume I	ensayo + crónica medieval	cat. + cat.	Ensayo acompañado de fotografía sobre el paisaje del Clot de Borriana + crónica histórica de la conquista de Borriana por Jaume I

FIGURA 2.
Desglose de la información de la ruta literaria de la mar de Borriana

3.3. Temas y nexos

En los siguientes epígrafes, explicaremos y justificaremos algunas de las especificidades de la elección de los textos y de los autores de la ruta literaria de la mar de Borriana.

3.3.1. Alejándonos del canon: autores locales y literacidades digitales

Quinteiro y Baleiro (2018: 32) destacan la importancia de visibilizar en el turismo literario textos y autores poco conocidos. Esta sería una de las aportaciones positivas de la ruta a los habitantes del sitio. Otras

aportaciones positivas de la ruta literaria del mar de Borriana en la localidad serían, por un lado, la aplicación didáctica para las escuelas locales y, por otro, la relación de esta ruta con la ecología y con el turismo sostenible. Quinteiro y Baleiro (2018: 29) afirman que el turismo literario es, de por sí, un turismo sostenible. Nos situamos en la perspectiva de los objetivos medioambientales y de género del Horizonte 2030, en especial en cuanto a la aplicación didáctica de la ruta para las escuelas.¹³

Además de esto, es conocido que los jóvenes de hoy en día leen y en general consumen y producen cultura de manera diferente a como lo hacen las generaciones anteriores, los conocidos como *inmigrantes digitales* (Prensky, 2001). Es lo que se denominan *literacidades digitales*. En este sentido, la ruta contiene tres relatos relacionados con el mundo de la fiesta veraniega en la playa de Borriana publicados con pseudónimo mediante la red social de textos literarios Wattpad (parada 5) y otro que ya se ha comentado relacionado con la subida del nivel del mar (parada 1).¹⁴

3.3.2. Por un mundo mejor: migración y ecologismo

Carola Rakete es una reconocida capitana de barcos de rescate de refugiados en el Mediterráneo que trabaja para la ONG Sea-Watch, cuyos barcos de rescate se reparan en el varadero del puerto de Borriana. Rakete ha sido detenida varias veces en Italia acusada de tráfico de personas por sus rescates y ha defendido en discursos públicos la siguiente idea:

We need transformation. We need to change our societies and our economies to live within planetary boundaries. We need to restore ecosystems, we need to share the resources on this planet, and we need to be sure that, even in times of environmental crisis, everyone's human rights will be protected. And this is the transformation that I hope we will create and we will be part of.¹⁵

En la línea de activistas como Rakete, desde esta ruta literaria se defiende la conservación sostenible del planeta tanto en la dimensión de cuidar la naturaleza como en la de respetar los derechos de todos los seres humanos y tratar bien a los migrantes, entendiendo ecologismo y humanitarismo como dos caras de la misma moneda, según los objetivos del Horizonte 2030. Rakete advierte que, a medida que el cambio climático empeore, los movimientos demográficos serán también más cuantiosos y desestabilizadores para la población mundial.

Jamal y Bhattacharya (2022) destacan el ecoturismo marino como práctica sostenible y ventajosa para el contexto social en el que se implanta. Incluyen el ecoturismo marino dentro del campo multidisciplinario de los Marine Tourism Studies, que se caracte-

riza por los siguientes aspectos: *a)* interpretación y educación, *b)* turismo responsable, y *c)* conservación ética de los entornos marinos. Por su parte, Daniela Spina (2022) ha reflexionado sobre turismo literario a partir de una novela que habla del fantasma de la subida del mar y de cómo afectará a los litorales. A estas alturas, hay islas en lugares como Indonesia que ya están quedando sepultadas por el mar y el nivel del mar mediterráneo va subiendo poco a poco.¹⁶

Isabel Fernandes (2022) liga la perspectiva ecológica con el turismo literario: del mismo modo que el deportista, el turista se mueve en una esfera que lo abstrae de sus rutinas diarias de trabajo. En el momento de turismo literario, el visitante observa las dinámicas y el entorno en el que conviven los agentes del ecosistema marino, de forma que el contexto que se observa adquiere más significado. Fuera de las rutinas diarias, el turista potencia su capacidad perceptiva y sensible hacia el entorno que lo rodea y esto puede contribuir a la concienciación efectiva (Shepard, 1967: 156).

De hecho, uno de los textos de la tercera parada resulta significativo sobre cómo han cambiado las sensibilidades ecológicas en las últimas décadas. Lageiste (2004: 33) recuerda este cambio reflexionando sobre la novela de Toumelin titulada *Kourn. Autour du monde* (1953), en la que habla de la caza de delfines como una actividad normal y lícita. En un extracto del libro *La mar de dones a Borriana* situado en la parada 3, un antiguo pescador del puerto de Borriana recuerda cuando iban a pescar a las Islas Columbretes (archipiélago volcánico catalogado como reserva natural que se encuentra a unas 25 millas al este de la costa de Borriana). Algunos de aquellos pescadores mataban delfines haciéndoles ingerir tachas para evitar que se comieran las capturas de sus redes. Esto es intolerable según la sensibilidad ecológica actual.¹⁷

3.3.3. Instrucción náutica y navegación medieval

También en cuanto a la selección de textos, Thurgill y Lowel (2019) destacan la validez de usar textos para rutas literarias que compartan entorno afectivo con el lugar físico de la ruta. Es decir, que no es necesario que los textos de la ruta refieran topografía concreta,

14 <https://www.wattpad.com/home>

15 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T4dj=-ZNzycl&t=6s>

16 https://www.ub.edu/web/ub/es/menu_eines/noticias/2022/02/044.html

17 En la entrevista del siguiente vídeo se puede encontrar esta información y otras en relación con las costumbres de los pescadores de Borriana en el s. XX: <https://youtu.be/vpvWWEaFsrg>

sino que es válido jugar con asociaciones de semejanza paisajística. Los paisajes de agua (*waterscapes*) tienen la capacidad de trasladarnos los unos a los otros. En la ruta de la mar de Borriana, hay casos en los que se conectan un lugar y un texto aprovechando la sensación equivalente que generan. Es el caso del poema “Veles e vents” de Ausiàs March, que aparece en la parada 2 (figura 1). Este poema del principal poeta medieval en catalán sirve para explicar la navegación antigua a vela, antes de la invención de la orza, aparato que permite remontar el viento. Los habitantes de la Corona de Aragón fueron grandes navegantes, como queda reflejado, entre otros, en el *Llibre del Consolat de Mar*, publicado en Barcelona en el s. XIV, primer tratado de regulación de la navegación que se conoce.

3.3.4. Perspectiva de género

Bataller (2020) lleva a cabo un repaso sobre la abundante mitología de la mujer de agua en los territorios de habla catalana (y en toda el Mediterráneo, al menos desde las sirenas homéricas), citando, entre otros, a Pardo de Neyra (2015). Las mujeres de agua del folclore autóctono se presentan como criaturas seductoras de una belleza extraordinaria que se peinan o que yacen en el agua para ser contempladas por los hombres.

Así pues, la ruta se ha diseñado desde la perspectiva de género, de forma que se quiere subvertir: a) la práctica hegemonía masculina en el elenco de escritores locales (incluyendo en la ruta textos de mujeres como Carme Rufino, Lourdes Burdeus y Monferrer, entre otras), y b) la imagen de la relación pasiva entre la mujer que toma el sol como mero objeto estático de contemplación frente al mar. Para hacerlo, nos hemos basado en el libro de dos autoras locales *La mar de dones a Borriana* (2022): un repaso en forma de ensayo fotográfico de mujeres que desarrollan oficios relacionados con el mar desde Borriana.

3.3.5. El surf

En cuanto a los Estudios Culturales relacionados con el surf, destacamos el trabajo de Jon Anderson (2012, 2016), que reconstruye la autorrepresentación de los surfistas como aventureros. Según Anderson, el surf se basa en un estilo de vida de disfrute, de libertad y de masculinidad. La comunidad surfista de Borriana se ha reapropiado de la iconografía del surfista californiano, en especial de la cultura del surf clásico, caracterizada por el uso del *long*, tabla de surf muy larga y con una estética musical correspondiente al rock californiano de los años 50, con The Beach Boys como uno de sus principales iconos. De la cultura

surf, se pueden aprovechar valores positivos como la ecología y el respeto al entorno natural. Sin embargo, convendrá evitar aspectos negativos como el exceso de masculinidad ya que, como ocurre con otros deportes *de acción* como también la escalada, es un mundo casi monopolizado por la imagen del hombre. La masculinización ocurre en la mayoría de actividades en torno al mar y una de las intenciones de esta ruta es la deconstrucción de esta imagen sexista.

Es curioso el arraigo de la cultura del surf en Borriana en los últimos 15 años. Si bien ya existía un club de windsurf en Borriana desde los años noventa, hacia el 2010, un grupo de jóvenes oriundos empezó a organizarse en forma de colectivo de surf local (Club de Surf Borriana), creando también un festival de música y de cultura retrosurf (Quasimoto, 2012-2020).¹⁸ Actualmente, también hay un bar en el puerto de Borriana relacionado con esta cultura del surf (Burrififornia Surf Café), delante de la parada 4 de la ruta, en la que queda reflejado el curioso caso de la relación de Borriana con el surf a partir de un texto del escritor Ángel Gil Cheza.

3.4. La aplicación didáctica

La aplicación didáctica que acompañará a la ruta literaria y que, como la misma ruta, estará disponible en el año 2023, servirá para enriquecer la experiencia de las visitas de alumnos de colegios. Además, esta aplicación didáctica podrá utilizarse también como actividad complementaria a la instrucción náutica para alumnos de la Escola de la Mar de Borriana, la más grande del Estado español, a la que llegan grupos de alumnos de todo el país para recibir cursos de formación en navegación. La aplicación didáctica de la ruta pensada para las escuelas pone especial atención en tres aspectos:

- a. Las mujeres que tienen oficios en contacto con el mar de Borriana. Se pretende ofrecer ejemplos de mujeres que se dedican a trabajos en sectores masculinizados para dotar a las niñas de referentes femeninos diversos en los que proyectarse.
- b. La ecología y el respeto por el mar, por la naturaleza y por los seres humanos que emigran de sus países con el deseo, a menudo truncado, de mejorar sus condiciones de vida.
- c. El conocimiento sobre escritores y escritoras locales que han hablado sobre el mar de Borriana.

18 <https://www.quasimotoburrififornia.com/>

na para aumentar la autoestima sobre el lugar y sobre la cultura que en él se asienta.

4. Discusión

En este artículo se ha presentado una investigación-acción inspirada en la importancia de construir estratégicamente el turismo de una localidad (y de una comarca) para evitar el expolio cultural y la degradación medioambiental por parte de turistas que no coexisten con respeto con el lugar y con sus habitantes, que pueden sentirse desplazados y limitados si el turismo que llega no es respetuoso. Este peligro está muy presente en la costa Mediterránea, contexto donde el turismo destructivo está afectado a muchas comunidades.

Defendemos que es posible diseñar rutas literarias que sean interesantes tanto para los visitantes de proximidad como para los turistas venidos de lejos mediante dos puntos clave: el multilingüismo y la autoestima literaria. Una ruta literaria como la del mar de Borriana puede ser una manera de prestigiar el territorio propio vistiéndolo de cultura y dotando de visibilidad a las escritoras y a los escritores autóctonos tanto para los visitantes como para los propios vecinos.

Como esta propuesta de ruta literaria de costa mediterránea está construida en forma de red expansiva, otras actividades que podrán ir añadiéndose son: a) la posibilidad de trabajo conjunto con la goleta Tirant I, propiedad de la Generalitat Valenciana y que está atracada en el puerto de Borriana.¹⁹ Este buque-escuela público puede añadir una parada más a la ruta que tenga lugar dentro del mar; b) evaluación de los resultados de la ruta literaria cuando esté instalada formalmente por parte del Ayuntamiento (mediante los datos del número de visitas online al QR y con cuestionarios de evaluación); c) evaluación de la aplicación didáctica de la ruta que se llevará a cabo con alumnado de los colegios, y d) creación de rutas literarias marítimas en otras localidades mediterráneas que sigan los principios de visibilización del trabajo de las mujeres en el mar y de las escritoras, la transmisión de los valores de la ecología y la multiculturalidad (mediante el multilingüismo y los barcos de rescate de refugiados). En definitiva, se busca la reconducción del turismo mediterráneo hacia un turismo cultural de calidad que sea consciente, respetuoso con los habitantes y con el entorno.

5. Conclusión

Joan Fuster, uno de los pensadores valencianos más importantes del s. XX, en su *Diccionari per a ociosos* (1970), afirmaba que toda política que no hacemos nosotros se hará contra nosotros. Siguiendo esta premisa, podríamos afirmar que todo el turismo que no hagamos nosotros se hará contra nosotros. La idea es crear un proyecto multidisciplinar en Borriana que vaya creciendo en forma de red y que contribuya a:

- a. La atracción de visitantes que buscan experiencias culturales arraigadas al territorio.
- b. La concienciación en la escuela hacia la ecología y la igualdad, también en los puestos de trabajo mediante la visibilización de las mujeres que viven del mar en Borriana.
- c. Compartir con todo el pueblo la experiencia de visibilización de las mujeres que trabajan en el mar de Borriana (con actividades complementarias a la ruta como por ejemplo la exposición fotográfica del 8 de marzo de 2023 sobre mujeres que viven del mar de Borriana) e incluyendo a escritoras locales y textos en lengua propia.

Este proyecto está pensado para replicarse en otras localidades costeras del Mediterráneo con la idea de crear una red de rutas literarias con escritoras y con escritores propios, que visibilicen el trabajo de la mujer en todos los sectores, y que fomenten la ecología, la pesca tradicional y el humanitarismo, dentro del Grupo de Investigación Geografies Literàries de la Universitat de València (GIUV2021-501).

¹⁹ <https://www.comunitatvalenciana.com/va/valencia/valencia/nautica/goleta-tirant-primer>

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A presença (in)visível da água na paisagem e nos percursos turísticos do Geoparque Algarvensis na região do Algarve

The (in)visible presence of water in the landscape and tourist routes of the Algarvensis Geopark in the Algarve region

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Resumo

Este artigo pretende contribuir para a definição e compreensão do papel e importância da água no processo histórico de construção e transformação da paisagem do Geoparque Algarvensis, em particular da sua paisagem cársica, vinculada ao Barrocal algarvio. Associada à literatura e à ideia de percurso literário, esta paisagem poderá ser o suporte de novos modelos de turismo, fundamentais para a região e para as populações locais. Para o cumprimento deste objetivo, a investigação desenvolve-se em torno de quatro temas. O primeiro tema corresponde à caracterização da paisagem da água (visível e invisível), considerando a inter-relação entre os fatores naturais (clima, geologia, relevo, solos, vegetação). O segundo tema relaciona-se com a humanização do território e a gestão e uso dos recursos hídricos pelas comunidades locais. De seguida, incide-se na apropriação turística da água enquanto forte elemento de construção da paisagem que o Geoparque

Algarvensis dá a conhecer mediante os inúmeros percursos de interpretação sinalizados no território. Termina-se identificando, ainda de modo exploratório, eventos literários, obras e autores que poderão aliar-se aos percursos existentes e a propor para incentivar o turismo literário. No âmbito do presente estudo sobre a paisagem e o património da água no Algarve calcário, utilizou-se uma metodologia de investigação que cruza as fontes bibliográficas e documentais com narrativas de escritores (romancistas, novelistas e poetas), onde a presença da água (superficial e subterrânea) cria paralelismos com a paisagem algarvia. No presente artigo, a água é abordada sob diferentes perspectivas que se inter-relacionam, articulam e complementam. Utiliza-se uma abordagem integradora entre ciência e arte no âmbito das análises biofísica e histórico-cultural da paisagem da água do Barrocal e da sua (re)descoberta turística enquanto recurso fundamental na (re)afirmação da memória e da identidade coletiva da região algarvia.

Palavras-chave

Paisagem cársica • Geoparque Algarvensis • Barrocal
• Turismo literário

Abstract

This paper aims to contribute to the definition and understanding of the role and importance of water in the historical process of construction and transformation of the Algarvensis Geopark landscape, in particular its karst landscape, associated with the Algarvian Barrocal. To achieve this objective, the research is developed around four main themes. The first theme corresponds to the identification and characterization of the water landscape (visible and invisible), considering the interrelationship between natural factors (climate, geology, relief, soils, vegetation). The second theme is related to the humanization of the territory and the management and use of water resources by local communities. Next, we focus on the appropriation of water for tourism, as a strong element in the construction of the landscape that the Algarvensis Geopark makes known through the numerous interpretation routes signaled in the territory. It ends by identifying, still in an exploratory manner, literary events, works and authors that could be allied to the existing routes and those to be proposed to encourage literary tourism. Within the scope of the present study on the landscape and the water heritage in the calcareous Algarve, a research methodology was used that crosses bibliographic and documentary sources with narratives by writers (novelists and poets) in which the presence of water (superficial and underground) creates parallels with the Algarve landscape. Therefore, in this article, water is approached from different perspectives that interrelate, articulate, and complement each other. An integrative approach between science and art is used in the context of biophysical and historical-cultural analyzes of the Barrocal water landscape, and its tourist (re)discovery as a fundamental resource in the (re)affirmation of the Algarvian region's collective memory and identity.

Keywords

Karst landscape • Algarvensis Geopark • Barrocal •
Literary tourism

Introdução

A relação entre literatura e turismo, explorada na investigação dedicada ao tema, já demonstrou que

a literatura é um promotor do turismo cultural e, em particular, do turismo literário (Quinteiro & Baleiro, 2014).

O aspirante Geoparque Algarvensis tem como um dos seus objetivos a promoção do geoturismo e do turismo cultural e tem sido, nos últimos anos, objeto de vários eventos e estudos focados na literatura. Este objetivo decorre da missão central do Geoparque que é “a proteção, valorização e dinamização do património natural e cultural, destacando-se o património geológico, através da criação de conhecimento científico e educativo” (Veiga-Pires & Oliveira, 2021: 1). Atividades pedagógicas, científicas e de lazer, associadas ao geoturismo e ao turismo cultural, atraem visitantes e incentivam a descoberta e o reconhecimento da paisagem. As rotas turísticas (pedonais, cicláveis e mesmo viárias) são uma forma de aproximação dos visitantes aos valores naturais e culturais presentes. As rotas ao longo dos cursos de água e nas zonas de geomorfologia cársica divulgam a água visível, a invisível e também as apropriações culturais destas duas condições, expressas, maioritariamente, na paisagem agrícola.

O aspirante a Geoparque Algarvensis, oficializado em 2019, corresponde a uma extensa área de paisagem (cerca de um terço da área total da região algarvia), localizada na zona central e interior da região algarvia, abrangendo territórios dos concelhos de Silves, Albufeira e Loulé. Os geomonumentos presentes e que justificaram a candidatura à UNESCO, bem como a paisagem que o caracteriza, são o resultado da longa relação deste território com a água. Fruto de forças tectónicas e erosivas naturais, as formações geomorfológicas, que hoje se elevam a 589 metros acima do nível médio das águas do mar, estiveram há milhares de anos submersas. Desde o início da ocupação humana do território, cujos primeiros registos remontam a 20 mil anos atrás, também a dinâmica transformadora da ação humana contribuiu, progressivamente, para a criação da paisagem que atualmente caracteriza o território do geoparque. A água, superficial e subterrânea, que marca esta paisagem, semelhante a outras paisagens cársicas mundiais das quais o geoparque é um representante, tem sido objeto de registos na literatura nacional e internacional, nomeadamente no romance, na poesia, em ensaios científicos e também na literatura tradicional.

Assim, a hipótese de investigação que se pretende iniciar com este artigo explora o modo como a relação entre literatura, turismo e paisagens da água (in)visível do Geoparque Algarvensis poderá incentivar o turismo cultural neste território. Para tal, faz-se primeiro uma breve descrição da paisagem cársica do Barrocal inscrita no Geoparque Algarvensis, incidindo no tema da água e estabelecendo-se, desde já, articulações com a literatura nacional e internacional. Ainda neste âmbito, são descri-

tos rotas e percursos de passeio e visita que promovem a descoberta da paisagem da água do Geoparque. De seguida identificam-se relações entre a literatura e a paisagem do geoparque que consubstanciam ou poderão vir a consubstanciar e a dinamizar atividades de turismo cultural. São identificados alguns eventos e projetos que foram desenvolvidos no âmbito do território do Geoparque. Por fim, identificam-se relações da literatura com a paisagem da água do Geoparque e com as paisagens cársicas em geral, abrindo possibilidade de exploração futura da relação entre literatura e turismo na área do Geoparque Algarvensis.

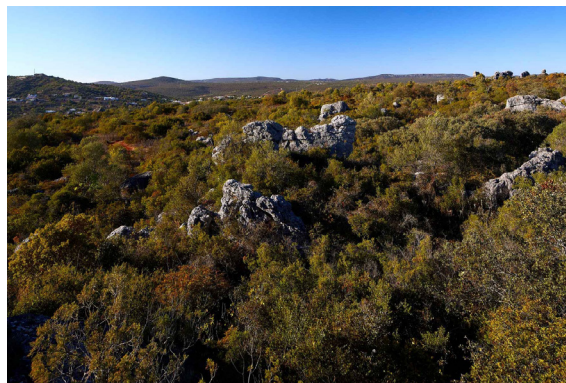


FIGURA 1. Megalapiás da Varejota, Loulé. Formações cársicas e vegetação típica das zonas calcárias. Fonte: <https://geoparquealgarvensis.pt>

1. Paisagens e percursos da água do Geoparque Algarvensis como base para o turismo cultural

1.1. Breve caracterização da paisagem cársica do Geoparque a partir da relação entre água e literatura

O território do aspirante Geoparque Algarvensis integra áreas de quatro unidades de paisagem, sendo dominantes a Serra e o Barrocal. Contudo, no âmbito deste artigo, consideramos apenas a área do Barrocal pelo papel e importância da água na história natural e cultural da sua paisagem. A esta área associa-se uma rede hidrográfica fecundante (Abreu; Correia & Oliveira, 2004: 200) e um sistema de aquíferos cársicos, entre os quais se destaca o aquífero de Querença – Silves, responsável por algumas das nascentes mais importantes do Algarve Central, nomeadamente a Fonte Grande (Alte), a Fonte de Salir e a Fonte Benémola. A presença do calcário, com a qual se relaciona a presença (in)visível da água, ora em escoamentos superficiais através de ribeiras que o sulcam em vales abertos, ora em lençóis freáticos subterrâneos, condicionaram o processo histórico de humanização do seu território.

Nas paisagens cársicas, que correspondem a zonas de infiltração responsáveis pela alimentação dos aquíferos, o substrato geológico calcário é lentamente esculpido pela ação da água que, ao infiltrar-se e arrastar consigo material mineral, cria um rendilhado de fissuras e cavidades de diferentes formas e dimensões. Algumas destas formações estão ocultas no subsolo, como as grutas e os algares, tendo outras expressões visíveis à superfície, como as dolinas (concavidades) e os lapiás e mega-lapiás (saliências), para cujas formas invulgares a tradição popular encontrou designações variadas como “pia silveira” (dolina), “elefante”, “esfinje” ou “cabeça-de-velha” (mega-lapiás) (Figura 1).

Nestas paisagens não existe água à superfície, uma vez que toda ela se infiltra através de sumidouros naturais. Os sedimentos argilosos resultantes da dissolução da rocha calcária depositam-se nas zonas baixas de vale, onde dão origem a solos com boa capacidade agrícola. Nas cotas mais elevadas, os solos são muito pouco evoluídos, dando origem a uma paisagem aparentemente pobre. Sem água e sem solo, estas são, aparentemente, paisagens inférteis, tal como registou Marguerite Duras (1987: 30) na sua obra *Emily L*:

Ao sair da floresta, chegávamos a uma região árida, um vasto planalto em pleno vento, nu, um prado magro, pelado, a perder de vista. A América, dizíamos. A floresta cobre o flanco sul do planalto, mas no planalto há mesmo muito poucas árvores. [...] Não há árvores, a não ser pequenas pereiras enfezadas nos cantos dos prados. Nada cresce por causa do calcário. A veiga é pobre, como os campos. É do calcário. Não retém a água.

Contudo, estas condições, aparentemente adversas, dão origem a habitats naturais e seminaturais únicos, de elevado valor ecológico, legalmente protegidos, tais como florestas de azinheiras (*Quercus ilex* e *Quercus rotundifolia*) e florestas de juniperus (*Juniperus turbinata*) e habitats de orquídeas, entre outros (Gomes & Ferreira, 2005).

Nas cotas mais baixas, a acumulação dos sedimentos argilosos (terra rossa), que contribuem para a impermeabilização do solo, possibilita a existência de ribeiras de vales largos ou encaixados, em cujas margens se instalou a agricultura. Numa região onde a água escasseia, os vales húmidos e sombrios, frequentemente ladeados por galerias ripícolas de freixos,

choupos, tamargueiras e loendros (Gomes, 1998), entre outras espécies, contrastam vivamente com a vegetação de matos termomediterrânicos prédesérticos, de aroeiras, alfazemas, rosmaninho ou tomilhos (Gomes & Ferreira, 2005), características das áreas permeáveis. Aqui, o escoamento superficial, maioritariamente de regime torrencial, é o habitat de inúmeras espécies de flora e fauna que enriquecem a paisagem com a sua biodiversidade e raridade. Em conjunto com as áreas de infiltração, onde a água apenas existe subterraneamente, os sistemas húmidos justificam a integração de cerca de 53% da área do Geoparque em áreas com estatuto legal de proteção para a conservação da natureza (Figura 2).

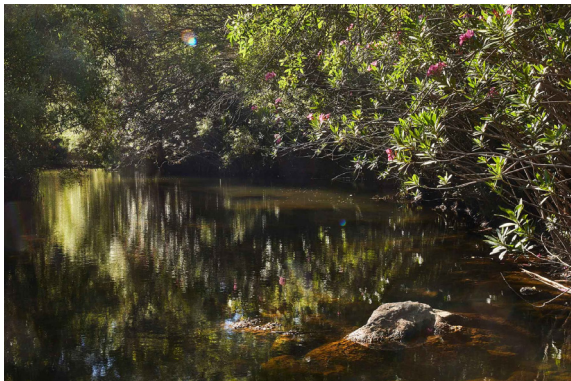


FIGURA 2.
Área classificada da Fonte Benémola, Loulé. Ribeira da Benémola e galeira ripícola. Fonte: <https://geoparquealgarvensis.pt>

Com efeito, no Barrocal, o modelo de organização e gestão da paisagem, baseado na presença e disponibilidade de água, põe em evidência tanto o tipo de povoamento como os usos do solo. Se o povoamento é misto, simultaneamente concentrado em aldeias (de agricultores e pastores) e disperso ao longo das estradas associadas aos vales, no que respeita aos usos do solo verifica-se uma alternância entre os matos calcícolas densos e aromáticos, nas encostas mais declivosas e pedregosas, os pomares de sequeiro (amendoeira, figueira, alfarrobeira, oliveira) e o regadio de hortas e pomares de citrinos nas margens dos cursos de água (Batista & Silva, 2021: 18). Daqui resultou um padrão paisagístico fortemente identitário assente na coerência entre a humanização e as condições naturais presentes, em que a gestão e conservação da água assumem um papel de relevo. Por um lado, a sábia adaptação da atividade agropecuária à escassez e irregularidade das precipitações através de uma agricultura pluvial associada à produção de cereal,

leguminosas, frutos secos e vinho; e, por outro lado, uma agricultura inteiramente artificial baseada na engenhosa captação, armazenamento e distribuição das águas, quer superficiais quer subterrâneas, para a rega de culturas agrícolas que sem ela pouco ou nada produziam (Ribeiro, [1945] 1991: 74).

Assim, no Barrocal, ao regadio e consequentemente à presença (in)visível da água, surgem vinculados quer um património hidráulico de inestimável valor histórico-cultural e etnográfico (açudes, poços, noras, aquedutos, tanques, levadas), quer o povoamento rural (aldeias e casais dispersos em courelas). A este propósito Orlando Ribeiro ([1968] 2011: 79) refere que “toda a horta tem a sua cidade [...]”, pensamento que encontramos plasmado na descrição da cidade subtil de Isaura feita por Ítalo Calvino:

Isaura, cidade de mil poços, presume-se que se situe por cima de um profundo lago subterrâneo. Por toda a parte onde os habitantes escavando na terra longos furos verticais conseguiram tirar água, foi até aí e não para além desses limites que se alargou a cidade: o seu perímetro verdejante repete o das margens escuras do lago sepultado, uma paisagem invisível condiciona a visível ([1972] 2016: 36).

Mas se, na narrativa anterior, a água desenha a (in)visibilidade da paisagem e o perímetro urbano imaginário, também na realidade paisagística do Barrocal a sua ocupação e organização mantêm, historicamente, relações profundamente intrincadas com a presença (in)visível da água. A importância das interdependências e inter-relações na paisagem da água, em que aquilo que não se vê condiciona e determina o que se vê, mereceu a atenção da UNESCO que dedicou o Dia Mundial da Água, celebrado no passado dia 22 de março, ao lema – *Grandwater, making the invisible visible*:

This 2022, the focus is groundwater, an invisible resource with an impact visible everywhere. Groundwater is water found underground in aquifers, which are geological formations of rocks, sands and gravels that hold substantial quantities of water. Groundwater feeds springs, rivers, lakes and wetlands, and seeps into oceans. Groundwater is recharged mainly from rain and snowfall infiltrating the ground. Groundwater can be extracted to the surface by pumps and wells. Life would not be possible without groundwater. Most arid areas of the world depend entirely on groundwater. Groundwater supplies a large proportion of the water we use for drinking, sanitation, food production and indus-

trial processes. It is also critically important to the healthy functioning of ecosystems, such as wetlands and rivers (<https://www.un.org/en/observances/water-day>).

Ciência e arte, literatura científica e romance, governança e socioeconomia familiar partilham conhecimento e interpretações, olhares e atenções sobre um recurso natural que, sendo tão escasso quanto vital, marca quer a agenda internacional, quer o quotidiano das comunidades locais.

Neste processo, torna-se evidente o entendimento específico da paisagem pelas comunidades rurais mediante o uso inteligente e resiliente da água, quer para o consumo doméstico, quer para o regadio. Para isso contribuiu o seu conhecimento do ciclo hidrológico e a constatação de que, decorrente do substrato geológico, a infiltração da água da chuva é favorecida, recargando os aquíferos, e que parte das precipitações que escoam à superfície configura cursos de água de regime maioritariamente temporário e torrencial.

Com base em conhecimentos e saberes antigos, o homem construiu um modelo de gestão e uso dos recursos hídricos meticulosamente adaptado à matriz hidrográfica e hidrológica e às condições edafo-climáticas. A paisagem dos açudes e levadas, associada à utilização das águas superficiais, e a paisagem das noras, tanques e levadas, vinculada à utilização das águas subterrâneas, materializam o poder da água no âmbito da estratégia de subsistência delineada pelas comunidades de agricultores e pastores do Barrocal algarvio.

Efetivamente, e apesar do Algarve ser uma região tradicionalmente de sequeiro, o regadio pratica-se com êxito sempre que existe água disponível (Guerreiro, 1989: 375). É na presença da água ora subtil, ora eloquente que, no contexto de aridez e secura que aparentemente a caracteriza, a paisagem cársica do Geoparque se diferencia, ali “onde as águas se sublevam inesperadas, brancas/num prodigioso silêncio. É a visão mais viva, a mais violenta e mais suave, quase imperceptível./[...] A luz é vagarosa, vemos como animais/através da água” (Ramos Rosa, 1986: 27). Aqui, à semelhança daquilo que acontece em toda a Bacia do Mediterrâneo, a água assume, historicamente, um papel de relevo tanto na organização da paisagem, como na organização social. Com efeito, o processo de formação socioespacial do território do Barrocal, coração do Geoparque, reflete de modo inequívoco a importância da água como elemento matricial e fundacional associada à concentração do povoamento, num primeiro tempo, e à dispersão intercalar, mais recentemente, em virtude de um longo passado de insegurança e de raridade de pontos de água, pelo que tradicionalmente este valioso

recurso tinha de “buscar-se, ao lombo dos burros ou em carros de muars, em grandes cântaros de barro, às vezes a léguas de distância” (Ribeiro, [1945] 1991: 162). Sempre a água (ou a falta dela) como uma das expressões mais identitárias da paisagem meridional portuguesa, também ela inspiradora da poesia de Eugénio de Andrade ([1974] 1983: 35) que sobre o Sul escreve “Pelo azul da pedra vê-se que é verão/à beira do tanque os aloendros devem estar em flor/às águas refletem o silêncio” (Figura 3).



FIGURA 3. Tanque de armazenamento de água para rega, Salir, Rota da Água. Fonte: Desidério Batista (2022)

A água, nos seus fluxos e ciclos, nos seus extremos (seca e torrencialidade) e origens (superficial e subterrânea), esteve desde sempre ligada à história da Humanidade, não só no que se refere à sua utilização, mas também nos mitos, valores, referências filosóficas e metáforas a ela associadas. No que respeita aos principais objetivos de uso da água, podem diferenciar-se dois tipos de culturas: uma, a cultura do regadio, bem expressa na paisagem do Geoparque, quer através de açudes e levadas a partir da utilização da água das ribeiras, quer de noras, aquedutos e tanques a partir da utilização da água dos aquíferos; e, outra, a cultura da drenagem, nas zonas encharcadas em que a agricultura, dificultada pelo elevado nível freático, exige processos de enxugo.

Na realidade,

the story of water, engineering and landscape is about the progressive and continuing human ambition to control the spatial and temporal pattern of water availability. Through history societies have sought to make wetlands drier and drylands wetter; to make the environment more predictable, reducing the risks of flood and drought. This story is as much a social story as a technological one, and the theme is particularly timely as we are currently witnessing a dramatic change of our fundamental attitudes to both water development and environmental protection (Petts, 1990: 189).

Atualmente, é premente considerar-se no âmbito da gestão da paisagem da água o seu potencial ecológico, a biodiversidade, a dimensão patrimonial (material e imaterial), assim como a sua riqueza cénica e paisagística.

1.2. Rotas e percursos turísticos de descoberta da paisagem da água do Geoparque

Via, rota, itinerário, percurso são diferentes designações para definir a ideia de percorrer o território, geralmente através de traçados pré-existentes e mediante distintos modos de mobilidade, nomeadamente motorizada (carro e moto), pedonal, de bicicleta ou a cavalo. Historicamente, os itinerários religiosos, militares e comerciais surgem intrinsecamente associados à morfologia do território e às linhas fundamentais do relevo (festos e talvegues) por serem as que asseguram quer a troca/distribuição e recolha de recursos (água), bens (alimentares) e materiais (lenha, etc.), com menores gastos de energia, quer as melhores condições de defesa e controlo do território (Barreto; Dentinho & Castelo Branco, 1969). O processo histórico de organização e gestão da paisagem revela que a interdependência entre bacias hidrográficas confinantes e a interseção tanto das linhas de festo ou de cumeada, como dos talvegues ou linhas de drenagem natural (água, vento, sedimentos, etc.) determinam pontos notáveis da paisagem relacionados com os percursos da água (distribuição ou acumulação, respetivamente) e os percursos humanos (convergência ou disjunção), e cuja inter-relação constitui a base do processo de humanização e estruturação da paisagem mediterrânica (Batista, 2015).

A paisagem do Geoparque Algarvensis, caracteristicamente mediterrânica, reflete este modelo de ocupação e organização espacial, em que os percursos da água e os percursos humanos assumem, enquanto ocorrências lineares de organização espacial, um

papel matricial primordial associado ao seu poder de conectividade física, ecológica e social. Como refere Careri (2002), a história da Humanidade está desde os primórdios vinculada às incessantes caminhadas dos primeiros seres humanos, exigidas pelas atividades de recolha, caça e pastorícia e que estarão na origem de um primeiro mapeamento do espaço, a que se juntou a atribuição de valores simbólicos e estéticos e a consequente génese da arquitetura da paisagem. Neste sentido, os percursos, primeiro como marcas invisíveis do mapa nómada que conectavam pontos nevrálgicos do território, como poços, oásis, pastagens e lugares sagrados (Careri, 2002) e, depois, como estruturas inteligíveis do mapa sedentário relativas à organização dos assentamentos humanos e dos campos agrícolas (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980), conferem ao espaço ordem cultural, organizando e construindo a paisagem, primeiro simbolicamente e depois arquitetonicamente. Em ambos os casos, a água surge relacionada com a ideia de percurso como elemento fundacional, conectada ao ato de andar no espaço nómada (poços, oásis) e à apropriação e mapeamento do espaço sedentário (agricultura, habitat humano).

É esta inter-relação profundamente intrincada entre a presença (in)visível da água e os percursos/rotas que se consubstancia nos exemplos de rotas e percursos de descoberta da paisagem cársica implementados no Geoparque Algarvensis, nomeadamente, o Percurso Pedestre da Fonte Benémola, próximo de Querença; a Rota da Água da Ribeira do Cadouço, perto de Loulé; o Percurso das Fontes do Arade, junto a Silves; o Percurso do Planalto do Escarpão pelas margens da Ribeira de Quarteira e que corresponde a uma área cársica onde a água se infiltra por dolinas e sumidouros, recargando o aquífero; ou a Rota da Água/Percurso Pedestre do Almarginho, adjacente a Salir. É este que passamos a identificar e a descrever ainda que muito sumariamente. A Rota da Água/Percurso Pedestre do Almarginho (PR de Salir), localizado a sudoeste de Salir, com a qual se relaciona espacialmente tendo como ponto de partida e de chegada a Fonte Figueira, numa extensão de 3,6 km, é em parte coincidente com a Via Algarviana que une transversalmente o interior da região algarvia (Alcoutim) ao Cabo de S. Vicente no extremo litoral ocidental do Algarve (Figura 4).

O percurso circular do Almarginho permite percorrer a várzea por antigos caminhos rurais associados à atividade agropecuária e tem como pontos de interesse estruturas que revelam o papel e a importância da água, superficial e subterrânea, tanto na exploração das terras férteis para a produção de alimento como no abastecimento doméstico e abeberamento do gado. A toponímia dos cinco pontos de interesse da rota reflete exatamente o protagonismo da água na história natural e cultural da paisagem de Salir: a Fonte

da Figueira, antigo poço há algumas décadas coberto com laje e munido de roda manual para extração de água, tem um dispositivo muito particular que permite adaptar-se à intermitência da água (torrencialidade e escassez). O seu carácter social de local associado tradicionalmente ao encontro, convívio e estadia foi reforçado, tendo sido equipado com mesa e bancos.



FIGURA 4. Percorso pedestre Rota da Água, Salir. Fonte: Desidério Batista (2022)

No Almaginho, a fertilidade dos aluviossolos e a presença de um farto aquífero possibilitou a agricultura de regadio a partir de noras e tanques que elevam e armazenam a água para depois ser distribuída pelas hortas e pomares. Este sistema de regadio tradicional dá visibilidade e utilidade à água, sem a qual algumas culturas pouco ou nada produziam, diversificando a economia familiar e a dieta local (vegetais, legumes, hortaliças, leguminosas, frutos). A grande concentração e diversidade de noras (de eixo curto, de eixo comprido, alteadas), talvez a maior do Algarve depois da Campina de Faro, revela uma paisagem e um património da água de grande interesse e valor sociocultural que, vinculadas à cultura mediterrânica, constituem certamente um elemento de atratividade turística e cultural.

Esta expressão identitária e valorizadora da Rota surge igualmente correlacionada ao ponto 4 – as Quatro Ribeiras – que, para além disso e como o próprio topónimo indica, se associa a quatro cursos de água

temporários: o Barranco da Ameijoafra, o Barranco dos Arrodeiros, o Ribeiro da Brazieira, cuja junção dá origem, neste ponto, à Ribeira dos Moinhos. O regime torrencial que os caracteriza impossibilita que o percurso se faça aquando da ocorrência de fortes aguaceiros, apesar da presença de antigas poldras, uma vez que ficam submersas com as enxurradas. Como o nome revela, nesta Ribeira, localizavam-se oito moinhos de água, estruturas de moagem hoje desaparecidas pela sua conversão em edifícios com outros usos. O ponto 3, localizado antes do anterior, corresponde à Ponte do Olho, topónimo que revela a presença de um “olho de água”, ou seja, de uma exurgência dos mananciais subterrâneos que durante décadas abasteceu de água a aldeia de Salir. Esta ponte cruza a Ribeira dos Moinhos que na época das chuvas drena um caudal volumoso pela acumulação da água das vertentes meridionais da Rocha da Pena.

Por último, e ainda relacionado com as precipitações que descarregam na Rocha da Pena, surge o ponto 5 – Ribeiro da Brazieira que resulta do escoamento superficial das águas que drenam pelas encostas sul e nascente daquele relevo calcário.

Fazendo eco do pensamento de Mohammed El Faiz (2018: 284), cremos que só o estudo e salvaguarda do património hidráulico como bens materiais (infraestruturas hidráulicas) e imateriais (práticas e técnicas de regadio, cultura da água), e a sua valorização económica na perspetiva de um desenvolvimento turístico e cultural, possibilitará que a herança recebida possa ser conhecida e divulgada. As rotas e os percursos turísticos de carácter didático e pedagógico sobre a paisagem e o património da água no território do Geoparque Algarvensis constituem, de facto, um meio privilegiado para aproximar os visitantes à memória coletiva e identidade cultural do interior algarvio, e experienciar na proximidade da comunidade local os modos tradicionais de cultivar, regar e colher produtos locais que se podem adquirir ou saborear nos restaurantes da região e, deste modo, contribuir para a perpetuação da dieta mediterrânica enquanto património cultural imaterial da Humanidade.

2. Literatura e paisagem no território do Geoparque

2.1. Eventos e itinerários literários

O território do Geoparque tem sido lugar de realização de vários eventos diretamente relacionados com a literatura. Segundo Quinteiro, Gonçalves e Carreira (2019), duas das principais expressões do turismo

literário são os festivais e os itinerários. Ambos têm representação no território do Geoparque.

Um dos eventos mais significativos é a realização do *Festival Literário Internacional de Querença* (FLIQ) que teve quatro edições, de 2016 a 2019. Dedicadas à divulgação de agentes e instituições promotoras dos livros e da literatura, as quatro edições do FLIQ foram organizadas pela Fundação Manuel Viegas Guerreiro, localizada na vila de Querença, concelho de Loulé, em pleno Geoparque Algarvensis. Sendo Querença uma localização relativamente descentralizada dos grandes centros turísticos algarvios, a organização do FLIQ concentra, durante três dias por ano, um número considerável de visitantes em torno de discussões e apresentações literárias dirigidas a vários tipos de público e faixas etárias. O evento alia a homenagem a escritores algarvios, sendo o festival dedicado a um autor a cada ano, com temas abrangentes para os quais convergem vários outros autores e discussões não necessariamente focadas na região algarvia. Após uma interrupção de dois anos, o evento foi retomado em 2022. A par da literatura, são promovidas outras expressões artísticas, tais como a música e as artes plásticas, e é favorecida a interação entre os habitantes locais, as suas tradições e os visitantes.

Mesmo sem a organização do FLIQ, a Fundação Manuel Viegas Guerreiro tem continuado, ao longo dos últimos dois anos, a promover a literatura através de vários projetos e iniciativas, nomeadamente no âmbito da literatura patrimonial portuguesa. O projeto *Romanceiro*, iniciado em 2013 e ainda em curso, destina-se à salvaguarda e à promoção, através de uma plataforma digital, do arquivo do *Romanceiro Português*.

Outra iniciativa que merece destaque pelo facto de articular literatura e turismo cultural é a *Rota Literária do Algarve*, desenvolvida por Quinteiro e Baleiro (2019), um projeto financiado pelo Orçamento Participativo de Portugal. Esta rota constituída por dezasseis itinerários literários, distribuídos por toda a região algarvia, dá a conhecer, simultaneamente, autores (algarvios e não algarvios) e lugares, maioritariamente urbanos, entre os quais se estabelece uma articulação. Na área do Geoparque Algarvensis, estabelecem-se pelo menos três destes roteiros literários, designadamente: o da aldeia de Alte; o de Silves; e o do Ameixial. Destacamos dois deles, o de Alte, pela sua relação com a paisagem da água, nomeadamente com a ribeira de Alte e com as suas fontes, e o do Ameixial, pois, apesar de se localizar na serra e não no barrocal, constitui um exemplo da articulação da literatura com uma paisagem rural, objetivo deste artigo.

O roteiro literário de Alte é dedicado ao poeta Cândido Guerreiro, estabelecendo um diálogo entre a vida e obra do autor e os lugares que o inspiraram

ou foram palco dos momentos marcantes da sua vida (Baleiro; Quinteiro; Martins et al., s.d.; Quinteiro & Baleiro, 2019). Deste itinerário fazem parte dois lugares relevantes na paisagem da água do Geoparque, a Fonte Grande e a Fonte Pequena, ambas exurgências ou nascentes, com origem no já mencionado aquífero Querença-Silves, que alimentam a ribeira de Alte. Estas fontes constituíram, desde sempre, uma importante forma de abastecimento de água à população de Alte, para o desenvolvimento de várias atividades económicas e domésticas, tais como a agricultura, moagem ou o curtir do esparto, ainda hoje testemunhado na toponímia local. A Rua dos Pisadoiros, onde se pisoava o esparto depois de demolhado vários dias na ribeira, é também um local de paragem deste itinerário (Baleiro; Quinteiro; Martins et al., s.d.). Outros locais com interesse para as paisagens da água e que se localizam nas imediações deste itinerário são a Fonte do Vigário, uma queda de água identificada como um dos locais de interesse geológico do Geoparque, e o moinho da Levada, um dos nove moinhos que existiam nesta zona.

O roteiro que se localiza na aldeia do Ameixial, em plena Serra do Caldeirão, designa-se propositadamente de Caminhada do Ameixial, pelo desejo de se integrar no *Festival de Caminhadas* que se realiza anualmente nesta localidade, desde 2013 (Quinteiro & Baleiro, 2019). É um itinerário linear com cerca de 4 km de extensão que, pela ausência de uma relação direta com algum escritor ou obra literária, tem como propósito dar a conhecer a paisagem e os modos de vida da serra algarvia, recorrendo a textos de vários autores que a descrevem (Quinteiro & Baleiro, 2019; Quinteiro; Baleiro; Simonot et al., 2019).

Uma pesquisa mais aprofundada revelaria certamente outros eventos mais difusos como tertúlias, conferências e lançamentos de novas obras, que acontecem nos três concelhos que fazem parte do território do Geoparque, onde a promoção da literatura se assume como um aspeto central.

2.2. Literatura, paisagem da água e turismo cultural no Barrocal algarvio

Segundo Quinteiro e Baleiro (2014: 12), na literatura de turismo, “incluem-se textos literários que têm a capacidade de acrescentar valor turístico a um lugar”. No caso do Geoparque Algarvensis, a relação entre literatura e turismo pode ser feita essencialmente de dois modos. Por um lado, por este lugar ser local de nascimento ou de residência de determinados escritores, ainda que a sua obra possa não incidir em parte ou na sua totalidade sobre este lugar. Por outro, pela descrição de determinados lugares e de

paisagens no decurso da narrativa de obras literárias, a que Lopes (2008) designa como regionalista, ou seja, onde

os autores descem obrigatoriamente à terra e às suas fortes ligações anímicas, sociais e culturais, entrosando tudo com a geografia típica da província onde a acção se desenrola e com o modo de vida das populações que retratam. Esta tendência supõe mesmo uma imersão nesse modo de vida, de uma maneira muito mais absoluta do que a que os cientistas sociais denominam de observação participante. Parte da herança e capitalização de um manancial de situações «únicas», em que a terra ou o mar e as suas gentes, com a sua religiosidade, superstições, alimentação, profissões ou ocupações, modos de vida, sentimentos, vestuário, folclore e as suas características linguísticas são a matéria original que os escritores transfiguram, de forma mais ou menos profunda, conforme a sua capacidade de captação e de transformação paradigmática do real (2008: 161).

A recolha sobre literatura algarvia e, em particular, sobre a área de paisagem do barrocal é ainda escassa. Como afirma Nogueira (2013), a pesquisa e o debate sobre literatura regional (no Algarve, mas também no resto do país) não tem sido objeto sistemático de investigação e, mesmo nas obras que se debruçam sobre este tema, o Algarve não tem tido um particular destaque. É, apesar disso, possível identificar um conjunto de obras que se dedicaram a inventariar literatura que se debruça sobre o Algarve e sobre autores algarvios, bem como obras que, num registo por vezes quase etnográfico, descrevem paisagens e suas dinâmicas, usos, costumes e características linguísticas do Barrocal algarvio.

Pelo seu carácter coletâneo, identificam-se três referências. São estas *Algarve todo o mar* de Torgal e Ferreira (2005), *Viajantes, escritores e poetas: Retratos do Algarve* de Carvalho e Oliveira (2009) e *A criação literária e o Algarve, no Algarve ou do Algarve? Reflexões sobre literatura regional(ista)* de Nogueira (2013). Em todas estas obras, são identificados textos, em prosa e poesia, que assumem o Algarve como tema central ou escritores que têm ou tiveram no Algarve o seu local de nascimento.

No que respeita a obras cujo espaço narrativo se desenvolve na paisagem do barrocal, identificam-se, por exemplo, dois romances de Lídia Jorge, *O dia dos prodígios* (1980) e *Cais das merendas* (1983). Outra autora que se debruça sobre a paisagem do Barrocal inscrita no Geoparque é a holandesa, radicada no Algarve, Tessa Loo, que, na obra *Dann, um cão*

português com patinhas de veludo, descreve a paisagem de espaços concretos de Alte e da Ribeira do Algre (Nogueira, 2013).

Para além da literatura canónica (autores com reconhecimento nacional e internacional), é também na literatura não canónica, relativa a autores que apesar da sua qualidade “não foram adotados pelos programas escolares nem publicados em editoras com expressão nacional” (Nogueira, 2013: 86), que se encontra uma forte expressão da literatura regionalista. É o caso de Rogério Silva que, nos seus livros de contos – *Contos do Barrocal* (1998) e *Fonte salgada* (2008) –, descreve paisagens, tradições agrícolas, costumes e expressões linguísticas típicas de uma realidade regional, marcadamente distanciada de referências nacionais e globais, que reforçam a identidade da Unidade de Paisagem do Barrocal. Em *Contos do Barrocal*, são inúmeras as passagens que descrevem as características naturais desta unidade de paisagem, bem como as suas dinâmicas associadas ao ciclo hidrológico, onde os períodos de seca e de cheia marcam com a sua sazonalidade a paisagem, os percursos disponíveis, os trabalhos agrícolas, a riqueza das colheitas, mas, também, a perda de bens, animais e vidas humanas. A rápida transição entre a seca e a cheia é abordada por Silva (1998) no conto “O Miserinha”. No início da narrativa, o personagem principal atravessa sem preocupações uma ribeira, com recurso a uma travessia em poldras, “tanto mais que nessa época apenas correria um fiozinho de água. Se corresse, que a seca ia demorada” (Silva, 1998: 68). Apenas um par de horas depois, toda a realidade mudou:

Grossas nuvens enovelavam-se e comprimiam-se, desassossegadas, como se há muito lá estivessem esperando apenas um sinal para matar a longa sede da terra [...] nem se deu conta do ruído que ia crescendo na ribeira. A forte chuvada tinha enchido barrancos e regatos que naquela despejavam uma aguada barrenta e revolta. À frente da enxurrada, pedras, troncos e pasto, arrastados pelo leito ressequido e solto, formavam um montão que se movia vagarosamente, produzindo um barulho semelhante ao de trovoadas contínuas e longínquas. Era sinal de alarme que os camponeses das margens conheciam e os fazia estremecer [...]. Por toda a várzea ecoavam já gritos de aflição. [...] A cheia galgara já as margens [...]. Era um trabalho de meses, duro e pertinaz, para construir aquelas leiras. Tudo esmagado numas horas. [...] Sina amarga daquelas terras. Ainda ontem se chorava a longa estiagem, que secara poços e noras, quase matando de sede o arvoredo. Sem aviso se derramava hoje o dilúvio (Silva, 1998: 72-76).

Em muitos outros contos, Rogério Silva evoca o Barrocal, a sua geomorfologia, a vegetação natural e cultural, o povoamento e as técnicas e os materiais que hoje se reinventam como artesanato – “Passou os dias seguintes colhendo rosmaninho por corgos e encostas, atando-o em pequenos feixes e transportando-o em alcofões de esparto” (Silva, 1998: 53).

O monte tinha, por essa altura umas cinquenta pessoas. Não eram mais do que doze casebres brancos, acaçapados no fundo do vale, rodeados por colinas pedregosas, quase estéreis, onde apenas medravam tojos, urzes e giestas, envolvidas pelo frugal e perfumado rosmaninho, e em cujas encostas, talhadas quase a pique, formavam denso entrançado, assim se desenvolvendo desde o começo da vida, madressilvas, aroeiras, medronheiros (Silva, 1998: 60).

Obras como as de Rogério Silva poderão, sendo objeto de estudo, apoiar o desenvolvimento turístico de um conjunto de lugares e percursos na área do Geoparque.

Terminamos acrescentando ainda uma referência, a *Viagem a Portugal* do Nobel português José Saramago, que, podendo ser considerada literatura de viagem, também poderá servir de apoio à criação de percursos que articulem as paisagens da água, a literatura e o turismo no âmbito do Geoparque Algarvensis. No seu percurso por terras portuguesas, em que o próprio autor se assume como um viajante e não como um turista, Saramago não deixa de referir o território do interior algarvio, integrante do Geoparque, “... segue para norte, caminho da serra. Passa a ribeira de Algibre, ao lado da aldeia da Tôr” (Saramago, [1983] 1995: 612).

Conclusão

Face àquilo que tem vindo a ser exposto, consideramos que a construção do futuro do Geoparque Algarvensis assumirá o reforço da trilogia: paisagem da água, literatura e turismo cultural (em fase embrionária), como referência para a sustentabilidade e resiliência do Barrocal, enquanto território à margem da principal oferta turística do Algarve, associada ao sol e à praia. Ao contrário do litoral, que corresponde a uma unidade de paisagem no geral descaracterizada, com escassos vestígios de uma identidade quase totalmente perdida, a unidade de paisagem do Barrocal, a que corresponde a segunda maior área cársica do país, com inúmeros sítios que testemunham a sua importância e interesse, apresenta uma identidade média a elevada, relacionada tanto com a sua componente biofísica

(geologia, relevo, solos, água, vegetação), como com a humanização, no geral coerente com aquela componente (Abreu; Correia e Oliveira, 2004: 201).

É, exatamente, na recuperação e valorização dos aspetos que determinam a identidade do Barrocal, nomeadamente os muros de pedra solta e os pomares de sequeiro associados às encostas do relevo ondulado e o sistema de regadio tradicional (açudes, levadas, noras, aquedutos, tanques) e as hortas nos vales, historicamente ligados à socioeconomia tradicional, que se constrói o futuro do Geoparque. Se a continuação da presença da população tradicional, com forte ligação à terra, é o garante da perpetuação de práticas, técnicas e paisagens que têm merecido a atenção da literatura através da descrição de cenários e personagens marcadamente identitários do interior algarvio, também o caráter mediterrânico da sua vegetação natural profundamente aromática e cromaticamente muito diversificada, determinada pela conjugação dos calcários, das fracas precipitações e do elevado índice térmico, tem inspirado narrativas de grande interesse geobotânico e ambiental, e de grande poder evocativo.

Um turismo sustentável, baseado numa economia circular e que beneficie as populações locais, que valorize para além do património natural e cultural, também o património imaterial preservado nos costumes e saberes, na gastronomia, no artesanato, será certamente uma atividade económica que poderá ajudar a manter e a fixar a população de que estas paisagens necessitam. A literatura poderá, aliada ao turismo, contribuir para a criação de modelos e estratégias de turismo alternativas ao que é convencionalmente oferecido pela região algarvia, abrindo à descoberta uma outra paisagem e uma outra cultura ainda desconhecidas de tantos que se deslocam à região.

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The impact of Ivo Andrić's novel *The bridge on the Drina* on the formation of tourist image on the historical Višegrad bridge and its surrounding waterscape

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Abstract

The Mehmed Paša Sokolović Bridge across the river Drina in the town of Višegrad (Bosnia and Herzegovina) was built at the end of the 16th century and it was recognized as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 2007 based on its historical and architectural values. However, the bridge became subject of worldwide recognition when the Nobel Prize awarded author Ivo Andrić wrote his novel *The bridge on the Drina* (1945) making it a focal point in which history and literature tangle into a tourist attraction. Arcos-Pumarola; Osácar Marzal *et al.* (2018) state that the value of literature enriches the image of destination by adding meanings to landscape. The aim of this paper is to analyze the influence of Andrić's novel on the formation of the tourist image of the place. The main hypothesis is that the novel has effect on visitors' perception of the place by bringing together the value of the bridge as historical monument with the author's literary legacy. A content analysis of 131 reviews from travel website TripAdvisor was conducted, of which 102 were in English and 29 in the Serbian language in order to understand the value of place to tourists. For qualitative data analysis software package NVivo was used, as previously done in Arcos-Pumarola;

Osácar Marzal *et al.* (2020), and Mansfield (2015). The remaining 89 reviews (TripAdvisor, 2022) which were written in other languages were excluded from this research to avoid any possible misinterpretation due to language barrier. The results will suggest that the literary landscape of *The bridge on the Drina* adds symbolic layers to the Mehmed Paša Sokolović Bridge and its surrounding waterscape, therefore creating a new perspective on the destination. This result is in line with previous research (Mansfield, 2018) where it has been shown that literary texts can contribute to place-making.

Keywords

Literary tourism • Mehmed Paša Sokolović Bridge • Ivo Andrić • *The bridge on the Drina*

1. Introduction

The concept of *lieux d'imagination* was introduced by Reijnders (2010: 48) and can be defined as places of the imagination that, for certain groups in society, serve as physical points of reference to an imagined

world. These places offer the possibility for tourists to construct and transcend the symbolic boundary between an 'imagined' and a 'real' world, making them social actors that ascribe different meanings to specific places (Reijnders, 2010: 40). Tourism, therefore, has a role in co-production of place identities (Schiafone & Reijnders, 2020: 3). While tangible components of placemaking involve physical interventions, intangible components involve creation of mental images and place identities through, for example, storytelling (Lew, 2017, cited by Schiafone & Reijnders, 2020: 3). According to Brook (2000, cited by Schiafone & Reijnders, 2020: 8), cultural meanings imposed on settings matter a great deal in place production. As part of the intangible heritage, literature can add value to a destination by enriching its image. Literary landscape, as an extension of a cultural landscape, plays a vital role in the process of image creation of a territory (Arcos-Pumarola; Osácar Marzal *et al.*, 2018: 178).

Literary tourism originates when the popularity of a literary depiction or the stature of an individual author is such that people are drawn to visit the places that they wrote about or were associated with (e.g. birthplace, home, gravesite) (Busby & Klug, 2001: 319). Daly *et al.* (2021, cited by Anjo; Sousa *et al.*, 2021: 59) point out that literary tourism happens when there is an oscillation between the imagination of the reader and the physical space identified in the text to which the tourist moves. This is in accordance with the above mentioned *lieux d'imagination* (Reijnders, 2010), making literary sites places where literary tourists act as co-producers of their own experience through storytelling and imagination.

Even though journeys to places associated with the world of imagination are not modern phenomena (Reijnders, 2010: 41), it has only been in the recent decades that literary tourism has been popularized, and especially among academic scholars. Since many regions around the world are characterized by their own unique literary heritage, the potential for the development of literary tourism is great. However, literary tourism scholars (Arcos-Pumarola; Osácar Marzal *et al.*, 2020; Çevik, 2020) point out the lack of a global approach to research on literary tourism. Out of 132 analyzed literary tourism articles over the period 1997-2016, Çevik (2020: 9) found that 5 were in Africa, 16 in America(s), 17 in Asia, 70 in Europe, and 19 in Oceania as research areas. This shows regional inequality, making literary tourism seem to be a dominantly European phenomenon. Çevik (2020: 16), however, further notes that the number of publications on literary tourism in countries outside the United Kingdom is limited. This was also confirmed by Arcos-Pumarola; Osácar Marzal *et al.* (2020: 197), who acknowledged a reduced presence of

non-English speaking countries with a strong literary tradition in research on literary tourism.

The region of the Balkans, with former Yugoslavian countries being part of it, has a rich literary heritage. However, its potential for literary tourism development has barely been explored so far. Considering many benefits that literary tourism could bring to this region such as promotion of literary heritage, enhancing the image of destinations through literary symbolism, regional collaboration, and economic development, it is clear that academic focus should be more on it. What makes regional development through potential destination collaboration plausible is the fact that many writers who were born or lived in former country of Yugoslavia left their traces across modern-day national borders (e.g. birthplace, house they lived in and their burial place are today located in two or more neighboring countries which were once part of the same one). One of the most famous writers from this region with worldwide recognition was Ivo Andrić (1892-1975) who remains until today the only Yugoslav novelist awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature, in 1961.

This paper aims at fulfilling the lack of academic research in this region by analyzing the influence of Andrić's most famous novel *The bridge on the Drina* on the formation of the tourist image on the Mehmed Paša Sokolović Bridge and its surrounding waterscape in the town of Višegrad. By doing so, it will be determined whether the novel has effects on tourists' perception of the place by adding literary meanings to the landscape, as previously acknowledged by Arcos-Pumarola; Osácar Marzal *et al.* (2018), and Mansfield (2018). The results of this paper are significant for academic researchers as well as for regional Destination Marketing Organizations (DMOs) who might use these findings to consider exploring the existing literary potential for literary tourism development, destination promotion, and eventual branding.

2. Theme of water and bridge in the work of Ivo Andrić

Ivo Andrić, born on 10th October 1892 in Dolac, Bosnia and Herzegovina, was the author of 6 novels, over 100 short stories, critical essays, and poetry. Born when Bosnia was still under the Austro-Hungarian Empire rule, young Andrić became part of the national revolutionary movement that later resulted in his arrest in 1914. Throughout his student years he studied at several universities across Europe becoming Doctor of Philosophy in 1924. Andrić worked for an association of southern Slavic countries, and after the formation of Yugoslavia, he served as a diplomat

for the country (Nobel Prize, n.d.). Even though he started publishing his early work in 1911, it was during the period of 1940s that his most famous works were written, including *The bridge on the Drina*. In 1961 he received the Nobel Prize in Literature “for the epic force with which he has traced themes and depicted human destinies drawn from the history of his country” (Nobel Prize, n.d.). His novels and stories were translated into more than thirty languages. He died on 13th March 1975 in Belgrade, Serbia.

His work illuminates the destinies of individuals against a historical, cultural, and religious background (Nobel Prize, n.d.), with atmospheric scenery and deep psychological insight into people's emotions. In the form of stories or episodes, *The bridge on the Drina* chronologically follows four centuries of events around the bridge over the river Drina, from 1500s until the beginning of World War I, describing the lives of Višegrad people through different generations. It is a tale of common people whose destiny is tied to the bridge and water below it, among whom some are historical personalities and some imaginary characters. The bridge represents a focal point of the narrative where all main events take place – love and joy, conflicts, and tragedies. It is the side character, the silent observer, a stage where history takes place, and a symbol of permanence and continuity. Along with the bridge, the river Drina itself represents the conventional image of passing time with its fluctuating moods, now rough, now still (Hawkesworth, 1984: 219). At the beginning of the novel, water acts as a separator of two shores and two sides (East and West), which are later bridged thanks to the Grand Vizier Mehmed Paša Sokolović. Mehmed's bridge offers the promise of mending a soulscape, and the “wicked water” between its banks, overcoming its divisions, separations, and limitations. Once the bridge was completed, each inhabitant sensed the transcendent effect of its structure (Harrison, 2021: 118), something that Andrić described as:

Even the least of the townsmen felt as if his powers were suddenly multiplied, as if some wonderful, superhuman exploit was brought within the measure of his powers and within the limits of everyday life, as if besides the well-known elements of earth, water and sky, one more were open to him, as if by each one of them could suddenly realize one of his dearest desires, that ancient dream of man – to go over the water and be master of space. (Andrić, 2021: 72)

However, water, similarly to human nature, cannot be tamed and has been causing damages to people's households and the bridge itself during the

big floods. Despite many natural and human turmoil, it is the bridge and the river that remain permanent witnesses of short human lives, outliving every event, every conflict and tragedy, and almost every chapter in the novel ends on a similar note. In Andrić's work, the bridge becomes a metaphor that describes not only the link between East and West, different religions and ethnicities for which Andrić hopes that “despite difficulties, difference could be bridged” (Wachtel, 1998: 216), but also his understanding of the permanence of art where life is “an incomprehensible marvel that is incessantly wasted and spent” (Andrić, 2021: 90), while life work lives forever. The literary legacy of Ivo Andrić continues today, with many schools, streets and institutions across Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina carrying his name, including The Ivo Andrić Foundation, The Memorial Museum of Ivo Andrić located in the apartment where he lived until his death, Andrićev venac (Belgrade), The Andrić Institute, Memorial classroom of Ivo Andrić and Andrićgrad (Višegrad). Every year on his birthday, The Ivo Andrić Foundation presents Andrić Prize, an award for the best short story or book of short stories, as was the last wish of the writer.

3. Methodology

3.1. Research area

The town of Višegrad is located at the confluence of the rivers Drina and Ržav, on the eastern edge of the Republic of Srpska, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, near the border with Serbia. Since the Middle Ages, it has been an important strategic point on a road across the river Drina, and it still represents an important connection between Serbia and Bosnia. While Andrić wasn't born in Višegrad, he went to the elementary school there and was inspired by it in such a way that he made Višegrad the setting of his most famous novel many years later. In that way, it can be said that Višegrad was a special town for Ivo Andrić and his creative work. The town offers a variety of attractions such as the Drina river for sightseeing, leisure and sport activities, Višegrad spa for health tourism, the complex of Andrićgrad, a few cultural monuments and events. However, the bridge over the river Drina is certainly what the town is best known for worldwide and its main symbol. Despite its historical value, the bridge became subject of worldwide recognition when Andrić wrote his novel *The bridge on the Drina* (1945).

The Mehmed Paša Sokolović Bridge across the river Drina was built at the end of the 16th century

and it was recognized as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 2007 based on its historical and architectural values. It was built by the court architect Mimar Koca Sinan by order of Grand Vizier Mehmed Paša Sokolović, who was born in Ottoman Bosnia into an Orthodox Christian family and abducted at an early age as part of the Ottoman *devşirme* system. Grand vizier had wanted his endowment to represent a passage that would unite East and West in the center of the Ottoman Empire, and today this 179.5 m long bridge with 11 masonry arches is a remarkable architectural testimony to the apogee of the classical age of the Ottoman Empire. As Drina is a mountain river, it is prone to flooding and the bridge parapets were destroyed in an exceptional flood in 1896. In addition, the bridge was severely damaged during both World Wars and reconstructed in stone in the early 1950s. Despite these historical events, authenticity has generally been maintained through the course of the bridge's successive restorations (UNESCO World Heritage Convention, n.d.). Because of its geostrategic position, through the course of history the bridge has been carrying a symbolic role in cultural exchange between the Balkans, the East and the West, between different religions and ethnicities, a symbol of permanence. And in many ways, it was exactly this turbulent past that inspired a lot of Andrić's written work.

3.2. Methodological approach

The number of tourists accessing the Internet before, during and after a trip is increasing; they look for information about what to visit and then share their experience online, often in the form of reviews or comments. Digital presence is indisputable nowadays, both for entities and consumers, and taking advantage of the fact that the number of individuals planning a trip over the Internet is high, it is essential to be present and offer what tourists are looking for (Anjo; Sousa *et al.*, 2021: 64). Because of that, Web 2.0 is nowadays an important tool in the tourism industry. It offers knowledge on how to improve tourist offer of the destination, what are the weaknesses and negative sides, as well as destination strengths and positive sides. At the same time, in literary tourism research, Web 2.0 can be a key in understanding the impact of literary work on the formation of tourist image and emotions about a place. The results of such a research could be helpful for further development of a destination and its competitiveness through the unique literary heritage.

Web 2.0 has already been used as a data source by other literary tourism scholars (Potočnik Topler,

2018; Mansfield, 2015), and travel website TripAdvisor in particular has proven to be useful in content analysis studies (Lei & Law, 2015; O'Connor, 2010). In this research, a content analysis of 131 reviews from TripAdvisor Mehmed Paša Sokolović Bridge page was conducted, of which 102 were in English and 29 in the Serbian language in order to understand the value of this place to tourists. The remaining 89 reviews (TripAdvisor, 2022) which were in other languages were excluded in order to avoid any possible misinterpretation due to language barrier. For qualitative data analysis, software package NVivo was used, as previously done in Arcos-Pumarola; Osácar Marzal *et al.* (2020), and Mansfield (2015). Firstly, content analysis of reviews was done before each code was assigned. After that, the initial codes were grouped into main themes based on common characteristics as following: History, The Association with Literature, Nature landscape, Tourist activities, and Conative component.

This study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. Is Andrić or his novel present in the tourist image of the bridge?
2. Are there visitors who specifically stated that reading the novel was a motive to visit Višegrad?
3. Did the trip to Višegrad awaken the desire to get acquainted with Andrić's work after returning home?

The main hypothesis is that the novel *The bridge on the Drina* has effects on visitors' perception of the Mehmed Paša Sokolović bridge and its surrounding waterscape by bringing together the value of the bridge as a historical monument with the author's literary legacy.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Reviewer's characteristics

Analysis included reviews posted from August 2011 (in the English language) until September 2020 (in English and Serbian). The average rating of Mehmed Paša Sokolović bridge by March 2022 was 4.75 in the analyzed sample, out of which 109 reviews (83.2%) rated it as 5 stars (*excellent*).

As regards the countries of origin, Table 1 shows that the majority of the visitors were Europeans (72.5%) with Serbia (47.4%) being in the first place, followed by Bosnia and Herzegovina (8.4%), United

Kingdom (8.4%), Bulgaria (4.2%) and Italy (4.2%) in the top five European countries. The fact that visitors from Serbia represent the dominant group could be explained by the proximity of Višegrad from the state border. American visitors include both North America (USA; n=6) and South America (Brazil; n=1), while visitors from Asia came from Turkey (n=2), Malaysia (n=1), Singapore (n=1) and Philippines (n=1). Since Turkish visitors were from Istanbul (which is lying in both Europe and Asia) and Izmir (which is a city in the Asian part of Turkey), it was decided to put them into the Asian category. However, the nationality of 15 reviewers (11.5%) remains unknown since the country where they come from was not specified. Other potential details available on TripAdvisor such as traveler type or time of the year were not analyzed, as they don't represent key details for this study.

N	%
Europe (n=95)	72.5%
Australia (n=9)	6.9%
America (n=7)	5.3%
Asia (n=5)	3.8%
Unspecified (n=15)	11.5%

TABLE 1.
Reviewers' nationality. Source: Based on TripAdvisor data.

4.2. Thematical framework

This study revealed 63 references in association with literature and 67 references in association with history making them two main tourist values of Mehmed Paša Sokolović bridge.

According to Atsız; Ogretmenoglu *et al.* (2022: 59), cultural attractions are important for both tourists and destinations, as they play a major role in the heritage experience of cultural and heritage destinations by creating feelings of experiencing the past and history. That is something that could be confirmed here as well:

- "I am very happy I got a chance to take a walk on this historical monument."
- "I waited for so long to see this bridge. It is magnificent in all its glory and history."

- "It was amazing to be looking at this rich in history bridge from our hotel room."

As part of a conative component of destination image, some of the visitors mentioned that the bridge evoked in them thoughts about the past, but also feelings:

- "The bridge is beautiful and returns you to the past."
- "You can see the bridge from almost every corner of the city and every time you look at it you got that deep feeling and respect."
- "Being next to it emits positive energy and wisdom collected during centuries."

Important value for visitors was the architectural structure of the bridge and the fact that it is well-preserved despite its long and turbulent history, suggesting the knowledge on the topic:

- "Built by the Ottomans, partly destroyed in the 90s, then completely renovated after the last Balkan war, this piece of Bosnian history is a feat of great architecture and engineering."
- "The bridge stands at the test of time, rising waters, wars, differences."

Several visitors commented on the bridge being part of UNESCO heritage and compared it to other bridges:

- "It is one out of the total number of three UNESCO heritage bridge monuments around the world – of which two are in Bosnia and Herzegovina!"
- "Of the three great Ottoman bridges that I know in the Balkans, at Višegrad, Mostar, and Skopje, Višegrad is the most aesthetically pleasing, partly because of its beautiful natural setting, over the green river Drina to low wooded hills beyond. [...] It's one of only three bridges in the world that has been designated a UNESCO World Heritage site."
- "To my mind it is just as elegant as the better-known bridge at Mostar, and infinitely more peaceful and pleasurable to visit."

The last two comments could be important information for DMOs to note, since these visitors give clear advantage to Višegrad bridge in comparison to the other bridges in the region. In addition, another visitor stated a similar thing:

→ “Mostar bridge has one «over-commercialized» arch. The Drina Bridge at Višegrad has [11] impressive arches AND NO TOURIST HORDES!!!!”

These comments reveal that tourists value cultural sites that are quieter (with no tourist crowds). One of the mentioned advantages of Mehmed Paša Sokolović bridge is its nature setting with the river Drina flowing underneath it. When it comes to water, people don't experience only visual sensations, but also the sounds and smells of it. The soothing sound of the water and a cooling breeze on a hot day are the reasons why people like spending time by the waterside (Bernat, 2014: 8). Many visitors acknowledged the color of the river Drina (emerald green, turquoise green) as an important attribute, and stated how the nearness of river offers a soothing experience to them:

- “The location of the bridge is wonderful, the water reflects the emerald green color, and the surrounding area is beautiful; filled with old buildings and architecture as well as tall mountains.”
- “The green water of the river Drina with inverted image of the bridge gives a soothing experience to the eyes.”
- “To look at Drina and rest [...] eyes, heart and soul in its beauty.” (translation)

When it comes to the association with literature, 10 different codes have been revealed by this study. References relate to the number of times each code was mentioned (see Table 2). In his research on place-making, Reijnders acknowledges (2010: 40) that while the world of imagination can have a historical basis, geographical realism in fiction can also grant authenticity to a certain location. In the case of Višegrad bridge, it is evident that the location serves equally well as a memorialization of the real history as well as a memorialization of something that never took place, a hypothesis which can be underlined with an almost equal number of references found in TripAdvisor data for history (67) and literature (63). Reijnders also states (2010: 42) that while the plot of a novel may be fictional, the events could have also actually occurred, something that is as well evident in the analyzed site. Andrić's *The bridge on the Drina* is a historical novel that drew inspiration from real historical events and historical people, despite many of the characters being imagined. There is also an interesting note on the legends surrounding the construction of this bridge. The first chapter in the novel introduces readers to these legends, and today they are included as part of the cultural heritage of the town, as displayed on a website of tourist organi-

zation of Višegrad with short excerpts from the novel on the legends about beautiful but tragic Fata, twins Stoja and Ostoja, and the tower of Marko Kraljević.

Code	References
Portrayed by Andrić	20
Novel gives literary hue to the site	10
Well-known bridge because of Andrić	7
Recommendation to read the novel before visiting	6
Inspiration for Andrić	6
Literary pilgrimage	4
Quote by Andrić	3
A bridge that was written about	3
Site for fans of literature	2
Desire to read the novel after returning home	2

TABLE 2. The Association with Literature. Source: Based on TripAdvisor data.

The most prevalent code within this theme was ‘Portrayed by Andrić’ (n=20):

- “It was a very nice experience to walk on this 16th century bridge over Drina described by Andrić and financed by Mehmed Paša Sokolović.”
- “The Nobel prize laureate in literature – Ivo Andrić – has himself named his most praised work – *The bridge on the Drina river* – the bridge that still stands on the same river.”

Knowing that the majority of visitors were from Serbia, it is not surprising that previous knowledge on Andrić is present in lot of reviews. This could be explained by the fact that *The bridge on the Drina* is part of mandatory literature for children in high schools in Serbia. Aside from that, Andrić is a well-known writer in the Balkans with an established literary legacy behind him. However, this single fact does not give us deeper insight into whether the visitors have previously read the novel or visited the site for specific literary reason (literary pilgrimage). To find

that out, deep reading was done in order to reveal the other codes that can give us better understanding of tourist image on Višegrad bridge.

When readers visit a place that they had read about, they perceive the place through the eyes of the author and within the sentimental state of the main characters of a novel (Del Chiappa *et al.*, 2021; Fotiadis, 2018; Baraw, 2017, cited by Anjo; Sousa *et al.*, 2021: 65). In tourists' experience, the characters, plots and landscapes are inextricably connected to one another (Reijnders, 2010: 47). Examples of this theoretical framework were found in Višegrad:

- "If you have read the *Bridge on the Drina* by Ivo Andrić, it almost feels like all of the characters are passing by and you can see all the descriptions around you."
- "Since I read the book I was waiting to see the bridge and figure out some scenes from this famous book."
- "I started reading Ivo Andrić's novel *The bridge on the Drina* a couple of days before my husband and I set off for BiH. The book moved me on so many levels and it lent its magical literary hue to our entire visit to the country and this bridge in particular."
- "I was mid-way through *The bridge on the Drina* when I visited the site itself. If you haven't read the book then this is just a very beautiful bridge, but with the added context from the book it becomes so much more."

The above-mentioned examples show that for some visitors the novel indeed adds a literary layer to the landscape and that without it, as the last comment states, it would be 'just a very beautiful bridge'. As Schiavone and Reijnders previously mentioned in their research on film tourism (2020: 12) by connecting the reference, which is a read novel in this case, to a physicality of the place, visitors' imaginations are ignited and they are invited to re-imagine fictional stories in the exact spot. One visitor went even further in showing the importance of the novel on their tourist experience by listing the names of fictional characters. For this visitor, Višegrad and fictional narrative are tangled as one, as it is evident in the comment:

The bridge is exactly as Ivo Andrić immortalized it in his best literary work. It all starts with Mehmed Paša Sokolović bridge and the view that Lotika admired from her room. [...] in Višegrad, nothing is as it used to be except the famous bridge, the Drina and good food. But even that is enough to return to Andrić's town and bridge built on the innocent victims Stoja and [Ostoja],

on the silent pain of Radisav, Rade the Mason's ability to turn Sokolović's idea of connecting Bosnia with the east into a magnificent building with eleven arches and *kapia* in the middle. (translation) (TripAdvisor, 2022)

The term *kapia* is mentioned in another review as well:

- "If you haven't read *The bridge over the Drina* by Ivo Andrić before you visit, at least make sure that you go at least to the middle of bridge and experience the *kapia* where so much of the novel takes place. We hadn't read the book and only walked out a third of the way. What a mistake."

The middle part of the bridge called *kapia* was designed for passengers to rest. It also plays important part of the novel where most of the events take place. Even though it was not directly stated, this comment indicates the possibility that the visitor got the desire to read the novel after returning home because otherwise they wouldn't know the importance of *kapia* nor would they regret the fact they didn't walk to it. A similar example of awakened desire to read the novel afterwards was given by another visitor:

- "When I get home I must read *bridge on the Drina* by Ivo Andrić."

This finding confirms that the customary process of reading leading to tourism ('text-to-tourism') can be inverted to an evolution of tourism leading to reading ('tourism-to-text') during experiences of literary tourism, as pointed out by Smith (2012: 167). On the other hand, those who have read the novel prior to the trip recommended to all the future visitors that they should read it beforehand too:

- "Hint: read the book before visiting Višegrad."
- "Before visit this place you have to read the book *Bridge on the Drina* written by Ivo Andrić. After that you will know why this place is so important and spiritual."
- "I would also recommend reading the book by Ivo Andrić, *The bridge on the Drina* before the visit!"

Writers have the ability to change prevailing attitudes towards scenery and nature by transforming real landscapes into literary landscapes through imagination and emotion (Agarwal & Shaw, 2017, cited by Anjo; Sousa *et al.*, 2021: 60). For these reviewers, *The bridge on the Drina* plays an important role in

the formation of their image of a destination and they want for the other future visitors to experience the site through the same literary layer as they do. Višegrad was also acknowledged and recommended as a site for fans of literature:

- “Bridge on the Drina is a real historical site, especially if you are a fan of literature and if you have read a novel *Bridge on the Drina* by Ivo Andrić, Nobel prize author.”
- “If you like the literature and travel to Bosnia and Herzegovina, I recommend a lot you come here.

Some visitors stated that it was only after visiting Višegrad bridge and seeing the Drina waterscape that they understood why it inspired Andrić:

- “Only now do I understand the influence of the bridge and the river on Andrić.” (translation)

The legacy of the writer was further acknowledged through the impact he had on making the bridge and its surrounding environment known worldwide, and three visitors even used direct quotations of his words in their reviews:

- “«Life [is] an incomprehensible marvel, since it was incessantly wasted and spent, yet none the less it lasted and endured like the bridge on the Drina», wrote Ivo Andrić and with it probably described life and the bridge in the simplest and most beautiful way.” (translation)
- “This bridge became famous by Nobel prize winner Ivo Andrić who wrote *The bridge over Drina* novel which speaks about life in Bosnia.”
- “A place that Andrić made famous and important.” (translation)

Probably one of the biggest findings of this study is the evidence of literary pilgrimage existing in the analyzed destination. In many literary tourism studies, the term ‘literary pilgrim’ is used for tourists who travel to find the traces of the authors they admire and who have a motivation to visit the places where the authors lived or worked, to see the objects the authors used or to take a trip to the landscapes or settings in the writings of the authors for reliving them (Çevik, 2020: 15). In other words, literary pilgrims are individuals with a strong literary conscience who are especially motivated by the narrative or the life of the author in question (Anjo; Sousa *et al.*, 2021: 60). An example of this in Višegrad can be seen below:

- “Decided to visit from Sarajevo after reason [of] Ivo Andrić's novel.”

- “We went there following steps of Ivo Andrić and we did not regret.”

Following the steps of an author is a good indication of literary pilgrimage. Aside from the bridge across the river Drina that represents a main setting for Andrić's novel, his house and the school where he used to go as a child are also part of tourist attractions in the town. Every year in June *Višegrad Path* is held, a cultural manifestation which is dedicated to the life and work of Andrić. According to a website of tourist organization of Višegrad, the program consists of literary evenings, meetings of writers, promotions, theater and other performances (Višegrad turizam, n.d.). Therefore, it is understandable why Višegrad could represent important destination for lovers of his literary work.

As for types of literary tourism that surround the place, the findings of this study suggest there are two types: (1) places of significance in the work of fiction, as suggested by Butler (1986), and (2) literary festivals, as suggested by Mintel (2011, cited by Çevik, 2020: 4). The third type of literary tourism that could potentially be further developed in the future is (3) aspects of homage to an actual location (Butler, 1986, cited by Çevik, 2020: 3), which mostly includes the actual places associated with an author such as their house, gravesite, etc. As previously mentioned, Andrić spent most of his childhood and school days in Višegrad; however, his house can only be seen from the outside. According to Robinson (2002, cited by Çevik, 2020: 3), the house of an author is arguably the most powerful tourism resource that allows tourists to engage in several emotional experiences and activities. In that way, if reopened or turned into a museum, as it was the case with his apartment in Belgrade, Andrić's childhood house in Višegrad could be further used as a place of authenticity and intimacy for literary tourists that would like to connect with the author in the town where he lived.

4.3. Potential for regional collaboration

Overall tourist experience was mostly positive. Some of the things that visitors valued was the fact that the bridge is free and open for walking, practical for children and elderly, well-lit at night, and aesthetically pleasing (good for photography). Aside from that, visitors were satisfied with reasonable prices and hospitality of local people, as well as for the fact that there are restaurants nearby the river where they can enjoy the view and relax. The vast majority pointed out that a boat ride on the river Drina should not be missed and recommended that the bridge is worth

visiting. All these codes represent positive image and advantages of the destination. Some reviewers commented in relation to these as follows:

- “If you have time, take a boat ride around the river – very relaxing and scenic. Worth the drive from Sarajevo or Belgrade.”
- “Its architectural beauty and history that lies within its fundamentals will leave you breathless. But you should see it for yourself, and you’ll realize how words cannot describe how much this bridge is amazing. Simply, don’t miss this place!”

Concerning disadvantages, negative codes which referred to negative image included the following: no English translation, no English language signs, lack of some writings and tables with information about history of the bridge or town, souvenir sellers on the bridge. Contrary to *must see* comments above, two visitors stated that there is not much to see there:

- “Not much to see though and, unless Višegrad is somewhere along your way, it is not worth a special trip.”
- “Quite picturesque but that is about all. Still, it is worth a quick visit.”

Other visitation details such as duration of stay and decision making suggest that Višegrad is a good stopping point for travelers:

- “I went to see this bridge as part of a day tour and I must say it is spectacular.”
- “Yesterday we (my wife and I) have returned from a two days trip to Višegrad.”
- “Looking for a midpoint stopover on the wild nerve-racking ride from Dubrovnik to Belgrade, we picked out Višegrad. What a fortuitous choice.”
- “If you are planning to go from Sarajevo to Belgrade or the other way plan your road trip via Višegrad.”

From here we can conclude that Višegrad has a favorable geographic location, as it is located on the road that connects cities in three different countries on the Balkan Peninsula, making it a good destination for short visit (couple of hours to one-two day stay). It is also situated near the border with Serbia, which a few reviewers referred to as a separate code such as: “From here you can go very easy to Serbia” (TripAdvisor, 2022). For DMOs this is important information. As one of the marketing and

branding strategies of literary destination, Hoppen; Brown *et al.* (2014) suggest collaborative product and experiential development. They acknowledge that the collaborative opportunities for destinations via tourist routes, trails or clusters are significant in broadening destination market appeal, countering seasonality and attracting new markets (Hoppen; Brown *et al.*, 2014: 44). The routes oscillate between regional, supra-regional or international scope, and involve places, landscapes and attractions related to the writer. It is up to the tourist to decide whether to travel independently or on the basis of a tourist package (Carvalho & Batista, 2015, cited by Anjo; Sousa *et al.*, 2021: 60). The ability to connect places through literary figures has already been proved possible, not just in the United Kingdom where literary tourism is well established, but in some other countries as well. For example, The Slovene Writers’ Path is a project of the Slovene Writers’ Association which leads across the entire Slovenia connecting the birthplaces and homes of Slovenian writers and poets, representing the country’s literary heritage (Potočnik Topler, 2016: 131).

When it comes to Ivo Andrić, he had lived and created his work across different countries leaving his “literary traces” both in Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. This creates an opportunity for destination collaboration on a regional level via a literary heritage trail. It is important to note that something similar has never been done before, as literary heritage remains an underdeveloped potential in these two countries. However, the present study has proved that there exists a demand for literary tourism experience, as the novel plays an important part in the formation of tourist image of Višegrad bridge and surrounding waterscape. A literary itinerary is not only about listing literary places, but also about aggregating other elements as forms of expression present in the cultural heritage, or the suggestion of performing leisure activities or recreation (Quinteiro & Baleiro, 2017, cited by Anjo; Sousa *et al.*, 2021: 61), and Višegrad has shown to have both exceptional and general qualities of a literary place, as proposed by Herbert (2001: 315). In addition to exceptional qualities (literary connection with the author and literary work setting), more general qualities that promote the attractiveness of Višegrad are the fact that it is a stopping point along a more general tourism itinerary due to its geographically convenient location (Hoppen; Brown *et al.*, 2014: 43), waterscape of river Drina, surrounding green hills, historical value and cultural attractions. Therefore, existing exceptional and general qualities of Višegrad form the image of a place that can be exploited for greater promotion of literary and other local heritage.

5. Conclusion

The study and analysis of landscape and its intangible connotation is crucial when generating a proposal for literary tourism (Arcos-Pumarola; Osácar Marzal *et al.*, 2018: 178). The findings of this research suggest that the literary landscape of *The bridge on the Drina* adds symbolic layers to the Mehmed Paša Sokolović Bridge and its surrounding waterscape, therefore creating a new perspective on the destination. As previously noted by Schiavone and Reijnders (2020: 13), through the process of placemaking, fiction eventually becomes part of the socially constructed core of the place, which is seen in the example of Višegrad bridge, where storytelling, tourism and waterscape are interwoven. Through deep content analysis of TripAdvisor data, it was confirmed that the value of the bridge as a historical monument (material) and as a setting for the novel (imagined) coexist in the formation of the tourist image. By blurring the lines between history and fiction, material and imagined, place is being transformed in almost the same way as in the novel itself reality and imagination inextricably mingle when it comes to tales surrounding the existence of the bridge. This result is in line with previous research (Mansfield, 2018: 13) where it has been shown that the literary text can contribute to place-making.

This research has given the insight into visitors' needs, motivations and values, the information that could be used by DMOs for development and marketing strategies. Through his life and work, Andrić granted Višegrad a literary connection which is present on a website of tourist organization of Višegrad as part of destination's image. Specifically, a 90-minute walking tour around the town includes the bridge over river Drina, Ivo Andrić monument, hotel of Lotika (described in the novel), Memorial classroom of Ivo Andrić, as well as his childhood house, which are all sites in association with the famous writer. Here will be suggested more ways in which the destination can use its benefits to create a tourist offer that would make experience enjoyable for literary tourists and literary pilgrims in particular. For example, creating a virtual literary map could help literary enthusiasts make their own travel plans; inclusion of literary places in road maps and guidebooks; design of a mobile literary application that would provide background information on key locations of the novel and the writer (similarly to Spot-lit project); and potential creation of a literary heritage trail through regional collaboration. However, mentioned disadvantages such as lack of writings and information in the English language should previously be fixed. Despite many benefits that literary tourism could bring, e.g. literature

heritage and literacy promotion being only part of, it remains an unexplored research field in Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, hence why academic focus in the future should be more on it. By promoting local writers and their work, destinations in these countries can be distinguished on the basis of their own unique literary heritage that tourists can experience only there and nowhere else.

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The trope of water in Ulysses used as a tool in reading the city of Roskilde

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Abstract

This article attempts a reading of Roskilde, a Danish provincial town with a long history as the former capital of the kingdom of Denmark. The city was founded with the aim of exploiting the unusually large number of springs – an exploitation both the church and kings and merchants benefited from. The reading of Roskilde is based on James Joyce's *Ulysses* and to a particular extent on the water motif in this novel. *Ulysses* is used as an objective or a lens through which the importance of water for the development of the city becomes clear. Water is not simply a material element in the production of cities, but also a critical dimension to the social production of space and place and it continually interacts with political, socio-economical (in relation to gender, medicine, age, drink, power) or religious spheres, as the case of Roskilde shows. Joyce makes it clear that water is not just water. Water's inherently ambiguous character, as well as its phenomenological dimensions, including its powerful affective and sensual features, makes this trope an effective tool in the study of the relationship between literature and place.

Keywords

Place • Water • Joyce • Trope • Roskilde

1. Introduction

In this article, the trope of water in James Joyce's classic work *Ulysses* is used to interpret the heritage

city of Roskilde and its history. Dublin (as a stage for Ulysses), and the Danish city of Roskilde, exhibits a large number of common features associated with the aquatic element, as well as other liquid substances. It seems quite reasonable to put the two cities in relation to each other: Roskilde and Dublin were for a while twin cities and in this connection, a number of links were established, both real and symbolic. Both cities celebrated their 1000th anniversary (Roskilde in 1998, Dublin in 1988) through events that connected the cities. In Roskilde, a marathon reading of *Ulysses* was carried out, where a number of cultural personalities took turns reading the work over a period of 36 hours. The reading was transmitted via loudspeakers throughout the city. Dublin held its first Viking Festival in connection with its anniversary, with direct reference to a reconstructed Viking ship, which called at Dublin after traveling across the North Sea from Roskilde. When the Viking ship, with the name "The Sea Stallion from Glendalough", returned to Roskilde, a time capsule was brought on board, filled with letters from Irish children to Danish children. The time capsule, which also contains a letter from the mayor of Dublin to his colleague in Roskilde, will not be opened until many years from now.

My reading of Roskilde will be framed by focusing attention on what is both a central theme in *Ulysses*, and one of the most primordial elements, the one which pre-Socratic philosopher Thales of Miletus (c. 620-546 B.C.E.) claimed the whole universe to be made from: water. The purpose of this article is, via a reading of the motif of water in Ulysses, to shed light on the meaning of water in the reading of the city of Roskilde. Joyce is thus used as a kind of lens through which the city's close relationship with

the water motif is read. Roskilde, on the other hand, is chosen because of the many allusive connections between this place and Dublin.

As we will see, to properly understand the historical emergence and development of Roskilde, as well as certain essential contemporary aspects of this city, a look at water in its various dimensions (socio-political, economical, symbolic, religious/mythological, therapeutic) is indispensable. Furthermore, analyzing the ways in which James Joyce stages and reflects upon the themes/motifs of water (in addition to water carriers, like containers and vessels) in his works – in *Ulysses* particularly the episode *Telemachus* and to a lesser degree other episodes such as *Nestor*, *Lotus Eaters*, *Ithaca* or *Penelope* and other works such as *A portrait of the artist as a young man* or the poem *All day I hear the noise of water* – will not only shed more light on the above-mentioned dimensions of water, but point upon other sociological, political, economic, religious or medical analyses of water left unexplored. I am thinking about water's inherently ambiguous character, as well as its phenomenological dimensions, including its powerful affective and sensual features.

2. The Complexity of Water

Among the old natural elements, as these are perceived in the western world (earth, fire, wind, water), water is undoubtedly the most significant when talking about the foundation of society. Earth provides food, with fire food can be processed and land cleared and the wind makes contact across the sea possible. But only with control over water, the basis for the continuity of civilizations can be established. As J.C. Cooper claims in her encyclopaedia of symbols, water is the source of all development, central to the existence of all things in the universe, both creator and destructor, the undifferentiated; the intangible, the first form of matter¹. In *Ulysses* water is not just water, but liquid as well as fluid and juice. It is also matter, run, suppurate, bile and it is flowing, floating, and fluent, and it is steam, vapour like and saturated.

Taking a closer look at Roskilde, through the lens of *Ulysses*, and with water as a tool seems obvious,

since “water is always a metaphor of social, economic and political relationships – a barometer of the extent to which identity, power and resources are shared” (Strang, 2004: 21). Joyce lures his reader into *Ulysses* by emphasizing traditions of nation and church, and expounding his matters through metaphors of water. Thus, water is never *only* water, neither ontologically nor epistemologically. Water is not simply a material element in the production of cities, but also a critical dimension to the social production of space and place and it continually interacts with political, socio-economical or religious spheres, for instance.

Moreover, another highly relevant aspect of water serves not only as context, but also as an underlying force in this chapter – the question of gendered water. Water and gender seem to be connected in several ways, in fact in so many ways that we cannot deal with all of them. But as it will become clear, by reading *Ulysses* as a lens through which we look at place, gender and water appear as distinct tools in making Roskilde legible.

Articulating herself in a way that probably would have thrilled Joyce, Strang argues that “[c]hanges in material culture generate and reflect changes in meaning: there is a fundamental difference between carrying (female) vessels of water from the (female) well, and pumping an ejaculative stream of it out of the earth through a (male) spout” (Strang, 2004: 24). Widening the argument put forward by Wittfogel (1957)², Strang claims that “the control of water resources effectively helped to establish male dominance in political, economic and religious terms, and helped communities to embark upon a set of technological and cultural changes which led to contemporary social and environmental relationships” (Ibid.). The very last word in the first chapter of *Ulysses* – Stephen's exclamation “Usurper”³ – could therefore be seen (among countless other meanings) as a reference to the conquest of and control over water.

¹ J.C. Cooper (1978). *An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols*. London: Thames & Hudson. For similar positions see also G. Bachelard ([1942] 1983), *Water and dreams: An essay on the imagination of matter*. Dallas: The Pegasus Foundation and M. McMenamin and D. McMenamin (1994), *Hypersea: Life on land*. Columbia: Columbia University Press.

² K. Wittfogel (1957). *Oriental despotism: A comparative study of total power*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Several scholars criticize Wittfogel's reductivism though (i.e. his identification of a single factor (control of irrigation) in the genesis of Oriental despotism) and attempt to provide more nuanced accounts of hydropolitics, taking into account the complexity of the various processes at play. See e.g. K. Butzer (1976), *Hydraulic civilization in Egypt: A study in cultural ecology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; S. Lansing (2006), *Perfect order: Recognizing complexity in Bali*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

³ For an insightful discussion of this issue see R. Spoo (1989), ‘Usurper: A Word on the Last Word in ‘Telemachus’. *James Joyce Quarterly*, 26 (3), 450-451.

Another important aspect that will be taken into consideration in this paper is the relation between water and medicine. The therapeutic use of water has been recorded in ancient Egyptian, Greek and Roman civilizations, but it became increasingly popular as part of the Romantic movement in Europe⁴. Hydrotherapy, formerly called hydropathy, is a part of medicine and alternative medicine, in particular naturopathy, occupational therapy and physiotherapy, that involves the use of water for pain relief and treatment. This medical field encompasses a broad range of approaches and therapeutic methods that take advantage of the physical properties of water, such as temperature and pressure, for therapeutic purposes, to stimulate blood circulation and treat the symptoms of certain diseases⁵. Connected to this, but more surprisingly, in her interesting investigation of people's perception of water in the Stour Valley, in Dorset England, Strang found that people's accounts often echo popular beliefs that water sounds replicate those "heard" or "felt" in the womb and therefore sound recordings of waves, heartbeats and streams can be soporific (Strang, 2004: 53).

3. The Streams of Joyce's imagination

Before discussing further the present and past water flows connected to Roskilde in their multiple dimensions, let's turn our attention to Joyce. Although the trope of water in *Ulysses* is well documented among Joyce experts, there are always some new aspects to

4 Interestingly, right up to the 1800s, in medicine (which was influenced by cosmology) one could encounter the view that man's character or temperament is a result of the four body fluids, corresponding to the four elements:
Choleric: yellow-red bile / fire / summer
Melancholic: black-green bile / earth / autumn
Phlegmatic: slim / water / winter
Sanguine: blood / wind / spring
and
Masculinity / Active: air and fire
Femininity / Passive: soil and water.
For an account of temperament from biological, philosophical and psychological perspectives, see J. Kagan (1998), Galen's Prophecy: Temperament in Human Nature. New York: Basic Books.

5 For an overview of the principles and practices of hydrotherapy see M. Campion (1997), *Hydrotherapy: Principles and practice*. Butterworth-Heinemann; and for an investigation of the theories, practices, medical and social philosophies, institutions, and the most important proponents of the water-cure movement in the nineteenth century see S. Cayleff (2010), *Wash and be healed: The water-cure movement and women's health*. Temple University Press.

explore⁶. Water is a crucial element in *Ulysses* and is often seen as connected to travel – to travel on water. This is the approach taken by Danica Igrutinović (2013) in her comment on water as a metaphor in *Ulysses*:

"The novel can be seen as a journey over water on several levels. The ubiquity of the sea and the river in *Ulysses* is quite literal. Tracing the wanderings of Odysseus and Telemachus, Bloom's and Stephen's water journeys are symbolic. Both Stephen and Bloom are in a way exiled from their true homes and wander in search of them and each other. Both, to their horror or amusement, discover the material and maternal basis of life, most often experienced and expressed through water, and are finally immersed into the chaotic watery hell of 'Circe,' from which they emerge unscathed, if not radically altered" (Igrutinović, 2013, p. 58).

But as we will see, the situation is much more complex. The first chapter of *Ulysses* is widely characterized by uncovering / detecting the Catholic Church's way of understanding the relationship between father and son (and the Holy Spirit). The references to the church meeting in Nicaea (325 CE), the sermons of Arius (ca. 256-326), Valentin (died ca. 166), Sabillius (lived ca. AD 220) and Photius (820-891)⁷, are all discussing whether Jesus is of the same "kind" as the father, and trying to elucidate the relationship between Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the unity of the church, the profession of faith and so on. But all this rather masculine business is entirely overlaid (or at least made less significant) by the feminine angle related to water and the Great Mother. HE gets his ontological safety from HER: "His eyes sought answer from the river and saw a rowboat rock at anchor on the treacly swells lazily its plastered board" (*Ulysses* 2922/2010, p. 111)⁸. Ships and boats

6 This article is part of a research project on the use value of literature to shed light on themes such as homelessness, water in urban development, cultural heritage, etc. See Buciek, K. (2019), *Soundscape and Heritage: The Sonic Environment in Roskilde Juxtaposed with James Joyce's Ulysses*. *GeoHumanities*, 5 (1), 86-102. See also Buciek, K. (2021), *Ambiguity and (colonial) control in the hydrology of James Joyce's Ulysses*. *Academia Letters*, 1406. This article draws to a large extent on that work..

7 For details about this see D. Gifford and R. Seidman (1988): *Ulysses annotated*. 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 11-29.

8 There are numerous discussions of *Ulysses* in terms of gender. See for example: V.S. Bailey (1987), *Joyce's Feminism beyond Gender: Or, Maternity Reconceived. Works and days: Essays in the socio historical dimensions of literature and the arts*, 2(10), 45-62 // C.R. Lamos, *Cheating on the Father: Joyce and gender justice in Ulysses*. *James*

are loaded with feminine connotations. Here already, the intricate interrelationships between religion and gender are foregrounded. As we will further see, water also plays a fundamental role in this.

All the elements – wind, earth, fire and water – are part of *Ulysses*. But James Joyce was extremely preoccupied with water as a motif and uses water references in both *A portrait* and *Ulysses*. Already in the first chapter of *Ulysses*, there are water references on virtually every page. The word water occurs 16 times (232 times in the whole book) and aqueous references such as “stream”, “liquid”, and “sea” recurrently appear. The first chapter is tied to the succeeding one through two parallel phrases: 1) “A sleek brown head, a seal’s, far out on the water, round” (*Telemachus*) and 2) “A thing out in the water. A kind of a bridge” (*Nestor*). In other words: “On the water – in the water”. The bridge may have the textual function of reminding Stephen of his failure in trying to leave Ireland across the sea. The story takes place in a tower on the coast, originally built by the occupying British forces to avoid the risk of the French Navy attacking Ireland. Built to control the waters around Ireland, the Martello tower was in fact never put to use. However, it stands as an important geo-political symbol as well as a museum and tourist attraction.

To go back to the gender issues though and their connection to religion and mythology: three female figures – all mothers – appear in this chapter. There is Stephen’s deceased mother, there is the old woman who sells milk (an important cultural symbol) and there is the sea around the tower, which is also described as a mother. But at the same time, there is the recurrent longing for a father (a set-up taken from Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*)⁹.

Joyce’s fascination with the elements (water, wind) and their connection to gender, especially femininity, is often overlooked in Joyce related research. Thus, for example, the renowned Joyce interpreter Terence Killeen, in his reader’s companion

to *Ulysses* (Killeen, 2012) indeed mentions the milk motif, but besides this, he only describes the *Telemachus* episode as a variant of and a comment on the sacraments and the Catholic Mass, Irish history and Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* (the father-son relationship). On the contrary, I would argue that the well-known father-son motif can only be comprehended in the context of a more general “great mother” frame. Even the son-and-father-meet-and-talk scene – the Ithaca episode – contains countless references to water, including Bloom making cocoa: Water boiling, cooling, washing, purifying, steaming, mixing... In this context, we can also observe the description of the progress of water from the reservoir to Bloom’s kitchen tap – in the style of a catechism,¹⁰ that is, a row of formal questions and specific answers in the style of dry scholastic logic. The episode parodies the realist or logical search for truth - the point being that in real life there is no natural hierarchization of concepts, models, and theories, but rather a flow of many potentially significant elements.¹¹

If we go back to the three feminine figures from *Telemachus* I mentioned above we can initially notice that the sea and the milk are both elements connected to nourishment, hinting toward rich mythological-religious structuring frameworks. In biblical mythology, the promised Land is “the land flowing with milk and honey” (2 Mos. 3, 8). In Hindu mythology “the milk ocean” is the source of the gods’ immortality and in the Nordic creation-mythology, the cow Audhumbla nourishes the giant Ymer with her milk. In ancient Egypt, the image of the goddess Isis breastfeeding a pharaoh is well known, and in Christianity Virgin Mary breastfeeding Jesus is one of the central motifs. All of these “women” are connected to the water motif – the woman is the archetypal “water carrier”, a motif that occurs through centuries of European cultural history (see e.g. the artworks by the Polish / Danish painter Elisabeth Jerichau). In *Ulysses* though, in addition to the milk-seller and the sea surrounding the Martello tower reminding us of these mythological references, there is another, more ominous, element: Stephen’s mother is brutally connected to water through the porcelain bowl on her deathbed

Joyce in context. Ed. Vincent J. Cheng and Timothy Martin. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 91-99 // E. Poder, Molly, Is Sexuality: The Weiningerian Definition of Woman in Joyce’s *Ulysses*. *Jews & gender: Responses to Otto Weininger*. Ed. Nancy A. Harowitz and Barbara Hyams. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995, pp. 227-35 // D. Henderson (1989), Joyce’s Modernist Woman: Whose Last Word? *Modern Fiction Studies*, 35 (3), 517-528.

⁹ For an analysis of *Telemachus* in relation to Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* see M. Seidel (1983), Nabokov on Joyce, Shakespeare, *Telemachus*, and *Hamlet*. *James Joyce Quarterly*, 20 (3), 358-359.

¹⁰ For discussions of this see R.G. Collins (1982), Joyce’s Catechism in ‘Ithaca’. *Dalhousie Review*, 62(1), 70-86 and P.A. McCarthy, Joyce’s (1984), Unreliable Catechist, Mathematics and the Narration of ‘Ithaca’. *English Literary History*, 51 (3), 605-618.

¹¹ For an analysis of the use of scientific discourse in Ithaca see A. Fleishman (1967), Science in Ithaca. *Wisconsin Studies in Contemporary Literature*, 8, 377-391, and A.E. Skene (1981), The Poetics of Science: The Bloomsday Myth. *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 7 (2), 56-75.

filled with her green bile. By using such powerful imagery, Joyce points towards what more theoretically inclined symbolic analyses of water generally leave out: the inherent ambiguity of water, its capacity of being both a nourishing, life-sustaining source and an element tightly connected to decay and death.

As the previously mentioned scholar J.C. Cooper argues, “[a]ll waters are symbols of the Great Mother and connected with birth, the feminine principle, the universal womb, prima materia, the fertilizing and refreshing waters and the source of life.” When Joyce evokes the mother in *Telemachus*, this figure is partly related to the protagonist’s character and formation history, but also very much an evocation of “the beginning of everything” (both the work’s beginning and the story’s origin and an emphasis on the universal aspects of the work, a work about all people in all cities). The Great Mother is at once nature itself and the origin of everything, she’s the ruler of the elements. Her symbols are numerous but include in particular all waters, springs and wells, as well as containers, cups, baskets, vases, jars, and jugs. However, as we saw, there are also negative or, at least ambiguous connotations in this symbolism. On a more general level, the whole of *Ulysses* can be regarded as a container where all kinds of matter are mixed together with the purpose of creating something new.

4. Roskilde’s Flows

But can all these elements – aggregated as a kind of “lens” – help us “write” Roskilde as a place and understand (“read”) its intricate connection to water? The first things you encounter when arriving at the train station in Roskilde are three giant vessels on the square in front of the old station. Donated to the city of Roskilde in 1998 by the Roskilde-based “leverpostej”-factory “Stryhn” (making a special Danish version of a “paté”) in celebration of the city’s 1000-year jubilee, the vessels by the Danish artist Peder Brandes contain several important links revolving around water and fluid matter which will be explored here. As you begin your entry into *Ulysses* via the “holy” vessel (shaving bowl) of Mulligan, your entry into Roskilde is marked by similar symbols. The vessels are not the only artwork by Peder Brandes in Roskilde. Peder Brandes is also known for the decoration of the great door of the cathedral in Roskilde which, like the well, provides an example of religiously loaded symbolic manifestations in the city. Inside the newly renovated Roskilde Museum, a painting by Brandes’s wife Maja Lisa Engelhardt decorates a big wall, making a highly gendered allusion. The wife inside the house, and the husband outside - the feminine

painting vs. the masculine stone well – correspond to old gender stereotypic templates. The square where Brandes’s vessels are placed – “The Horse Square” – contains yet another water sculpture, “The Horse well”, created in 1945 by the Roskilde-based sculptor Karl Glem (1906-1976), an artist not that known to the general public (“Glem” in Danish = forget). This sculpture serves the purpose of reminding us that in former times the surrounding square was the old horse market in Roskilde. In that way, Brandes’s vessels and Glem’s well outline the main driving forces in the development of the city: water, religion and business.

As *Ulysses* begins with water, so does the history of Roskilde. It begins with the use of water in connection to religion, i.e. the power of water in baptism. Already the second stanza in what probably is one of the oldest written accounts of the history of Denmark – *The Roskilde chronicle* – from the year 1138, mentions the baptism of one king Harald (“King of the Danes”) in Mainz, Germany, in the year 826 A.D. The fact that Harald’s baptism takes place abroad instantaneously places Roskilde in a wider international perspective, partly linked to the spread of Christianity and partly to the geopolitical games of thrones from Normandy in the south to England, Norway and Sweden.

It is only around 1880 that Roskilde got a public water supply – until then, springs and wells provided the basis for life in the city. It can be argued that public water supply represents another important shift in power in Roskilde, the first one being related to the church taking control over the old clan-related structures around the time of the foundation of the city, and the second to the King taking over power from the church during the Reformation. This time it is not a power shift from the “people” / clans to the church or the king, but a shift in power from women to men. This is an argument based on Veronica Strang’s book *The meaning of water* mentioned above. She claims that “the invention of technology to pump water, although it doubtless spared water carriers much hard work, seems to have been largely initiated and constructed by men” (Strang, 2004: 24). In former times generations of women, children (and occasionally men) have gathered around Roskilde’s many springs and wells as informal social meeting places. This stands in a certain contrast to the more formal meetings held under the auspices of the city’s many churches.

Besides these connections between water, religion and gender structuring the development of Roskilde, other important socio-political and economic aspects should also be mentioned. Roskilde regains consciousness and is founded through the utilization of spring water. There are some discussion regarding

the name “Roskilde”. Popular definition is “Roars Kilde” (The spring of Roar - a viking figure), but more likely the name derives from “Spring of Roses” (Rosernes Kilde) - a very important symbol in the catholic universe. During generations, the water from the many springs in Roskilde has been used domestically as well as industrially. Why moving the power from Lejre to Roskilde around the year 1000 if not because of the stable and overwhelming supply of clean drinking water on the slopes of the fjord? The transition between the Viking age and the age of Christianity has to do with access to and control of water. In addition, the discovery of the use of travertine as a church building material contributes to this since it was in ample supply in Roskilde in connection to the water springs. There was also a growing need for water power to drive turbines, a need that was resolved by looking for sources with a sufficient drop height, respectively high-altitude offspring. Maglekilde in Roskilde was one of them and assisted in running several mills (St. Martin’s Mill, Maglekilde flour mill et al.). Maglekilde’s importance can be seen in the fact that it was originally owned by the Cathedral. The transition from collective control of water to the control of the central powers (the church, and later on the King alone) shows that control of water was deeply connected to the change in societal structure that followed the propagation of Catholicism.

Probably Roskilde has more named springs than any other North-European city. Once 24 great springs (including the above-mentioned Maglekilde – “Magle” is an old Danish word for “big”) – together with countless wells – supplied the city with water. Of these springs three were known as “holy water springs”, three were used for washing and four were utilized as power supplies to drive mills and turbines. The most known of these springs is The Holy Cross source (Helligkors Kilden), located south-west of the old city centre, giving the name to both the street running by (Helligkorsvej) and to a neighbourhood called Kildegården. Water from this spring is told to have cured the Danish King Frederik IV, suffering from an unknown illness in 1729. Afterwards, the spring was the official supplier of the royal court until around the constitution (1848). Two other springs are known as holy springs: St. John (Skt Hans Kilde) and St. Jacob (Skt. Ibs Kilde). The former is named after John the Baptist (Johannes or Hans in Danish) and legend states that spending the night of Skt Hans (June 23) at this source and drinking the water could cure severe illnesses. The latter too became an important route of pilgrimage, attracting pilgrims from all over Europe.

There are a number of other perspectives on the role of Roskilde in the history of Denmark, some of

which foreground the above-mentioned connection between water and religion. Many are well-known without the need to being subject to further comments, e.g. the rivalry between Roskilde, Lund/Uppsala and Bremen in becoming the centre of a Nordic diocese. Roskilde used water to establish itself as the most important Danish city - a position the city held for 500 years. What is less known is that Catholicism was banned in Denmark between 1536 and 1848 (from the Reformation to the Constitution) and only in 1902 the first Catholic Church since the Reformation was inaugurated in Roskilde. A Catholic school was built in 1904 along with a Catholic hospital (St. Mary). The inauguration of the current Catholic Church (St. Lawrence) took place in 1914 – the same year that the world “catches fire”, and Joyce ends *A portrait* and starts *Ulysses*. Roskilde was (and still is) one of the strongholds of Catholicism in Denmark and both the city and the Catholic universe revolves around water and the control of water.

In the following section, we will see what a co-reading of *Ulysses* and Roskilde can offer us with regard to another aspect of the above-discussed washing / cleansing issue – between water and medicine/therapy. I claim that literature can offer us different kinds of insights into hydrotherapy than either theoretical or practical/medicinal approaches, i.e. it can stage a phenomenology of the experiences related to such therapeutic practices, a phenomenology richly descriptive in terms of the affective involvement of these establishments’ users.

5. Curdled milk, bandage and cold showers

A dull parking lot in the middle of Roskilde carries witness today to a story that pulls threads from the early city formation during European cultural history to contemporary issues of order, power regimes and cultural technology. On the site stood – until 1972 – a building complex from 1846, designed by the famous Tivoli architect Harald Conrad Stilling (1815-1891), built to house Roskilde’s first and only water-sanatorium, “Maglekilde Vandkuranstalt”, a hydropathic establishment, i.e. a place where people received hydropathic treatment. Although commonly built in spa towns, where mineral-rich or hot water occurs naturally, cold-water-based establishments have a long history too. The location of the spa resort at this particular place is related to the fact that here springs Roskilde’s largest water source: Maglekilde.

The Maglekilde health spa took as its point of departure the so-called Priessnitzke water-cure-method that basically worked with the use of clean and

fresh (and cold) spring water, both internally and externally – that is, both as drinking water and bath. The method was named after the self-pronounced nature doctor and farmer Vincenz Priessnitz (1790–1851) from Gräfenberg, Germany, who, from the 1830s, became the model for those who believed in the healing effect of water. GP Becker's book about "the grand and strange healing force of cold water" was published in Danish in 1833 and became a bible for the use of cold water to alleviate both physical and mental disabilities, including the stimulation of sexual life. As one of the advocates of hydrotherapy – the Danish / Icelandic doctor ("landfysikus") Hjaldelein – described in a report from a study trip to German health spas, where he had seen water used to "cure all kinds of digestive, abdominal and pelvic diseases, hemorrhoids, skin diseases, allergies, arthritis and nerve diseases" (Haugsted, 1994, p. 53, my translation from danish). In 1845 Hjaldelein established the Klampenborg Vandkuranstalt located in Tårnbæk, which, after the German model, combined spa and sea-baths with rides, good food, entertainment and tobacco!

As already mentioned, Maglekilde Vandkuranstalt was designed by architect Harald Conrad Stilling, who at the time was about 30 years old and already quite well known, especially for his work with Tivoli. The spa resort was built as a large, partially coherent complex, with the main wing facing north and overlooking the fjord, and three north-south going wings, closed together at the south by a transverse. The design resulted in gardens, an atrium and a courtyard between the wings. The southernmost wing contained the bathhouse, built close to Maglekilde. Here there were also kitchens. In the north-south wings, there were rooms for patients / guests. The front building contained a restaurant. In front of the main building to the north was a garden ("spa gardens"). Connected to the institution there was a laundry, hired out to a tenant. In the courtyards there were latrines. The building complex was built on one level, but with brick-built basements in parts of the complex. The facade was covered with painted clinker boards and windows with Dannebrog windows (many with 8 glasses). Slate roofs were used, however, the bathhouse (the southern transverse building) had a tin roof. The main house overlooking the meadows and the fjord had two towers and an open area (loggia) in front of the restaurant-hall. Also, the bathhouse to the south had erected towers – in this case, to establish sufficient drop height for showers. The water from Maglekilde was mechanically pumped into a water reservoir.

Vapor baths, Turkish baths and other spa baths were amongst several hydropathical processes developed as alternative forms of medical treatment during the nineteenth century. Joyce was probably well aware

of such institutions. Dr Richard Barter (1802–1870) is claimed to have introduced the vapor bath to Ireland, having come under the influence of David Urquhart's account of hot air baths in "The Pillars of Hercules" (1850). It was the well-known Captain R. T. Claridge who was responsible for introducing and promoting hydropathy in Ireland and Britain, first in London in 1842, then with lecture tours in Ireland and Scotland in 1843. His 10-week tour in Ireland included Limerick, Cork, Wexford, Dublin and Belfast, during June, July and August 1843, with two subsequent lectures in Glasgow. It is safe to assume that Joyce was aware of the existence of such baths and maybe occasionally used them himself.

The "mosque of baths" to which Bloom refers to in the *Lotus eaters* episode was probably in Lincoln Place in Dublin's city centre. It was one of the first to be established by the inventor of an "improved" version of the Turkish bath, Dr. Richard Barter and had been opened for over sixty years before Joyce wrote his novel. The minarets and onion domes of the baths in Bloom's city have long since disappeared, as have their counterparts in Bray, Co. Wicklow and St. Ann's Hill in Blarney, Co. Cork. During their existence, they became part of the leisure world of Victorian Ireland, one of the attractions offered to the growing numbers of middle-class tourists visiting from both Ireland and England.

But let's have a closer look now at the way they appear in *Ulysses*. Here are Bloom's thoughts about these baths in the *Lotus eaters* episode: "Enjoy a bath now: clean trough of water, cool enamel, the gentle tepid stream. This is my body. He foresaw his pale body reclined in it at full, naked, in a womb of warmth, oiled by scented melting soap, softly laved. He saw his trunk and limbs riprippled over and sustained, buoyed lightly upward, lemonyellow: his navel, bud of flesh: and saw the dark tangled curls of his bush floating, floating hair of the stream around the limp father of thousands, a languid floating flower." (Joyce, [1922] 2010: 77)

Bloom describes a highly sensual experience, conjuring up an image of erotic encounters in the midst of grey city streets. Indeed, the Turkish bath in *Ulysses* seems to function as a metaphorical place apart from Joyce's depiction of Dublin as a place of cultural paralysis, a site where his character can seek out "consolation in an inner world of fantasy" (Kiberd, 2009, p. 270). Yet, as expressed by Breathnach, it is difficult to reconcile such an image with the restrictive norms we associate with middle-class Victorian society for whom these baths were first established (see Breathnach, 2004). Nevertheless, a reading of such passages once more shows Joyce's capacity to pass beyond more general, theoretical accounts of

hydrotherapy and touch upon issues left largely unexplored. In *Ulysses*, hydrotherapy becomes much more than the simple use of water as a cure. It becomes also an opportunity to explore intense affective elements, characterized by an immense sensuality and a strong sense of transgression. Bloom again: “Time to get a bath round the corner. Hammam. Turkish. Massage. Dirt gets rolled up in your navel. Nicer if a nice girl did it. Also I think I. Yes I. Do it in the bath. Curious longing I. Water to water. Combine business with pleasure. Pity no time for massage.” (Joyce, [1922] 2010: 75, my underlining)

This feature adds yet another level of complexity and ambiguity to Joyce’s rendering of the water motif in *Ulysses*. It is not only the case that water should be seen as potentially both a positive and negative thing, i.e. in terms of cleansing vs. pollution, but also that the negative aspect itself (pollution) can sometimes have positive connotations. Literature, thus can open the ways toward phenomenological descriptions of man’s intricate relationship to water.

6. Final remark

Maglekilde water culture sanatorium in Roskilde existed only for a few years. Since then the buildings were used as a mineral water factory and finally as a metal factory – corresponding to water in *Ulysses* being more and more polluted through time / throughout the novel. The buildings were demolished in 1972. There are probably several reasons why it did not go so well for the spa resort, but maybe it had to do with the fact that it was the strict and puritanical version of the water cure method that was practiced there – the so-called Priessnitzke cure. Lots of fresh air, early to bed, early rising. A strict diet consisting of sour milk and bread in the morning and evening, heavy meat dishes (without spices) with vegetables and fruit for dinner and no alcohol, coffee or tea. Furthermore, cold ablutions, ingestion of large amounts of cold water and cold bandages / wraps of wet cloth were in use. Such a strict cure was apparently not very welcome by the upper and higher middle class that frequented spas in Denmark at this time. They would rather have the “cure light” – i.e. seaside hotels with dancing, wine, socializing and so on. Who can blame them for that?

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“A strange dream upon the water”: Venice as inspiration for writers and reader-tourists

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Abstract

Water is an ambivalent topic to talk about, being a source of life and death, a symbol of reflection and transcendence. When one thinks of water, one is often reminded of Venice. Venice cannot be imagined without its waterways, which have gained it the name of “the floating city.” The unique character of this city shaped by water has turned it into a source of inspiration for numerous writers who have made Venice a setting in their works, contributing to the city becoming a popular destination for reader-tourists. Through a combination of close reading and secondary sources, this paper looks at the symbol of water as appearing in selected fiction related to Venice. It also tries to tackle how such literary representations have shaped the perceptions and the imagination of readers to the point of turning them into tourists going in search of their own experience of the floating city. The theoretical framework of this paper draws on Bachelard’s concept of water, Foucault’s concept of heterotopia and the reader-response theory.

Keywords

Venice • Literature • Readers • Tourism • Water • Ambivalence

1. Introduction

Among the motifs that literature borrows from life, that of water is probably the most recurring, reflective, and inexhaustible. While associations with water can

be literal, its literary imagery is particularly interesting to explore. A source of life, but also death, a reflection of the visible as well as a harbour for the invisible (the unconscious), an emblem of catharsis and rebirth, water is a powerful symbol in fiction. The symbolic associations of water add layers of meaning to the narrative in which it is used, which may in turn affect how a reader views the world.

Literature and water are connected in a variety of ways. First, by fluidity: like water, literature flows freely carrying multifarious messages. Water connects lands and carries people along with their thoughts and feelings from one place to another, as does literature. One can see one’s own reflection in water as well as in literature. Water may reflect, but it can also be reflected. Water may be shapeless, but it can also be (artistically) shaped.

There is a particular quality about water territories, a poetically dreamlike quality deriving from the fluidity of waterscapes, especially when captured in narrative form. The literary imagery created from waterscapes is most often vivid and memorable. In fiction, waterscapes seem to turn into a source of inspiration, a repository of emotions, and a shelter for memories. Literary Venice is the best example.

While water as a transparent natural element takes smell and colour from its surroundings, the water in Venice is tinted by the stories that flow in it. Even though water as a permeating natural element in Venice is the starting point in this paper, more than a material element, here it is seen as a metaphor and symbol, from the perspective of its literary rather than its literal meaning.

Despite waterscapes being a significant form of cultural legacy and a common image in literature,

they have not been explored in depth in relation to tourism. Through a combination of close reading and secondary sources, this paper looks at the symbol of water as appearing in selected fiction linked with Venice. It also tries to tackle how such literary representations have shaped the perceptions and the imagination of readers to the point of turning them into tourists going in search of their own experience of the floating city.

2. Venice, the floating city

Built on a group of 118 small islands veined by a maze of canals and linked by over 400 bridges (UNESCO), Venice cannot be imagined without its waterways which have gained it the name of the floating city. The bond of Venice with its water is so inextricable that every year on Ascension Day, the Doge would throw a ring in the water to celebrate the marriage of Venice to the Adriatic (Tanner, 1992: 35) making it both queen and lord of the Adriatic to mark its dominion.

Water in Venice has always been indispensable for the transportation of people and goods, but it is also to be credited with importing and exporting culture from place to place and time to time. The culture which emerged during the Renaissance would not have been possible and accessible to everyone without Venetian waterways. It is water that has carried Venice’s rich cultural legacy down to us today. (Kennedy).

The unique character of this city shaped by water has attracted visitors directly and indirectly (through representations in literature, travel writing, paintings and later also in photography). As French writer and philosopher Régis Debray once wrote, Venice has been “constructed more by writers than masons, more by painters than architects, more of words than of bricks” (quoted in Turoma 2001: 152). The city owes a lot of its tourism success to the way in which it has been described by various writers. Its waterscapes have had their share in such success.

2.1. Venice and its waters in world literature

References to literary Venice can be traced back to the 14th century. The earliest has been found in Sir John Mandeville’s *Travels* in which the city evokes a feeling of the exotic. However, it was during the Renaissance that it became particularly famous thanks to Shakespeare’s *Merchant of Venice* and *Othello*. Venice was a main *topos* especially in English writing in the 19th century, and water was a key symbol and image (Tanner, 1992: 5).

The physical uniqueness of the city has lured so many writers and it has been captured, celebrated and memorialised in so many works that it would be a hard task indeed to come up with a comprehensive list of all of Venice’s appearances in literature, so, this paper limits itself to bringing a selection of a few literary representations of the liquid city’s image.

With its focus on the expression of feelings, highlighting of the sublime and beauty of nature, most often, the image of Venice is romantic, especially in the works of 19th century writers¹. For Lord Byron, the city

Looks a sea Cybele, fresh from ocean,
Rising with her tiara of proud towers
At airy distance, with majestic motion,
A ruler of the waters and their powers.
And such she was; her daughters had their
dowers
From spoils of nations, and the exhaustless
East
Poured in her lap all gems in sparkling show-
ers.
In purple was she robed, and of her feast
Monarchs partook, and deemed their dignity
increased. (*CH* 1980: Canto IV)

P. B. Shelley’s Venice appears as a deity rising from the sea:

Beneath is spread like a green sea
The waveless plain of Lombardy,
Bounded by the vaporous air,
Islanded by cities fair;
Underneath Day’s azure eyes
Ocean’s nursling, Venice lies,
A peopled labyrinth of walls,
Amphitrite’s destin’d halls,
Which her hoary sire now paves
With his blue and beaming waves (1875, lines
51-60)

The aquatic image of Venice is also captured in Samuel Rogers’ poetry as “a glorious City in the Sea” whose “narrow streets [are] ebbing and flowing” while “the salt sea-weed clings to the marble of her palaces.” (1840: 49). The dream-like element of the city on water cannot escape Rogers’ description:

And from the land we went,

¹ The focus is on the imagery of water rather than literary movements. The approach is thematic.

As to a floating City – steering in,
And gliding up her streets as in a dream...
(1840: 50)

Venice as a fairy, dream-like place has also been portrayed by Byron:

I saw from out the wave her structures rise
As from the stroke of the enchanter’s wand.
She to me was a fairy city of the heart
Rising like water columns from the sea
Of joy and sojourn and of wealth the mart.
(*CH* 1980, Canto IV)

The city is also a dream for Charles Dickens, or rather, it is a “strange dream upon the water” (*Pictures from Italy*, 1998: 85). The surreal atmosphere of the city is also described in *Little Dorrit*:

In this crowning unreality, where all the streets were paved with water, and where the deathlike stillness of the days and nights was broken by no sound but the softened ringing of church-bells, the rippling of the current, and the cry of the gondoliers turning the corners of the flowing streets, Little Dorrit ... sat down to muse. (Dickens, 2012: 461)

Venice’s magical, otherworldly feel is also beautifully captured by symbolist Arthur Symons (2003: 64):

Water and marble and that silentness
Which is not broken by a wheel or hoof
A city like a water-lily, less
Seen than reflected, palace wall and roof.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1800: 143) also evokes the waters of Venice:

White swan of cities, slumbering in thy nest
So wonderfully built among the reeds
Of the lagoon, that fences thee and feeds.

For Joseph Brodsky (1992), water in Venice is the image of time: “[E]very New Year’s Eve, in somewhat pagan fashion, I try to find myself near water, preferably near a sea or an ocean, to watch the emergence of a new helping, a new cupful of time from it.” (1992: 43) But it is also an image of self:

I felt I’d stepped into my own self-portrait in the cold air... The backdrop was all in dark silhouettes of church cupolas and rooftops: a bridge arching over a body of water’s black curve, both ends

of which were clipped off by infinity. At night, infinity in foreign realms arrives with the last lamppost, and here it was twenty meters away. It was very quiet. (1992: 7)

This way, Venice, the city that “stands ankle-deep in water” (1992: 92), suspended between reality and imagination, becomes the space for recreating oneself, in a new, more fluid shape.

“What the moon saw” (1866: 415), one of Hans Christian Andersen’s lesser-known tales, is the story of the moon travelling through the world and coming back to tell what she has seen to a young artist lacking in inspiration. One of the sights is Venice as a floating city and a fairy tale:

Whenever the jetty fountains splash into the marble basins, they seem to me to be telling the story of the floating city. Yes, the spouting water may tell of her, the waves of the sea may sing of her fame! On the surface of the ocean a mist often rests, and that is her widow’s veil. The bridegroom of the sea is dead, his palace and his city are his mausoleum! Dost thou know this city? She has never heard the rolling of wheels or the hoof-tread of horses in her streets, through which the fish swim, while the black gondola glides spectrally over the green water. I will show you the place, continued the Moon, the largest square in it, and you will fancy yourself transported into the city of a fairy tale.

However, aside from the romanticised image of Venice, the danger coming from its waters is also noted as in Byron’s “Ode to Venice”:

Oh Venice! Venice! when thy marble walls
Are level with the waters, there shall be
A cry of nations o’er thy sunken halls
A loud lament along the sweeping sea! (Byron, 1832: 181)

For Mary Shelley in *The last man*, Venice is “the widowed daughter of ocean” (1993: 319). In a similar vein, Byron calls her the “spouseless Adriatic [that] mourns her lord” (*CH*, Canto IV) both images referring to its loss of power as the Queen of the Adriatic.

While in most of the above-mentioned examples, water is what makes Venice both an enchanted and enchanting city, in Thomas Mann’s *Death in Venice*, water is a source of life and renewal as much as a source of death and decay. It provides inspiration for Gustav von Aschenbach who was struggling with writer’s block back home, but also brings his death from cholera. But water is also a symbol of transformation:

it washes off the discipline robe of the writer from Gustav, bringing to surface emotions he had been suppressing for long. Water makes his identity more fluid and flexible.

Contemplating the sea fills Gustav with calm. However, while the sea brings rest, the waters of the lagoon smell foul, symbolising decay. The canals are also stripped of their romantic veil: their waters are stagnant and carry disease, thus, death along with boats. The ambivalent nature of water in Venice is an epitome of the city's own duality: a place of light and shadows, letting oneself go and keeping control, a stage where the mind and the soul, reason and desire seem to be forever conflicting. The waters of the city are liberating as much as a death trap.

The wide diversity of the representations of water in literary Venice make it appear as a Foucault's heterotopia—the other space. It is the unlikeliness of living on water that adds to the particularity and heterotopic qualities of this place. Venice is controversial and disturbing as much as transformative; a space that is incompatible, otherworldly, a world within the world. As Foucault puts it, “Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias” ([1967], 1984: 3-4). As Foucault sees space as an agent, not just a neutral physical place, unlike a utopia, a heterotopia can bring together the imagined and real place by influencing the reader's perceptions of a narrative and its links with reality and turning him/her into a tourist, which is the focus of the next section.

3. From reader to tourist: Water in Venice and the power of literary imagery

What is it in the pages of a work that turns a reader into a tourist? According to the reader-response theory, the reader's experience of a literary text is crucial. This theory, which emerged in the 1960s, is associated with scholars such as Stanley Fish, Norman Holland, Wolfgang Iser, etc whose work addresses the reader, the reading process, and response to the text (Bennett 1995: 32). Tyson (2006) classifies their approaches into five groups.

In his affective stylistics approach, Fish believes that a text only gains meaning as long as there is a reader and that it is the act of reading which makes a text come to life. Fish extended his work through his Social Reader-Response theory in which he claims that an interpretation of a text is influenced

by the community to which a reader belongs and shares reading and interpretation strategies with. The Transactional Reader-Response theory employed by Louise Rosenblatt and Wolfgang Iser sees a transaction between the reader and the text: how a reader interprets the meaning of a text is influenced by their personal feelings and knowledge. David Bleich who created the Subjective Reader-Response theory compares written individual responses to a text to other individual interpretations to find continuity of meaning. Norman Holland, who is associated with the Psychological Reader-Response theory, emphasises a reader's motives as an influence on how they read.

There is also another version of the reader-response theory, the Reception Theory, which focuses on the reader's reception or interpretation in making meaning from a literary text. This means that a text is not received just passively by the reader, but that they interpret it based on their own cultural background and life experiences. This theory implies that the meaning of a text is not intrinsic, but it is rather created through a dialogue between the text and the reader. It is mainly associated with the work of Hans-Robert Jauss and Stuart Hall (Holub, 1984: xii-xiii). For Hall (1973), texts contain a variety of messages that are encoded (made) by their creators and then decoded (interpreted) by audiences.

Even though each of the above-mentioned scholars approached the theory specifically, yet, their beliefs and practices often overlap; what they share is the acknowledgement of the role of the reader as an agent in constructing the meaning of a text.

Some ideas in the reader-response theory can be extended from text to landscape. Duncan & Duncan (1988) argue that literary theories serve in the analysis of landscapes, as the concepts of textuality, intertextuality, and reader reception may hold significance for those who think landscapes can be read as literary texts. They add that, like texts, landscapes can be seen as “transformations of ideologies into a concrete form” which these scholars consider an important strategy to naturalise ideologies. Their theory recognises the fact that there is no single reading of a landscape and emphasises the importance of examining the motivation of visitors dwelling in that landscape. The perspective adopted by this paper is based on the general principles underlying the main theory and its extensions and draws from an overlap of the above-mentioned approaches rather than a specific one.

One characteristic of literature is that it can motivate a journey first in the mind of the reader and then in reality. According to Nicola MacLeod *et al.* (2018), readers turn into tourists as a way of consolidating their reading of favourite books and

reconstructing the concept of *lieux d’imagination* on the spot. A literary text may encourage empathy and self-reflection (Koopman & Hakemulder, 2015: 79), but also action: the reader is an active agent who looks for “real existence” for the work (Bennet, 1995: 32). As such, literature becomes a performative art with the reader (re)creating their own version of a literary work in space in the form of literary tourism which is marked by the curiosity to find out what it would be like to follow in the footsteps of a character, see what a writer saw, live the city they are visiting as described in fiction. Thus, interpretation of the perceived meaning of a work enhances the power of the message as the reader will naturally tend to place art (text) in a larger social and geographical context.

In a study conducted through in-depth interviews, Reijnders (2015) found the following reasons to visit a media-related place (i.e. one associated not just with novels, but also films or television series, especially those based on a literary text): wishing to be in the shoes of a character and becoming part of a story one likes; paying a tribute to writers or directors whose work one values; identifying with the values of a story and thinking that visiting locations can somehow materialise one’s beliefs; bringing imagination to life with the hope of encountering like-minded people. The author mentions memories related to the physical spaces in which stories are set as a significant motivator: “The diegetic world forms, alongside plot and character, an important tool for recalling, extending and experiencing the memory” (Reijnders, 2015: 686). Visiting the physical location may be one way of extending such memories associated with beloved stories.

In the case of Venice, it could be claimed that it is the polyvalent presence and meanings of water that makes it possible for narratives to be engaged with on a deeper level with relation to concepts of place and space. Sherman (2021: 18) explains that narratives that make use of symbols such as water create a multi-layered message conveyed through connotations which engage readers in “constructing meaning within the liminal space between depicted and lived realities.” This space allows narrative to become “displacement fiction” or fiction in which meaning, context, and memory become tied to place and space by highlighting connection points which had been somehow obscured by the subjectivity of personal experience. Sherman (2021: 17) believes that as a familiar concept and a quintessential element, water increases the interaction of the reader with the text:

In order for narratives to impact their audience and prompt them to contemplate abstract con-

cepts, the audience must be able to recognize the semiotic motifs or artefacts as familiar or meaningful or reflecting some sort of truth within which they feel included. This can include a familiar setting or cultural meaning tied to a symbol. These symbols then act as anchors of identification for an audience and increase investment within a narrative. As such, the audience is able to engage with subject matter that they may never be able to experience themselves as they have a means of relating to the narrative despite this basic disconnect.

Bachelard (1983) also considers water as crucial to the imagination and creativity. He explores the symbol of water as fluid along human life: our watery birth, our mother’s milk as one of the first fluids in our encounter with life, the movement of water that rocks us till we fall asleep ([1942] 1983: 115-131). He believes that it is because of such flow of water through the body that we have a special bond with it. It is through our experiences with such a core natural element that we can create meaning, activate the imagination and generate images, and understand our position in the world. This is made possible through reveries, a conscious engagement with the inner self, the internal powers that activate memories and experiences. Bachelard (1983: ix) believes that a reverie based on water imagery leads us to look for the “profound level of any experience.” A reverie takes us first inward and then outward into a larger world.

As the aim of imagery is to connect a reader to a text, writers pay attention to the language they use, the words they choose to capture a reader’s attention by engaging them mentally and emotionally through painting a picture in words for the reader. Vivid language helps readers create memorable images which they might want to materialise by visiting the spaces where such images were created. Words are a drive powerful enough to set people in motion by turning them from readers into tourists. The stimulus created by literature calls for a sensory experience of physical space and visiting the setting of a work seems to be the best way in response to such stimulus. It has already been mentioned that Venice owes a lot of its tourism success to the way in which it has been described by various writers. As shown by the examples analysed in the previous section, the language and power of description manage to perfectly capture the waterways of Venice as an integral component in the city’s urban space. The words build edifices in an intimate dialogue with the water’s reflective and aesthetic qualities, all of which transport the reader-tourist into a seemingly otherworldly realm. The mental images created by the writer for the reader through the

words they choose might fuel the reader's imagination beyond the pages of a book. As Venice is the typical place where the real and fictional merge, the reader can turn into a tourist trying to search for and get a feel of those places that were first constructed in the fictional imagination as archetypes of love, beauty, and dreams. As Bachelard puts it, "If reverie becomes attached to reality, it humanizes, enlarges, magnifies it" (1983: 151). Bachelard sees a close relationship between language and water: "Liquidity is a principle of language; language must be filled with water" (1983: 192). He adds that "Liquidity is the very desire of language. Language needs to flow" (1983: 187).

Talking about liquidity, while in Bachelard's view it is closely related with the flowing of language, for Zygmunt Bauman (2000), liquidity is "the leading metaphor for the present stage of the modern era" (6) that affects all aspects of human life. Mobility has become a crucial element of modern life which is no longer as solid as it used to be. As such, travelling seems to be a normal condition, an epitome of the need of the human being to be fluid and take shape from new experiences encouraged by imagination and enabled by mobility.

As a city built on water, it is no wonder that Venice has inspired the imagination of writers and in turn of readers as well. The narratives on watery Venice providing a rich and ambivalent imagery of the city as romantic, corrupt, and heterotopic, seem to invite the reader to explore the relation between the literary and the literal, the imagined and the real, the inner and outer world, beyond the pages of a book. What turned Amber Regis, a specialist in the work of John Addington Symonds, from a reader into a traveller, was a text by Symonds in which he described the waters of Venice. Regis came across an unknown word there, *chrysopraxe*. She googled it but what she found did not fully satisfy her curiosity. She realised she would have never grasped its full meaning had she not travelled to Venice:

A few weeks later I found myself on a plane landing at Marco Polo Airport, Venice. A short bus ride later I was at the Piazzale Roma catching a vaporetto on my way to San Marco. It was then I noticed the water—its colour, its movement and its differing shades. A striking phrase resurfaced in my mind: "Venice, with her pavement of liquid chrysopraxe". What I had assumed to be Symonds's purple prose, yet another example of his hyperbolic tendencies, proved to be a rather exact description. The canals were indeed a striking shade of blue-green, and everywhere I looked, the luminous brine was interspersed with dark fronds of seaweed. ... I spend a lot of

time with Symonds's words, and it is all too easy to begin to see them as nothing more than ink on paper—words, words, words. But now I can locate Symonds's homoerotic gaze to a precise location—I have walked the street; I have crossed the bridge; I have gazed at the gondoliers that still pass by his window. How refreshing it is to *see* as well as to read—to read "pavements of liquid chrysopraxe" and see the colour of Venetian canals.

As shown by the above impressions, Venice offered the chance for this scholar to blend her mindscapes with the waterscapes, to reconcile the fictional with the factual. Literature provides a way to see the world with the eyes of others; travelling to the locations described enables us to see the world with our own eyes. Literature adds to reality, but reality may also add something to literature. As a city shaped by water, Venice emerges as a half-real, half-surreal space in its literary images. Richard Gerrig and Allan Bernardo (1994) who have conducted experiments on the reader's state of mind during and after a literary experience have found that while reading, readers may accept improbable or fantastic things. As Venice has been described as "the most improbable of cities" (Mann [1912] 2018: 16), it is no wonder that readers may be driven to the city from curiosity, as a way of filling in textual "gaps," perceiving and inhabiting the spaces described in the literary text. On the other hand, a pull factor to Venice would be the very opposite: a familiarity provided though literature— as Murray (1842: 326) says "no one enters Venice a stranger." Yet, even though "Venice has been painted and described many thousands of times and of all the cities in the world it is the easiest to visit without going there" as Henry James said, you still "desire to embrace it, to caress it, to possess it" (James, [1900] 1993: 287). A final reason for visiting literary places may be escapism: Venetian waterscapes seem to offer the perfect refuge to escape a boring reality.

4. Conclusions

Reading is a performative act which involves a transaction between the text's inferred meaning and the individual interpretation by the reader influenced by their personal emotions, knowledge, and life experiences. Reading a text and reacting to it is a very personal act: some limit themselves to a mental/imaginative journey and others prefer to take a real one. Turning from a reader into a traveller (or reconciling both in one) is a way of making a text come to life, by linking the imagined with the real.

There are several reasons to go on a literary tour. In the case of Venice, the distinctive aquatic topography and geography of the city have gained it the name of the floating city and have made it a popular tourist attraction for centuries. Water holds a peculiar fascination. Colourless, odourless, and shapeless as it is, water constitutes an essential and omnipresent element on Earth which has always attracted the attention of philosophers, scientists, as well as men of letters. Water has as many uses as meanings, so it is no wonder it is a recurrent motif in literature. In its unfixed shape, water represents transcendence of life, and death; it is both fascinating and lethal. As a city built on water, the literary image of Venice is that of a romantic and dream-like as well as a lethal city, but above all, it appears as an otherworldly, heterotopic space, suspended in-between imagination and reality, which adds to the appeal for turning from a reader into a tourist.

This paper explored the ways waterscapes have been represented in selected literature related to Venice and how they attract tourists. The abundance of literary works on it makes it possible to see and understand this unique aquatic space from a totally different dimension. The practice of fictionalising Venice has been going on since Renaissance up to this day mainly thanks to its exceptional watery geography, so it is more likely to be visited by people more than other locations, hence contributing to its being chosen as a tourist destination.

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