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Sintra in the Twentieth Century European  
Narratives: Otherness and Identity

Master's Thesis

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Hereby I declare that I worked out this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature, and I did not present it to obtain another academic degree.

Prague, May 29, 2023

  
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## **Abstrakt v českém jazyce**

Tato práce je založena na analýze různých vyprávění o portugalské Sintře ve 20. století. Vyprávění jsou přítomna v cestopisech, průvodcích, letácích a pohlednicích. Pokud jde o cestovní literaturu, tato studie konfrontovala a porovnávala výpovědi zahraniční provenience o Sintře ve 20. století s výpověďmi národními. Analýza podchycuje jak hledisko jinakosti, tak perspektivu identity místa, což práci umožňuje lépe porozumět identitě kulturní krajiny Sintry. Popisy v cestopisné literatuře, či ve vizuálních pramenech vztahujících se k Sintře, zachycují specifickou kombinaci kulturních a přírodních prvků – hmotného i nehmotného dědictví, a přírodního dědictví. Tato kombinace vytváří reprezentaci míst paměti Sintry, resp. její kulturní krajiny. Narativy rozebírané v tomto výzkumu se dotýkají různých podtémat v rámci širších tematických okruhů člověka, přírody a jejich vzájemného vztahu. Témata se promítají do obrazu kulturního a přírodního dědictví Sintry, jenž se prolíná s poetickými diskursy, které vytvářejí poetické příběhy založené na kulturních i přírodních prvcích. Témata tak umožňují dekonstrukci kulturní krajiny Sintry, která, jakmile se spojí do jediného narativu, konverguje v reprezentaci krajiny, resp. obrazu místa ve 20. století.

**Klíčová slova:** Sintra 20. století kulturní dědictví narativ jinakost identita

## **Abstract in English**

This thesis is based on an analysis of 20<sup>th</sup> century narratives about Sintra, Portugal. The narratives are present in travelogues, guidebooks, flyers, and postcards. Regarding travel literature, this study has confronted and compared 20<sup>th</sup> century foreign accounts about Sintra with national ones. The analysis includes both otherness and identity perspectives of the place, allowing the thesis to better understand the identity of the landscape of Sintra. The descriptions in travel literature or in visual sources about Sintra represent a specific mixture of cultural and natural elements – tangible and intangible heritage, and natural heritage. This combination results in the representation of Sintra's places of memory, and of its Cultural Landscape. The narratives in this research address various subthemes within larger themes of man, nature, and their mutual relation. The themes are translated into Sintra's cultural and natural heritage, merged with poetic discourses that create poetic narratives based on both cultural and natural elements. The themes thus enable the deconstruction of Sintra's Cultural Landscape and, once assembled into a single narrative, converge into a representation of the landscape, that is, an image of the place in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Keywords: Sintra 20<sup>th</sup> century Heritage Narratives Otherness Identity

## **Résumé en Français**

Ce mémoire est basé sur une analyse des récits du XXe siècle sur Sintra, au Portugal. Les récits sont présents dans les récits de voyage, les guides, les dépliants et les cartes postales. En ce qui concerne la littérature de voyage, cette étude a confronté et comparé les récits étrangers du XXe siècle sur Sintra avec les récits nationaux. L'analyse inclut à la fois les perspectives d'altérité et d'identité du lieu, permettant au mémoire de mieux comprendre l'identité du paysage de Sintra. Les descriptions dans la littérature de voyage ou dans les sources visuelles de Sintra représentent un mélange spécifique d'éléments culturels et naturels – patrimoine matériel et immatériel et patrimoine naturel. Cette combinaison aboutit à la représentation des lieux de mémoire de Sintra et de son paysage culturel. Les récits de cette recherche abordent divers sous-thèmes au sein de thèmes plus larges de l'homme, de la nature, et de leur relation mutuelle. Les thèmes sont traduits dans le patrimoine culturel et naturel de Sintra, fusionnés avec des discours poétiques qui créent des récits poétiques basés sur des éléments culturels et naturels. Les thèmes permettent ainsi la déconstruction du paysage culturel de Sintra et, une fois assemblés en un seul récit, convergent vers une représentation du paysage, c'est-à-dire, une image du lieu au XXe siècle.

Mots-clés: Sintra XXe siècle Patrimoine Récits Altérité Identité

## **Resumo em Português**

A presente dissertação tem como base a análise de narrativas do século XX sobre Sintra, Portugal. As narrativas analisadas encontram-se presentes em diários de viagem, guias de viagem, panfletos e cartões-postais. No que respeita à literatura de viagens, este estudo confrontou e comparou relatos estrangeiros do século XX sobre Sintra com testemunhos nacionais. A análise do trabalho inclui perspetivas de alteridade e identidade do lugar, permitindo, à dissertação, uma melhor representação da identidade da paisagem de Sintra. As descrições na literatura de viagens ou nas fontes visuais sobre Sintra representam uma mistura específica de elementos culturais e naturais – património material e imaterial, e património natural. Esta combinação resulta numa representação dos lugares de memória de Sintra, e da sua Paisagem Cultural. As narrativas presentes neste estudo abordam vários subtemas, subordinados aos temas principais do homem e da natureza, e da sua inter-relação. Os temas traduzem-se no património cultural e no património natural de Sintra, fundidos com discursos poéticos que originaram narrativas poéticas, baseadas em elementos culturais e naturais. Os temas permitem, assim, a desconstrução da Paisagem Cultural de Sintra e, quando reunidos numa narrativa única, convergem para uma representação da paisagem, para uma imagem do lugar, no século XX.

Palavras-chave: Sintra Património Século XX Narrativas Alteridade Identidade

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## 1. Introduction

Sintra is both a picturesque town and municipality in the Greater Lisbon region of Portugal. The town is recognised for its romantic landscape architecture. In 1995, Sintra was classified by UNESCO World Heritage in the category of Cultural Landscape Sites. The Cultural Landscape of Sintra, the area classified by UNESCO, covers a total area of 946 ha and a buffer zone of 3,641 ha. The town of Sintra is considered the pioneer centre of romantic European architecture in Europe. Its landscape is located on the west of the Iberian Peninsula, close to the Atlantic Ocean. Characterized by a mixture of natural and cultural elements, Sintra is surrounded by its famous *Serra* [mountain chain, part of a wider one – a mountain range].<sup>1</sup>

The aim of this research is to analyse Sintra's tangible and intangible heritage in 20<sup>th</sup> century European narratives, which alongside nature correspond to Sintra's cultural landscape. The concept of cultural landscape in this research, in turn, is broader than the classification of Sintra by UNESCO in 1995 as Cultural Landscape. It encompasses Sintra's tangible and intangible heritage and nature, but it does not offer a clear geographic or material limitation. It rather offers a subjective interpretation of Sintra's cultural and natural heritage.

It is important to clarify that the narratives analysed in this research are mere representations of Sintra's landscape. By narrative, I mean story, a tale – sometimes literary, others told through visual representations. The various representations of the same place, conveyed in different media and created from different perspectives constitute the so-called narratives in this research. They can thus be understood as composite structures of meaning intended to create an image of Sintra's landscape in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

This study focuses on different representations of the sociocultural landscape of Sintra in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and in the role nature played on the spirit of the place. The sociocultural landscape translates here as the role man played in the narratives. In this research, the combination of both man and nature elements in a narrative, associated with human ecology principles, converged into a narrative about Sintra's Cultural Landscape.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/723> Consulted on 28/05/2022.

This research analyses a sample of narratives about Sintra in the 20<sup>th</sup> century: narratives present in travel literature, written by foreign travellers and Portuguese travellers; and narratives present in visual sources, such as postcards and tourism flyers' illustrations. The narratives present in the textual sources include both travelogues and guidebooks analysis.

By analysing the selected sources, I extracted from the narratives: an international, a national and a local perspective about Sintra's landscape in the 20<sup>th</sup> century European narratives. With this approach, I intend to reach an insight into my main research question – What was the predominant image of Sintra's landscape in the European 20<sup>th</sup> century narratives?

While pursuing answers to my main research question, other secondary questions arose: what spaces of Sintra are predominant in the textual and visual sources from the 20<sup>th</sup> century? What narratives about Sintra stand out from the sources after crossing them? Does the perspective of the 'I' and the perspective of the 'other' converge/are in harmony or they contradict/conflict with each other (the 'I' meaning the local and national narratives and the 'other' meaning the international traveller's narrative)? And what patterns of representation can I identify in my source's sample?

From the attempt to answer to the last question, three other questions arose: How is man and culture represented in the sources? What is the importance of nature in those sources? And what is the relation between man and nature representing in the sources? Other background questions I dealt with while researching are also relevant: What are the most relevant historical factors behind the development of Sintra? And what role do the predominant places of memory play in Sintra? All these questions converged into a final one, which aim was to serve the main question. Thus, I finally arrived at the understanding of the main narratives by understanding how was Sintra's landscape represented in the 20<sup>th</sup> century European narratives?

To reach some conclusions regarding the predominant image of Sintra in the 20<sup>th</sup> century European narratives, I built different narratives about the place through already existent ones. These narratives that I have constructed in this research were built by crossing my sample of sources and identifying patterns in them. It is important to clarify that I am quite aware that my interpretation of those narratives as researcher also plays a

role in this research. This role – a narrator’s role – will unavoidably influence my results when reaching a final and homogeneous image of Sintra’s landscape. I will however make my best effort to reach unbiased results and give the most unbiased approach I can to this research.

It is also important to enlighten the reader about my awareness of the limitations of the interpretations of a landscape’s identity. I am aware that I won’t be analysing the identity of Sintra as such, but mere representations of the place. Furthermore, the narratives that will be used in this research are always subject to the subjective perspective of the researcher, as I have explained above, and this perspective will unavoidably create another narrative of its own. Therefore, I do not claim by any means to find any ‘authentic’ identity of Sintra’s landscape. Rather, I wish to propose a more complex and heterogeneous understanding of identity as a collection of overlapping narratives that are linked to physical and sociocultural spaces of Sintra. This heterogeneity will be transformed into a “homogeneous” final narrative that result in a mere image of Sintra’s landscape.

The attempt to answer those questions was divided in three parts: the first part regards the history of the place and the evolution of Sintra’s landscape, the formation of Sintra as prime place for romanticism, the heritagization of Sintra under UNESCO framework, and the description of the major iconic places of Sintra according to the 20<sup>th</sup> century narratives analysed in this research; the second part corresponds to an insight on the late 18<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century textual and visual sources about Sintra; and the third part corresponds to the analysis of the 20<sup>th</sup> century sources and construction of the narratives about Sintra.

In the first part of the research, I give an insight of the history of Sintra, its memory and its heritage. I first start the chapter by summarising the town’s history from its origins to the 20<sup>th</sup> century; I then proceed into explaining the meaning of the Cultural Landscape of Sintra, classified by UNESCO in 1995; I finalize the chapter by commenting on a selection of Sintra’s places of memory. This selection is based in the places most commented in my source’s analysis and intend to familiarize the reader with the cultural and natural heritage of those places of memory. This chapter will thus reflect into an historical analysis of Sintra’s landscape evolution until the 20<sup>th</sup> century and an insight into the town’s heritage.

In the second part, I give floor to an overview of important sources about Sintra, that represent its landscape from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, travel literature and engraving played an important role in the creation of Sintra's romantic landscape; in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in turn, travel literature has still its place in Sintra's representations, but guidebooks and postcards also play an important role in the representation of the place.

Regarding the 20<sup>th</sup> century sources used in this research, which will be the basis for the analysis chapter, I have analysed both literature and visual sources. Regarding literature, I have analysed 9 travelogues and 7 guidebooks of national, foreign and even local writers that wrote about Sintra; in terms of visual sources, I have analysed 18 images – 12 postcards, 3 flyers' illustrations, 2 map illustrations and 1 postage stamp. I have also analysed 2 flyers of tourism promotion containing both text and images about Sintra. I wish to clarify that the visual sources in this research were not part of a systematic analysis. Initially, I did a general analysis of more than 270 images present in the book *Um passeio de Cintra até ao mar. postais e fotografias do passado* (2011), and other illustrations present in flyers of tourism promotion. I then selected the 18-image sample used in this research to help illustrate the literary narratives about Sintra previously analysed and constructed, to help sustain those narratives, and sometimes to add new meanings to them.

The third part of this research translate into a set of different narratives that outstand from the different sources analysed. Those sources often offer a poetic discourse with different figures of speech that are subject to subjective interpretation. The whole chapter is about Sintra's Cultural Landscape. It intends to deconstruct the conceptions inside the notion of Cultural Landscape, translating them into narratives about man and nature. While developing it, it evolves back into de construction of the notion of Cultural Landscape, with a final narrative about man and nature's relation. I thus have divided the chapter into three main subchapters: nature, man and the intertwining of them – Cultural Landscape.

At the same time this chapter deconstructs the concept of Cultural Landscape, it also reveals Sintra's identity in 20<sup>th</sup> century representations. This identity is represented by anthropological narratives, narratives about the town's nature and its importance, and narratives about man and nature relation. These narratives were created from a

combination of local, national, and international interpretation of Sintra's landscape and thus include two perspectives: otherness and identity. Sintra's identity, in this research, will thus exist somewhere in the overlapping of the two perspectives, as much as the awareness of the 'I' and the awareness of the 'other' are interdependent. It is also important to state that these two perspectives – otherness and identity – on Sintra's landscape include various tangible and intangible aspects of Portuguese natural and cultural heritage, and those aspects are the atoms that make possible the combination of elements that originate Sintra's landscape.

In this research, the diversity of interpretations about of Sintra's landscape in the 20<sup>th</sup> century were put down on an imaginary center of analysis – Sintra. In a first phase of this research, I have looked for every approach to Sintra in the sources I've gathered. This center was surrounded by diverse narratives, different themes, different approaches to it, and this method allowed me to elaborate a unique geocentric approach to the town's tangible and intangible heritage, natural and cultural heritage. After identifying the main approaches and interpretations of Sintra's landscape in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in my sources, I have started to identify patterns in them that allowed me to identify the main narratives that represented the place.

Concepts such as Place, Space, Memory, Identity, Otherness and Cultural Landscape, as well as theories such as Geocriticism, by Bertrand Westphal, *Lieux de Mémoire*, by Pierre Nora, as well as Orientalism, by Edward Said, constitute the pillars on which I will present Sintra's 20<sup>th</sup> century landscape. As I have mentioned before, this landscape interpretation consists of different representations elaborated by different agents that result in various narratives. These agents (authors) take part on the creation of these narratives while they contribute, at the same time, to the creation of the main narrative by the researcher – the narrative of Sintra's Cultural Landscape. They thus symbolize both artist and work of art in this research. It is also crucial to clarify that the limits of Sintra's landscape in this research are intangible, and thus subjectively measured or unable to be so. The limits of this subjective landscape go beyond the meaning of the classification by UNESCO of Sintra as World Heritage Site because this research is not looking for criteria to define it or preserve it, such as authenticity, preservation, and conservation criteria, but is rather looking for an unlimited landscape with unlimited interpretations of it.

## 1.1. Literature Review about Sintra

When reviewing scholarly literature about Sintra in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, I have realised that the studies available regarding travel literature about Portugal – both foreign and Portuguese – were scarce. However, we can find several studies about the town offering various approaches of research, serving field studies such as Literature, Architecture, Tourism, Conservation and Heritage.

Sintra has inspired many literary works, such as the critical literature edition of the Portuguese romance by the famous Portuguese writers Eça de Queiróz (1845-1900) and Ramalho Ortigão (1836-1915), *Mistério da Estrada de Sintra* (1870).<sup>2</sup> The romance contains critiques about the 19<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese society, that is strongly linked to Sintra, as the town was the summer resort of the Portuguese elite of the time.

There are studies that approach Sintra in the work of Portuguese poets, such as the sub-chapter by Ana Cristina L. Martins de Carvalho (2015).<sup>3</sup> This study focuses on the relationship between the environment and man, being connected to human ecology field of studies. However, these studies that focus in the work of Portuguese writers, do not pursue a comparison with travel literature about Sintra. The images of Sintra, those which were created by literary representations, remain therefore quite incomplete and one-sided.

We can also find studies about the landscape identity of the Historic Centre of Sintra referring to the town's urban landscape and aiming to serve the field study of Architecture, such as the study by Ana Raquel da Costa Caetano (2015)<sup>4</sup>, or studies about management strategies and conservation of the Cultural landscape of Sintra, with focus on landscape architecture, for example, the work of Ana Filipa Rodrigues Moreita Leite (2013).<sup>5</sup> In the Natural Sciences field of studies, there is an interesting article regarding nature conservation and Sintra's landscape by Paula Soares (2016).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> E. Queiróz, R. Ortigão, *Mistério da Estrada de Sintra — Cartas ao Diário de Notícias*, L. Vilela (ed.), Lisbon [1870] 2015.

<sup>3</sup> A. Carvalho, *A «beleza insigne» de Sintra*, in *Terra Nativa: A Relação Eco-Humana na Vida e na Obra de Ferreira de Castro*, Lisbon 2015.

<sup>4</sup> A. Caetano, *A Identidade da Paisagem Urbana do Centro Histórico da Vila de Sintra*, Lisbon 2015.

<sup>5</sup> A. Leite, *Estratégias de Gestão e de Conservação para a paisagem cultural de Sintra, Património Mundial*, Lisbon 2013.

<sup>6</sup> P. Soares et al., *The cultural landscape of Sintra, a UNESCO World Heritage Site – The balance between forest restoration and carbon stock*, in “Urban Forestry & Urban Greening”, 2016, 20, pp. 358-364.

Related to the Heritage and Tourism fields of studies, we find research studies focused on the influence of tourism in the Cultural Landscape of Sintra, such as the master's thesis in Tourism by Marta Duarte (2010).<sup>7</sup>; or yet Jorge Baptista's article about the influence of the Grand Tour and travel literature in the promotion of Sintra's image (2021).<sup>8</sup> In the Heritage studies field, we can find another research insight about Sintra. This research, by João Oliveira Soares, Joana Oliveira Neves and Fátima Fernandes<sup>9</sup>, approaches the impact of Sintra's classification as World Heritage in tourism development.

Regarding studies about travel literature, we have the example of Susana Cabete's research. Cabete wrote a PhD thesis in Comparative Literature about travel narrative in Portugal in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, focusing on otherness and national identity concepts. Her work (2010)<sup>10</sup> focused on the analysis of narratives by Portuguese travellers. In one of her chapters about the travel narrative in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the author gives some space to French travellers that visited Portugal. Focusing on Sintra, in terms of studies about travel literature, we have the example by Geral Luckhurst's study (2010) about Byron's visit to Sintra in 1809.<sup>11</sup>

Studies about Tourism narratives are also available, such as the master's thesis in Sociology by Ema Pires (2002).<sup>12</sup> Her thesis discusses the problematic of power discourses and ideology in building tourism destinations during the Portuguese dictatorship regime of *Estado Novo*.

Research approaches using guidebooks are also to be considered. We have as example Vitor Sá master's thesis (2012).<sup>13</sup> In his dissertation, Sá approaches the construction of identities in Portugal during the 12<sup>th</sup> century through guidebooks; another relevant example is his PhD thesis (2021) in Tourism.<sup>14</sup> This work approaches perspectives about Portugal in guidebooks in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The author focuses his

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<sup>7</sup> M. Duarte, *O Turismo na Paisagem Cultural de Sintra*, Estoril 2010.

<sup>8</sup> J. Baptista, *The Glorious Eden: A paisagem de sintra e o turismo cultural. Grand Tour e literatura de viagens*, in "Revista Visuais", 2021, 7, n<sup>o</sup>2, pp. 137-154.

<sup>9</sup> J. Soares et al., *O impacto da classificação de Património Mundial no desenvolvimento dos destinos turísticos: o caso de Sintra*, Lisbon.

<sup>10</sup> S. Cabete, *Le Récit de Voyage au Portugal au XIXème siècle: Altérité et Identité Nationale*, Paris 2010.

<sup>11</sup> G. Luckhurst, *Byron in Sintra, 1809*, in "Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses", 2010, 19, pp. 60-73

<sup>12</sup> E. Pires, *The Ball of Tourism. Touristic narratives and propaganda discourses during the "Política do Espírito" (1922-49)*, Évora 2002.

<sup>13</sup> V. Sá, *Descrver Portugal: guias turísticos e construção de identidades*, Maia 2012.

<sup>14</sup> V. Sá, *Guias de turismo: perspetivas sobre Portugal entre os séculos XIX e XX*, Aveiro 2021.

research on concepts such as Tourism, Portuguese landscape, and civilizational development.

By the presentations of studies above, we can conclude that there is a shortage of studies having a comparative approach of narratives about Sintra. When researching on secondary literature about Sintra, I did not find studies crossing 20<sup>th</sup> century travel literature narratives with visual sources about the place; nor could I find studies that create representations of Sintra's landscape in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, using perspectives of identity and otherness. Therefore, I believe that this research can be helpful to several disciplines within the social sciences, and to interdisciplinary research. It may be of interest to disciplines such as Literature, Anthropology, Environmental Humanities, Heritage Studies, and Tourism.

## **1.2. Conceptual and Theoretical Framework**

In conceptual and theoretical terms, this research was inspired in the so-called Geocriticism, which will be its leading approach. This approach was combined with several concepts, such as 'places of memory', 'memory of places', 'identity', 'otherness' and 'landscape'. In this section, I will explain these concepts in more detail, the theories that develop them or combine them, and assess their applicability to this research.

This research started by developing a geocritic approach to Sintra, where Sintra represents the centre of the research. "Space" and "place" are two of the key concepts used in this research, that contribute into creating a landscape around that centre. According to Bertrand Westphal (2007), the distinction between "space" and "place" has been studied by different sciences, such as geography and sociology. These sciences have intended to add practicality to the theoretical reflections. Westphal theory proposes two approaches to visible spaces: conceptual space – more abstract –, and factual place – more concrete. To the author, these concepts are not mutually exclusive.<sup>15</sup>

Bertrand Westphal (2007) theorises about centrality of place in analysis and multifocalization, meaning several perspectives from which a place is represented. The author uses the concept of multisensoriality, which can be relevant to this research in

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<sup>15</sup> B. Westphal, *Geocriticism, Real and Fictional Spaces*, trans. R. Tally JR., 2007, p. 5.



terms of its variety of sources – its use of both textual and visual sources. Another important concept by Westphal to have in account is intertextuality, meaning the relation between the different narratives. These narratives implicitly or explicitly communicate among themselves, and that is one of the main goals of this research.

Westphal (2007) explains that this centrality of place, favoured by Geocriticism, is the reversed approach used in imagology. Geocriticism places ‘place’ at the centre of debate and not the author or his/her work. He explains that one must move from the writer to the place and not the reverse, and one does that while using complex chronology and different points of view. He further adds that these plural points of view are crucial, and they can be found at the crossroads of diverse representations. Westphal stresses that, it is due to this plurality of points of view and, consequently, plurality of representations of common space that we “(...) come closer to the identity of the referenced space”, confirming that “(...) any cultural identity is only the result of incessant efforts of creation and re-creation.”<sup>16</sup>

Regarding sensoriality, Westphal (2007) also stresses the importance of the multiplication points of view have in the sensory perception that authors have of “space”, explaining that it is the geocritic’s role “(...) to be sensitive to the sensory vibrations of a text and other representations of media”, given the fact that all human spaces are subject to polysensoriality.<sup>17</sup>

By applying Westphal’s theory to this research, to the case of Sintra, we consider that the town’s factual place is built from the materiality of its heritage and the geographic limits it encounters. Regarding the physic space, it can be defined by the delimited space that the eye can reach in a more concrete reality. The conceptual space is the set of imaginary constructions around the place, whose limits have been previously defined by the factual place. By last, the imaginary space, which has abstract limits, may represent different intermingled narratives about the landscape of Sintra’s town.

Taking as example a conceptual space and a factual place of Sintra, I propose taking in account the concept of ‘memory’ in two different approaches: the one in Pierre Nora’s theory *Lieux de Mémoire* (1984-1992),<sup>18</sup> which is related to a conceptual space

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<sup>16</sup> B. Westphal, *Geocriticism, Real and Fictional Spaces*, trans. R. Tally JR., 2007, p. 112-114.

<sup>17</sup> B. Westphal, *Geocriticism, Real and Fictional Spaces*, trans. R. Tally JR., 2007, p. 122.

<sup>18</sup> P. Nora, *Lieux de Mémoire*, Paris, 1984-1992.

filled with memories, even though Nora uses the word '*Lieux*' (places), which I will further discuss later; and a second approach, taking in account the theory *La mémoire des lieux*, by Nicolas Verdier (2009).<sup>19</sup> In his theory, Verdier stresses the importance of geography and the physical space, what I am will assume, in this case, to be the factual place.

In the first approach to memory – the one of Pierre Nora (1984-1992) –, memory is defined by the author as an abstract concept. To Nora, “la mémoire est la vie, toujours portée par des groupes vivants et à ce titre, elle est en évolution permanente, ouverte à la dialectique du souvenir et de l’amnésie, inconsciente de ses déformations successives, vulnérable à toutes les utilisations et manipulations, susceptible de longues latences et de soudaines revitalisations.”<sup>20</sup>

Regarding the '*Lieux de mémoire*' (1984-1992), according to Nora, they have three different aspects that always coexist: “(...) matériel, symbolique et fonctionnel, mais simultanément, à des degrés seulement divers.” Nora also gives the example of a minute of silence as the extreme example of a symbolic meaning, having at the same time a material aspect – a material cut of a temporal unity – serving, at the same time to a concentrated reminder of the souvenir.<sup>21</sup>

Coming back to Sintra, if we understand its *lieux de mémoire* as Pierre Nora did, we realise that not only Sintra’s monuments are places of memory, but also nature itself – its exotic parks, the *serra* (mountain surroundings), the landscape – it all evokes Sintra’s past, all recall for Sintra’s memory. These places work as a revival of Sintra’s past, as testimonies of its heritage.

The second approach to memory – that I relate here to the factual space – regards Nicolas Verdier essay (2009), where he notices the lack of reference of *ars memoriae* on Pierre Nora *Lieux de Mémoire* (1984-1992).<sup>22</sup> He also notices that geography is not a primary concern of Nora’s work, having given priority to sociological and

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<sup>19</sup> N. Verdier, *La mémoire des lieux: entre espaces de l’histoire et territoires de la géographie* in *Ádám Takács. Mémoire, Contre mémoire, Pratique historique*, 2009

<sup>20</sup> P. Nora, *Lieux de Mémoire*, Paris, 1984-1992, p. 19.

<sup>21</sup> P. Nora, *Lieux de Mémoire*, Paris, 1984-1992, pp. 24, 25.

<sup>22</sup> N. Verdier, *La mémoire des lieux: entre espaces de l’histoire et territoires de la géographie* in *Ádám Takács. Mémoire, Contre mémoire, Pratique historique*, 2009

anthropological approaches. Verdier (2009) further emphasizes that Nora has left aside the whole geographic argument on his *Lieux de Mémoire* (1984-1992).<sup>23</sup>

In his study, Verdier (2009) mentions two different periods of research about memory: the first one is represented by Jean-luc Piveteau, who was interested on the relations between memory, place and territory. Piveteau addressed memory through metaphors used often by both geographers and historians, referring to it as “*palimpseste*” and “*coupe transversale*”; the second period regards questions about temporalities in geography, auto-organisation, and geo-history. It is the first approach that is relevant to this research, as is the one, as Verdier (2009) states, that allows us to approach the idea of heritage.<sup>24</sup>

According to Verdier (2009), the *palimpseste* approach of memory lasted long but it started to lose their importance on the time of Piveteau works – the beginning of the 1990’s –, giving room to the question ‘*Le territoire est-il un lieu de mémoire?*’. Verdier (2009) explains that what matters is to question if reading the territory as a place of memory is heuristic to geography, to which he replies: “*la réponse est positive et s’ancre du côté de la pluralité. Tenir compte de la mémoire dans la construction territoriale mène à penser la pluralité des territoires, chacun offrant une vision différente des autres*”<sup>25</sup>

In spite of the important role of the *palimpseste* approach on memory had to geography, today, according to Verdier (2009), it is the *morphogène* approach – “*(...) c’est-à-dire des éléments qui transmettraient des modes d’organisation du territoire bien après leur époque de création ou de fonctionnement*” – that means the most to geography. In Verdier’s (2009) words: “*À la magie du maintien dans le temps est préférée l’analyse du processus que sous-entend la pérennité (...) une analyse de la reconstruction (...) la contiguïté d’objets d’âges, de temporalités et de capacité à la coexistence différents.*”<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> N. Verdier, La mémoire des lieux: entre espaces de l’histoire et territoires de la géographie in *Ádám Takács. Mémoire, Contre mémoire, Pratique historique*, 2009, p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> N. Verdier, La mémoire des lieux: entre espaces de l’histoire et territoires de la géographie in *Ádám Takács. Mémoire, Contre mémoire, Pratique historique*, 2009, p. 7, 8.

<sup>25</sup> N. Verdier, La mémoire des lieux: entre espaces de l’histoire et territoires de la géographie in *Ádám Takács. Mémoire, Contre mémoire, Pratique historique*, 2009, p. 12.

<sup>26</sup> N. Verdier, La mémoire des lieux: entre espaces de l’histoire et territoires de la géographie in *Ádám Takács. Mémoire, Contre mémoire, Pratique historique*, 2009, N p. 13.

It is this exact analysis of the process of the reconstruction of memory and heritage towards perennity that is fundamental for this research. The different narratives and approaches to Sintra's memory, history and heritage, represent different layers that intermingle and create a more holistic narrative – a more holistic memory. This memory is built out of many interpretations that are never completely homogeneous, or are holistically heterogeneous, i.e., they are representations flowing between identity and otherness spectres, and the whole complexity of the subjectiveness that those concepts embrace. However subjective this premise may be, diversity and heterogeneity principles in representations about Sintra do not make them lost in subjectivity, but rather richer constructions of the town's landscape.

Another key concept to this work, which is directly related to memory, is the concept of 'Identity'. The term is often discussed by writers of different science fields for its complexity, for the difficulties associated with its definition, or the struggle of limiting it temporarily. Thus, the struggle to use it properly on a predetermined contexts and discourses. The question on the table is if it should be replaced by less broader terms in a discourse or avoid entirely its use is often on the table of the scientific disciplines.

According to Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper (2000), 'Identity' tends to mean too much, too little, or nothing at all.<sup>27</sup> It has been considered an actual risk to use the word and not being able to limit the abstractness of the concept, to reach a more concrete meaning – the risk of lacking clarity on the meanings of one's arguments.

Nevertheless, I have chosen to go further with the use of the term 'Identity', to be able to contrast it with 'otherness'. Despite the controversy of the use of this term among scholars, I believe that there is not a term that can fully replace Identity. For that reason, without meaning to sound presumptuous or claiming to have found the best way to apply such broad concept, I have decided to apply the use of the term in this research along the awareness of the risks of its use. The approach I have chosen to help me limit such complex concept, and for matters of relevancy to this research, is the approach of Pierre Bourdieu on social Identity of a Region (1992).

According to Bourdieu (1992), as stated by Emile Benveniste, the etymology of the word region '*regio*', leads to separation '*diacrisis*', introducing (by *decree*) a

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<sup>27</sup> R. Brubaker and F. Cooper, *Beyond Identity in Theory and Society*, Netherlands, 2000, p. 1.

“decisive discontinuity in the natural continuity” – the separation between regions, of space, ages, sexes, and so on. To Bourdieu, “(...) the power of imposing a vision of the social world through principles of division which, when they are imposed on a whole group, establish meaning and a consensus about meaning, and in particular about the identity and unity of the group, which creates the reality of the unity and the identity of the group.”<sup>28</sup>

The statement above, by Bourdieu (1992), represents the meaning of our different approaches – narratives – to Sintra’s social identity. The imposition of the perspectives of the traveller on the locals establish meaning in the identity of Sintra’s society (social landscape), creating a reality, or, if we wish, a representation of a reality, by a group (in this case, the travellers). That is exactly what I mean to achieve with this research. I am aware that the analysis of different narratives creates new narratives of their own, which I believe to enrich – by the principle of diversity – the interpretation of Sintra’s sociocultural landscape. The same principle is applied by including nature into those representations – the arrival of an image/narrative of Sintra’s cultural landscape (by cultural landscape, in this context, I mean the fusion between cultural and natural heritage).

Another main concept of this research is the brother concept of ‘Identity’ – ‘otherness’. This concept has been discussed on Edward Said’s famous theory – *Orientalism* (1978) – and often encompasses the idea of prejudice towards ‘otherness’, instead of meaning only ‘different’, ‘strange’. ‘Otherness’ is often discussed by scholars from the social sciences field as a term that, once ‘difference’ is identified as a meaning for it, it becomes charged with judgement of value. Nevertheless, if one interprets ‘otherness’ as naturally related with territoriality, human confrontation, and competition, one can also put any judgement of value aside when wishing to and thus isolate the term from its biased meaning of human nature. When doing that, ‘otherness’ starts meaning only ‘different’, leaving to *Orientalism* the whole weigh of supremacy vs. inferiority meanings.

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<sup>28</sup> P. Bourdieu, *Identity and Representation. Elements for a Critical Reflection on the Idea of Region in Language and Symbolic Power*; trans. Gino Raymond and Mathew Adamson, 1992, p. 223.

*Orientalism* (1978) has been a target of several critiques since its first publication, in 1978. On the critical book *Edward Said*, by Bill Ashcroft and Pal Ahluwalia (2001),<sup>29</sup> several negative critiques to Said's theory are mentioned. One regards its amateurism – that can be seen both positively or negatively; another regards the controversial fact of Said not giving an alternative to *Orientalism*, thus adding to it determinism; and also the gender critique – the fact that the only women mentioned in his book is Gertrude Bell.<sup>30</sup> Despite the several negative critiques the book has received, I believe the theoretical approach on *Orientalism* is a fundamental theoretical support to this research, since it explores one dimension of “otherness” concept. “Otherness” will be used in this research to represent the perspectives foreign travellers had on the town of Sintra. These perspectives are quite often charged with prejudice, giving place to *Orientalism*.

Portugal, even the Iberian Peninsula, were often seen by other European nations as an exotic place, underdeveloped in comparison with countries such England, France and Italy. Travellers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century compared the Portuguese ways with the Arabic ones, which is critique one can see directly connected to *Orientalism*. We can find critiques in 19<sup>th</sup> century travelogues regarding the lack of freedom of Portuguese women, or the laziness of the people, and their ignorance. Critiques clearly charged with a sense of superiority from the writers, with supremacy – the pillar of Said's *Orientalism*. Regarding Sintra, this research analyses written accounts about the town's inhabitants by foreign travellers. Some of them, which will be present in the analysis chapter, are charged with prejudice.

Nationalism is another concept present on this research, a concept that is much connected with 19<sup>th</sup> century romanticism. Romanticism, in turn, is directly related to nature and thus to Sintra's landscape identity, which has its roots on nature, being much connected with the 19<sup>th</sup> century romanticism. Nationalism concept was developed by Benedict Anderson (1983).<sup>31</sup> To Benedict Anderson ([1983] 1991, nationality is a legatee of pre-national dynastic states of the 19th century and a precursor of an international order of the 21st century. This legacy is defined by the author as a territorial space inherited from a pre-revolutionary past, where successful revolutions defined themselves in

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<sup>29</sup> B. Ashcroft, P. Ahluwalia, *Orientalism in Edward Said*, London and New York, 2001.

<sup>30</sup> B. Ashcroft, P. Ahluwalia, *Orientalism in Edward Said*, London and New York, 2001, pp. 49-84.

<sup>31</sup> B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, New York [1983] 1991.

national issues.<sup>32</sup> This leads us to the key-concept in this research – the concept of ‘landscape’.

The concept of ‘landscape’ was approached by François Walter (2004). In his work, Walter approaches the social process of community construction, which are built by distinguishing themselves from each other. According to him, “*de ce processus qui conduit de l’alterité à l’identité, le paysage est souvent le grand opérateur.*”<sup>33</sup> The term ‘landscape’, according to Walter, became a concept that evokes the elements of aesthetics and is most commonly used in its metaphoric shape – e.g., the landscape of thought, the political landscape. Place as concept is specific, and landscape is generic.<sup>34</sup>

Walter (2004) stresses that landscape is a cultural construction. In his words: “*construction culturelle sans aucun doute, le paysage oscille sans cesse au travers des liaisons que chaque type de discours peut engendrer de manière synchrétique entre territoire physique et territoire symbolique.*”<sup>35</sup> By commenting on Marc Bloch’s *Apologie pour l’histoire* (1949)<sup>36</sup>, Walter (2004) explains that, according to Bloch, there is an objective side of landscape that should be grasped by the historian with its complex and diverse interactions, but the landscape is also a gaze cast on exteriority, thus implementing a whole range of perceptive processes and mobilizing values, images, subliminal messages, and memories.<sup>37</sup>

Gábor Sonkoly (2017) also comments on the concept of landscape. According to Sonkoly, by the 2000’s, ‘landscape’ was the concept most used to examine relations between territory and identity. From the 1990’s on, the concept was already part of administrative and scientific heritage protection, thus affecting the evolution of cultural landscape – UNESCO’s first attempt to link World Heritage natural and cultural heritage dimensions.<sup>38</sup> According to Sonkoly (2017), the emergence and prevalence of the concept

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<sup>32</sup> B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, New York [1983] 1991.

<sup>33</sup> F. Walter, *Les Figures Paysagères de la Nation; territoire et paysage en Europe (16e – 20e siècle)*, 2004, p. 13.

<sup>34</sup> F. Walter, *Les Figures Paysagères de la Nation; territoire et paysage en Europe (16e – 20e siècle)*, 2004, p. 9.

<sup>35</sup> F. Walter, *Les Figures Paysagères de la Nation; territoire et paysage en Europe (16e – 20e siècle)*, 2004, p. 12.

<sup>36</sup> M. Bloch, *Apologie pour l’histoire ou métier d’Historien*, Paris [1949] 1952.

<sup>37</sup> F. Walter, *Les Figures Paysagères de la Nation; territoire et paysage en Europe (16e – 20e siècle)*, 2004, p. 8.

<sup>38</sup> G. Sonkoly, *Historical Urban Landscape*, 2017, pp. 11, 12.

of landscape are signs that the interpretation of nature and the relationship between nature and society are subjects of change and the (normally) privileged social group face its consequences.<sup>39</sup>

Sonkoly (2017) divides the history of landscape in three periods: Renaissance, Golden Age (1750-1860) and “the 1970s until current time”. According to him, our era attempts to terminate the artificial separation between culture and nature through the notion of landscape – that unavoidably serves as territorial reference for sustainability.<sup>40</sup> The author further explains that “these interpretations of landscape, specific to the two endpoints of modernity, are linked by the Romantic definition of landscape, which is strongly connected to 19<sup>th</sup> century nation-building and to the related mapping of national territories as well as to sciences dedicated to that mission.”<sup>41</sup>

The 19<sup>th</sup> century romantic definition of landscape constitutes the basis of the image of Sintra’s landscape. This 19<sup>th</sup> century romantic image is the predominant image of Sintra still today. It is the basis of Sintra’s heritagization and the town’s classification as Cultural Landscape by UNESCO in 1995. This classification, in turn, reflects on the importance of the town’s romantic landscape to the romantic movement in Europe.

## **2. Sintra’s Cultural Landscape: Memory, History and Heritage**

This chapter approaches Sintra’s cultural landscape through the concepts of memory, history, and heritage. The concept of cultural landscape in this research goes beyond the classification awarded by UNESCO in 1995 to Sintra – The Cultural Landscape of Sintra. This chapter first discusses the history of Sintra from its origins to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Then it approaches the cultural landscape of Sintra discussing its places of memory. The places were selected according to the 20<sup>th</sup> century narratives analysed in this research. They correspond to the highlighted or often repeated places of the narratives about Sintra.

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<sup>39</sup> G. Sonkoly, *Historical Urban Landscape*, 2017, p. 12.

<sup>40</sup> G. Sonkoly, *Historical Urban Landscape*, 2017, p. 12.

<sup>41</sup> G. Sonkoly, *Historical Urban Landscape*, 2017, p. 12.



## 2.1. From the Origins to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

Maria Teresa Caetano describes in detail the history of Sintra's town. She reports historical events that date back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC and go until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. To Maria Caetano, "Sintra, where natural exuberance and architecture merge, at times, in extravagant essays and experimentalisms framed by a thousand greens, achieved a singular timelessness in the uniqueness of a scenario that was able to find an echo in different conjunctures and sensitivities that UNESCO's classification as Heritage World/Cultural Landscape nicely set."<sup>42</sup>

According to Maria Caetano, the classification of the Cultural Landscape of Sintra by UNESCO in 1995 also echoed in the characteristics of the orography of the *Serra* itself. The *Serra*, "(...) with its sharp peaks crowned with Dantesque and golden cliffs, its abrupt bottoms carved with generous vegetation, supported by fresh and salutary waters and tempered by a humid freshness that extends to the surrounding fertile floodplains and that, since time immemorial, has exhorted the human presence."<sup>43</sup>

Caetano alludes to the mysticism created around the *Serra de Sintra*, often called by *Monte Da Lua* [Mountain of the Moon]. According to her, "(...) Columela nicknamed the Serra, overlooking the wild headland of Ophiussa, of Mons Lunae". She further states that the oldest testimonies of human occupation as a sacred space and habitat date back to prehistory, where the Old Neolithic site of *Castelo dos Mouros* stands out, a place with an abundance of artefacts.<sup>44</sup> The author also mentions several testimonies of ancient occupation in Sintra which highlight the archaeological site of *Penha Verde*. *Penha Verde* occupation began in the Epipaleolithic and lasted until the Bronze Age. According to Caetano, under the Sintra that we know today, a habitat from the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> millennia BC was found, which points to an early and continued Mediterraneanization of the territory.

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<sup>42</sup> "Sintra, onde as exuberâncias naturais e as arquiteturas se fundem, por vezes, em extravagantes ensaios e experimentalismos emoldados de mil verdes, granjeou singular atemporalidade na unicidade de um cenário que soube encontrar eco em diferenciadas conjunturas e sensibilidades que a classificação da UNESCO, como Património Mundial/Paisagem Cultural, em boa hora, fixou.  
<http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/paisagem-cultural/historia> Consulted on 28/05/2022.

<sup>43</sup> "(...) com os seus cumes agudos coroados de dantescas e doiradas fragas, os seus fundos abruptos entelhados de generosa vegetação, sustentada por frescas e salutíferas águas e temperada por húmido frescor que se alonga às férteis várzeas circundantes e que, desde tempos imemoriais, tem exorado a presença humana."  
<http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/paisagem-cultural/historia> Consulted on 28/05/2022.

<sup>44</sup> "(...) Columela apelidou a Serra, sobranceira ao promontório agreste de Ophiussa, de Mons Lunae."  
<http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/paisagem-cultural/historia> Consulted on 28/05/2022.

From the Late Bronze Age – or Orientalizing period, there was a vast settlement, today lying under *Castelo dos Mouros* and on *Monte do Sereno* (a mountain peak), where deposits of artefacts were found.<sup>45</sup>

Regarding the Iron Age, according to Caetano, in *Santa Eufémia da Serra*, there are traces of a fortified habitat from this period with indigenous and other southern elements, mainly Punic, having been Romanized later. The author also highlights the site of *Parque das Merendas*, in the current historic centre, dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC. In the Roman period, Sintra was part of the *territorium of the civitas de Olisipo* (present-day Lisbon), where there was deep Romanization in cultural, social, political, and economic aspects. In Sintra, there is evidence of the Roman and late-Roman occupation between the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, with emphasis on the current streets: *Rua da Ferraria*, *Calçada dos Clérigos* and *Calçada da Trindade*.<sup>46</sup>

To Maria Caetano, these pre-moments of Sintra have walked slowly towards the definition of the contours of today's World Heritage Village. The first explicit documentary references to the town take place at the time of Muslim occupation (*Arab Xintara – Sintra*) in the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD. Sintra was considered the main urban centre after *Al-Usbuna* (Lisbon), having been its main supplier and defensive pole.<sup>47</sup>

Caetano explains that the integration of Sintra into the kingdom of Portugal took place only after the conquest of Lisbon, in October 1147. Regarding the different origins of the population, we have: the *Mozarabs* and *Agarenes*, constituting the important community of Moors of Colares; gothic origins – reminiscences of Crusaders that accompanied D. Afonso I, or others, coming from the north of the peninsula after the Christian Reconquest, who mixed with the indigenous Mozambican and Latin populations, and the *Sephardim* – Jews who were located outside the town. In 1415, with the conquest of *Ceuta*, Morocco, the milestone of Portuguese expansion was set. During the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the definitive consolidation of the nation and the overseas strategies allowed the Portuguese court, increasingly richer, to lose its warlike character and gain one as courtesan. The town of Sintra was the place of the court's splendour.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> <http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/paisagem-cultural/historia> Consulted on 28/05/2022.

<sup>46</sup> <http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/paisagem-cultural/historia> Consulted on 12/05/2023.

<sup>47</sup> <http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/paisagem-cultural/historia> Consulted on 12/05/2023.

<sup>48</sup> <http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/paisagem-cultural/historia> Consulted on 12/05/2023.

According to Caetano, The Portuguese court often settled in the National Palace of Sintra, where D. Afonso V (1432-1481), known as the African, was born and died, and from where the African discoveries and conquests were launched. Some important figures from Sintra were linked to them, such as Gonçalo de Sintra, explorer of *Rio do Ouro*, Soeiro da Costa; Pedro de Sintra, who explored the west coast of Africa, from *Rio Grande* to *Cabo Mesurado*; and Diogo Gomes, who, even with unknown origins, was connected to Sintra and has acquired land that is the origin of *Quinta do Ramalhão*.<sup>49</sup>

Moving into the Renaissance period, Caetano comments on the taste for arts, letters and sciences that made of Sintra a true cultural and worldly centre, in which scenario important figures of the Portuguese court took part. Figures such as: Gil Vicente, Pedro Nunes, Damião de Góis, Joana Vaz, Luísa Sigeia (author of the poem *Syntra*), and the canon of the Portuguese language *Luís de Camões*, who, according to tradition, recited his work *Os Lusíadas* to King D. Sebastião in the National Palace of Sintra. After the death of D. Sebastião and the integration of Portugal in the Habsburg empire, in 1580, the town of Sintra knew a “(...) long and disenchanting torpor, only broken by the occasional noble retreat that dully animated small village courts.” This abandonment of the town of Sintra by the Portuguese court came to intensify after the Restoration of Portugal, in 1640, due to the preference for other summer resorts in the capital at the time.<sup>50</sup>

Already in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with the 1755 earthquake, much of the town of Sintra fell into disrepair: the *Paço Real*, the Moorish Castle, the Monastery of *Nossa Senhora da Pena* (today, *Palácio da Pena*), the former Parish Church of *São Miguel*, the *Santa Maria* church, and that of *São Pedro de Penaferrim*, among others, all suffered from damage from the great earthquake. Still in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Maria Caetano explains that Sintra stood out in the pre-Romantic tour for the exoticism of its landscapes. It was visited by several travellers, such as Beckford, Murphy, Link, Ruders, Bradford, Lord Byron, and Southey.<sup>51</sup>

Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, new hotels were installed in the town, like *Netto*, *Costa* and *Victor*.<sup>52</sup> The purchase of *Quinta do Ramalhão*, by Queen Carlota Joaquina (1775-

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<sup>49</sup> <http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/paisagem-cultural/historia> Consulted on 12/05/2023.

<sup>50</sup> “(...) longo e desencantado torpor, apenas quebrado por um ou outro retiro fidalgo que sem brilho animava pequenas cortes de aldeia.” <http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/paisagem-cultural/historia> Consulted on 12/05/2023.

<sup>51</sup> <http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/paisagem-cultural/historia> Consulted on 12/05/2023.

<sup>52</sup> <http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/paisagem-cultural/historia> Consulted on 12/05/2023.

1830), in 1794, marked the beginning of the Portuguese court's return to Sintra. Interrupted by the time of French rule and the Civil War, the court's installation became affective only after the liberal victory in Portugal. Another example of this return is seen in D. Fernando II's purchase, in 1838 – the abandoned Monastery of *Nossa Senhora da Pena* – whose works were carried out between 1840 and 1858 (on the palace and the botanical park). The works resulted in the most imposing building in the town's architecture of Romanticism – today's iconic *Pena Palace*.<sup>53</sup>

According to Maria Caetano, the turn to the 20<sup>th</sup> century was marked by the connection between Sintra's town and *Praia das Maçãs*, Colares, by tram, and by the electrification of the town. Another interesting event of the century in Sintra, to Caetano, is the Town Hall's new building, designed by Adães Bermudes. The building construction started in 1905, in a Revivalist style, with a predominance of the Neo-Manueline. It was built between *Vila Velha* (The Old Town) and *Vila Nova de Sintra* (the New Town). At the beginning of the twentieth century, according to the author, Sintra's Town Hall democratized its Old Town, welcoming a new way of life, which was accompanied by architectural modification initiatives that shaped the current town. In the first decades of the century, a series of revivalist constructions by *Raul Lino* took place in the town, such as the construction of the *Casa do Cipreste*, in 1916; the neo-Renaissance *Casas dos Penedos*, built in 1922; or the *Pisões* fountain, built in 1931. Another example is the influence of the French school in the town's *Casino* (1922-1924), at *Estefânia*.<sup>54</sup>

The Historic Center of Sintra, according to Caetano, has been protected by the Sintra Urbanization Plan since 1949, designed by urbanist *Étienne de Gröer*. This plan includes part of the neighbourhoods of *São Pedro de Penaferrim*, *Estefânia* and *Portela*. The author concludes that “This projection of the urban fabric of historic Sintra – which the Municipality of Sintra has sought to maintain and reclassify – goes beyond the scope of the village itself and disperses across the verdant Serra, whether in a beautiful mansion, in a modest monastery, in a rude hermitage, whether it be a small belvedere, a simple fountain or a cross, thus constituting the magic of the place, since, in Sintra, the dialogue between man and nature is a constant.”<sup>55</sup>

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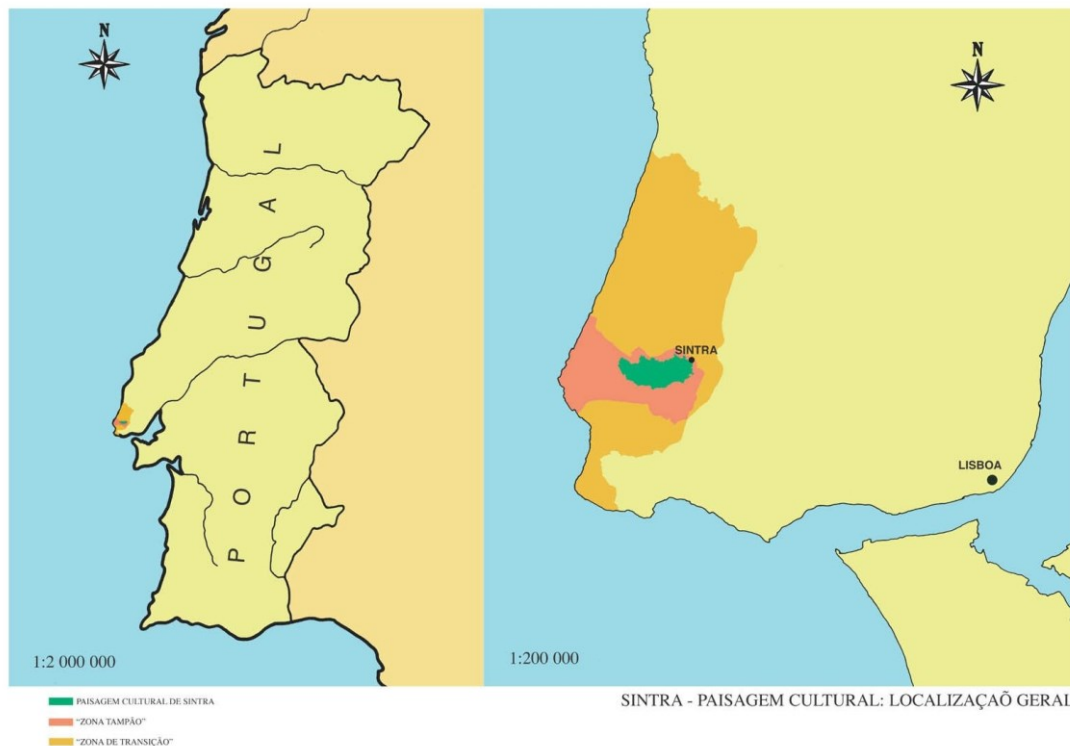
<sup>53</sup> <http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/paisagem-cultural/historia> Consulted on 12/05/2023.

<sup>54</sup> <http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/paisagem-cultural/historia> Consulted on 12/05/2023.

<sup>55</sup> “Esta projecção do tecido urbano da Sintra histórica – que a Câmara Municipal de Sintra tem procurado manter e requalificar – extravasa o âmbito da própria Vila e dispersa-se pela verdejante Serra, quer seja

## 2.2. The Cultural Landscape of Sintra

Sintra's cultural landscape, classified by UNESCO in 1995, is a property of 946 ha, surrounded by a buffer zone of 3,641 ha, represented by map 1. This property includes the historical, social and cultural factors that result in the Cultural Landscape of Sintra – in material terms, the cluster of cultural and natural sites that originate the landscape.<sup>56</sup> Several criteria were applied by UNESCO for the attribution of the classification of the Cultural Landscape of Sintra by UNESCO, as well as an assessment of its Outstanding Universal Value, consisting of a list of sites of high importance for the historical heritage of the landscape of the town. From 1992 onwards, interactions between people and nature were recognized as cultural landscapes.<sup>57</sup>



Map 1. Cultural Landscape of Sintra – General Location  
- Paisagem Cultural de Sintra [Cultural Landscape of Sintra]  
- Zona Tampão [Buffer Zone]  
- Zona de Transição [Transition Zone]  
<https://em-sintra.pt/institucional/patrimonio-mundial>

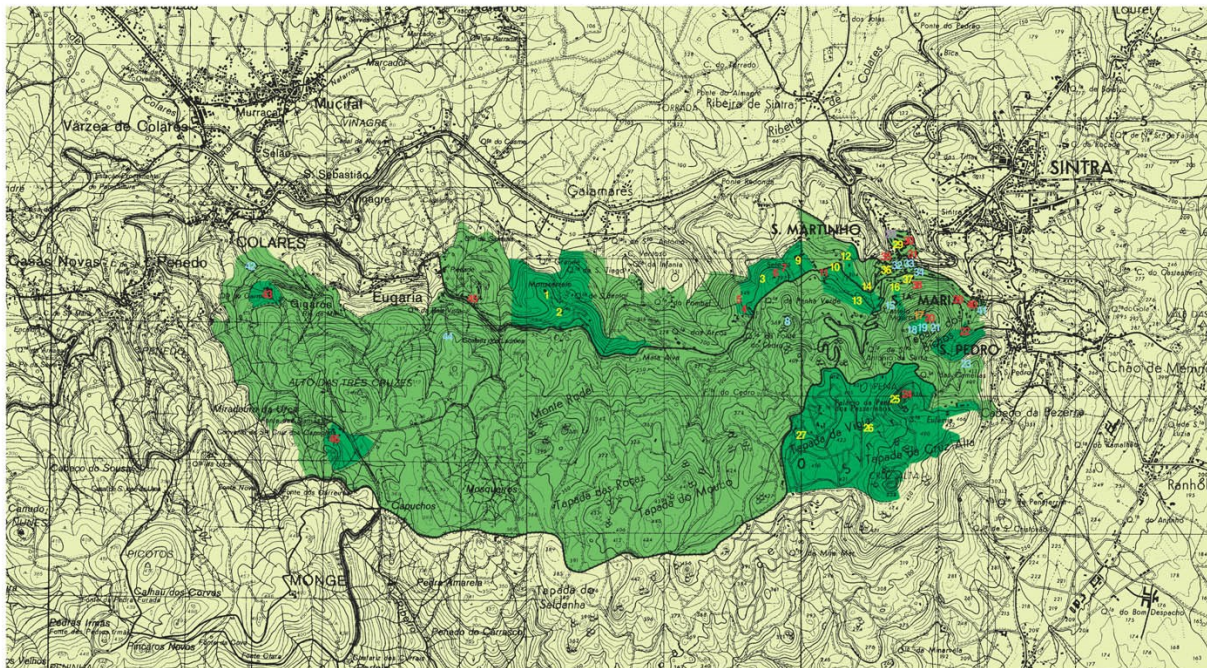
num belo palacete, num modesto cenóbio, numa rude ermida, quer seja, ainda, num pequeno belveder, num simples fontanário ou cruzeiro constituindo, assim, a magia do lugar, pois, em Sintra, o diálogo entre o Homem e a Natureza é uma constante.” <http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/paisagem-cultural/historia> Consulted on 12/05/2023.

<sup>56</sup> <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/723>. Consulted on 28/05/2022.

<sup>57</sup> <https://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/> Consulted on 28/05/2022.



The Cultural Landscape of Sintra includes 46 sites. These sites include monuments of the town's historic centre, monuments, parks, and archaeological remains spread through the 956ha of area. The various monuments are divided into three types of architecture: aulic architecture, military architecture and religious architecture. In map 2, we can see in detail the list and location of the 46 sites of Sintra's Cultural Landscape.



<p>■ PARQUES E ARQUITECTURA ÁULICA</p> <p>■ CENTRO HISTÓRICO</p> <p>■ ARQUITECTURA MILITAR</p> <p>■ ARQUITECTURA RELIGIOSA</p> <p>■ MONUMENTOS E VESTÍGIOS ARQUEOLÓGICOS</p>	<p>1 - Palácio de Monserrate</p> <p>2 - Parque de Monserrate</p> <p>3 - Quinta da Penha Verde</p> <p>4 - Capela de São Brás, Penha Verde</p> <p>5 - Capela de Nossa Senhora do Monte, Penha Verde</p> <p>6 - Capela de São João Baptista, Penha Verde</p> <p>7 - Capela de Santa Catarina, Penha Verde</p> <p>8 - Sítio Calcítico da Penha Verde</p> <p>9 - Palácio de Seteais</p> <p>10 - Quinta da Regaleira</p> <p>11 - Capela de Santíssima Trindade, Regaleira</p> <p>12 - Quinta do Relógio</p> <p>13 - "Chalet" Biester</p> <p>14 - Quinta dos Pisões</p> <p>15 - Sítio da Idade do Bronze/Ferro do Parque das Merendas</p> <p>16 - Quinta da Amizade</p>	<p>17 - Castelo dos Mouros</p> <p>18 - Sítio da Idade do Bronze do Castelo dos Mouros</p> <p>19 - Sítio Neolítico de São Pedro de Canaferrim</p> <p>20 - Antiga Igreja Paroquial de São Pedro de Canaferrim</p> <p>21 - Necrópole medieval da antiga Igreja Paroquial de São Pedro de Canaferrim</p> <p>22 - Convento da Trindade</p> <p>23 - Depósitos da Idade do Bronze do Monte do Sereno</p> <p>24 - Convento Hieronimita de Nossa Senhora da Pena</p> <p>25 - Palácio da Pena</p> <p>26 - Parque da Pena</p> <p>27 - "Chalet" da Condessa d'Edla</p> <p>28 - "Vila Velha" de Sintra</p> <p>29 - Paço Real de Sintra</p> <p>30 - Capela do Espírito Santo, Paço Real</p> <p>31 - Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Misericórdia</p>	<p>32 - Sítio Neolítico/Calcítico da Rua das Padarias, "Vila Velha"</p> <p>33 - Sítio romano da "Vila Velha" de Sintra</p> <p>34 - Via e provável necrópole romanas da Rua da Ferraria</p> <p>35 - Igreja Paroquial de São Martinho</p> <p>36 - Paço dos Ribafreias</p> <p>37 - Quinta do Saldanha</p> <p>38 - Capela da Quinta do Saldanha</p> <p>39 - Antiga Igreja Paroquial de São Miguel</p> <p>40 - Igreja Paroquial de Santa Maria</p> <p>41 - Necrópole medieval da Igreja Paroquial de Santa Maria</p> <p>42 - Necrópole medieval de Nossa Senhora de Milfides</p> <p>43 - Convento de Santa Ana do Carmo</p> <p>44 - "Tholos" da Bela Vista</p> <p>45 - Capela de Nossa Senhora da Piedade</p> <p>46 - Convento de Santa Cruz dos Capuchos</p>
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1:25000

Map 2. – Cultural Landscape of Sintra – Sites

- Parques e Arquitectura Áulica [Aulic Architecture]
- Centro Histórico [Historic Centre]
- Arquitectura Militar [Military Architecture]
- Arquitectura Religiosa [Religious Architecture]
- Monumentos e Vestígios Arqueológicos [Monuments and Archaeological Remains]

<https://cm-sintra.pt/institucional/patrimonio-mundial>

As a pioneering centre of romantic architecture in Europe, Sintra's cultural landscape is defined by a complex of "(...) parks, gardens, palaces, country houses, monasteries and castles, which create an architecture that harmonizes with the exotic and overgrown

vegetation, creating micro-landscapes of exotic and luxuriant beauty, such as Mexican cypress, Australian acacias and eucalyptus as well as pine trees”. These monuments and parks influenced the development of landscape architecture across Europe, through the syncretism between nature and culture.<sup>58</sup>

Regarding the criteria used to classify the Cultural Landscape of Sintra, to be included in the World Heritage List, sites must have outstanding universal value and correspond to at least one criterion out of a list of ten. Before the end of 2004, World Heritage sites were based on six cultural criteria and four natural criteria. With the revised Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, the list of criteria has been simplified to a set of one to ten criteria. Protection, management, authenticity, and integrity are equally important concepts and constitute in themselves a criterion in the selection of sites from the World Heritage list.<sup>59</sup>

The criteria used in the attribution of the classification of the Cultural Landscape of Sintra by UNESCO were three. Taking into account its classification, in 1995, the selection of criteria was based on the modality of listing six criteria of a cultural scope, and four of a natural scope: criterion ii) in the nineteenth century, Sintra became the first centre of European Romantic architecture, mixing various elements of different architectural styles and creating parks where local and exotic species mingle; iv) landscape as a unique example of European Romanticism, in which the cultural occupation of the northern slope of the *Serra* maintained its integrity as a representation of different successive cultures, flora and fauna. A well-defined landscape designed and intentionally created by people through landscape design; and v) continuous and organically evolved landscape, supported by restoration and preservation projects.<sup>60</sup>

Another criterion for the attribution of the classification of Cultural Landscape to Sintra’s town by UNESCO, consists in the analysis of the values of integrity, authenticity, protection, and management. In the case of the integrity of the landscape, the excellent state of conservation of the historic buildings of Sintra, open to the public, and the

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<sup>58</sup> <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/723> Consulted on 28/05/2022.

<sup>59</sup> <https://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/> Consulted on 28/05/2022.

<sup>60</sup> <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/723m>. Consulted on 28/05/2022.

uniqueness of the pioneering European romanticism in Europe, with its botanical richness and diversity of moments and buildings over a long period, were considered.<sup>61</sup>

Regarding the authenticity of the Cultural Landscape of Sintra, the preservation of the buildings of Sintra's landscape, its structural authenticity, its parks, and its gardens, were considered, despite the transformations that took place in the 20th century in the main parks, such as *Pena* and *Monserate* parks, and in some small gardens in this set. The great monuments also maintained their authenticity in the interactions with each other and with the landscape, as well as the agricultural buildings, the romantic atmosphere strengthened with time, the memories of the Victorian period, and the exotic references of the landscape.<sup>62</sup>

Finally, there is the criteria of protection and management requirements. The Cultural Landscape of Sintra is part of the National Natural Park of Sintra – Cascais. This park was protected by national law since 1994, and its perimeter houses several buildings classified as National Monuments, as well as Public Interest Buildings, protected through the Ministry of Culture. The entire property of Sintra classified as World Heritage is also classified as a national monument and is managed by *Parques de Sintra Monte da Lua S.A.* (as well as parts of the buffer zone).

Stakeholders linked to the Cultural Landscape of Sintra keep experts responsible for the rehabilitation of the heritage, such as the Directorate General for Cultural Heritage, Portugal's Public Tourism Agency, *Sintra's* Municipality, and the Institute for the Conservation of Nature.<sup>63</sup> This Consortium of entities, in the last five years, was responsible for the creation of the Museum of Science, as well as the rehabilitation of more than one hundred buildings in the Historic Centre of Sintra. The forests are also cared for, and educational activities are promoted. Another important aspect of this management lies in the monitoring of the number of visitors to the Landscape sites, aiming to minimize the negative impacts of urban speculation.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/723m>. Consulted on 28/05/2022.

<sup>62</sup> <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/723m> Consulted on 28/05/2022.

<sup>63</sup> <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/723m>. Consulted on 28/05/2022.

<sup>64</sup> <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/723m>. Consulted on 28/05/2022.



### 2.3. Sintra's Places of Memory: Cultural and Natural Heritage

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century narratives about Sintra, we find many references to different places of memory of the town. Palaces, parks, *Quintas* [*Villas*], churches, fountains, streets, traditions, all represent a space that is keeping the memory of the town alive. These places have great historical significance to the town and its people and that is the reason they become significant also for travellers, through tourism promotion.

The travellers from the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the guidebooks about Portugal that included Sintra in their itineraries, and the postcards that promoted the town's heritage, have selected the most significant places to the town to tell their narratives. These places highlighted in the narratives, or/and often repeated, represent the most significant places of memory of Sintra. They are fundamental to create the image of Sintra's landscape in the twentieth century. Below, we can find a presentation of the most relevant places of memory of Sintra in the twentieth century, a selection from the representations about the town in that period.

The ex-libris of the cultural landscape of Sintra is *Pena* botanical park and palace. The property was created around 1840, by initiative of the King of Portugal *D. Fernando II*. The botanical park composition, which took decades to take form, consists of European forest species, from North America, Asia, and New Zealand.<sup>65</sup> Regarding the Palace of *Pena*, it is commonly considered the most iconic monument in Sintra. Its history dates to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, with the existence of a primitive chapel on the site, dedicated to *Nossa Senhora da Pena*. Later, the Royal Monastery of *Nossa Senhora da Pena* was built in the same place, by order of the King *D. Manuel I*.<sup>66</sup>

With Lisbon's earthquake, in 1755, the monastery was left in a state of ruin. This can be confirmed, for example, by the engravings representing Sintra by the English artist George Vivian. Despite its state of ruin, the monastery kept its activity until 1834, when the extinction of the religious orders in Portugal took place. In the nineteenth century, the King *D. Fernando II* acquired the Monastery of *Pena*, being responsible for the project of the romantic palace, under the direction of the Baron *Wilhelm Ludwig von Eschwege*.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> <http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/patrimonio/area-classificada/paisagem/173-parque-botanico-da-pena>  
Consulted on 28/05/2022.

<sup>66</sup> <https://www.parquesdesintra.pt/pt/parques-monumentos/parque-e-palacio-nacional-da-pena/historia/>  
Consulted on 28/05/2022.

<sup>67</sup> <https://www.parquesdesintra.pt/pt/parques-monumentos/parque-e-palacio-nacional-da-pena/historia/>

This palace would become the residence of King *D. Carlos* I, his wife, Queen *D. Amélia* of Orleães, and their son, *D. Manuel* II. The palace represents the place of reception of extremely important news to the memory and history of Portugal by Queen *D. Amélia* – the Proclamation of the Republic, on October 5, 1910. In the same year, the property was classified as National Monument.<sup>68</sup>

Another important palace of Sintra' town is the National Palace. Its history dates to the 10th century, where it was first mentioned by the Arab geographer *Al-Bakrî*. All or most Portugal's monarchs inhabited the National Palace of Sintra, being marked by the symbiosis between Christian art and Muslim art, called *Mudejar* style.<sup>69</sup> In 1287, the palace was given to Queen *Santa Isabel* by King *D. Dinis*, constituting a milestone in the creation of the tradition of its donation to the queens of Portugal. The palace underwent significant interventions during the reign of *D. João* I (1356-1433). During the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the presence of the king in the palace occurred more frequently, which influenced in the palace decoration and general interventions. The palace received its Spanish-Moorish tiles during the reign of King *Manuel* I (1469-1521) and was enlarged during the reign of King *João* III (1502-1557)<sup>70</sup> The seventeenth century was a dark milestone in the palace, as King *D. Afonso* VI was imprisoned there from 1674 to 1683. The eighteenth century is marked by Lisbon's earthquake, which seriously affected the property. Fortunately, it has been rebuilt with authenticity, maintaining the silhouette of the sixteenth century. In the nineteenth century, the palace gained a more domestic utilitarian nature, due to the end of the *Ancien Régime* and the implementation of a Constitutional Monarchy in Portugal, in 1822.<sup>71</sup>

Of equal importance to the Cultural Landscape of Sintra, we have the Castle of the Moors. The castle, as its name indicates, was by the Moors, where they lived until 1147, year of the surrender of Sintra by the Moorish to the first King of Portugal, *D. Afonso Henriques*. This castle was of great importance in the defence of the local territory

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Consulted on 28/05/2022.

<sup>68</sup> <https://www.parquesdesintra.pt/pt/parques-monumentos/parque-e-palacio-nacional-da-pena/historia/>  
Consulted on 28/05/2022.

<sup>69</sup> <https://www.parquesdesintra.pt/pt/parques-monumentos/palacio-nacional-sintra/historia/>  
Consulted on 28/05/2022.

<sup>70</sup> <https://www.parquesdesintra.pt/pt/parques-monumentos/palacio-nacional-sintra/historia/>  
Consulted on 28/05/2022.

<sup>71</sup> <https://www.parquesdesintra.pt/pt/parques-monumentos/palacio-nacional-sintra/historia/>  
Consulted on 28/05/2022.

and support to the nautical access to the country's capital, Lisbon.<sup>72</sup> The Islamic fixation on the Moorish Castle faded and the medieval village began to appear. Its development lasted until the fifteenth century, when the conflicts between the Moors and the Christians attenuated, justifying the abandonment of the shelter that the castle represented. In the nineteenth century, King *D. Fernando II* received the medieval imagery of the place, faithful to the spirit of the time – to the spirit of romanticism.<sup>73</sup>

One of the most prominent landmarks of Sintra's landscape is *Monsserrate* Botanical Park and Palace. The property is located north of the *Serra de Sintra*, covering an area of approximately 50 hectares. In the eighteenth century, this great estate belonged to the *Melo e Castro* family and rented by the English merchant *Gerar Devisme*. *Devisme* built a neo-Gothic palace on the property, as well as a botanical park. The latter would be renovated first by William Beckford and later by Francis Cook. In 1809, the famous Lord Byron, an important figure to Sintra's memory in literature, visited the palace.<sup>74</sup>

Another place of memory of Sintra's town is the Palace of *Seteais*. The palace was inaugurated in 1787 by the Dutchman Daniel Gildemeester, Consul of the Netherlands in Portugal at the time. Gildemeester was a rich and influential figure in society, a merchant of diamonds. The Gildemeester project at *Seteais* was quite relevant to the property, as it was the responsible for conducting water from the mountain springs to *Campo de Seteais* to feed the flora of the park. A few years after Gildemeester's death, the property was sold to D. Diogo Coutinho. The new owner expanded the tree plantation in 1801. The palace then underwent further renovations, such as the construction of stables and the addition of a new body to the building.<sup>75</sup> In 1834, the palace is inherited by D. Joaquina de Menezes, and in 1867, already in ruins, by Inácio Barbosa. In 1939 the property was pledged by the National Treasury, following successive mortgages. In 1946, *Seteais* was acquired by the Portuguese State. The State converted the palace into a hotel in 1950 –

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<sup>72</sup> <https://www.parquesdesintra.pt/pt/parques-monumentos/castelo-dos-mouros/historia/>  
Consulted on 28/05/2022.

<sup>73</sup> <https://www.parquesdesintra.pt/pt/parques-monumentos/castelo-dos-mouros/historia/>  
Consulted on 28/05/2022.

<sup>74</sup> <http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/patrimonio/area-classificada/paisagem/174-parque-botaneo-de-monserrate>  
Consulted on 28/05/2022.

<sup>75</sup> <http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/patrimonio/area-classificada/arquitetura-aulica/192-palacio-de-seteais>  
Consulted on 12/05/2023.

Hotel *Palácio Seteais* –, one of the most famous and luxurious accommodations in Sintra.<sup>76</sup>

*Quinta da Penha Verde* is another important monument in Sintra's landscape. The *villa* has its origins in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. It was donated to D. João de Castro by the King D. Manuel I, remaining linked to the *Castro* family in the following centuries. The creation of the *villa* started with the donation of land on the northern slope of the *Serra de Sintra*, called by the ancients *Monte da Lua* (Mount of the Moon). D. João de Castro had the fruit trees on his property cut down, as he intended to use it for leisure, recreation, not for production farm. The primitive modest building was expanded and transformed into the current mansion.<sup>77</sup> In 1542, the Chapel of *Nossa Senhora do Monte* was built on the property, probably by the painter and architect Francisco de Holanda. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the property underwent several changes and improvements at the behalf of D. João de Castro's heirs. The votive chapels to *São Brás*, *São Pedro*, *São João Baptista*, and *Santa Catarina* were built in the following centuries. The property did not undergo any other major changes, being sold in 1913 to the second Viscount of Monserrate. The property today is still private, and its preservation and conservation are entirely the responsibility of the owners.<sup>78</sup>

Another important landmark in Sintra's cultural landscape is the example of religious architecture, the *Capuchos* Convent. The convent was built in 1560 by D. Álvaro de Castro, in fulfilment of a religious vow that his father, D. João de Castro, had done. In the sixteenth century, the convent became famous for its poverty. The friars' cells are very small in size, and the ceilings, doors and window shutters are lined with cork to combat humidity and cold. Between 1578 and 1589, the chapel of *Santo António* was built, and in the highest part of the convent fence we find a cave – the cave of Friar Honório de Santa Maria –, who lived there for 30 years, dying in 1597. The hermits remained in the convent for a few centuries until the extinction of the religious orders in Portugal, in 1834.

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<sup>76</sup> <http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/patrimonio/area-classificada/arquitetura-aulica/192-palacio-de-seteais> Consulted on 12/05/2023.

<sup>77</sup> <http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/patrimonio/area-classificada/arquitetura-aulica/190-quinta-da-penha-verde> Consulted on 12/05/2023.

<sup>78</sup> <http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/patrimonio/area-classificada/arquitetura-aulica/190-quinta-da-penha-verde> Consulted on 12/05/2023.

In 1873, the convent is acquired by Sir Francis Cook, 1st Viscount of Monserrate, and in the twentieth century, it became property of the Portuguese State.<sup>79</sup>

As I have mentioned before, Sintra's places of memory are much more than monuments. Places of nature, such as beaches, and villages or towns of Sintra's municipality were worthy of representation in the twentieth century narratives. The greatest example is the town of Colares, which is part of Sintra's municipality and former county seat. Colares is often represented in the narratives of the twentieth century, being appreciated for its nature and wine. The town is surrounded by farms and is famous for its floodplain, the river *Rio das Maças*, and the beach *Praia das Maças*. The beach was connected to Sintra's town for the first time in 1904, through the historic tram of the renowned local railway company *Companhia Sintra-Atlântico*. The company is also a landmark in Sintra's heritage, a place of memory of the town's twentieth century development. Other landmarks in Colares landscape are the famous old hotel inspired in Lord Byron writings about Sintra – the Eden Hotel –, and the famous winery *Adega Regional de Colares*. The winery was built in 1934, after winning the status of Demarcated Region<sup>80</sup> in 1908.<sup>81</sup>

Lastly, we have *Cabo da Roca*, also part of Colares, a natural wonder commonly known by “The westernmost point in Europe”. *Rabo da Roca* is characterized by a landscape of limestone rocks 150 metres above the sea level. Known by the titles “the *Magnum* prosecutor”, “*finisterra* of the ancient world”, “the endless abyss”, and “the most beautiful farewell in Europe when it finally meets the sea”, the last by the words of the famous Portuguese writer Virgílio Ferreira.<sup>82</sup>

As I have mentioned, all the places of memory discussed in this chapter are landmarks in Sintra's landscape. These were places often visited by both foreign and Portuguese travellers in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and source of inspiration for their written accounts. Today, this cultural and natural heritage, these places of memory, they represent the image of Sintra's landscape. The meaning of the Cultural Landscape of Sintra in this

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<sup>79</sup> <http://paisagemcultural.sintra.pt/patrimonio/area-classificada/arquitetura-religiosa/201-convento-de-santa-cruz-dos-capuchos> Consulted on 12/05/2023.

<sup>80</sup> A Demarcated region is a legal status that is attributed to wine regions for the defence and promotion of their wine.

<sup>81</sup> <https://cm-sintra.pt/actualidade/cultura/roteiros-culturais/roteiro-no-centro-historico-de-colares> Consulted on 12/05/2023.

<sup>82</sup> <http://revistatritao.cm-sintra.pt/index.php/patrimonio-1/cabo-da-roca> Consulted on 12/05/2023.

research, based on the image of the town created by various narratives go beyond the classification of the town by UNESCO in 1995. It encompasses places of memory that start near the Atlantic, at *Cabo da Roca*, or at *Praia das Maçãs*, and go until the historic centre of Sintra, a landscape created by an image that go beyond the 946 ha of geographic area classified by UNESCO in 1995. This landscape also represents different meanings, meanings of interpretation through concepts beyond memory and cultural landscape – it encompasses concepts such as identity and otherness, and it is presented often through tales of poetry – through poetic narratives.

### **3. Literature and Visual Sources about Sintra from the Late 18<sup>th</sup> Century to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

This chapter presents an overview of sources that represented Sintra from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These representations were extracted from both textual and visual materials. From travelogues to guidebooks, engraving, postcards, tourism flyers, and map's illustrations, Sintra was represented in many narratives from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These narratives, once crossed, converge into the creation of an image of the place which, in turn, correspond to a representation of the landscape of Sintra in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The chapter is divided into two sections: the first does an overview of the sources in which Sintra is represented, from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century – literature and engravings; the second section comments on the sources about Sintra in the 20<sup>th</sup> century – national and foreign travel literature, both from travelogues and guidebooks, and visual representations, such as postcards and flyers.

#### **3.1. Literature and Visual Sources about Sintra from the Late 18<sup>th</sup> century to the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

After Lisbon's earthquake, in 1755, and during the French Liberal Revolution, the Iberian Peninsula was seen as exotic by other European nationalities, mainly: French, German and British. These travellers wrote rich and scrupulous descriptions of Portugal, of Sintra, weaving preconceived ideas, the resulted of an analysis extremely biased by their cultural values.

Before focusing on the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries travel literature about Sintra, it is important to mention some 18<sup>th</sup> century travel literature examples, for their influence in the image of Sintra's landscape in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. An image that perpetuated on the 20<sup>th</sup> century narratives, both textual and visual.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> century, more precisely in 1795, the Irish architect and antiquary James Murphy (1760-1814) published *Travels in Portugal; through the provinces of Entre Douro e Minho, Beira, Estremadura, and Alem-tejo, in the years 1789 and 1790*, consisting of observations on the manners, customs, trade, public buildings, arts, antiquities, &c. of that kingdom. In 1796, the French physician and traveller Joseph-Barthélemy-François Carrère (1740-1803) published *Tableau de Lisbonne En 1796: Suivi de Lettres Écrites de Portugal Sur l'État Ancien Et Actuel de Ce Royaume*.

Entering the 19<sup>th</sup> century, more precisely in 1809, the English poet George Gordon Byron (1788-1824), most known as Lord Byron, visited Sintra accompanied by the English politician and diarist John Cam Hobhouse (1786-1869). Between 1812-1818, he published his famous poem *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, where Sintra is mentioned. His travel companion, around 1815, published *Galley proof of translations from Latin of John Cam Hobhouse's diary of his travels with Byron in Portugal, Spain and Italy*. On the following year, the English romantic poet Robert Southley (1774-1843) also published a poem where Sintra was mentioned – *The poet's pilgrimage to Waterloo*.

In 1834, William Thomas Beckford (1760-1844), English traveller, novelist, and art collector, published *Italy: with sketches of Spain and Portugal* and on the following year, James Edward Alexander publishes *Sketches in Portugal, during the Civil War of 1834... with Observations on the Present and Future State of Portugal*. In 1839, William Harry Harrison (1795?-1878) published another relevant example of travel literature about Portugal titled *The Tourist in Portugal*.

On the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, more precisely in 1873, the famous fairy tale Danish writer *Hans Christian Andersen* (1805-1875) published a travelogue named *Uma Visita em Portugal em 1866*. Some years later, in 1879, the French writer *Marie Letizia Bonaparte-Wyse* (1831-1902), commonly known as *Marie Ratazzi*, also published an interesting travelogue titled *Le Portugal a vol d'oiseau: Portugais et Portugaise*. Another

relevant work is the work of the Austrian, *Felix Fürst Linchnowsky* (1814-1848), published in 1842, *Erinnerungen aus dem Jahre 1842* (Portugal, memories from the year of 1842).

Focusing our attention on Sintra, on the travel literature, the town is often described by the travellers as a Paradise. In most of the descriptions about the town, the comments about its beauty overlap the prejudice present on some of the descriptions, an effect of the grandeur of the nature present in the landscape.

The poetic ambience characteristic of romanticism that characterises the 19<sup>th</sup> century is much present on the narratives representing Sintra. One can find the allusion to meditation through the contact with nature, through the romantic narrative – a romantic cult of one's own. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century narratives about Sintra, we can find comments on the identity of its inhabitants, such as the comparison of the people with predecessor peoples, inhabitants of promontory places and lowland people.<sup>83</sup> These comments remind us of man-nature relation, of the environment's elements that make man resemble or differentiate. They also remind us of how man itself – a people – may be a place of memory, a landmark on the landscape.

Besides literature, Sintra was also represented by other arts. The best example in the 10<sup>th</sup> century is the art of engraving, since the number of examples is quite vast. There are some scientific studies that have approached the role of engraving in the creation of the image of the Sintra. As example, we have António Jorge Rodrigues Batista's work, *A construção da imagem de Sintra e o itinerário romântico: a função da gravura na sua formação e difusão: (1793- 1875)*, published in 2016. The author also wrote three articles relevant to the study of Sintra's landscape: the first was published in 2008, titled *A Paisagem-Imagem de Sintra e a sua Natureza Visual*; the second, *Contributos para o percurso da gravura e do ensino artístico em Portugal entre os séculos XVIII e XIX*, published in 2019; and the third, *The Glorious Eden: a paisagem-imagem de Sintra e o turismo cultural. Grand Tour e literatura de viagens*, published in 2021. António Batista's research about Sintra focus on the image of the town, on how was it represented on engravings from 1793 to 1875. Besides his interest in understanding the role of engraving

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<sup>83</sup> H. Anderson, *A Visit to Portugal, 1866*, Indianapolis, 1973. J. Murphy, *Travels in Portugal*, London, 1795.



on the romantic image of the history of Sintra, Batista's work also approaches the influence of the English in the town on that period.

### 3.2. Literature and Visual Sources about Sintra in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

This research used various sources about Sintra in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, mainly guidebooks, travel literature and postcards. Both text and visual materials played an important role in shaping the image of the twentieth century Sintra. Regarding travel literature, we can find several accounts – both national and international – of travellers that visited Portugal, displaying different literary nuances about the country. These travellers have dedicated some excerpts, pages, or even whole chapters to Sintra's landscape. These literary works created different representations and interpretations of Sintra, according to individual experiences and particular backgrounds. The representations sometimes translate into comments describing Sintra's nature, its inhabitants, and sometimes both themes.

According to the guidebook *Le Grand Guide du Portugal* [1989] 1990, the foreign accounts about Portugal landscape in the twentieth century were able to emphasize and appreciate the advantages of the country. The book quotes several authors who used Portugal as a scenario for their writings, such as Leonard Wibberly, who covered the theme of the country's week economic development, approving of its wisdom at the same time; Michel Déon, who wrote *Portugal que j'aime*; Paul Morand, author of *Le Prisonnier de Sintra*; and Kessel, who wrote *Les Amants du Tage*.<sup>84</sup>

This research is based in nine books about travels in Portugal that contain narratives about Sintra. The nature of these literary works is diversified: some were written by foreign travellers who visited Portugal; others by Portuguese writers who visited Sintra; and I have selected an example of a local writer who was born in Sintra – Olivia Guerra. The books selected were published between 1902 and 1981. They were chosen with the intention of assembling different interpretations of Sintra's landscape by two perspectives: otherness and identity.

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<sup>84</sup> A. Hill, *Le Grand Guide du Portugal*, Paris [1989] 1990, p. 89.

The first example of travel literature relevant to the study of Sintra's landscape is Clementina Monteiro's travelogue. Her book, written in French, *Souvenirs et Profils du Portugal*, was published in 1902. The book was specifically chosen as primary source for this research because it constitutes a perfect example of two perspectives on Sintra's landscape: the perspective of otherness and the perspective of identity.

In the book, we find a handwritten note with the author's full name – Clementina Monteiro –, since the publication was signed only with the initials C.M. In the handwritten note, we can read “a daughter of Coimbra”. Clementina was natural from the city of Coimbra, Portugal. In the beginning of her book, we realize that she was writing to her niece, from Paris, when she was living at the time. In her writings, we find a constant comparison between Portugal and France. This comparison was expected, given the background of the author, a Portuguese citizen living in Paris. This comparison between countries is quite interesting. It leads us to the conclusion that the line between otherness and identity will be less present in the author's perspective, since her interpretation/experience of/in Sintra is that of someone lying both within and without a scenario, both close and distant to/from the landscape absorbed.

Besides the constant comparison between Portugal and France, the author provides us with many impressions of Paris lifestyle, as well as some interpretations of her cultural background, political and social position, and gender opinions. Her discourse reflects on conservative speech against female emancipation. Regarding Portugal, she dedicates some chapters of her book to Portuguese cities. About Sintra, she comments on the life of the monarchy, Sintra's universal fame, castle festivities, and the town's parks.

Another example of foreign travel literature that includes some pages on Sintra's heritage and landscape, is the French book by *Madame G. Le Roy Liberge, Trois Mois en Portugal*, published in 1910. The author writes about Portuguese cities, its monuments, religion, and the country's sociocultural reality. Some Spanish cities are also mentioned in the last two chapters. Regarding Sintra, chapters IV and V of the book are dedicated to the town. Her descriptions regard mostly the life of the Portuguese court at Pena Palace, or the life of the clergy at the Monastery of *Capuchos*. We can also find some anthropological descriptions of the peasantry lifestyle, and traditional dress, rites, and traditions.

In 1913, the Brazilian journalist and chronicist Raúl de Azevedo (1875-1937)<sup>85</sup> published his travel chronicles intitled *D'Além-Mar*. In the book's preface, the author explains that some of his writings that took place in 1907 were already published in Brazilian newspapers, but the main part was written between 1912 and 1913, during his long convalescence abroad. His book mentions various European countries: from Portugal, Spain, Italy, Swizerland, France, to Germany and Austria.

Regarding Sintra, Azevedo (1913) writes a detailed description about the Pena Palace and about Sintra's role in the Portuguese *Patria* (homeland). Besides writing about the palace decoration, Raúl de Azevedo also comments on Portuguese National history, focusing on details about its monarchs. That was the reason why I chose to include this travel book among the other European sources, even though its author is Brazilian. The book provides us with an example, a perspective of Sintra from outside Europe, enriching this research. The perspective of the author is also the perspective of citizen of a former colony of the Portuguese Empire. After all, his comments are comments on the Empire's places of memory, in this case, about the Portuguese court and Sintra's palaces.

Another interesting example of foreign travel literature about Portugal that mention Sintra is the French travelogue *En Portugal*, by Paul de Laget, and published in 1932. The book dedicates great part of its content to the architecture of the Portuguese monuments, as well as to the history of the life of the Portuguese monarchy in Sintra. Other Portuguese towns and cities are described in the book, and it also offers some illustrations of monuments, peasants, and Portuguese commemorative stamps. Some good parts of it are dedicated to Sintra's parks and nature, approaching its themes in a poetic discourse that allow for the creation of narratives around them. Themes such as paganism, ruins, silence, and mythology.

The next example is the book by Olivia Guerra (1891-1982), natural from Sintra.<sup>86</sup> Her book *Evocações*, published in 1930, is a poetic narrative about travels to Portugal, Spain and France. About Sintra, she describes *Penha Verde* and *Paço de Sintra* (the National Palace). Her narrative is very poetic, and her discourse is filled with a sense of nostalgia and melancholy. She uses metaphors when commenting on Portuguese National history, which is represented by the monuments and natural elements in her descriptions.

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<sup>85</sup> <https://academiamaranhense.org.br/fundadores/raul-de-azevedo/> Consulted on 10/05/2023.

<sup>86</sup> <https://arquivoonline.cm-sintra.pt/details?id=44346> Consulted on 10/05/2023.

Romanticism and Religion are very present in her narrative, as well as the sense of local identity when she refers to Sintra as part of her childhood.

The Brazilian Guilherme de Almeida (1890-1969), natural from São Paulo city published a book about Portugal in 1933, titled *O Meu Portugal*. A well-known poet, Guilherme de Almeida took part in the Brazilian revolution of 1932 – *Revolução Constitucionalista de São Paulo*, being arrested and then exiled in Portugal.<sup>87</sup> His book is not a common travelogue, it contains diverse narratives of chronicles and poetry, descriptions, and impressions of the cities of Lisbon, Estoril, as well as of Portuguese traditions, such as *Fado* music. Regarding Sintra, in Guilherme de Almeida's work, we find a captivating narrative using metaphors about time and space, which are represented by natural elements, often insignificant to the common eye. He uses Sintra as a universe to his imagination, where he gets lost into little details observed during a tour guide visit to the town.

In 1914, the Portuguese writer José Agostinho de Oliveira (1866-1938) published two volumes of his travels in Portugal under the title *A Roda de Portugal*. In the preface of the book, the reader quickly understands its patriotic character, expressed in the following excerpt: “Of this eminently patriotic work, in which all problems of immediate direct interest to the evolution and progress of Portugal are treated with an admirable good practical sense, which neither hostile political sects nor hurt any susceptibilities, I would like to see the most enthusiastic, the warmest propaganda.”<sup>88</sup> The book provides us with a detailed account of the country's monuments and heritage. Themes like family and *Patria*, nature, the inhabitants, the country's regions, festivities, religion, industry, and politics are quite present; social service, education, health, and Portuguese charity are also mentioned; and even the ex-colonies – Mozambique and Angola are themes approached by the author.

Regarding Sintra, José Agostinho describes its monuments – Palaces and *Quintas*. He also elaborates some general descriptions of the town and its natural ambience. The melancholy of the landscape, or *Estefânia* calmness are noted by the author, as well as

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<sup>87</sup> <https://enciclopedia.itaucultural.org.br/pessoa2894/guilherme-de-almeida> Consulted on 10/05/2023.

<sup>88</sup> “Desta obra eminentemente patriótica, em que todos os problemas de interesse directo immediato para a evolução e para o progresso de Portugal são tratados com um admirável bom senso prático, que nem hostiliza seitas políticas nem fere quaisquer susceptibilidades, quisera eu ver fazer-se a mais entusiástica, a mais calorosa propaganda.” J. Agostinho, *A Roda de Portugal*, Oporto [1914] 1938, vol. 2, p. 316.

the aristocratic character of Sintra. The mountain, the parks, the flora, and nature, are also mentioned.

Another interesting example of Portuguese literature about Portugal is the book by the Portuguese writer Miguel Torga. Miguel Torga is the pseudonym of the doctor, poet, dramaturg, and novelist Adolfo Rocha (1907-1995).<sup>89</sup> His book contents are present by different regions of Portugal, a narrative of his experience within his country, a perspective of his perspectives as Portuguese of his *Patria*. In fact, the introductory poem of the book – *Patria* – is dedicated to his homeland. In the book, there is small passage about Sintra that I found relevant enough to be included in this study. He uses a metaphor about Portuguese literature, saying that it should be given the category of reservation, as in natural reservation, that it should be subject to conservation. There is a personification figure of speech regarding Portuguese lyricism and Sintra is mentioned as scenario of his metaphoric ideal.

The last example of travel literature about Portugal is a book by the Portuguese writer José Saramago (1922-2010), winner of the Literature Nobel in 1998.<sup>90</sup> The book, published in 1981 under the title *Viagem a Portugal*, is a literary narrative containing stories that use Portugal as scenario, stories that go beyond a mere traveller's description of landscapes, places and peoples. In this book, we can find the fusion of travel literature and literary narrative. The narrator addresses the traveller and speaks about the traveller's experience at the same time. His speech is written in the third person when addressing to the traveller – “o viajante”.

The book is divided by various subthemes, either by single stories or by regions of Portugal. Sintra is identified in the index of the book by the title “*O Paraíso encontrado*” (“Paradise found”). It is interesting that, the reader who already had some previous knowledge about Sintra's representations in literature, can promptly guess that the chapter refers to the town. *Saramago* comments on the town's orography and monuments, as well as elaborates nature descriptions. The poetry of his discourse clearly stands out in his narrative. We can find some descriptions in which the sense of mystery is present. Some

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<sup>89</sup> <http://livro.dglab.gov.pt/sites/DGLB/Portugues/autores/Paginas/PesquisaAutores1.aspx?AutorId=9646>  
Consulted on 10/05/2023.

<sup>90</sup> <http://livro.dglab.gov.pt/sites/DGLB/Portugues/autores/Paginas/PesquisaAutores1.aspx?AutorId=8277>  
Consulted on 10/05/2023.

are personifications of nature that represent quite well the relation between man and nature – resulting in poetic representations of the Cultural landscape of Sintra.

Concerning guidebooks about Portugal, Vítor Sá presents us with an interesting study relating guidebooks with the country's national identity between 1924 and 1986. In his study, *Descrever Portugal: guias turísticos e construção de identidades*, published in 2012, Sá frames his research period by using the first editions of the first volume of the national guidebook *Guia de Portugal*. The research period ends it in the year Portugal entered the European Economic Community (EEC). According to him, it is also the year of tourism jubilee in the country, and the decade of its fast tourism growth.<sup>91</sup>

On the same study, Sá comments on the history of Portuguese Tourism. Based on other studies about the theme, he mentions three important periods: the primitive period, which was established before 1940, when the Portuguese tourism services were transferred to *Secretariado Nacional de Propaganda (SNP)*, later renamed *Secretariado Nacional de Informação (SNI)*; the second period, which he calls the cultural period; and the third one – the economic period –, initiated on the mid 50's, beginning of 60's, and lasting until the present time (2012). This last period corresponds to the post war period and the rebuilt of the European and North American economies.<sup>92</sup>

By commenting on national identity and its dynamism, Sá (2012) quotes Stuart Hall (2006) on his study about cultural identity in post modernity by stating that 'national identities are not things with which we grow up but are formed and transformed in the interior of representation'.<sup>93</sup> The author stresses that, in many cases, guidebooks were and are used both as a tourism manual and a way to transmit identity, to preserve heritage<sup>94</sup>, and so, both words and images must be given importance when defining tourism destination identities.<sup>95</sup> In his study, he does an inventory of guidebooks about Portugal where he identifies 130 books and divides his study samples in four political cycles: the

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<sup>91</sup> V. Sá, *Descrever Portugal: Guias turísticos e construção de identidades*, Maia 2012, p. 4.

<sup>92</sup> V. Sá, *Descrever Portugal: Guias turísticos e construção de identidades*, Maia 2012, p.17.

<sup>93</sup> S. Hall, *A identidade cultural na pós-modernidade*, trans. T. Silva, G. Louro, Rio de Janeiro [1992] 2006, p. 48 apud V. Sá, *Descrever Portugal: Guias turísticos e construção de identidades*, Maia 2012, p.42

<sup>94</sup> J. Llobera, *El Dios de la Modernidad. El Desarrollo del Nacionalismo en Europa Occidental*, Barcelona 1996 apud V. Sá, *Descrever Portugal: Guias turísticos e construção de identidades*, Maia 2012, p.44.

<sup>95</sup> M. Cavi, *Palabras y cultura en la lengua del turismo*, in "Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural PASOS", 2012, 10, nº 4, Special Issue, pp. 1-3 apud V. Sá, *Descrever Portugal: Guias turísticos e construção de identidades*, Maia 2012, p.44.

First Republic; the Military Dictatorship; *Estado Novo* (also dictatorship regime); and Democracy.

In his conclusions, Sá (2012) notes that, in the First Republic cycle, guidebooks were designed to “show” the country, starting the tourism promotion on the national territory. He further concludes that a great number of guidebooks appeared during the *Estado Novo* period, as a reflex of the image and doctrine the regime wanted to pass to the exterior. Despite his short guidebook sample analysis regarding the democracy cycle, Sá notes that, on that period, the production of this type of work decreased due to low investment capacity and loss of importance, dissemination, and relevance. He concludes that, in all political cycles, guidebooks focused in having a localized and proximity perspective.<sup>96</sup>

In terms of tourism related sources, this is research used a sample of 7 guidebooks and 2 flyers, published between 1924 and 1989. The sources focus on both material heritage and anthropological representations. Nature is also represented in the source’s narratives. However, it holds a less significant weight on the themes approached when comparing it to culture. Both text and illustrations present different discourse styles, oriented as well to different tourism publics. Together, they represent their own narrative about Sintra.

In 1924, the first edition of the first volume of *Guia de Portugal* was published by the *National Library of Portugal*, which also published the following volumes until 1944. From 1964 to 1970, the *Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation* was responsible for the publications of the new editions. This guidebook was recommended by the public bodies *Repartição do Turismo* and *Sociedade de Propaganda de Portugal*, the responsible entities for tourism and propaganda in Portugal. The work is entirely written in Portuguese, indicating the Portuguese public as its main readers, and is clearly a work of national propaganda.

The *Guia de Portugal* ([1924]1991) guidebook dedicated around sixty pages to Sintra. These pages contain general information for the traveller, selecting themes such as: transportation, communication, main resources of the places, restaurants, and leisure. Not all guidebooks of the twentieth century offer itineraries to the reader but this a good

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<sup>96</sup> V. Sá, *Descrever Portugal: Guias turísticos e construção de identidades*, Maia 2012, p. 112.

example of it. We can find itineraries suggestions to various attractions containing poetic descriptions of Sintra's landscape. Besides itinerary suggestions, this work also offers a poetic description of the *Serra*. Descriptions of monuments, parcs and beaches, as well as illustrations and a map are available in the guidebook.

In 1938, the Portuguese public body *Conselho Nacional de Turismo* published a tourism propaganda flyer, *Portugal, Propaganda e Turismo*. The flyer is written both in Portuguese and German languages, which indicates some Germanophone tourism presence in Portugal at the time. Sintra is represented in a map promoting 8 excursions around Lisbon city and in illustrations of its most representative monuments.

Already in the 1940s, more specifically in 1944, a French guidebook about Portugal was published. The book, *Portugal, terres et gens* was written by Suzanne Chantal and edited by the Portuguese fuel company Shell Portuguesa S.A.R.L, with cooperation of the Portuguese public body *Secretariado Nacional da Informação*. Since the book was sponsored by Shell company, it is only expectable to find the advertisement to its several service stations in it. Six main subjects/subthemes are continuously repeated in each section of the guide.

The main themes of Chantal's book (1944) are divided by the regions of Portugal. The repeated subthemes regard: the character of the Region; a general panorama; the landscape and man; the history and the monuments; costumes and traditional dress; «what to see in...». Black and white illustrations in a social documentary style are present in the guidebook. They capture anthropological elements, such as musicians, peasants with oxen, old women portraits, young women socializing, etc. Monuments, streets, and other material heritage are represented in the illustrations. Two maps are available to the traveller: a very generic one, with no detail or no reference to Sintra, and a large and very detailed one in attachment. In the text, Sintra is represented in detail, with focus on anthropological elements.

Another interesting example of Sintra's representations in the twentieth century is a flyer of tourism propaganda published in 1955. The flyer, titled *Sintra, Portugal*, is entirely about the town of Sintra. It was created by the *Comissão Municipal de Turismo de Sintra*, the local public body of tourism. The flyer was written in Portuguese, English and French languages, thus informing us about the main tourism public/market in



Portugal at the time. The flyer focuses on local history themes, monuments, soil, and vegetation. Illustrations are present, as well as a map of the town, containing detailed illustrations of its main attractions.

In 1958, another national guidebook is published. The guidebook, *Portugal, guia histórico-turístico*, was written by *Leonardo Coelho*, who dedicated his work to all Brazilians and Portuguese colony. This work is presented as a practical and technical guidebook, containing short descriptions of places and its history. It focuses on Portuguese National History and monuments, representing national and imperial greatness. Nature was clearly not the focus of the book. The main themes approached by the author are very technical: altitudes; popular art and art craftwork; sports; distances from Oporto and Lisbon cities to other locations; spas; restaurants and accommodation; beaches; festivities, fairs, and pilgrimages. Sintra is represented only in the few monuments mentioned, in the “must visit” ones, as well as in accommodation suggestions and in a reference to *Praia das Maçãs*.

In 1961, we have the publication of another guidebook by *Suzanne Chantal*. This time, the book, *Le Portugal*, was published in Paris by *Librarie Hachette*. Contrary to *Chantal's* previous guidebook, there is no advertisement and private company sponsorship is present in the book. We can identify similarities in the book's narrative – the same anthropological narrative is present, as well as the same black and white social documentary-style illustrations, not forgetting the author's characteristic poetic discourse. However, this time the themes are organized differently. The Portuguese people is described by its “*race ancienne et mêlée*” and the Overseas territories are given some representation. Another interesting fact worthy of attention is the constant comparison between Portugal and France, and space dedicated to Portugal-France relations. France is also present on the theme ‘*Comme un parfum de France*’, where author express her beliefs: that Portugal's identity is very tied to France.

In 1972-63, the national agency of advertisement in Portugal *Diário de Notícias* published a guidebook titled *Guia de Portugal Continental, Insular e Ultramarino*. This guide is written in Portuguese, French and English, French language coming in first place. That is an indicator of the francophone tourism market domain over the anglophone in Portugal at the time. This work is very advertisement-oriented, as expected since it was published by the national agency of advertisement. We can find advertisements of

restaurants, liquors, *Sonap* lubricants, and travel agencies promoting their tour programmes.

The guidebook contents are divided in 4 zones, the adjacent islands of Madeira and Azores, and the Overseas Provinces (*Cabo Verde, Guiné, S. Tomé e Príncipe, Angola, Moçambique, Macau, Timor, Goa, Damão e Dio*). It contains practical information in detail, such as inventory of monuments, accommodation, restaurants, thermal resorts, camping sites, nautical activities, travel agencies and service stations by locality. It also provides the travellers with information regarding bureaucratic and legal regulations in Portugal, such as passport and traffic regulations, Portuguese railways, and even interpreters' fees. Regarding its representation of Sintra, this work clearly focuses on the promotion of its monuments: palaces, churches and *Quintas*, as well as on promoting the town's accommodations: hotels, inns and guesthouses. Sintra is also represented in some of its illustrations, such as the promotion of places to visit or advertisement to regional art.

Another French guidebook about Portugal was published in 1968, under the direction of *Francis Ambrière*. This work, titled *Portugal, Madère-Açores* is written only in French and offers detailed descriptions of the country. It is a technical and practical information-oriented guide, organized by sections representing Portugal's regions. As general themes, we can find: geography, economy, history, folklore, arts, literature, linguistics and main curiosities. It openly refuses advertisement.

Concerning representations of Sintra, *Ambrière's* work (1968) focuses on cultural heritage, not giving much attention to natural elements. It highlights the town's main monuments and places, the "must visit" points, and contains detailed descriptions focused on art history. Infrastructure information, accommodation, as well as transportation and food service are also present. Despite its focus on cultural heritage, we find in the book some descriptions regarding nature. Descriptions of gardens, the *Serra*, its orography, and vegetation are present, as well as compliments on Sintra's beauty by famous travel writers', such as Robert Southey and Lord Byron.

The last guidebook used in this research named *Portugal*, was published in English, in 1989, by *Insight Guides*, Portugal. Written by Alison Friesinger Hill, it was translated into French and published in the following year by *Éditions Gallimard*, with

the title *Le Grand Guide du Portugal*. The book has a completely different structure from the ones mentioned above. It presents its contents in a modernized display, blending the text with colour photographs and illustrations of monuments, people, and landscapes. It even uses a topless lady photograph as a strategy to attract buyers. It presents a much more sales-oriented approach than the previous guides.

Hill's work [1989] 1990 is divided into 5 main sections: history, society, itineraries, practical information, and maps, all well organised into their several subthemes. It approaches themes such as “*voyageurs d’hier*”, “*les croisés*”, “*le Portugal imaginaire*”, “*l’avis de Byron*” and “*un pays fidèle à lui-même*”, with comments about traveller’s accounts. The discourse of the text is very simple and clear, not leaving room for literary complex discourses and poetry. Technical information and very detailed descriptions are avoided. Regarding Sintra, the text focuses mainly on its monument’s presentation, highlighting each place suggested to the visitor. Parks, *Quintas* and beaches are also mentioned.

In tables 1 and 2, we find an overview of the primary literary sources used in this research: travelogues, guidebooks and tourism flyers.

Table 1

Travel Literature			
Year of Publication	Author	Title	Place of Publication
1902	Clementina Monteiro	Souvenirs et Profils du Portugal	Paris: Imprimerie E. Desgrandchamps
1910	Le Roy Liberge	Trois Mois en Portugal	Paris: Bernard Grasset
1913	Raúl de Azevedo	D’Além Mar	Lisbon: «Editora Limitada»
[1914] 1938	José Agostinho	À Roda de Portugal	Oporto: Editora Educação Nacional
1930	Olivia Guerra	Evocações	Lisbon: Tipografia da Caneta
1932	Paul de Laget	En Portugal	Paris: Editions Occitania
1933	Guilherme de Almeida	O Meu Portugal	São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional

1950	Miguel Torga	Portugal	Coimbra: Editora «Limitada»
[1981] 1995	José Saramago	Viagem a Portugal	Lisbon: Editora Caminho

Table 2

Guidebooks			
Year of Publication	Author	Title	Place of Publication
[1924] 1991	Raúl Proença <i>et al.</i>	Guia de Portugal	Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian
1944	Suzanne Chantal	Portugal, terre et gens	Lisbon: Shell Portuguesa, Secretariado Nacional da Informação
1958	Leonardo Coelho	Portugal, guia histórico-turístico	Lisbon: Tip. das Escolas Profissionais Salesianas. O.S.J.
1961	Suzanne Chantal	Le Portugal	Paris: Hachette
1962-1963	-	Guia de Portugal Continental, Insular e Ultramarino	Lisboa: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade Diário de Notícias
1968	Francis Ambrière	Portugal, Madère-Açores (Les guides bleus)	Paris: Librairie Hachette
[1989] 1990	Alison Hill	Le Grand Guide du Portugal	Paris: Editions Gallimard
Tourism Flyers			
1938	-	Portugal, Propaganda e Turismo, Separata da Revista Portuguesa	Lisbon: Impresa Lucas & C.
1955	-	Sintra, Portugal	Sintra: Comissão Municipal de Turismo de Sintra

Regarding the postcards, according to Dirk Spennemann (2021), postcard publication is closely linked to countries' postal regulations. Postcard production as

legitimate mail started in late 1869, it was introduced by Austrian postal service, and followed by German states. Spennemann notes that, despite the initial concerns regarding privacy on postcard messages, they still became one of the mainstays of postal stationary in the world, remaining in production as stationary until the mid-1990s, when they were overcome by the e-mail.<sup>97</sup>

Spennemann (2021) informs us that illustrated postcards with printed text, commercial and other imagery became popular by the 1870s; after 1882, engraving screen development allowed photographs to be printed via lithography on high-speed printing presses, thus picture postcards gained their popularity.<sup>98</sup> He further informs us that, with the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, postcards became a major income for the post service and, with the Kodak's popularization of cheap personal photography, individual imagery was developed.<sup>99</sup> The author defines postcards as social artefacts, "(...) creations made for consumption by a given market".<sup>100</sup>

In Spennemann's (2021) opinion, the interpretation of a heritage property's historical appearance is augmented by pictorial evidence, and is often image's minor details that provide evidence of social conditions and infrastructure services.<sup>101</sup> Besides having been reproduced as town's pictorial compilations with a sense of nostalgia about them, postcards have also been used as historical evidence to interpret special arrangement, buildings' appearance and construction activities' chronology.<sup>102</sup> Despite of the fact that photographic images were subject to retouching, mainly for political purposes, postcards are still commonly seen as accurate depictions.<sup>103</sup>

Based on other authors, Daniel Arreola & Nick Burkhart (2010) claim that, only recently, photographs have received significant analytical attention by urban history and

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<sup>97</sup> D. Spennemann, *The Evidentiary Value of Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Postcards for Heritage Studies* in "Heritage", 2021, 4, p. 1462.

<sup>98</sup> D. Spennemann, *The Evidentiary Value of Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Postcards for Heritage Studies* in "Heritage", 2021, 4, p. 1462.

<sup>99</sup> D. Spennemann, *The Evidentiary Value of Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Postcards for Heritage Studies* in "Heritage", 2021, 4, p. 1464.

<sup>100</sup> D. Spennemann, *The Evidentiary Value of Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Postcards for Heritage Studies* in "Heritage", 2021, 4, p. 1465.

<sup>101</sup> D. Spennemann, *The Evidentiary Value of Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Postcards for Heritage Studies* in "Heritage", 2021, 4, p. 1460.

<sup>102</sup> D. Spennemann, *The Evidentiary Value of Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Postcards for Heritage Studies* in "Heritage", 2021, 4, p. 1460.

<sup>103</sup> D. Spennemann, *The Evidentiary Value of Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Postcards for Heritage Studies* in "Heritage", 2021, 4, p. 1461.

geography, and re-photography methods have been applied by photographers in urban landscape investigation, by using imagery as well as personal photograph archives.<sup>104</sup>

To Arreola & Burkhardt (2010), postcards tend to capture the urban vernacular landscape, being one of its greatest values, thus allowing for landscape change examination.<sup>105</sup> To the authors, postcards are “(...) a unique subset of visual evidence (...)”, possessing the ability of capturing the same objects within a local by different postcards.<sup>106</sup> This image density proves to be beneficial to researchers aiming to visualise landscape changes through overlapping spaces in sequential images – having “(...) potential to create a narrative past.”<sup>107</sup> The authors consider postcards to be more than a time and place inventory – they are “(...) a visual narrative through time.”<sup>108</sup>

The collection of 20<sup>th</sup> century postcards about Sintra is quite vast. In Sintra’s Municipal Archive, we can find a great collection of postcards about the place.<sup>109</sup> In 2011, Nuno Gaspar and Miguel Gaspar published a book that contains an interesting collection of more than 270 images about Sintra, many of them consisting in 20<sup>th</sup> century postcards. The book, *Um Passeio de Cintra até ao Mar, postais e fotografias do passado*, cover various themes about Sintra: monuments, roads, nature, fountains, peasantry, Portuguese monarchy, and general rural scenes of Sintra’s landscape. In this research, I have analysed 18 images about Sintra: 12 postcards, 3 flyers, 2 map illustrations and 1 postage stamp. The main themes of these images correspond or add to the major narratives I have identified in literature, thus contributing to the narrative analysis in the following chapter. The themes present, in general, are nature, rurality, inhabitants and royalty.

As we could see in this chapter, Sintra was represented in various textual and visual sources from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as national and foreign travel literature, engravings, postcards, and flyers. The 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century sources about Sintra often reveal the poetics of romanticism, characterized by the cult of nature. In the 20<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> D. Arreola & N. Burkhardt, *Photographic Postcards and Visual Urban Landscape*, in “Urban Geography”, 2010, 10, p. 886.

<sup>105</sup> D. Arreola & N. Burkhardt, *Photographic Postcards and Visual Urban Landscape*, in “Urban Geography”, 2010, 10, p. 887.

<sup>106</sup> D. Arreola & N. Burkhardt, *Photographic Postcards and Visual Urban Landscape*, in “Urban Geography”, 2010, 10, p. 887.

<sup>107</sup> D. Arreola & N. Burkhardt, *Photographic Postcards and Visual Urban Landscape*, in “Urban Geography”, 2010, 10, p. 887.

<sup>108</sup> D. Arreola & N. Burkhardt, *Photographic Postcards and Visual Urban Landscape*, in “Urban Geography”, 2010, 10, p. 888.

<sup>109</sup> See <https://arquivoonline.cm-sintra.pt/DetailsForm.aspx?id=7430> Consulted on 12/05/2023.

century, the sources reveal the perpetuation of this 19<sup>th</sup> century romantic image through a poetic discourse. This subject will be further developed on the following chapter, through the analysis of the 20<sup>th</sup> century narratives about Sintra.

#### **4. Sintra's Cultural Landscape in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Narratives: Man and Nature**

The narratives discussed in this chapter were constructed using 20<sup>th</sup> century textual and visual sources about Sintra. They are agents pursuing their own interests: agents seeking to tell experiences, as in travelogue's accounts; agents that seek to sell Sintra as a tourism destination, as in the guidebook's narratives; or yet, agents that seek to promote Sintra as tourism destination while serve as material souvenir, as the postcards example. Some narratives about Sintra are presented as poetic narratives. What I mean by poetic narratives is that the poetic discourse in which Sintra's landscape was described in some of the 20<sup>th</sup> century narratives about the place, contributed to the creation of new narratives – the ones presented in this research.

These narratives about Sintra are an overlapping of individual narratives present in each of the sources analysed in this research. I thus wish to recall the reader's attention to the role of the researcher in the construction of this narratives. The researcher's interpretation of each individual representation about Sintra's landscape in is, by its own, the creation of a representation of those narratives. By that, I do not wish to mislead the reader into thinking that the research is biased and thus unvaluable. What I mean is that I am aware of the impossibility of interpreting narratives in a completely unbiased way, but that the narrative created by the interpretation of the researcher results in the struggle for constructing an image through overlapping narratives.

This image of Sintra was created by the deconstruction of the concepts implicit in 'Cultural Landscape' concept – 'man' and 'nature'. 'Man' and 'nature' concepts were chosen as main themes to represent and organize the narratives about Sintra due to the themes often repeated and/or highlighted on the sources analysed, such as peasants, water, religion and tradition, rurality, and flora.

## 4.1. Man

### 4.1.1. Peasantry and prisoners

The peasants from Portugal were described by Suzanne Chantal in the guidebook *Portugal, terre et gens*, published in 1944. The author comments on the “*saloios*”, a Portuguese word for the rural population of Lisbon’s region. The *saloios* of Colares (Sintra), Loures, and the countryside of Mafra, were described in the book by their



Fig.1. Saloio. Date unknown. Postcard not circulated, in *Um passeio de Cintra até ao mar; postais e fotografias do passado*, 2011.

physiognomy, dress, character, and activities. The Portuguese peasant is described by Chantal as patient, cunning, obstinate, parsimonious, and taciturn. In her opinion, he has a more open character by being far from the big city, living by the orchards or vines, where one can drink and eat well. Through her opinion, in this last sentence, we can clearly identify the line between the rural and the urban environment.<sup>110</sup>

That line takes us to the work of the sociologist Louis Wirth about the urban lifestyle and its influence on happiness.<sup>111</sup>

The *Saloios* of Colares, Sintra, were described by the French writer Suzanne Chantal (1944). Regarding their character, the author states that they have become famous for their “*malice saloia*” [cunning], endurance at work, and economy. Regarding their physiognomy, the males are described as small, tanned, with a big nose. About their dress, she describes

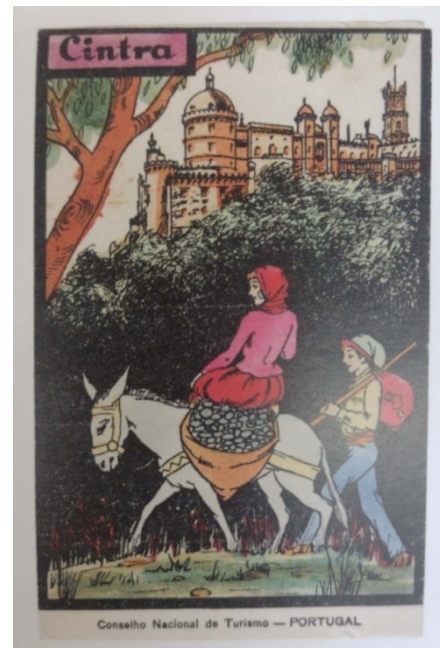


Fig.2. Sintra. Advertisement flyer. Editor: Conselho Nacional de Turismo. Date unknown, in *Um passeio de Cintra até ao mar; postais e fotografias do passado*, 2011.

<sup>110</sup> S. Chantal, *Portugal, terre et gens*, Lisbon 1944, pp. 21, 22.

<sup>111</sup> L. Wirth, *Urbanism as a way of life*, in “The American Journal of Sociology”, 1938, 44, n°1, pp. 1-24.



them as wearing leather boots, a cotton shirt with flaps tied on the stomach and an enormous black woollen cap.<sup>112</sup>

The *Saloio* of Sintra is also represented in postcards. In fact, the *saloio* became a tourism symbol of Lisbon's region, a heritage symbol, part of its identity. In Fig. 1, we have an example of a *saloio* of Sintra, using a pipe and holding an umbrella. Fig.2 shows us another interesting example of peasantry represented in visual sources. This time, an advertisement flyer by *Conselho Nacional de Turismo*. In the figure, we can see a representation of the peasants' costumes and traditional dressing. We can see the donkey used as means of human transportation. In second plan, we see Pena Castle surrounded by nature, its splendour contrasting with Sintra's rurality.

The prison of Sintra and its prisoners' hard life is noted by G. Le Roy Liberge on her travel diary. To the author, what she saw was striking. She describes the scenario as hosting a Moorish way, a prison in the main square where prisoners hold their hands to passers-by to beg their alms. She further adds that this scenario was an “*anachronism vivant*”, since Sintra was “*le séjour du monde élégant*” of the people connected to the Court.<sup>113</sup>

#### 4.1.2. The anthropology of water

Water is an element commonly referred in the narratives about *Sintra*. We can see comments on the waterfalls and lakes in the town's famous parks, the quality of the water and its uses by the population, and on the several fountains with Moorish influence that are places around the town.

The water in Sintra is described by Raúl de Azevedo as crystalline and tasteful.<sup>114</sup> The guidebook *Guia de Portugal* ([1924] 1991) classified Sintra's water as being of first



Fig. 3. Hurray to the Queen... of Monte Banzão Mineral Waters. Tipografia Santos e Magalhães. Unknown date. Postcard not circulated, in *Um passeio de Cintra até ao Mar*, 2011.

<sup>112</sup> S. Chantal, *Portugal, terre et gens*, Lisbon 1944, pp. 21, 22.

<sup>113</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910.

<sup>114</sup> R. Azevedo, *D'Além-Mar*, Lisbon 1913, p. 32.

category, especially the ones from the fountains of *Sabuga*, *Pipa*, *Regaleira* and *chafariz da Câmara*. According to the book, when taking the road called *Duche*, “(...) near or far, one soon hears the eternal voice of the waters, which everywhere drain or crash.”<sup>115</sup> In the same book, there is also a reference to a small water reservoir in Sintra, a “picturesque lagoon”, named *Lagoa Azul*.<sup>116</sup>

Regarding the fountains of the town, they are mentioned in almost every guidebook and literature analysed in this research. Paul de Laget, in his narrative about *Sintra*, mentions the love of the Moorish for fountains and “*jeaux d’eau*”<sup>117</sup>, while Le Roy Liberge describes them when taking the road to the villages of *Eugaria* and *Gigarós*. In her words: “*des fontaines monumentales ornées de faïences d’élèvent près des villages sur le bord de la route.*”<sup>118</sup>

In the postcard narratives about Sintra, in Nuno Gaspar and Miguel Gaspar’s book, *Um Passeio de Sintra até ao Mar, postais e fotografias do passado* (2011), we can see



Fig. 4. Chafariz da Câmara. Editor: G&P. Postcard circulated in 1903, in *Um passeio de Sintra até ao mar, postais e fotografias do passado*, 2011.

different postcards representing Sintra’s fountains, and some about the promotion of the quality of Sintra’s water. An example of these postcards is Fig. 3, where we can see a satiric narrative involving politics. The postcard sentence says: “Hurray to the Queen... of Monte Banzão Mineral waters.” The image shows Portuguese Republicans anti-monarchic toasting to

the “Queen” of the waters of *Monte Banzão*, Sintra.

Another interesting example of postcards about Sintra’s water regards an example of the town’s material heritage – fountains. In Fig. 4, we can see a fountain of Moorish influence – *Chafariz da Câmara* –, a project by José da Fonseca. According to Nuno Gaspar and Miguel Gaspar in *Um passeio de Sintra até ao mar, postais e fotografias do*

<sup>115</sup> “(...) perto ou longe, logo se ouve a eterna voz das águas, que por toda a parte se escoam ou despenham.” R. Proença et al. *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, p. 498.

<sup>116</sup> R. Proença et al. *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, p. 565.

<sup>117</sup> P. Laget, *En Portugal*, Paris 1932, p. 148.

<sup>118</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, p. 91.

*passado* (2011), *this fountain (chafariz in Portuguese language)* has been disassembled and reassembled in a nearby location. The restaurant in the picture was called *Bristol*, property of Claudino Fontan Lorido.<sup>119</sup>

A last example of *Sintra's* fountains in postcards regards is represented in Fig. 5. The example shows us a fountain in *Sintra – Fonte da Sabuga*. In the book, *Um passeio de Cintra até ao mar, postais e fotografias do passado* (2011), Nuno Gaspar and Miguel Gaspar wrote some comments about *Fonte da Sabuga*. According to the authors, the water from this fountain is very pure. It was mentioned in several writings about Sintra already in 1927. They explain to us that, on the 1920s, this fountain's water was sold in glass units at *Casa das Águas, Rua do Ouro*, Lisbon. They further add that, today, people still stay in line to refill bottles of



Fig. 5. Fountain at Sintra – *Fonte da Sabuga*. Editor: Rocha, Lisboa. Postcard circulated in 1911, in *Um passeio de Cintra até ao mar, postais e fotografias do passado*, 2011.

*Fonte da Sabuga* water. This last claim shows us how the social recognition of this water, the fountain as architecture element and the place (place of memory) has turned *Fonte da Sabuga* into heritage. The postcard is a representation of that heritage, Sintra's identity and regional tourism promotion.

#### 4.1.3. The Activities of Man

##### 4.1.3.1. Agriculture

Regarding agriculture, the narratives about Sintra describe the farm of the Father of the Holy Spirit. According to Le Roy Liberge, the author sees the brothers and their work as an example of the Middle Ages. Besides their agricultural work, they serve their cult

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<sup>119</sup> M. Gaspar, N. Gaspar, *Um Passeio de Cintra até ao Mar: postais e fotografias do passado*, [2010] 2011.

in a little chapel at the property. She further states that the Portuguese peasants are not grateful to the brothers for their efforts, being indifferent and immoral.<sup>120</sup>

The agricultural products of Sintra are a topic often mentioned by the travellers who described Sintra. Their books describe their interpretations about the rural landscape, and, in the case of guidebooks, these descriptions greatly contribute to promoting the place. We find references of fruits, vegetables of various sorts, and wine, the latter often mentioned in the descriptions about Colares.

José de Agostinho describes the orchards at Colares as picturesque. He described “(...) an immense orchard, sorcerer of golden apples and emeralds, watered with passion by many waters in symmetrical furrows, torn in the cheerful carpets.”<sup>121</sup> Regarding the vineyards of Colares, he describes them as “(...) slightly undulating, exposed with grace and gluttony to the sun.”<sup>122</sup> Still about Sintra’s wine, Colares wines are mentioned in the guidebook *Le Grand Guide du Portugal* ([1989] 1990). The guidebook promotes the traditional winery *Adega Regional*. Colares vineyards are said to produce a wine “*sombre et doux*.”<sup>123</sup> The book also mentions the village of *São Pedro*, relevant for its famous *tavernas* (taverns) and local wine.<sup>124</sup>



Fig.6. Colares wine. Advertising postcard. Date unknown. Postcard not circulated, in *Um passeio de Cintra até ao mar, postais e fotografias do passado*, 2011.

Colares wine is also present on postcards about Sintra. In the book *Um passeio de Cintra até ao mar, postais e fotografias do passado* (2011), Nuno Gaspar e Miguel Gaspar include some interesting information regarding Colares wine. According to the authors,

<sup>120</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, pp. 94, 95.

<sup>121</sup> “(...) um pomar imenso, feiticeiro de pomos de oiro e de esmeralda, regado com paixão por muitas águas em sulcos simétricos, rasgados nas alfombras alegres.” J. Agostinho, *À Roda de Portugal*, Oporto [1914] 1938, vol. 2, p. 247.

<sup>122</sup> “(...) levemente ondulosos, expostos com graça e gula ao sol.” J. Agostinho, *À Roda de Portugal*, Oporto [1914] 1938, vol. 2, p. 247.

<sup>123</sup> A. Hill, *Le Grand Guide du Portugal*, Paris, [1989] 1990, p. 192.

<sup>124</sup> A. Hill, *Le Grand Guide du Portugal*, Paris, [1989] 1990, p. 190.

the vineyards at Colares were already present in the twelfth century. The wine variety, called ‘Ramisco’, came from France and was introduced in the region by the King *D. Afonso III*. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the production of wine in Colares was enough for supplying the national demand and the wine was considered one of the favourites on the travels to India because of its longevity.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the wine region of Colares was awarded the status of *Região Demarcada* by the King *D. Manuel II*. In 1931, the winery *Adega Regional de Colares* was founded. Today, this winery gathers 50% of the region’s production and over 90% of the wine producers.<sup>125</sup> In Fig. 6 we have a postcard example of advertisement to Colares wine. In the postcard, we can see an illustrated Portuguese coat of Arms, symbol of the Portuguese Empire and nation. Regarding the text in Portuguese language, it refers to Portuguese Imperialism. The text says: “During the discoveries, *D. Manoel I* dictated: that on board shall not be shortage of wine of Collares... For 400 years Collares [wine] did not miss anywhere.”

#### 4.1.3.2. Commerce and Leisure at *São Pedro’s Fair*

Regarding the *saloios’* activities, according to Suzanne Chantal, the male peasants were sellers of cabbages, oranges, arums, and marigolds. In the author’s words: “[*Il*] vient à l’aube à Lisbonne avec sa carriole et son âne (...) et repart alors que la ville commence à peine à s’éveiller. Et tout le reste du jour, il sarcle, bêche, arrose, arrose surtout“. Regarding the females, they are described as laundresses, washing Lisbon’s linen in streams, and carrying huge bundles on their heads. They also sell flowers or strawberries on Sundays at the crossroads.<sup>126</sup>



Fig. 7. *Saloios* and donkey – *St. Peter’s Fair*, Sintra. Detail from illustrated map, in Sintra, Portugal, 1955.

<sup>125</sup> M. Gaspar, N. Gaspar, *Um Passeio de Cintra até ao Mar: postais e fotografias do passado*, [2010] 2011, p. 81.

<sup>126</sup> S. Chantal, *Portugal, terre et gens*, Lisbon 1944, pp. 21, 22.



According to Clementina Monteiro’s travel diary, the people of Lisbon, in need of escaping the capital’s crowd, went to Sintra on Sundays, seeking nature and leisure. In Monteiro’s words: “Despite this rather monotonous state of affairs, the crowd of the Capital, condemned all week to forced labor, explodes in Cintra on Sundays, where they come to replenish their lungs with a little fresh air, and have fun.” The author further adds that the hotels were mediocre but crowded anyway, that it was not easy to find accommodation and visitors couldn’t count on the municipality’s help on the matter.<sup>127</sup>

*Feira de São Pedro* [St. Peter’s Fair] is often mentioned on the literature of the 20<sup>th</sup> century travel literature about Sintra, either in travel diaries, from both foreign and national travellers, as well as in guidebooks. From short comments about the fair as a tourist attraction, mostly present in guidebooks, to more complex descriptions of anthropological character, mostly present in travel literature. Postcard representations of the fair are also quite common. An interesting example of visual representations of St. Peter’s fair is the detail of an illustrated map from a tourism



Fig. 8. St. Peter’s Fair, Sintra. Photograph: Eduardo Portugal. Postcard circulated in 1930, in *Um passeio de Cintra até ao mar, postais e fotografias do passado*, 2011.

flyer, published in 1955. The example, in Fig. 7, shows us two peasants (*saloios*) in traditional dressing, accompanied by their donkey carrying their agricultural goods. A postcard example, circulated in 1930, (Fig. 8) shows us the fair’s ambience, with peasants’ social interactions – an interesting visual representation of the peasant’s physiognomy and traditional dressing in postcard narratives about Sintra.

*Le Grand Guide du Portugal* [1989] 1990 writes that the fair occurs at São Pedro de Sintra village, on the second and fourth Sunday of every month. The guide further adds that, on June 29, every year, this important hebdomadary fair organizes a large flea market with all the artisans of the region.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>127</sup> C. Monteiro, *Souvenirs et Profils du Portugal (novembre 1901)*, Paris 1902, p. 41.

<sup>128</sup> A. Hill, *Le Grand Guide du Portugal*, Paris, [1989] 1990, p. 190.

The annual event of Saint Peter's fair, according to Leonardo Coelho's guidebook (1958), occurred every year, for three days. A very characteristic and much appreciated event, its visitors are presented with cattle exhibitions, market stalls with regional products, popular songs with guitars, and folklore exhibitions.<sup>129</sup>

Le Roy-Liberge also describes St. Peter's fair. The author writes about the peasant's picturesque costume, the animals used as transportation, and the shops surrounding the square. Sintra's local identity is identified in the traveller's perspective, Liberge's perspective, as an "*esemble ahurissant mais plain de couleur locale*". In her words: "*Des diligences primitives attelées de quatre mules, aux harnais brillants de cuivre, stationnaient en travers des chemins; les cultivateurs poussaient devant eux des troupeaux de vaches et d'ânes: un va-et-vient incessant de*



Fig. 9. Costumes of the Region of Colares. Editor: M. C. n. 164. Date unknown. Postcard not circulated, in *Um passeio de Cintra até ao mar, postais e fotografias do passado*, 2011.

*curieux, le bruit de l'orgue de Barbarie, les mendiants qui rampaient dans la poussière en vous assaillant de leurs cris, les voitures chargées de meubles à l'équilibre instable qui obstruaient la route, tout ce mouvement et ce vacarme composaient un ensemble ahurissant mais plein de couleur locale.*"<sup>130</sup>

Le Roy Liberge described the peasants with detail. Women were described as being dressed in "*costumes aux couleurs tranchantes, jube rouge vif avec un corsage bleu criard, un fichy orange sur la tête*"; men were described by their "semi-Moorish" physiognomy, dressed with a "*grand chapeau de feutre rond ou leur bonnet de laine vert, leur veste courte de drap ou de panne sombre, la chemine goudronnée, la large ceinture rouge serrée à la raille, le pantalon collant se terminant par une sorte de jambière et leur grand bâton de montagnard en main, ne manquaient pas de cachet*". Animals, such as mules, horses and donkeys are mentioned in her descriptions.

<sup>129</sup> L. Coelho, *Portugal, guia histórico-turístico*, Lisbon 1958, p. 102.

<sup>130</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, p. 79.

According to the author, donkeys remained the main ride for peasants, while the horse was still considered a luxury animal.<sup>131</sup> Liberge's book was published in 1910. In the guidebook *Guia de Portugal*, published in 1924, we can see that donkeys had already become obsolete as means of transportation: for tours to Pena, Mouros Castle, among others.<sup>132</sup>

Rurality and animals were quite often represented in 20th century postcards about Sintra. In fact, donkeys were as much a symbol of the town and heritage (and a historic means of transportation) as is the *saloio*, or the peasant's traditional dress. Scenes of rurality represent a great part of postcards narratives and, consequently, in Sintra's heritage and tourism promotion. In Fig. 9, we can see an example of a postcard representing the costumes of Sintra's: a donkey at work, transporting its cargo, a peasant figure, and a dog.

#### 4.1.4. Culture

##### 4.1.4.1. Aristocracy, Patriotism and Nationalism: Otherness and Identity

###### 4.1.4.1.1. Aristocracy and Palaces

José Agostinho in his travel book about Portugal, *À Roda de Portugal* ([1914] 1938) writes that "*Sintra is a town with aristocratic lines*".<sup>133</sup> The French writer Suzanne Chantal, in her guidebook *Portugal, terre et gens* (1944), also comments on Sintra's aristocratic ambience: "*En ce doux exil, rois sans couronne et prétendants sans impatience vivent en grands seigneurs.*"<sup>134</sup> In Clementina Monteiro's book (1902), we find comments about parties that took place at Sintra's castles: scenarios of splendour and marvel.<sup>135</sup> The author identifies an anachronism in the town, where beggars lay their

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<sup>131</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, pp. 78, 79.

<sup>132</sup> R. Proença et al. *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, p. 491.

<sup>133</sup> "Sintra é um povoado de linhas aristocráticas." J. Agostinho, *À Roda de Portugal*, Oporto [1914] 1938, vol. 2, p. 244.

<sup>134</sup> S. Chantal, *Portugal, terre et gens*, Lisbon 1944, pp. 11, 12.

<sup>135</sup> C. Monteiro, *Souvenirs et Profils du Portugal (novembre 1901)*, Paris 1902, p. 41.



hands out from the prison bars on a town that is the choice of the elegant people of the court.<sup>136</sup>

Regarding the life of the Portuguese court at Sintra, by Le Roy Liberge gives us some interesting comments. The author writes about the routine of Queen Amélia of



Fig. 10. Queen D. Amélia of Portugal outside Pena Palace, Sintra. Private Editions. Postcard circulated in 1908, in *Um passeio de Cintra até ao mar; postais e fotografias do passado*, 2011.

Portugal, her husband – King D. Carlos I – and their children. In her travelogue, we find opinions about the Queen’s physiognomy, the lack of liberty the throne gave her – with its etiquette –, her tendency to solidarity matters, and her preference for Pena castle as her favourite residence, for the freedom it provided her. The King’s passion for oceanography and his routine are also

commented by the author. Overall, she concludes that the Portuguese court’s habits were quite simple.<sup>137</sup> In Fig. 10, we have a postcard example of the Portuguese monarchy at Sintra. In the postcard circulated in 1908, we see Queen D. Amélia outside Pena Palace. The Queen’s husband – King D. Carlos I. – is also represented in a postcard (see Fig. 11) of advertisement to *Chicorée Extra “A la belle Jardinière”*. In the illustration, we can see the portrait of the King D. Carlos I, Sintra representing the national landscape with its Pena Castle, and other Portuguese National elements, such as the traditional Portuguese ship from the *Overseas Discoveries – Caravela* – and the name of the Portugal capital city – “*Lisbonne*”. This Portuguese National Identity illustration alludes to art deco.

At the time of Liberge’s visit to Sintra, according to her writings, the Queen was inhabiting the National Palace, so it was not open to the public. In return, she was able to enter *Monserrate*, which was, according to her and other accounts, normally closed to the public. She described the palace as “*le palais de la reine-mère, dont les deux bizarres cheminées en forme de cône de remarquent de loin (...)*”.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>136</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, p. 81.

<sup>137</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, pp. 75, 76.

<sup>138</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, pp. 85, 86.

The author also commented on aristocratic youth and their performance in plays and choruses at Garrett theatre. According to her, the young Prince Dom Manoel made use of the tennis court at *Seteais*. About her personal experience in Sintra, she tells us that almost every acquaintance of her was related to the court. She had the opportunity to experience moonlit walks at Mouros Castle, donkey rides, picnics, and gossiping.<sup>139</sup>



Life at Convento dos Capuchos was commented by Liberge with surprise. To her, the life conditions of the place were

Fig.11. Portrait of D. Carlos I of Portugal and Pena Castle. Advertisement to *Chicorée Extra "A la belle Jardinière"*. Editor : LILHS. Date unknown. Postcard not circulated, in *Um passeio de Cintra até ao mar, postais e fotografias do passado*, 2011.

very poor due to the humidity the building was subject to. The name of *Corticós* is mentioned. The word coming from another Portuguese word *Cortiça* [cork], the material used in the decoration of the palace and quite common in Portugal. Today, cork is a national and tourism symbol in Portugal, given its great production. In the following excerpt, we find a detailed description of the Convent of *Capuchos* from Liberge's narrative: "la chapelle est une caverne ronde, où on célèbre la messe encore une fois par an le jour de la fête patronale; la salle capitulaire est un autre réduit où l'on ne peut se tenir debout; les plaques de liège qui tapissaient les parois et qui ont fait donner à ce couvent le nom de *Corticós*, se décollent à cause de l'humidité qui suinte des rochers : on se demande comment des êtres humains ont pu passer leur vie dans de pareilles conditions!"<sup>140</sup>

Raúl de Azevedo, in his book *D'Além Mar* (1913) commented on *Pena Palace*. He writes with satisfaction that the Republic had little influence on the traditional Palace, describing its decoration and commenting on Portugal's history and monarchy. He also elaborates a detailed description of the interior of the palace, commenting on the fine taste of the Queen D. Amélia and the bad taste for decoration of his son *D. Manuel*.<sup>141</sup> In his writings, Sintra stands out, representing the Portuguese *Patria*: "Cintra, - Homeland of

<sup>139</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, pp. 81.

<sup>140</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, pp. 88.

<sup>141</sup> R. Azevedo, *D'Além-Mar*, Lisbon 1913, pp. 29-35.

brides, Homeland of Love...”.<sup>142</sup> About the Queen’s chambers, Azevedo writes: “Sumptuous the queen’s private rooms (...) The entire bathroom is made with excellent wood from Brazil (...) In all of Dona Amelia’s rooms there is a refined taste of a delicate woman, superiorly educated, everything simple and beautiful, I would say almost charming...”<sup>143</sup> Regarding Dom Manuel II chambers, according to Azevedo describes them as “Sad and ugly, ordinary, without a note of art, anti-artistic, and truly inexpressive (...) Very modest furniture, a small and ridiculous bed, covered with an old silk quilt that was in use by the king, the toilet, crockery and glassware, very poor...”<sup>144</sup>

Regarding *Pena Palace*, José Agostinho, in his travel book about Portugal *À Roda de Portugal* ([1914] 1938) commented on the palace’s “confusion of styles”, agreeing with another writer regarding its ‘fantasy’, ‘unconsciousness’, ‘bad taste’ and ‘improvisation’ (mostly in its interior).<sup>145</sup> The Palace of *Seteais* was also worthy of attention. It was referred by Suzanne Chantal, in the guidebook *Portugal, terre et gens* (1944) for its authenticity. In Chantal’s words: “*Le Palace Hotel de Seteais mérite plus qu’un autre ce titre princier, puisqu’il s’agit d’un authentique Palais du XVIIème siècle dont on a respecté le cadre et le ton raffiné.*”<sup>146</sup>

#### 4.1.4.1.2. Portuguese Imperialism as Identity in the traveller’s Perspective

Le Roy-Liberge (1910) wrote about Portuguese identity using a metaphor. She compared the Portuguese soul to pigeons with agile wings – a people of rich explorers once but now constricted to their poor land. In her words: “*Les pigeons demi-familiers qui roucoulent et font leur nid sur notre terrasse, qu’ils égaient de leur vol blanc, me semblent symboliser l’âme portugaise : il suffirait de leur ouvrir l’espace pour que leur aile agile les porte aux plus lointains horizons. Tels autrefois les hardis compagnons de*

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<sup>142</sup> “Cintra, - Pátria de noivos, Patria de Amor...”. R. Azevedo, *D’Além-Mar*, Lisbon 1913, p. 35.

<sup>143</sup> “Sumptuosos os salões particulares da rainha (...) A sala de banho toda ella é feita com excelente madeira do Brazil (...) Em todos os aposentos de dona Amelia há um fino gosto de mulher delicada, superiormente educada, tudo simples e lindo, diria quasi encantador...”. R. Azevedo, *D’Além-Mar*, Lisbon 1913, p. 29.

<sup>144</sup> “Tristes e feios, banaes, sem uma nota de arte, anti-artisticos, e verdadeiramente inexpressivos (...) Moveis modestissimos, uma cama pequena e ridícula, coberta com uma velha colcha de sêda que estava em uso pelo rei, e os serviços de *toilette*, louças e vidros, paupérrimos...”. R. Azevedo, *D’Além-Mar*, Lisbon 1913, p. 30.

<sup>145</sup> J. Agostinho, *À Roda de Portugal*, Oporto [1914] 1938, vol. 2, p. 283.

<sup>146</sup> S. Chantal, *Portugal, terre et gens*, Lisbon 1944, p. 12.

*Vasco da Gama ont franchi des océans inconnus pour aller conquérir les trésors des Indes : et leurs fils se bornent maintenant à voleter sur leur sol appauvri!*”<sup>147</sup>

Le Roy-Liberge (1910) also commented on *Convento dos Capuchos*. She expressed her judgment on the excess of religiosity in Portugal in her travelogue. The melancholy of the conditions of life and the simplicity of the religious order was deduced by the authors’ analogy of Portugal with France and England. She used the tables of the Covent in a metaphor, where she compared Portugal’s cultural and religious reality with France’s and England’s. In her statement, she referred to the profane people, but the examples of France and England are clear: they – France and England’s people – are more profane than Portugal’s people, more cheerful and fancier in their cultures.

In Liberge’s words: “*Pour nous, profanes, les tables de pierre du monastère, servent à étaler les nappes fines et les mets délicats d’un lunch fort gai où la France et l’Angleterre fraternisent...*”.<sup>148</sup> In the example above, otherness has great significance – it is a clear case of comparison between countries, *Patrias*, Cultures, the judgment about superiority of civilizations, directly connected to preconceived ideas and ideals. The guidebook, *Le Grand Guide du Portugal* ([1989] 1990), confirms the existence of prejudice in French society about Portugal: “*La France cultivée se fit par ses mots une image très négative du Portugal, pays au demeurant très religieux.*”<sup>149</sup>

Suzanne Chantal (1961) also commented on the relationship between Portugal and France, and how the two nations are closer to each other than Portugal is to Spain. This may come as a surprise, given the history of the Iberian Peninsula and the cultural resemblances between Portuguese and Spanish culture, but Chantal seems to find a spiritual reason for the influence France had in Portugal. In the writer’s opinion: “*Oui, la France, au Portugal, est infiniment plus présente, plus sensible, que l’Espagne. E pourrait n’être qu’une fidélité de cœur (...), une prédilection spirituelle (...) Mais l’histoire n’impose rien, jamais, que la propre nature se soit prête à accueillir.*”<sup>150</sup>

*Le Grand Guide di Portugal* ([1989] 1990) explains the closeness between Portuguese and French nations with two reasons: education and immigration history. The second

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<sup>147</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, p. 78.

<sup>148</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, p. 88.

<sup>149</sup> A. Hill, *Le Grand Guide du Portugal*, Paris, [1989] 1990, p. 87.

<sup>150</sup> S. Chantal, *Le Portugal*, Paris 1961.

refers to the Portuguese large-scale immigration to France, starting in end of the 1950s, due to the dictatorship regime present in the country. In the guidebook, we can read: “*Les Portugais connaissent bien la France et les Français pour deux raisons : la culture française est depuis longtemps étudiée dans les universités portugaises, et l’émigration massive des Portugais dans les années 60 a contribué à faire connaître la France. Mais l’inverse est beaucoup moins vrai.*”<sup>151</sup>

#### 4.1.4.1.3. Patriotism and National Identity

Olivia Guerra, in the book *Evocações* (1930) wrote about *Paço de Sintra* (The National Palace) and *Penha Verde*. Her comments regard Sintra’s identity, reflected in descriptions of the monuments. The fact that she was born in Sintra gives her a perspective of the town’s local identity from within. In fact, she alludes to her infancy in one of her descriptions about the National Palace, giving the reader an interesting explicit notion of the author’s closeness with the town, which was part of her identity as individual and writer. The sense of Patriotism is also present in her palace description.

Regarding the National Palace (*Paço de Sintra*), Olivia Guerra (1930) compared the palace with a “strange jewel”, rising from the fog of the “lordly town”, a “gentle Alhambra”, having the “grace of Christian thought”. Here, Sintra’s uniqueness is described as precious. The National palace identity is represented by the mixture of Islamic and Christian art. In Guerra’s words: “In the sleepy depths of the lordly town, like a strange jewel, fading its legendary profile in the fog, rises the palace – gentle Alhambra united with the delicate grace of Christian thought. It is surrounded by masses full of thick greenery and its uneven roofs, yet so harmonious as a whole (...)”.<sup>152</sup>

Regarding local identity and Patriotism expressed in Olivia Guerra’s National Palace descriptions, her words speak of closeness and identity out loud: “Paço de Sintra, reach of silence, where the wing of time forgot to remember, the theatre of my childhood

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<sup>151</sup> A. Hill, *Le Grand Guide du Portugal*, Paris, [1989] 1990, p. 89.

<sup>152</sup> “No fundo adormecido do burgo senhoril, como uma jóia estranha, esfumando no nevoeiro o seu perfil de lenda, surge o palácio – Alhambra gentil unida à graça delicada do pensamento cristão. Cercam-no massiços fartos de verdura espessa e os seus telhados desiguaes, de conjunto todavia tão harmonioso (...)”. O. Guerra, *Evocações*, Lisbon 1930, p. 33.

admiration, I love you and cherish you always for what you represent in the history of my homeland, for that part of tenderness which connects you to the story of my life.”<sup>153</sup>

About Penha Verde, Olivia Guerra’s comments on the old owner of the *Quinta*, D. João de Castro, the Viceroy of India. Her descriptions have a mix of romanticism, represented by nature, and Imperialism. Religion and the Portuguese people’s identity are also part of the author’s romantic narrative about Portuguese Imperialism. Below, I present two relevant excerpts of Olivia’s descriptions. In her text, the allusion to Imperialism as national identity is quite clear: “In times gone by, when the Viceroy sought rest and calm there for his glorious fatigues overseas, there was running water in clear fountains, images of saints in the white chapels, red oranges in the lush orange trees and showy flowers in the shallow flowerbeds.”<sup>154</sup>

Another passage from her text still alludes to Imperialism. However, it alludes to religion and the identity of the Portuguese people, reflected in their characteristic eyes – soft and contemplative brown eyes: “It was for the soft, brown eyes – the contemplative Portuguese eyes – that God made that slender roof, so they would have an airy balcony from which to interrogate the Infinite at the uncertain time when there was a lack of news of absent loves, as it was for daring hearts the daring hearts of the navigators of Portugal – that God extended far away, in the blue wilds of the West, in front of Penha Verde, the wide ribbon of the Ocean, through which the fabulous riches of the mysterious lands beyond the seas come to us.”<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> “Paço de Sintra, alcáçar do silêncio, onde a aza do tempo se esqueceu a memorar, o teatro da minha infantil admiração, que te quero bem e te acarinho sempre pelo que de grande representas na História da minha Pátria, pelo que de ternura te liga à história da minha vida.” O. Guerra, *Evocações*, Lisbon 1930, p. 40.

<sup>154</sup> “Em tempos idos, quando o Vice-Rei buscava ali o repouso e a calma para as suas gloriosas fadigas de além-mar, havia água corrente nas fontes claras, imagens de santos nas capelinhas brancas, laranjas rubras nos laranjeiros viçosos e flores vistosas nos canteiros raios.” O. Guerra, *Evocações*, Lisbon 1930, p. 44.

<sup>155</sup> “Foi para os olhos castanhos e suaves – os contemplativos olhos portugueses – que Deus fez aquele eirado esbelto, para terem uma varanda airosa d’onde interrogarem o Infinito na hora incerta em que faltassem novas de amores ausentes, como foi para corações ousados os ousados corações dos navegadores de Portugal – que Deus estendeu lá longe, nos confins azues do Ocidente, em frente de Penha Verde, a fita larga do Oceano, por onde vieram até nós as riquezas fabulosas das misteriosas terras de além-mar.” O. Guerra, *Evocações*, Lisbon 1930, pp. 45, 46.

#### 4.1.4.1.4. Tradition, Beliefs, Religion, Rituals and Festivities

Catholic Religion was often described by 20<sup>th</sup> century foreign travellers on their writings. As example, we have Paul de Laget's (1932) account, who arrived in Sintra on Good Friday. He describes a scenario of the ritual procession taking place in Sintra during the religious festivity: "*Des hommes aux vêtements recouverts d'un manteau violet portaient, sous un dais, dans une sorte de bière, la statue du Christ recouverte d'une voile de gaze. Les prêtres suivaient en ornements de deuil, puis une musique qui jouait des airs funèbres, enfin une feule d'hommes, d'enfants, et de femmes dont les beaux cheveux noirs étaient couverts d'un mouchoir de soie.*"<sup>156</sup>

In José Saramago's ([1981] 1995) descriptions about Sintra, *S. Mamede's* chapel is mentioned. He comments on the rural appearance of the building with surprise. To him, the sanctuary looks more like a rural building than a house of devotion. He mentions a long porch on the chapel giving the sensation of pleasantness, alluding to the rather surprising simplicity of the Catholic temple, and to the context of the surroundings – a rural context.<sup>157</sup>

Still in the same scenario, Saramago mentions the strangeness of the room's organization, distinct from common sanctuaries. He notices a circular stone bench that, contrary to the other benches of the chapel, accompanies the construction. The bench startles a mystery in his narrative, a mystery about the cults once practiced on that place of memory. This mystery is responsible for feeding the traveller's imagination. The author, later in his discourse, suggests an answer to this mystery – the presence of a solar or moon cult once celebrated there, a place of memory of pagan practices.

A reference to Muslim culture in Saramago's writings is another interesting example of Religion and Culture, of acculturation. The author uses a metaphor about Paradise to represent the encounter of the Christian world with the Arabic one. While commenting on the interior of Sintra's National Palace, its architectural characteristics, he writes: "When the Christian spirit met the Arab spirit, a new art wanted to be born. They cut its

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<sup>156</sup> P. Laget, *En Portugal*, Paris 1932, p. 147.

<sup>157</sup> J. Saramago, *Viagem a Portugal*, Lisbon [1981] 1995, p. 281.

wings so it couldn't fly. Among the birds of paradise it would be one of the most beautiful. It couldn't fly, it couldn't live.”<sup>158</sup>

In the excerpt above, we can identify a metaphor using architectural elements, which are presented to us as birds. The reference to Paradise Garden, to religion, alludes to the beauty of the mixture of styles characteristic of both Arabic and Christian-Cultures. The omitted comparison with the singularity of each culture leads us to the conclusion that the writer sees the value of diversity in unity. Still, as his metaphor stresses, the mixture of styles did not merge adequately – they have failed in reaching unity and a cultural unitary essence on the building, thus failing to bring alive a new style, to give flight to the mixed breed “bird”. Cultural and religious identity are claiming its territory in Saramago's metaphor, dressed as opposite forces to the acculturation process, which is represented by the National Palace material heritage.

Mythology is also present on the literary narrative about Sintra. Paul de Laget (1932) described the surrounding scenario in the heights of *Sintra's Serra*, and the sensations it has given him: “*Le vent, qui sans cesse souffle, semble apporter de l'océan les soupirs confondus de Vénus et de Neptune.*” About the village of *Colares*, Laget writes about the people's superstitious beliefs, influenced by mythological elements: “*Jadis les habitants de Collares, petit village qui termine la vallée auprès de l'océan, assuraient que dans une grotte voisine l'on voyait parfois, autour d'une roche battue par les flots, 'des tritons ou hommes marins' jouant de leur trompe (...)*”. According to the author, the memories of mythology have long been on that region, the Moorish have left there their poetry and their legends.<sup>159</sup>

Regarding representations of rituals in Sintra, G. Le Roy Liberge (1919) witnesses a funeral, which she described in detail. In the author's description, cultural judgment is evidenced by the nature of the speech. Cultural identity is recognised and affirmed through otherness. In the author's words : “*(...) c'était il y a quelques jours, à l'église de Santa-Maria, un cortège d'enfants apportant un petit cercueil rose galonné d'or qu'on ouvrait devant le prêtre pour recevoir la bénédiction: le pauvre petit corps était habillé, entouré de fleurs, la figure seulement couverte d'un mouchoir et les enfants ne paraissant*

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<sup>158</sup> “Quando o espírito cristão se encontrou com o espírito árabe, uma nova arte quis nascer. Cortaram-lhe as asas para que não voasse. Entre os pássaros do paraíso, seria esse dos mais famosos. Não pôde voar, não pôde viver.” J. Saramago, *Viagem a Portugal*, Lisbon [1981] 1995, p. 286.

<sup>159</sup> P. Laget, *En Portugal*, Paris 1932, p. 148.



nullement impressionnées, emportaient dans leurs bras à la fosse commune leur ancien camarade sans que ni les parents, ni le prêtre l'accompagnent. L'usage touchant d'ailleurs est d'exposer les morts dans leur cercueil à visage découvert en les couvrant de fleurs...Mais ce culte est réduit ici à sa plus simple expression.” Liberge also commented on the cult of baptism. To her, the formalities were very complicated.<sup>160</sup>

Paganism is another relevant aspect in the narratives about Sintra. The reference in the well-known slogan of Sintra “*Monte da Lua*” [The Mount of the Moon] is due to pagan historic beliefs. Paul de Laget [1932] commented on that reference. He describes, in a sort of mysticism: “*Cette montagne s'appelait autrefois 'Mons lunae' peut-être à cause de sa forme arrondie dont le nom de Cintra semblerait évoquer la courbe. Les anciens y avaient élevé un temple dédié au soleil et à la lune ainsi que cela résulte d'une inscription trouvée parmi les ruines (...) Au soleil éternel, à la lune, Pour l'éternité de L'Empire et le salut de l'Empereur...*”.<sup>161</sup> The inscription in Latin, which the author translated into French, mentions natural elements found in paganism beliefs but also has its roots deep on Imperialism. In Fig. 12, we can find an interesting detail of an illustrated map from a tourism flyer published in 1955. The detail shows Sintra's Coat of Arms with two half moons on both sides of the tower and its Moorish architecture door.



Fig. 12. Sintra's Coat of Arms. Detail of illustrated map, in *Sintra, Portugal*, 1955.

Festivities and leisure are also themes present in the narratives about Sintra. Music, fireworks, dances, and the melancholy of *Fado* are mentioned in Liberge's (1910) travel narrative scenario. In her words: “*A la veille de certaines fêtes, une rumeur bruit dans la campagne, le bourdonnement strident des guitarras accompagne les airs un peu mélancoliques du 'fado' les détonations des feux d'artifice résonnent sous les bosquets: les lucioles sillonnent la nuit de leur vol de feu. On sent vibrer l'âme populaire à la fois naïve et amoureuse, indolente et fataliste (...) jeunes garçons et jeunes filles dansent toute la nuit en chantant des complaintes où l'amour exprimé avec une sentimentalité intense s'allie à la religiosité superstitieuse.*”<sup>162</sup> This passage

<sup>160</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, pp. 79, 80.

<sup>161</sup> P. Laget, *En Portugal*, Paris 1932, pp. 147, 148.

<sup>162</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, p. 78.

describes Sintra's intangible heritage – *Fado* music, representing national identity. The author clearly expresses to see the soul of the people. In her discourse, the line between identity and otherness seems to vanish, reaching cultural understanding through experience, observation, share.

## 4.2. Nature

### 4.2.1. Sintra's Grandeur

Sintra's reputation is commented both in travel literature and guidebooks. The town's grandeur can be seen in different statements, such as “the delight of Portugal”<sup>163</sup>, “Sintra of engagements and dreams”,<sup>164</sup> “*véritablement un autre monde*”.<sup>165</sup> The town is considered by some writers as one of the privileged places of Portugal<sup>166</sup> and one of the most beautiful places of Southern Europe.<sup>167</sup> It is also said that “all roads lead to Sintra.”<sup>168</sup> – the analogy with Rome.

The town was one of the Portuguese people's main choices of vacation, as well as of fancy foreigners from all countries.<sup>169</sup> Promoted as Portugal's most popular resort during the low season and one of Europe's most famous touristic centres.<sup>170</sup> The town was also described as booming out of Lisbon's surroundings mediocrity.<sup>171</sup>

In postcards representations about Sintra, we find narratives promoting the town as a health resort destination. In Fig. 13, we have an interesting example of a postcard advertising *Praia das Maçãs*, offering a marine cure to severe health conditions. The example causes quite an impact on the reader since it uses an illustration of sick children with rickets disease to pass their message. Just below the illustration, we can read: “Deformities caused by Rickets”.

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<sup>163</sup> “A delícia de Portugal.” G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, p. 32.

<sup>164</sup> “Sintra de noivados e de sonhos”. R. Azevedo, *D'Além-Mar*, Lisbon 1913, p. 32.

<sup>165</sup> A. Hill, *Le Grand Guide du Portugal*, Paris, [1989] 1990, p. 189.

<sup>166</sup> A. Hill, *Le Grand Guide du Portugal*, Paris, [1989] 1990, p. 189.

<sup>167</sup> F. Ambrière, *Madère-Açores*. Paris 1968, p. 235.

<sup>168</sup> J. Saramago, *Viagem a Portugal*, Lisbon [1981] 1995, p. 281.

<sup>169</sup> A. Hill, *Le Grand Guide du Portugal*, Paris, [1989] 1990, p. 189.

<sup>170</sup> R. Proença *et al.* *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, p. 493.

<sup>171</sup> R. Proença *et al.* *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, pp. 493, 494.



Fig. 13. Charity Initiative at Sintra – Praia das Maçãs, the cure for Rickets disease. Edition of Associação de Caridade de Sintra. Date unknown. Postcard not circulated, in *Um passeio de Cintra até ao mar, postais e fotografias do passado*, 2011.

This postcard is an edition of the Association of Charity of Sintra and its main goal was rather to promote the charity association’s work as possibly the raising of funding than promote the beach *Praia das Maçãs* as a health resort. The promotion of the beach as a tourism attraction comes in second plan, as we will see when analysing the postcard’s full text. The text expresses with detail the actions of the charity association as a true

call for attention and empathy towards their cause. The postcard starts with the announcement “Rickets atrophies once happy, hopeful children!...”. In the left side of the illustration, we can read “in 9 years: transported, every year, to Praia das Maçãs, for maritime healing - an average of 500 children”. In the right side, we read: “in 9 years: prescriptions dispensed 17,000. distribution of cod oil and iodine-tannic syrup - 4,000 kg”. Under the illustration, the body of the text explains the mission of the Charity Association while asking for support and propaganda from the public. The text says: “The Sintra Charity Association, in addition to supporting many indigent and sick people, continues to try to rescue the weak, rickety, thin, affected with scrofula, children of Sintra from the clutches of tuberculosis. (...) The entire population of Sintra has benefited from the work of the Sintra Charity Association. Help it and advertise its usefulness, because by doing so, you dignify yourself by showing your feelings of charity and patriotism, while also contributing to your own defence against tuberculosis and other contagious diseases.”

#### 4.2.2. Nature and Literature

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century travel literature about Sintra, we can find narratives connecting nature with literature. I don’t mean narratives that mention Sintra’s nature, but comments about writers from the past – both foreign and Portuguese – that wrote about Sintra and often mentioned the grandeur of its nature. These narratives are not only found in travel literature but also in visual sources, such as flyers.

Among those narratives, we have the narrative about Lord Byron as the *ex libris* of foreign literature about Sintra. Byron described Sintra as “Eden”, the analogy with the Garden of Paradise. In fact, religion plays an important role in the narratives about Sintra. Another example is José Samarago’s ([1981] 1995) description of Sintra as “Paradise found”.<sup>172</sup> José Agostinho’s ([1914] 1938) narrative is another good example of the narrative about Byron. He makes an analogy between Byron’s opinion and Portuguese writer Almeida Garrett’s opinion about Sintra. In his words, while “Byron worshiped grandeur, Garrett idolized delights”.<sup>173</sup>

Regarding the references about Sintra as the Eden in 20<sup>th</sup> century travel literature, Paul de Laget (1932) travelogue is a good example. He refers to Sintra as the Garden of Paradise while crossing the Royal Park of Sintra. To him, that Eden’s essence lies in fantasy, self-elegance, and unique vegetation.<sup>174</sup> While descending *Mouros* Castle, G. Liberge (1910) writes about the “*délices de cet Éden inconnu*”<sup>175</sup> and mentions the Eden hotel, which she describes as a “(...) *petit chalet qui se présente au voyageur, (...) un coin des plus fertiles et des mieux cultivés, avec ses champs de maïs vert, ses vignes renommées et ses plantureux vergers.*”<sup>176</sup>

An interesting comment connecting literature and nature is also worthy of our attention. The example was made by the Portuguese writer Miguel Torga, using a personification figure of speech in his discourse. Torga (1950) wrote that Portugal ought to dedicate a natural reservation park to Portuguese lyrism, where its remaining species could be protected from decimation, where they could live in paradisiac reverie and by inspiration. Torga (1950) further added that lyrism would visit places in Portugal and enjoy granitic vacations in Cintra.<sup>177</sup> In his narrative, national literature is represented as heritage. He created a metaphor using cultural immaterial heritage, nature, and nature conservation. About the granitic vacations statement, it is an allusion to Sintra’s geological nature, which is part of its identity.

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<sup>172</sup> “O Paraíso encontrado”. J. Saramago, *Viagem a Portugal*, Lisbon [1981] 1995, p. 280.

<sup>173</sup> “Byron adorava as grandezas, Garrett idolatrava as delícias”. J. Agostinho, *À Roda de Portugal*, Oporto [1914] 1938, vol. 2, p. 245.

<sup>174</sup> P. Laget, *En Portugal*, Paris 1932, p. 165.

<sup>175</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, pp. 82, 85.

<sup>176</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, pp. 91, 92.

<sup>177</sup> M. Torga, *Portugal*, Coimbra 1950, p. 90.

A narrative of 19<sup>th</sup> century travellers who wrote about Sintra is also present in 20<sup>th</sup> century guidebooks about Portugal. In the guidebook *Guia de Portugal* ([1924] 1991), the town is said to have been once called by a poet “Moorish princess covered in the white freshness of the mists”.<sup>178</sup> In the same book, we find references to great sixteenth century Portuguese national writers, such as Heitor Pinto, Luís de Camões and Gil Vicente: the first is said to have come from the Orient and have said that the first sight of Sintra was its Pena; the second, on his Portuguese literature canon *Os Lusíadas*, is said to have wrote about the town with “wistful sentiment”;<sup>179</sup> the third, on his work *Triunfo do Inferno*, is said to have described Sintra’s *Serra* as a “navigators beacon”.<sup>180</sup>

The guidebook *Guia de Portugal* ([1924] 1991) also refers to Portuguese national writers, from Gil Vicente to Almeida Garrett, affirming their exaltation of Sintra. In the book, we can read: “(...) its Edenic sweetness or its savage grandeur have imposed themselves to the admiration of foreign travellers.”<sup>181</sup> From those foreign travellers, we find general references to Bazin, Chodat, Strauss and Martin Hume. This important work of national propaganda also refers foreign writers’ statements about Sintra. We have as examples: the British writer Robert Southley (1887-1843) statement, who called Sintra “the most blessed clod of the entire inhabitable Earth”<sup>182</sup>; the also British writer Henry Mattews, who called Sintra “(...) the real mansion of romance...”<sup>183</sup>; the engraver George Landmann (1779-1854), who wrote that Sintra was an “earthly paradise (...) with no rival among the picturesque paintings”<sup>184</sup>; George Borrow (1803-1881), English writer, who described Sintra as an “enchanted land”<sup>185</sup>; the famous Felix Lichnowsky (1814-1848) who claimed that Sintra was “(...) the most beautiful point on Earth...”<sup>186</sup>; Dorothy Quillinan (1804-1847), British writer, who compared Sintra to Easedale Tarn Lake, “I can

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<sup>178</sup> “princesa moira rebuçada na fresquidão alva das brumas”. R. Proença *et al.* *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, p. 493.

<sup>179</sup> “sentimento tão saudoso”. R. Proença *et al.* *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, p. 494.

<sup>180</sup> “baliza de viajantes”. R. Proença *et al.* *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, p. 494.

<sup>181</sup> “(...) a sua doçura edénica ou a sua grandeza selvática se tenham imposto à admiração dos viajantes estrangeiros.” R. Proença *et al.* *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, p. 495.

<sup>182</sup> “o mais abençoado torrão de todo o mundo habitável”. R. Proença *et al.* *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, p. 496.

<sup>183</sup> “(...) a verdadeira mansão do romance...” R. Proença *et al.* *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, p. 496.

<sup>184</sup> “paraíso terrestre (...) sem rival entre os quadros pitorescos” R. Proença *et al.* *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, p. 496.

<sup>185</sup> “terra encantada”. R. Proença *et al.* *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, p. 496.

<sup>186</sup> “(...) o mais belo de todos os pontos da terra...” R. Proença *et al.* *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, p. 496.

conceive several Easedale in the World, but no other Sintra...”<sup>187</sup>; or yet the French writer Armand Dayot (1851-1934), who called Sintra the “eighth wonder of the Word.”<sup>188</sup>



Fig. 14. Tourism flyer of Sintra. Date unknown. Reedition: Lito of Artistas Reunidos – Porto. Private collection, in *Um Passeio de Cintra até ao Mar; postais e fotografias do Passado*, 2011.

Regarding Lord Byron’s relevance in the guidebook *Guia de Portugal* [1924] 1991, he occupies the major role of famous writers who helped create Sintra’s image and its identity through representations. The guide mentions Byron’s famous poem *Childe Herold*, where Sintra was called the “Glorious Eden”, a letter sent to Hodgson, mentioning Sintra as the most beautiful place of the world, and a letter to his mother, where the town was mentioned as being the most pleasant village of the world. The guidebook questions how there isn’t any street in commemoration of Lord Byron. Instead, we

can find the reference to a restaurant using the writer’s name – *Cantinho do Lord Byron*.<sup>189</sup> Here, we can clearly see the awareness of Byron as being part of Sintra’s identity and how commemorations and homages to important figures in national history turn in simple commodities that serve Tourism.

Some interesting examples of the importance of literature in asserting Sintra’s identity can be found in illustrations from promotional flyers. Below, we find two interesting examples of that: the first example is Fig. 14, a tourism flyer about Sintra. By examining the flyer, we can quickly see that Lord Byron’s quote “Glorious Eden” had become a slogan of Sintra. In second plan, we can identify some names already mentioned in the literary narratives: statements about the town by Armand Dayot’s statement “La VIII<sup>o</sup> Merveille du Monde”; Gil Vicente, “A Garden of the earthly Paradise”<sup>190</sup>; a Spanish proverb, “Leave Sintra and see the whole world is, in truth, to walk hooded”,<sup>191</sup> and Strauss’s quote in German, “The true garden of Klingsor”.<sup>192</sup> These statements contribute to creating a narrative of Sintra’s identity through otherness. The golden and red colours

<sup>187</sup> “Posso conceber vários Easedale no Mundo, mas nenhuma outra Sintra...” R. Proença et al. *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, p. 496.

<sup>188</sup> “oitava maravilha do Mundo.” R. Proença et al. *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, p. 496.

<sup>189</sup> R. Proença et al. *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, p. 496.

<sup>190</sup> “Um jardim do Paraíso terreal”.

<sup>191</sup> “Dejar a Cintra, y ver al mundo entero es, en verdade, caminhar en capuchero”.

<sup>192</sup> “Der wahre garten klingsors”.

in the flyer show great contrast, giving glamour to the ambience of the flyer. The glamour is also represented by the fancy dressing of the figures. These figures, in turn, represent the Portuguese nobility and elite, which is Sintra served as resort. We can also see fountains and the arches in ogive of Islamic influence. Sintra's identity is represented all over the tourism flyer.

The second example is a flyer of advertisement for *Queijadas de Sintra* (Fig. 15), a local traditional dessert of Sintra. The flyer is from the factory *Queijadas Tirol de Sintra*.

It uses famous writers' names and their quotes about Sintra, both from national and foreign writers' statements. There are quotes from writers/artists, important figures in society. Some of these figures are also present in the narratives in travel literature, as we can see. Names we already mentioned, such as: Hugh Owen, Prince Linchnowsky, Garrett, Camões, Strauss, Armand Dayot, Gil Vicente, Byron; and new ones, like Eça de Queiroz, Pinho Leal, Porto-Além and Visconde Jeromenha. In the flyer's title, we can read: "Here is what some famous figures said about Sintra."<sup>193</sup>

The flyer is a good example of Sintra's beauty and grandeur represented in local heritage promotion, in this case, in the promotion of a local dessert. It is a good example of the use of heritage to promote heritage. In fact, the flyer not only promotes a local product but also helps consolidating the town's identity by taking part on the creation of its image.

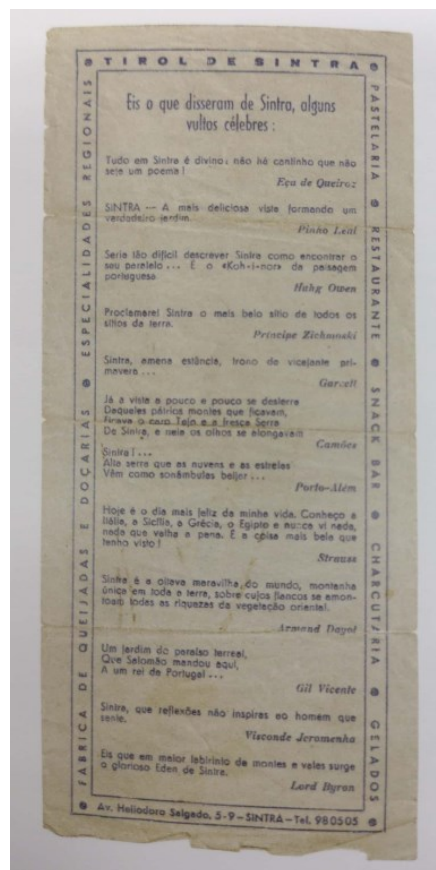


Fig. 15. Flyer of advertisement for *Fábrica de Queijadas Tirol de Sintra*. Date Unknown in *Um Passeio de Cintra até ao Mar, Postais e fotografias do Passado*, 2011.

<sup>193</sup> "Eis o que disseram de Sintra, alguns vultos célebres".



### 4.2.3. The View: the *Serra* and the Horizon

*Serra de Sintra* [the mountain surroundings of Sintra] was often described in the 20th century travel literature about Portugal. The author commented on its hill, its mountains, the horizon, and the orography and geological nature of its landscape. The landscape was sometimes described as “alpine and always new in appearance”<sup>194</sup> or as a “paradise of freshness and silence”.<sup>195</sup> The guidebook *Madère-Açores* (1968) describes it as of the most beautiful places in Europe.

The view of Sintra’s *serra*, the panorama, and what lies beyond the horizon was often described in the 20<sup>th</sup> century travelogues by a discourse expressing the idea/sensation of grandeur, vastness, and wideness. To José Agostinho ([1914]1938), what attracted him the most in Sintra was its “panoramic grandeur”,<sup>196</sup> with “unforgettable viewpoints”.<sup>197</sup> At Pena Palace, Agostinho commented on the horizon, how it’s gorgeous, and how it overlaps the details of the landscape, such as the flora, fountains, and the marble.<sup>198</sup> He also describes the landscape beyond the horizon: to the north, Berlengas Islands; to the west, Cabo da Roca; and to the East, Lisbon and the Tagus.<sup>199</sup>

Sintra’s mountain was described as savage<sup>200</sup>, always dressed, imposing, majestic”,<sup>201</sup> the pedestal of Pena Palace.<sup>202</sup> The *Serra*’s orography and volcanic nature are described in Liberge’s (1910) narrative. In her words: “(...) *de tous côtés s’élèvent des pitons formés d’un entassement de roches qu’on s’étonne de voir tenir en équilibre et qui accusent leur origine volcanique.*”<sup>203</sup> Still about the *Serra*’s geological nature, Sintra’s hill was described by its geological formation on a flyer of tourism propaganda, published in 1955. The flyer states that the *Serra* “consists of batelite granite set in a cretaceous and Jurassic

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<sup>194</sup> “Alpestre e nova sempre de aspectos”. J. Agostinho, *À Roda de Portugal*, Oporto [1914] 1938, vol. 2, p. 247.

<sup>195</sup> “An paradis de fraicheur et de silence. S. Chantal, *Portugal, terre et gens*, Lisbon 1944, p. 11.

<sup>196</sup> “Grandeza panorâmica”. J. Agostinho, *À Roda de Portugal*, Oporto [1914] 1938, vol. 2, p. 245.

<sup>197</sup> “Miradoiros inolvidáveis”. J. Agostinho, *À Roda de Portugal*, Oporto [1914] 1938, vol. 2, p. 246.

<sup>198</sup> J. Agostinho, *À Roda de Portugal*, Oporto [1914] 1938, vol. 2, p. 245.

<sup>199</sup> J. Agostinho, *À Roda de Portugal*, Oporto [1914] 1938, vol. 2, pp. 245, 246.

<sup>200</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, p. 87.

<sup>201</sup> J. Agostinho, *À Roda de Portugal*, Oporto [1914] 1938, vol. 2, p. 244.

<sup>202</sup> J. Agostinho, *À Roda de Portugal*, Oporto [1914] 1938, vol. 2, p. 245.

<sup>203</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, p. 87.



formation”.<sup>204</sup> The *Serra* is also described by more than one author as a “small volcanic chain”.<sup>205</sup>

G. Le Roy-Liberge (1910) described the mountain as extending into the sea, leading the reader to the imaginary of escaping civilization, a possible consequence of having the panorama of the *Serra* behind them.<sup>206</sup> While ascending to Mouros Castle, the author describes the panorama, the view to Sintra with different ground levels. The background of her scenario description is the farthest from the town, in direction to the horizon, where “only a painter could render the magic of this décor.”<sup>207</sup>

#### 4.2.4. Places of Nature: Resorts, Beaches and *Cabo da Roca*

Sintra’s nature was often commented on the narratives for its beauty. G. Le Roy Liberge (1910) compared Sintra with Nuwara Elysa, a sanatorium in Sri Lanka, for it gathered, according to her, the same landscape “oppositions”.<sup>208</sup> Raul de Azevedo (1913) also mentioned Sintra as a heath resort. He spent some days in the town by medical



Fig. 16. Postage stamp promoting Colares and Praia das Maçãs by Comissão de Iniciativa e Propaganda de Colares, 1938., in *Um passeio de Cintra até ao mar, postais e fotografias do passado*, 2011.

advice.<sup>209</sup> In a flyer of tourism propaganda, published in 1938, Colares is promoted as one of Portugal’s rest resorts and thermal spas.<sup>210</sup> Another interesting example of tourism promotion of Colares is Fig. 16, a postage stamp by the Commission of Initiative and Propaganda of Colares. The stamp promotes Colares and

*Praia das Maçãs*’ nature. On the left side of the illustration, we can see a representation of the Portuguese Coat of Arms. We can read: “Visit

<sup>204</sup> Sintra, Portugal, Sintra 1955.

<sup>205</sup> F. Ambrière, *Madère-Açores*. Paris 1968, p. 235. A. Hill, *Le Grand Guide du Portugal*, Paris, [1989] 1990, p. 189.

<sup>206</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, pp. 76, 77.

<sup>207</sup> “un peintre seul pourrait rendre la magie de ce décor”. G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, p. 85.

<sup>208</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, p. 77.

<sup>209</sup> R. Azevedo, *D’Além-Mar*, Lisbon 1913, p. 33.

<sup>210</sup> Portugal, Propaganda e Turismo, 1938.

Colares and Praia das Maças”. On the right side of the illustrated coat of arms, we can read: “Pure air, Sea, Plain and Mountain.”

The beaches were often mentioned in the different narratives about Sintra, mainly *Praia das Maças*. The beach access was often commented by the authors, who took the tramway to reach it. The beach was described by José Agostinho ([1914] 1938) as “small, elegant, modern it is physiognomy”,<sup>211</sup> a sheltered beach with a “soft and pleasant ground”.<sup>212</sup>

In Leonardo Coelho’s guidebook (1958), a table with the main beaches for baths is presented to the reader, categorized by class (1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> classes). The book also provides to the traveller the distance from the beaches to the capital of Portugal in km, as well as the railway station serving them. *Praia das Maças* is classified as a 2<sup>nd</sup> class beach, situated 39 km approximately from Lisbon to the railway station.<sup>213</sup> Other beaches are mentioned, such as *Praia Grande* and *Praia da Adraga*.<sup>214</sup> We also find in the book a reference to the natural pools (in the rocks) and the fishing village of *Azenhas do Mar*.<sup>215</sup>

Finally, we have *Cabo da Roca*, one of the most represented Sintra’s attractions. It is often mentioned both in travelogues and guidebooks. It was considered the most beautiful tour in Sintra by G. Le Roy Liberge (1910). According to the writer, its landscape combines “*brusques alternatives de fertilité et de desolation*.”<sup>216</sup> In the guidebook *Le Grand guide du Portugal* ([1989] 1990), the *Cabo* [cape] was described as “*désolé et sauvage*”.<sup>217</sup> In *Madère-Açores* (1968) guidebook, the cape was called by “*Promontorium Magni des Romains*.”<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> “pequena, elegante, moderna de fisionomia.” J. Agostinho, *À Roda de Portugal*, Oporto [1914] 1938, vol. 2, p. 248.

<sup>212</sup> “ piso macio e agradável.” J. Agostinho, *À Roda de Portugal*, Oporto [1914] 1938, vol. 2, p. 248.

<sup>213</sup> L. Coelho, *Portugal, guia histórico-turístico*, Lisbon 1958, pp. 123, 124.

<sup>214</sup> F. Ambrière, *Madère-Açores*. Paris 1968, p. 242.

<sup>215</sup> A. Hill, *Le Grand Guide du Portugal*, Paris, [1989] 1990, p. 193.

<sup>216</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, p. 90.

<sup>217</sup> A. Hill, *Le Grand Guide du Portugal*, Paris, [1989] 1990, p. 189.

<sup>218</sup> F. Ambrière, *Madère-Açores*. Paris 1968, p. 243.

#### 4.2.5. The Flora

Sintra's flora was continuously represented in the twentieth century narratives. It was often described as rich,<sup>219</sup> splendid,<sup>220</sup> a mixture of European and exotic essences.<sup>221</sup> Different flora species were described in the literature, such as oaks, elms, chestnut trees, pines, eucalyptus, laurels, and myrtles.<sup>222</sup>

According to the flyer *Sintra, Portugal* (1955), at *Pena* and *Monserate* botanical gardens, we can find around 3000 kinds of vegetation from different climates. While it is said that *Monserate* possesses magnificent species from worldwide, *Seteais* is known for its lemon trees. *Penha Verde* is also worthy of attention in the literature for having had the first oranges in Portugal, an initiative by the vice king of Indies, João de Castro, in 1542.<sup>223</sup>

Regarding *Pena* Park, this botanical park was described in the twentieth century travel literature for its “dazzling girdle of greens”, indigenous and exotic flora,<sup>224</sup> with “*mille arbres différents*”.<sup>225</sup> The diversity of the flora is also represented in the description



Fig. 17. “Palacio Real-Cintra” (National Palace). Editor: Julio Mange. Postcard circulated in 1904, in *Um Passeio de Cintra até ao Mar, Postais e fotografias do Passado*, 2011.

of its perfumes. In Laget's (1932) description: “*l'on respire un air où se mêlent le poivre de l'oeillet, le sucre du tilleul, l'amertume de la résine, l'encens des myrtes, la liqueur du jasmin (...)*”.<sup>226</sup> Not only scent is mentioned in Laget's descriptions about Sintra's flora, but also taste – “*La saveur des roses*”.<sup>227</sup>

In fact, we can understand a certain sense of wonder expressed in Paul de Laget's narrative of *Pena's* Park and its flora. After a detailed description of the flora, the author compares *Pena* Park and Palace with the scenario of ‘One Thousand and One Nights’,

<sup>219</sup> A. Hill, *Le Grand Guide du Portugal*, Paris, [1989] 1990, p. 189.

<sup>220</sup> F. Ambrière, *Madère-Açores*. Paris 1968, p. 235.

<sup>221</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, pp. 90, 91.

<sup>222</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, pp. 90, 91.

<sup>223</sup> A. Hill, *Le Grand Guide du Portugal*, Paris, [1989] 1990, p. 192.

<sup>224</sup> “cingidoiro deslumbrante de verduras”. J. Agostinho, *Á Roda de Portugal*, Oporto [1914] 1938, vol. 2, pp. 245, 246.

<sup>225</sup> P. Laget, *En Portugal*, Paris 1932, p. 166.

<sup>226</sup> P. Laget, *En Portugal*, Paris 1932, pp. 166, 167.

<sup>227</sup> P. Laget, *En Portugal*, Paris 1932, p. 167.

*The Palace of the Arabian Nights* (1905), the silent fantasy movie by Georges Méliès. This analogy represents Sintra as a place of wonder and dreams. In Paul de Laget's (1932) words: "Où donc ai-je déjà vu ce palais et ce parc? Il me semble que les paons en s'envolant vont secouer dans les airs une poussière d'émeraudes, que ce palais, comme un mirage, va se dissoudre dans la lumière, que les roses vont parler comme les lèvres... Peut-être ai-je vu cela simplement en rêve après avoir lu les contes des Mille et une nuits...".<sup>228</sup>

The beauty of Sintra's parks is almost never left out of the narratives about the town, both in travel literature and guidebook sources. In postcards, we can also find elements that highlight Sintra's nature. As examples, we have two interesting postcards about the town illustrated with natural elements: one representing Sintra's National Palace; and the other representing *Pena* Palace. In the first example (Fig. 17), we can see a tree pine cone that serves as frame to the National Palace of Sintra. The Palace is surrounded by nature and the monument is as a detail, part of the big plan representation – nature. The second example is a postcard representing *Pena* Castel inside a leaf (Fig. 18). Nature is represented in big plan in the illustration, with *Pena* Castle rising from behind its park in the background. The castle (the cultural heritage) is again represented as just a detail in the scenario. Nature, in other hand, is the protagonist element in the promotion of Sintra.



Fig. 18. "Cintra – Real Castello da Pena" (Pena Castle). Editor: Julio Mange. Lisboa. Postcard circulated in 1908, in *Um Passeio de Cintra até ao Mar, Postais e fotografias do Passado*, 2011.

### 4.3. Sintra's Cultural Landscape: the Poetics of Man and Nature

#### 4.3.1. Explicit Poetry and the Importance of Detail

An interesting example of the importance of detail is given by Guilherme de Almeida (1933). The author prefers the experience of self-absorbing a monument in comparison

<sup>228</sup> P. Laget, *En Portugal*, Paris 1932, p. 167.

with learning about history with a tour guide. He presents us with an interesting example of the value of the “ignored”, the “unseen” by the common eye. In Almeida’s words: “There are, mainly, in these stones, the reflection of so many things that they saw and that nobody else tells, that they keep and that nobody else keeps. And what could superiorly interest people if not the things that others ignore? At least the beautiful things that even cicerones are unaware of...”.<sup>229</sup> In this passage, the importance given to the stones is clear. They are seen by the author as “guardians”, “witnesses” of the world, of man’s memory and history. It is an interesting example of how the “ignored/unseen”, the implicit, not only the explicit, creates its own narrative. On the other hand, we the guide’s narrative as example of the explicit, mainstream, tourism narrative. This narrative is a representation of the local and national narratives.

Contrary to the implicit narrative, we also find in some of the writers’ discourses some explicit narratives – explicit discourse about poetry. This explicit poetry can be identified on G. Le Roy Liberge (1910) and Paul de Laget’s (1932) comments on Sintra. In their descriptions, we find a choice of words that feeds the reader’s imaginary, for example: ‘*rêve*’, ‘*l’infini*’, ‘*poésie*’, ‘*poème*’, ‘*sonnet*’. The presence of the terms ‘purity’ and ‘charm’ also help to create a scenario of wonder, beauty, and poetry around Sintra.

Below, follows two examples from G. Le Roy Liberge (1910) and Paul de Laget’s (1932) descriptions about Sintra, referring to Sintra’s poetry explicitly. In Liberge’s words: “*Du Jardin d’hiver de notre villa, on domine la vallon qui se creuse au-dessous: au clair de lune c’est un délicieux tableau que le bois de citronniers aux fruits d’argent pâlisant sous les rayons nocturnes, et les grandes ombrages mystérieux et défendus qui couvrent le coteau d’en face: par la coulée du vallon on aperçoit un sentier serpentant sur la dune vers une vague buée bleue qui est la mer, comme un chemin de rêve vers l’infini...Ce coin est plein de poésie.*”<sup>230</sup> Regarding Laget’s example, the writer compared *Quinta de Monserrate* to a poem. In his words: “*La Quinta da Monserrate – Jardin de Monserrate est véritablement un poème, un sonnet plutôt dont la pureté et la concision augmentent le charme.*” Laget (1932) also wrote about the Royal Park (National

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<sup>229</sup> “Há, principalmente, nestas pedras, o reflexo de tantas e tantas coisas que ellas viram e que ninguem mais conta, que ellas guardam e que ninguem mais guarda. E o que é que póde, superiormente, interessar a gente, senão as coisas que os outros ignoram? Pelo menos, as lindas coisas que até os cicerones desconhecem...”. G. Almeida, *O Meu Portugal*, São Paulo 1933, p. 43.

<sup>230</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, pp. 77, 78.

Park): *“Je vais comme porté par tant de poésie enveloppante et fraîche qui pénètre l’âme plus encore que les sens.”*<sup>231</sup>

#### 4.3.2. The Poetics of Experience

The poetics of experience is present on the discourse of most of the narratives about Sintra. What I mean by ‘poetics of experience’ is the poetry expressed in the discourses of the literary narratives about the town, even if their writing style was prose. When describing Sintra, many of the writers used a poetic discourse when describing their experiences in the town. As example, we have G. Le Roy Liberge’s (1910) narrative, who wrote about sounds and visual images, creating a poetic landscape of nature. Below, follows two excerpts of Liberge’s narrative revealing her experience in Sintra:

Expert 1. – *“des nuages légers comme des écharpes de gaze flottent au-dessus des dômes de faïence dorée, des balustrades ogivales, des bastions crénelés, que des rayons de soleil mettent soudainement en relief; dans la profondeur des ombrages on entend murmurer les sources et tinter les clochettes des chèvres.”*<sup>232</sup>

Excerpt 2. – *“Que d’heures délicieuses les habitants de ses nombreuses villas passent dans leurs jardins en terrasses, sous les grands magnolias embaumés, les jacarandas aux grappes bleues, au feuillage léger de fougère: bercés par le bruit cristallin des fontaines qui s’égouttent à l’ombre des gigantesques buissons d’hortensias nuancés du rose au bleu, des fougères arborescentes, des fuchsias grimpants, des palmiers et tout près des rosiers épanouis qui semblent vous tendre leurs fleurs...”*<sup>233</sup>

In the excerpts above, both sound and visual poetics take part on the narrative. Regarding the inhabitants, we can find the representation of man’s experience – man in contact with nature. The second excerpt presents us with an interesting metaphor about the gift of nature (in the line *“des rosiers épanouis qui semblent vous tendre leurs fleurs”*), and an implicit suggestion about man and nature correlation.

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<sup>231</sup> P. Laget, *En Portugal*, Paris 1932, pp. 165, 166.

<sup>232</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, pp. 76, 77.

<sup>233</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, p. 77.

Another interesting example in which we can identify the poetics of experience, is Guilherme de Almeida's (1933) narrative about Sintra. In his words: "And I distractedly travel on one of these maps, through centuries. There are saliences in this sweet stone that look like rivers through which the hours of while sails have sailed forgetfully... There are sparkles of mica that look like bluish lakes, still, over which beautiful days like daffodils have leant... There are saliences, golden with sun, which look like mountains where once rolled, like stones, heavy and black nights... There are stains of green moss that look like islands where the shipwreck minutes of some life somewhere boarded and got lost... There is..."<sup>234</sup>

In the excerpt above, we can identify the poetics in the author's speech regarding his experience when visiting Sintra. It's a narrative able to easily travel in time, into the past, to meet with man's history. The poetics of the discourse are thus very past-oriented. A clear romanticization of the past. We can sense the nostalgia of an unlived past in the author's speech. The importance of detail is much present in the text. It creates a narrative about the value of mundanity and of any detail in the physical space. These physical details, in the author's narrative, are filled with memory. They are represented as little places of memory of one's imagination.

José Saramago ([1981] 1995) also described his experience in Sintra using a poetic discourse. About his experience at *Monserate Park*, he wrote: "(...) but that this fertility can manifest itself with such serene force, as of an inexhaustible womb that feeds on what it creates, that only by being here can be known. Only by putting your hand on this trunk or wetting it in the water from the pond, or stroking the reclining moss-covered statue, or, closing your eyes, listening to the subterranean murmur of the roots. The sun covers it all. A little effort from the trees would lift the earth for him. The traveller feels the vertigo of the great cosmic winds. And, to make sure he doesn't miss this paradise, he returns by the

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<sup>234</sup> "E viajo distrahidamente num destes mapas, seculos adentro. Há veios, nesta pedra-doce, que parecem rios por onde as horas de vélas brancas navegaram esquecidamente... Há brilhos de palhetas de mica que parecem lagos azulados, parados, sobre os quaes se debruçaram, dias lindos como Narcisos... Há saliências, douradas de sol, que parecem montanhas onde rolaram, como pedras, noites pesadas e pretas... Há manchas de musgo verde que parecem ilhas onde foram abordar e ficaram perdidos os minutos naufragados de uma vida qualquer por ahi... Há...". G. Almeida, *O Meu Portugal*, São Paulo 1933, pp. 42, 43.

same path, counts the ferns and finds one more, and therefore leaves happy because the land promises not to end so soon.”<sup>235</sup>

In the passage above, we find the poetics of experience, of man’s senses in contact with nature: touching, earing, imagining – natural elements are talking to man in the writer’s speech. The greatness of the sun, of the “cosmic winds” is highlighted in the discourse through the writing construction. On the last sentence, we identify the promise of hope, of Paradise, the promise of infinity. Here, the ephemerality of the human life in comparison with nature’s cyclic endurance through time is perceived. Still on the last sentence, another interesting detail in the narrative deserves our attention – the counting of the ferns experience. This scenario is created as if coming from a child’s experience, full of fun, of life. It may allude to innocence and naivety.

Another of Saramago’s ([1981] 1995) comments on Sintra is relevant to the poetics of experience narrative. He describes: “In the small lakes, water lilies bloom and, from time to time, a thud in the forest makes the traveller startle: it is a pinecone, which, being so dry, has let go of the branch.”<sup>236</sup> Here, we can see the use of the oxymoron, the figure of speech creating a paradoxical thought in the readers mind: a ‘thud’ in Portuguese language is expressed by contradictory terms – “deaf noise”. The use of this type of speech emphasizes the scenario in detail, at the same time as it cultivates in the reader confusion and suspense. This emphasis thus provides depth to the meaning of the speech and, consequently, importance to details.

Still at *Monserate*, Saramago ([1981] 1995) adds to his description: “From the balcony of the palace, the traveller looks out over the green mass of the park. That the earth is fertile, I already knew: it knows a lot about cornfields, orchards and olive trees, but that this fertility can manifest itself with such serene force, as from an inexhaustible

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<sup>235</sup> “(...) mas que esta fertilidade possa manifestar-se com tanta força serena, como de um ventre inesgotável que se alimenta do que vai criando, isso só aqui estando se sabe. Só pondo a mão neste tronco ou molhando-a na água do tanque, ou afagando a estátua reclinada coberta de musgo, ou, fechados os olhos, ouvindo o murmúreo subterrâneo das raízes. O sol cobre tudo isto. Um pequeno esforço das árvores levantaria a terra para ele. O viajante sente a vertigem dos grandes ventos cósmicos. E, para se certificar de que não perderá este paraíso, regressa pelo mesmo caminho, conta os fetos e acha mais um, e portanto sai contente porque a terra promete não acabar tão cedo.” J. Saramago, *Viagem a Portugal*, Lisbon [1981] 1995, p. 282.

<sup>236</sup> “Nos pequenos lagos abrem-se nenúfares, e, de vez em quando, um baque surdo na floresta faz sobressaltar o viajante: é uma pinha, que, de tão seca, se largou do ramo.” J. Saramago, *Viagem a Portugal*, Lisbon [1981] 1995, p. 281.



womb that feeds on what it creates, that only by being here can be known.”<sup>237</sup> In this passage, we identify another oxymoron – “serene force”. It makes the reader deduce that force can come from serenity, which opposes the norm of associating it with impulse. We can also understand from the author’s narrative the intention of showing nature as self-sufficient and infinite: “an inexhaustible womb that feeds on what it creates”.

### 4.3.3. The Poetics of Time and Space

Guilherme de Almeida (1933) wrote about time and space in his narrative about Sintra. His narrative speech expresses a clear sense of poetry. While the tour guide present on his visit talks, he admits preferring to observe alone any piece of ancient wall than listening to the guide – the *Cicerone*. In his words: “I love to see rocks. A stone wall, with nothing, has everything. It’s a time map. One has been fixing, in letter, Space; the stone fixes Time. And with this advantage over the low truth of the maps: nothing is written, it doesn’t have the exact names that disenchant, certain latitudes that bring boredom, like mathematical altitudes that are annoying. It does not teach: it suggests. It doesn’t make you know: it makes you wonder...”<sup>238</sup> In the excerpt above, we can see the importance of detail to the author. The poetics of simplicity in nature, the meaning of a simple stone’s mere existence in contrast with man’s effort to explore nature, to dominate nature, to explore nature’s territory.

Olivia Guerra (1930) also expressed the poetics of time in her book when writing about Sintra. She wrote about seasons using poetry, creating a narrative scenario of mystery and secrecy. The word *Saudade* is mentioned – the Portuguese word with no direct translation, meaning a sense of longing. Loneliness and time are allied with history and nature in the author’s discourse. She writes about *Paço de Sintra* – the National

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<sup>237</sup> “Da varanda do palácio o viajante olha a massa verde do parque. Que a terra é fértil, já o sabia: conhece bastante de searas, de pomares e olivedos, mas que esta fertilidade possa manifestar-se com tanta força serena, como de um ventre inesgotável que se alimenta do que vai criando isso só aqui estando se sabe.” J. Saramago, *Viagem a Portugal*, Lisbon [1981] 1995, p. 282.

<sup>238</sup> “Adoro vêr pedras. Um muro de pedra, sem nada, tem tudo. E’ um mappa do Tempo. Tem-se fixado, em cartas o Espaço; a pedra fixa o Tempo. E com esta vantagem sobre a rasteira verdade dos mapas: não tem nada escripto, não traz os nomes exactos que desencantam, as latitudes certas que entediam, as altitudes mathematicas que aborrecem. Não ensina: sugere. Não faz ficar sabendo: faz ficar imaginando...”. G. Almeida, *O Meu Portugal*, São Paulo 1933, pp. 42, 43.

Palace, and *Quinta da Penha Verde*. Below, we find two examples of *Olivia Guerra's* narrative that show the presence of time and space in a poetic discourse.

Regarding *Paço de Sintra's* example: "The Paço de Sintra, dream of centuries, ghost of autumns and shadows, at home one of its stones sings a verse of longing. Muslim walis once inhabited it (...) Then there were bloody carnations in the little hanging gardens, screaming tiles on aerial terraces, and fountains sang in the secrecy of the closed courtyards (...)." <sup>239</sup>

Regarding *Penha Verde's* example: "When the soft temperature of the Portuguese S. Martinho gently caresses the anxious hearts and the autumn sun turns golden in a slow caress the ancient tips of the tall cedars of Penha Verde (...) crosses rising in the vastness of the sky, trees guarding secrets of love and meditation, rocks experiencing the pain of perpetual solitude in the torture without remedy of their excruciating immobility, everything speaks of the past, of dead ages, of deep longing." <sup>240</sup>

#### 4.3.4. The Poetics of Ruins

Several authors wrote about ruins using a poetic discourse. Ruins aligned with the poetics of time and space while, at the same time, reminding us of decay. This reminder may involve the hierarchical superiority of nature when confronted with man, if one analyses it the framework of a cultural landscape. As examples, we have the writings of G. Le Roy Liberge (1910) who refers to the sensation of mystery that *Sintra's* ruins gave her; José Agostinho ([1914] 1938), who commented on *Castelo dos Mouros'* ruins using a personification figure of speech; Olivia Guerra (1930), who wrote about *Penha Verde's* ruins and the sadness she experienced on describing it; Paul de Laget (1932), who mentioned ruins at *Pena* and *Castelo dos Mouros*, exploring the relation of cultural creation subject to nature's domain; and José Saramago ([1981] 1995), who also explored

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<sup>239</sup> "O Paço de Sintra, sonho de seculos, fantasma de outonos e penumbras, em casa uma das suas pedras canta uma estrofe de saudade. Habitaram-no outrora os walis muçulmanos (...) Então havia cravos sangrentos nos jardinzinhos suspensos, azulejos gritantes em terraços aéreos, e cantavam fontes no segredo dos páteos recolhidos (...)" O. Guerra, *Evocações*, Lisbon 1930, p. 34.

<sup>240</sup> "Quando a temperatura macia do S. Martinho portuguez afaga brandamente os corações ansiosos e o sol do outono doira n'uma caricia lenta as comas vetustas dos cedros altos de Penha Verde (...) cruces subindo na amplidão do ceu, arvores guardando segredos de amores e de meditações, rochas vivendo a dôr da solidão perpetua na tortura sem remedio da sua martirizante imobilidade, tudo fala do passado, de edades mortas, de saudades fundas." O. Guerra, *Evocações*, Lisbon 1930, pp. 43, 44.

man-nature relation, exposing the frailty of culture in comparison with nature's exuberance and force when referring to ruins. Below, we find the examples in the writers' words:

In Le Roy-Liberge's words: "*une autre fois nous frappions à la porte mystérieuse d'une ancien convent délabré, voisin de Santa Maria.*"<sup>241</sup> In José Agostinho's words: "There lies a sad and gloomy cistern".<sup>242</sup> In this example, the ruin is given soul, life. In Olivia Guerra's regarding *Penha Verde*, we have: "(...) It is deep the charm that emerges from the hidden paths, the chapels in ruins, the dry fountains, the broken statues, like dead illusions, the old *quinta* of D. João Castro (...) the resigned sadness of that abandoned garden is for anxious hearts the desolate vision of infinite longing that does not die because it absorbed itself all the essence of life that still remains in the ruined chapels, in the dry fountains, in the broken statues and in the withered leaves that are today the echo of other voices, the cold remains of other dead lives."<sup>243</sup>

In Paul de Laget's words, regarding *Pena*: "*Peut-être un jour les ruines en seront-elles délicieuses dans le décor des plantes et des fleurs au sommet de ce rocher qui reste l'un des plus beaux observatoires de la péninsule.*"<sup>244</sup> At *Castelo dos Mouros*, Paul de Laget observed: "(...) *le château des Maures, dont les murailles grises croulent parmi les myrtes en fleurs, sous un ciel tendre et bleu comme un regard lointain.*"<sup>245</sup> In the passage above, we can see the abandonment as the essence of ruins when immersed in nature. Ruins left to nature's domain. In the passage, nature is personified in the discourse – the sky is characterized as tender, looking from above, acting with care, as if it was human.

In the last example, by Saramago, the author writes about *Monserate*'s ruins: "But which Monserate? The palace (...) now half ruined, or the park that spills from the road to the bottom of the valley below? The frailty of the stucco, or the exuberance of the sap?"

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<sup>241</sup> G. Liberge, *Trois Mois en Portugal*, Paris 1910, p. 82.

<sup>242</sup> "Ali está uma triste e lóbrega ruína". J. Agostinho, *A Roda de Portugal*, Oporto [1914] 1938, vol. 2, p. 245.

<sup>243</sup> "(...) é profundo o encanto que se desprende das veredas incultas, das capelas em ruínas, das fontes secas, das estatuas quebradas, como ilusões mortas, a velha quinta de D. João de Castro (...) a tristeza resignada d'aquela jardim abandonado é para os corações ansiosos a visão desolada da saudade infinita que não morre porque absorveu em si toda a essência de vida que resta ainda nas capelas em ruínas, nas fontes secas, nas estatuas quebradas e nas folhas murchas que são hoje o eco de outras vozes, as sobras frias de outras vidas mortas." O. Guerra, *Evocações*, Lisbon 1930, pp. 43, 47.

<sup>244</sup> P. Laget, *En Portugal*, Paris 1932, p. 164.

<sup>245</sup> P. Laget, *En Portugal*, Paris 1932, p. 148.

<sup>246</sup> Here, we can identify a reference to man's fragile creation when confronted with nature imposition and grandeur.

#### 4.3.5. The Poetics of Silence

Paul de Laget (1932) and José Saramago ([1981] 1995) both wrote about silence in their narratives. In their discourses, they have expressed the poetics of silence. To Laget (1932), silence has its charm. Immersed in nature, he wrote: "*Le silence y ajoute son charme. J'entends seulement le chant des oiseaux, le bruit d'eaux encore invisibles et le sable crisser sous mes pas. Je jour discret et vert qui filtre au travers des feuilles nuance l'ombre et sur les allées d'or tisse un réseau mouvant.*"<sup>247</sup>

In Saramago's ([1981] 1995) narrative, silence was represented through a poetic discourse. In his words: "The traveller takes what comes first, from the irregular steps that go deep into the woods, the seep alleys, and enters the realm of silence. It is true that birds are singing, that there are quick sounds of crawling things, that a leaf is falling, or a bee is buzzing, but these sounds are themselves silence."<sup>248</sup> In the excerpt above, animals, sounds, birds' chants, all those natural elements and natural expressions are represented as a symbol of silence. In the narrative's poetic, silence represents emotions such as calmness. The emotional state expressed by silence in the discourse gives value to Sintra's natural scenario, through the positive state of mind it can provide to the visitor. Another interesting remark regarding Saramago's excerpt about silence, concerns his reference to the "the realm of silence". The meaning of the term "realm" reminds us about "monarchy", which is part of Sintra's identity.

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<sup>246</sup> "Porém, que Monserrate? O Palácio (...) agora meio arruinado, ou o parque que se derrama desde a estrada pelo fundo do vale abaixo? A fragilidade do estuque, ou a exuberância das seivas?". J. Saramago, *Viagem a Portugal*, Lisbon [1981] 1995, p. 281.

<sup>247</sup> P. Laget, *En Portugal*, Paris 1932, p. 165.

<sup>248</sup> "O viajante toma o que primeiro vem, desde os degraus irregulares que se embrenham na mata, as áreas profundas, e entra no reino do silêncio. É verdade que cantam pássaros, que há rápidos rumores de bichos rastejantes, que uma folha cai ou uma abelha zumbe, mas estes sons são, eles próprios, silêncio." J. Saramago, *Viagem a Portugal*, Lisbon [1981] 1995, p. 281.

#### 4.3.6. The Poetics of Cultural Landscape

The narratives about Sintra contain comments both on man and nature. The line between them, which is placed in the origin of the construction of the concept of cultural landscape in the perspective of heritage studies, is present in José Saramago's ([1981] 1995) comments on *Pena Palace*. In his words: "However, it is true that without the *Pena Palace*, Sintra's *Serra* would not be what it is. Erasing it from the landscape, eliminating it from a photograph that recorded those heights, would be to profoundly alter what is already nature."<sup>249</sup>

By mentioning that *Pena Place* is "already nature", the author temporarily erases the line between nature and culture, originating an allusion to the cultural landscape's conception. Time plays an important role in this affirmation, as well as society's recognition of heritage. Through time, historical value attributed by society outstands the grandeur of a monument. The narrative expresses that the palace, by being ancient enough, important enough, long-term exposed in a natural landscape, had its cultural essence completely merged with nature. In fact, this line between man and nature was only established, from the beginning, by man itself.

Another example regarding men's identity and his constant merging with natural elements in the narratives is the reference to *Cabo da Roca* in the guidebook *Guia de Portugal* ([1924] 1991) guidebook. The book refers to the people's identity (either the people from Sintra or the Portuguese people), using a game of words: "Sea still distant and yet enveloping, it is he, in the people's saying, who weaves in the *roca* (*Cabo da Roca*) the floating mists that moisten trees and grasses (...)"<sup>250</sup>

In the passage above, the game of words is made using the word *roca* (loom). The word is used both meaning "loom" and the place *Cabo da Roca*. The author's intention, expressed by this metaphor, is that the loom as the same relation with the weaving machine as the "Sea" has with *Cabo the Roca*. He writes that in the people's saying (in the identity of the landscape), the Sea is the one "weaving" in *Cabo da Roca*. The Sea is

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<sup>249</sup> "É porém verdade que sem o Palácio da Pena a serra de Sintra não seria o que é. Apagá-lo da paisagem, eliminá-lo que fosse numa fotografia que registe aquelas alturas, seria alterar profundamente o que já é natureza." J. Saramago, *Viagem a Portugal*, Lisbon [1981] 1995, p. 283.

<sup>250</sup> "Mar ainda distante e todavia envolvente, é ele, no dizer do povo, que dia na *roca* (*Cabo da Roca*) as neblinas flutuantes que humedecem árvores e relvas." R. Proença *et al.* *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, p. 494.

the shaper of the fabric, the responsible for the results of the people's (symbolic) work. We can conclude that in the narrative, the sea is playing a huge role in the identity of Sintra's landscape. Particularities of languages were cleverly used in the example above, in which identity is represented by the interaction of man and nature and a metaphor – man being a part of nature's fabric.

Still in *Guia de Portugal* guidebook ([1924] 1991), we can identify another interesting reference to man-nature relation alluding to human ecology – the example of nature fixing man. The example follows: “In all Portugal, in all of Europe, Sintra emerges as one of the most beautiful and rare places that the prodigious invention of nature managed to create. And as happens in all privileged places of nature and art, the environment is powerful enough to dissolve the obvious mistakes of men.”<sup>251</sup>

The same situation is also found in the narratives – nature shaping man. In the guidebook *Portugal, terre et gens* (1944), *Suzanne Chantal* dedicates a chapter to landscape and men – “*le Paysage et l'Homme*”. On this chapter, she writes about the people of the Sea, and specifically, the Portuguese people of the Sea. In the following excerpt, we can find awareness of the author of how nature shapes man (in that case, the Sea), providing them with certain characteristics of similarity with their groups, and influencing them. In her words: “*Les gens de mer – et au Portugal plus, sans doute, que partout ailleurs – engagés tout entiers dans la passionnante et dangereuse aventure de leur vie quotidienne, tournés vers le large, épiant les vents, les marées, le capricieux sillage des poissons, conservant leur code personnel d'honneur et de valeur, leur notion ancienne de la liberté et de la dignité, sont naturellement préservés des influences extérieures.*”<sup>252</sup>

The narratives above constitute an image of the 20<sup>th</sup> century narratives about Sintra. Some of those narratives described Sintra's landscape with mere descriptions about its must visit places; others have dedicated several pages to describe various historic sites in detail; others yet focused in offering technical information to the traveller about the town. However, a great part of the narratives about Sintra offered more than mere descriptions

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<sup>251</sup> “Em toda a terra portuguesa, em toda a terra da Europa, Sintra surge como um dos mais belos e raros lugares que a invenção prodigiosa da natureza logrou criar. E, como sucede em todos os sítios privilegiados da natureza e da arte, o ambiente é bastante poderoso para dissolver os evidentes erros dos homens.” R. Proença et al. *Guia de Portugal*, Lisbon [1924] 1991, p. 493.

<sup>252</sup> S. Chantal, *Portugal, terre et gens*, Lisbon 1944, pp. 18, 21.

of its landscape: they offered the possibility of creating poetic narratives about the themes more often mentioned in the 20<sup>th</sup> century representations of Sintra's landscape.

In summary, these narratives, corresponding to the subthemes of this chapter – organized by a deconstruction of the concept of Cultural Landscape –, are a set of juxtaposing narratives that converged to a single narrative – an image of the place. This narrative represents Sintra's image in 20<sup>th</sup> through foreign and national representations, thus leading to a representation of Sintra's landscape identity built on the perspectives of both otherness and identity.

## 5. Conclusion

We can find many representations about Sintra in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. From descriptions of its monuments, its nature, and its inhabitants, we find many characterizations of Sintra's landscape that, once understood as narratives, allow us to identify the representation of an image of the place, the predominant image of the narratives. These representations are present in various types of sources, such as travel literature and visual sources. Regarding travel literature, we find several relevant travelogues and guidebooks that describing Sintra's landscape in the 20<sup>th</sup> century; there are also interesting flyers of tourism promotion with relevant descriptions of the place. In terms of visual sources, we can find many postcards and other illustrations in maps, flyers of tourism promotion, and postage stamps.

When analysing the 20<sup>th</sup> century European narratives about Sintra, I identified the predominant themes in those representations. I have realised that different narratives were standing out from the many contexts and backgrounds from which they came. After combining these narratives, the understanding that all of them converge to the notion of Cultural Landscape led me to organize this research in various themes under the general one – Cultural Landscape: Man and Nature.

The various themes and subthemes under Cultural Landscape concept present in this research correspond to Sintra's tangible and intangible heritage, to Sintra's places of memory. The landscape concept covered by these narratives go beyond the limits of the recognition of heritage by society, the limits of the landscape classified by UNESCO in 1995 – The Cultural Landscape of Sintra. The notion of landscape in the representations about Sintra include comments, opinions, interpretations made by locals, national and travellers who visited Sintra, or yet, in the example of postcards, captures of moments that also show meaning of heritage, also represent Sintra's landscape, even if they have not been classified or recognised as such.

In the chapter of the narrative's analysis, I have divided its contents by main themes related to man, nature, and their relation. The main goal of the chapter was to deconstruct the concept of Cultural Landscape, meaning man and nature's relation, by dividing it into its subordinate concepts – man and nature. Each of the subchapters then tell their own narratives. These narratives, in turn, show us perspectives on Sintra's landscape – on its



natural and cultural heritage, on its tangible and intangible heritage. These narratives also create other implicit narratives, which are present in the poetics of the discourses analysed and have been organized under the subchapter Sintra's Cultural Landscape – the Poetics of Man and Nature. Put together, all those narratives converge into the creation of a bigger one – the predominant image of Sintra's landscape in the 20<sup>th</sup> century European Narratives.

When analysing the 20<sup>th</sup> century narratives about Sintra, I have realised that the characteristic 19<sup>th</sup> century romantic image of Sintra persists in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Nature plays a predominant role in the description of the predominant places of memory, along with the subjective and imaginative poetic discourses in most of the narratives, characteristic of 19<sup>th</sup> century romanticism. In fact, the 20<sup>th</sup> century identity promotion and tourism promotion of Sintra is heavily built on the 19<sup>th</sup> century imagery of the place. The best example to prove the previous statement is the mentioning of literature, of narratives about late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century writers who visited and wrote about Sintra, in the 20<sup>th</sup> narratives.

After the narrative analysis, I have realised that some significant features appeared recurrently, such as water, the *serra*, the peasants and the flora. Nature clearly played an important role in the imagery, as well as the interaction between man and nature. Exoticism, rurality, poetic and dreamlike character were often highlighted in the narratives, leading me to the organization of the predominant narratives into the themes and subthemes corresponding to the chapters and subchapters of this research.

When comparing 20<sup>th</sup> century narratives about Sintra, I did not find clear differences between local, national and foreign representations in terms of Sintra's identity or landscape. The narratives are not conflicting, but rather building in each other, leading us to a predominant image of the place. However, the character of the comments on Sintra's landscape reveal different perspectives on the place: a perspective from within, a perspective from without, and sometimes both, as the example of Clementina Monteiro's narrative, who was Portuguese but was living in Paris when writing her travelogue. These perspectives constitute layers that enrich the representation of Sintra's identity in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The image of the landscape of Sintra in the 20<sup>th</sup> century European narratives, created from heterogeneous narratives about the place is an ensemble of natural and cultural heritage elements, of tangible, intangible and natural heritage combined in different representations. It is also important to raise awareness to the role both otherness and identity played in these representations. To reach a representation of the predominant image of Sintra's landscape, both from the perspectives of otherness and identity, it is important to be aware that this image, created through narratives, is but a representation of the identity of Sintra's landscape.

At last, the predominant image of Sintra's landscape in the 20<sup>th</sup> century European narratives appear as immutable and stable, frozen, but that is due to the focus of the analysis of this research. The research did not pursue an analysis of the changes of the landscape through time, but rather the identification of the main cultural and natural heritage elements in the representations of Sintra's landscape. Nonetheless, however limited the predominant image of Sintra in the 20<sup>th</sup> century narratives may be, it still contributes to understanding a representation of the identity of the place, to identifying a layer of Sintra's identity. This layer, this predominant image of Sintra's 20<sup>th</sup> century landscape, thus constitute an ensemble of cultural and natural heritage elements – a Cultural Landscape – narrated from within and without – interpreted and represented by the perspectives of otherness and identity.

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