

**TRAVEL, TRAVEL LITERATURE AND REPRESENTATIONS OF SPACE
IMPLEMENTATION STUDY: THE DOURO WINE REGION IN FOREIGN
TRAVEL GUIDES FROM THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES
(1845-1974)**

**VIAGENS, LITERATURA DE VIAGENS E REPRESENTAÇÃO DO ESPAÇO
ESTUDO DE APLICAÇÃO: O DOURO VINHATEIRO NOS GUIAS DE
VIAGEM ESTRANGEIROS DOS SÉCULOS XIX E XX (1845-1974)**

Isabel Oliveira¹
Didiana Fachada Fernandes²

ABSTRACT

This study seeks to address and analyze some notions and interpretations ascribed to the term "landscape" linked to different types of travel habits, particularly in aspects that have to do with the construction of a historical landscape and with elements that will provide people with an image of the type of human organization that prevailed in the past. Some authors argue that travel literature, although often neglected, has been, over the centuries, as popular as any other type of literature. Throughout history this literary genre has been widely used as a source of information and in recent years there has been a strong increase in the amount of studies conducted on travelling and on the perception of its relevance to the knowledge of the mental attitudes that are triggered by a given geographic, social and cultural place or destination. This paper seeks to represent the space of travel through a brief, but multidisciplinary, incursion in the study of Space, a study with which one seeks to understand how to create an image of a place one will eventually be proud of. Could it perhaps be said that space and culture are undergoing some sort of transformation? As far as we are concerned, what really matters is the fact that spaces of representation are associated with any possible experience people have been through, because what we truly want to grasp is the representation of a certain space provided by sources that originate from the past – travel guides that generate stereotyped "guided spaces" that are part of a national or regional identity and are reflected in textual information. How can travel guides work as sources of information that can be used in a study? Will they be reliable? This will be the way the specific characteristics of these sources will be henceforth addressed and analyzed, a way that will allow us to achieve the credible theoretical framework we need. Travel guides suggest the choice of certain paths and highlight objects so that visitors may focus on what is essential. We will assume that these works, despite their reductive nature, are able to offer a notion of how an image of a certain place and of its landscapes could have been shaped over time in order to meet potential visitors' expectations and how this final product is then disseminated.

Keywords: Representation, landscape, travel, travel literature, travel guides

RESUMO

Neste estudo procura-se abordar e analisar algumas modalidades de entendimento da paisagem vinculadas a práticas de viagem de diversa índole em particular, na construção de uma paisagem histórica e de uma imagem da organização humana no passado. Alguns autores defendem que a literatura de viagens tem sido, ao longo dos séculos, tão popular como qualquer outro tipo de literatura, sendo, no entanto, muitas vezes negligenciada. Ao longo dos tempos este género tem sido utilizado como fonte de informação, tendo proliferado, nos últimos anos, os estudos sobre a viagem e sobre a percepção da sua relevância para o conhecimento das atitudes mentais perante um dado espaço geográfico, social e cultural. Neste trabalho procura-se a representação do espaço de viagem com uma sumária incursão pelos trilhos da multidisciplinaridade no estudo do Espaço, que se situa entre campos diversos, onde se procura compreender como se constrói uma imagem de um espaço que vem ocupar um lugar de destaque. Será que poderemos falar em transformação do espaço e da cultura? Para nós o

¹IPV/ESTGL – ioliveira@estgl.ipv.pt

²IPV/ESTGL – dfernandes@estgl.ipv.pt

que é mais pertinente é o facto de os espaços de representação estarem associados ao vivido, porque, no fundo, o que desejamos apreender é a representação de um espaço através de fontes do passado – os guias de viagem que geram “espaços guiados” de estereótipos que fazem parte de uma identidade nacional ou regional e que são refletidos em informações textuais. Como podem os guias de viagem funcionar como fontes de estudo? Serão credíveis? Será assim que, em busca de um quadro teórico, se abordam e analisam as particularidades destas fontes. Os guias de viagem sugerem a escolha de caminhos e destacam objetos, para que os visitantes se concentrem no fundamental. Partimos, pois, do princípio de que, estas obras, apesar do carácter redutor, que muitas vezes lhes é atribuído, podem apresentar uma ideia de como terá sido sucessivamente construída e transmitida uma imagem expectante dos lugares e das suas paisagens.

Palavras chave: Representação, paisagem, viagens, literatura de viagens, guias de viagem

The Journey

Mankind has always moved from place to place driven by various interests, persecuted by invaders, fulfilling religious obligations or simply because they are looking for places that will provided them with pleasurable times (Camargo, 2001:40). However, this process should never be regarded as a continuous endeavor because there will always be interferences and many different ways will be elected to achieve this goal. People will have to deal with shifts in sensitivities, different types of sociability, transport facilities and different accessibilities and distinct realities. All this will get worse if we take into account the many dangers that were to be expected whenever people decided to travel back in the day.

History shows that travelling was not always easy: going on a journey was not only expensive but equally risky. Any trip was always cause for concern and the travelers were considered great adventurers. The *Grand Tour*, a common venture in the second half of the eighteenth century, was an exception since these journeys were undertaken across Europe by a great deal of educated people who had the time and resources to choose and pay for long-term stays in those countries.

Many scholars and intellectuals began to pay more and more attention to travelling and many of the great writers devoted some of their books to that undertaking. Travelers were becoming much more than just adventurous and bold explorers, they are now increasingly well-educated people who roam across libraries and turn to books to get valuable information before they start out on their journeys. This rite of initiation became imperative among young aristocrats, even though the real impact of this “education through travel” was

far from being consensual- it was hard to get the right balance between intellectual enrichment and newly discovered addictions and the adverse effects caused by acculturation.

However, it might be said that the emergence of tourism has coincided with the advent of the "Industrial Revolution" in England. The English were naturally the forerunners of such new mindset and the importance of this movement is due to a radical change in the kind of sensitivity that ruled Western societies and that followed the emergence of concepts like leisure and free time that would later give rise to the concept of "holidays". It was the "industrialization of Time and Space" (Schivelbusch, 1988).

This movement is spurred by the development of railway transport and becomes available for a wider population. It is "The age of mass travel: Steam and Speed" (Lavenir, 1999:9).

Before the full democratization of railway communication, travel opportunities were limited to the wealthiest citizens. Those privileged members of society could use their coaches in their journeys, unlike the less privileged who were confined to their horses. Most of the population would have to travel on foot or stay at home. This situation was so common that, in general, most people had already accepted the fact that they will have to remain "forever" in the place where they were born (Corbain, 2001:30). Now, the search for spas, seaside resorts and mountains was a widespread reality (Corbain, 2001).

George Stephenson's railways (the engineer who invented the first steam engine for the railroad locomotive) were the 19th century's engineering glory. Back then, in England, this means of transport "was killing" any other means of locomotion since none of the other transportation systems could compete with the conditions it offered.

Expectations were exceeded and the construction of railways went on at an increasingly high pace. Other countries follow the example of England until railways become as common as roads. The role played by Thomas Cook and his son has to be highlighted because of their inestimable contribution to the advent of a concept of travel that did not exist until then. Back in the nineteenth century, Thomas Cook establishes the foundations of organized trips and introduced the "tourist package" concept (Rejowski, 2002).

The evolution felt in transports opened the door to a new market that becomes institutionalized thanks to Thomas Cook's interventions and that has an impact not only on railroad transport, but also on the shipping activity. The *steamers*, a new type of steamboats, soon replaced the obsolete, heavy wooden boats commonly called *clipper ships*. The *steamer* (aka cruise liners) was very useful because, in addition to being used as a courier and passenger transport, it was also used in commercial transactions and paved the way for the emergence of modern-day cargo ships. The regular steamboats service between the United States and Europe, by the end of 1840, brought along larger and more comfortable accommodation. A trip between those two destinations would now presumably last between 10 and 14 days and people could now undertake such trip at an affordable price. The upper-class Americans who could afford three-month vacations in Europe responded enthusiastically and the number of tourists who chose to travel abroad rose from an annual average of approximately 6,000 travelers, in 1840, to about 30,000 travelers by the end of 1850 and evidence show that during the last decade of the nineteenth century more than 94.000 tourists chose to visit foreign countries every year (Perkins, 1979).

These two new means of transport, train and cruise liners, have brought countless and lasting benefits to the population and to industry. They were both faster than the previous transports so they were quite important to save users' time and to reduce the distance between destinations; in addition, they were able to carry larger quantities of goods, since they had a higher cargo capacity, an improvement that would reduce the average price for each transport. Customers would now spend less on transportation and, therefore, saved more money.

The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed a sharp change in lifestyles at all levels. The discoveries and innovations such as the telegraph, the telephone, the expansion of railway services and the development and construction of new roads will revolutionize tourism and introduce a new way of dealing with the time people were dedicating to recreation and vacations. This is a time of great change: organized collective trips become a growing reality, hotels start to be fully equipped with electric lighting and people witness the emergence of the first hotel chains.

In Europe, the beginning of tourism activity as a professional and organized industry begins in the nineteenth century following the emergence of organized tourism, as is demonstrated in the chapter devoted to the history of travel guides. From that moment on, “destinations” are formed and, consequently, images of tourism places and spaces are produced at an ever-increasing pace and travels take on new significance as they become more organized and more frequent. But this was only the beginning. According to Urry (2001), it was only after World War II that people in general realized that holidays are crucial to achieve personal and professional renewal. Holidays became an expression of citizenship, of the right to pleasure and of health renewal.

But travelling also represents an object of desire. Pleasure, freedom and leisure are praised in contemporary societies in which individualism is increasingly valued. This assumption generates a context that is extremely favorable to tourism and to its development. In Urry’s perspective, it is quite difficult to conceive the nature of tourism without understanding how much this activity is continuously shaped in our minds by propaganda, by the media and by the competition that exists between different social groups. If consumerism involves the pursuit of imaginary pleasure, then tourism acts as its paradigm. In fact "The traveler's satisfaction is born from the expectation, the pursuit of pleasure, which lies in the imagination" (Urry, 2001). Tourism ends up involving expectations of new and different experiences that diverge from ordinary, everyday life.

Even in today’s globalized world, a world of accessible and fast consumption and dominated by commercial ads, travelling is still something occasional or extraordinary, distant from everyday life. Travelling means simply to take leave of our ordinary, everyday life and some places are only visited once in a lifetime. Therefore, journeys have always encouraged remembrance and are associated with objects that bring back fond memories and images that we take with us when we go back home. Hence, showing, reporting or telling to others what has been experienced and observed on a journey has always been and will always be part of the experience accomplished.

Travel literature

The narrative genre that will be analyzed- travel literature-is regarded by countless authors as a major element in the intention and realization of any travel venture. According to those authors, it is possible to create a distinctive mark and an individual path through writing (Vicente, 2003). It is through his writing production that the traveler proves he had really visited a given space and it is through that written testimony that readers will create images shaped by those penned reproductions. Those are the so-called "writes of passage" (Duncan, 1999).

The expression "travel literature" raises some controversy regarding its use as a source of research, because it reports to testimonies left by non-native. Adams Percy (1988), who devoted much of his research to this topic, argues that travel literature, although frequently unappreciated, has been, over the centuries, as popular as any other type of literature. Nonetheless, this literary genre has often been used as a source of information and, these last few years, there has been an increase in the conduction of studies on travelling and on the perception of its relevance to the knowledge of mental attitudes triggered by a given geographic, social and cultural place or destination.

These narratives may take different forms, "from a more or less autobiographical and memorialistic document to a travel report or even to a more objective written production of a purely commercial or scientific nature" (Clara, 1991:57) and, despite their intrinsic and evident subjectivity, these works can represent a critical source of knowledge that will help readers understand how reality is viewed in specific moments of history. However, these sources should be used always bearing in mind their "intrinsic subjectivity, their caricatural and metaphorical traces" (Clara, 1991:65), for these productions always end up revealing evidence and references that point to their author's personal and social culture.

Faced with this subjectivity, and with the fictional aspect of these productions, people tend to typify these narratives in different subgenres. We do not intend to classify these travel narratives or to claim whether or not they might be considered literature or a literary genre of their own; We believe that travel literature has its own specificity that depends first and foremost on the narrator/writer and is equally inseparable from the historical, cultural, political

and geographical contexts in which it was produced, because the history of travel is part of the evolution of travel literature itself (Percy, 1983).

It should be stressed that general opinions on this perspective (the fact that one can find a correspondence between the historical evolution of travel and the evolution of travel literature) are not unanimous.

Fernando Cristóvão claims in his study "For a Theory of Travel Literature" that with the growing massification of tourism the analogy between literature and travel became quite questionable.

After all, with tourism "everyone can go anywhere" a perspective that wipe out any expectation and the need one feels for telling a story (2002:35).

While we do not want to engage in such controversy, we can say that once we consider travel guides as travel literature, we have to accept some intrinsic characteristics of this subgenre: some of them have to do with the information they convey and that will help protect travelers from the unknown they will face during their trips, the assistance provided during the preparation of the trip and the company they keep during its execution. This type of publication is in accordance with the type of travel and with the travelers who coexist in each and every historical moment. First it had to adjust to a small elite who perceived travelling as a form of education. Later, it had to adjust to a wider audience with "tourist" needs that stem from the development of transport and of the facilities related to this activity and that were becoming increasingly specialized. Simple and relatively unknown handbooks began to be published and quality guides were produced by famous publishers. Those editions had, and still have, a huge success all over Europe.

The growing diversification of travel literature, of its authors and editors has always lived in a close relationship with historical conditions and, above all, with the increasingly sophisticated technological conditions. The same can be said about the unstoppable world of travel.

Space of Travel – Representation model

The space of travel is a reality built on individual and collective practices and we know that there is a close relationship between physical space and social space (regarded as an artificial space) and a perceived and represented space. Society produces social space through the appropriation of

nature, the division of labor and through the notion of differentiation it sometimes fosters. Physical space itself is also, to a great extent, a construct of individual and collective imaginary. It can be said that the relationship with environment is mediatized by different representations. "There is a certain circularity: it builds itself as it represents itself and represents itself as it constructs itself" (Fernandes, 1995:1180).

That way, the understanding of space implies the mobilization of various sciences and our investigation is based mostly on documentary sources. What matters the most to us is the fact that spaces of representation are associated with lived experience, for what we truly want to apprehend is the representation of a certain space provided by sources that originate from the past and try to uncover what may have "travelled" from that space to the present day. Still we realize that we cannot place undue reliance on those sources because, as Soja claims, an exaggerated attachment to historical rigor "will lead to a growing submersion, to the disappearance of geographical imagination and to an eventual destruction of space by time". A critical discourse is thus imperative (1993:41)

One can sum up the multiple definitions of "Travelling" found in dictionaries as "the action of going to another country or another region, a process that has always contemplated the same three steps: departure, journey and arrival, and that implies the idea of returning to the original place. This definition, quite well accepted among sociologists, perceives travelling as a ritualistic experience common to all rites of passage.

In the definition of "passenger", suggested by J.D. Urbain (1991), the traveler would be composed of three dependent spheres:

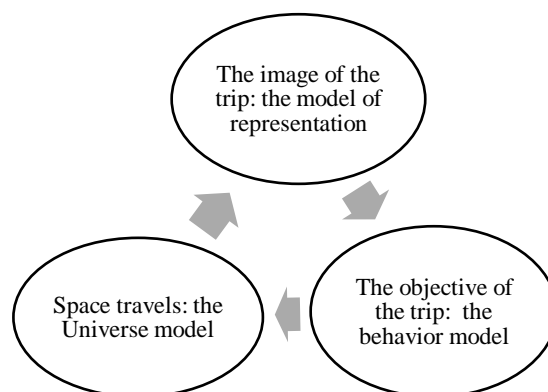


Figure. 1 – The traveler’s spheres (adapted from Urbain, 1991)

We are particularly interested in the model of representation because it dictates the strategy that the traveler will have to implement in order to match a mental representation of a given place with the pleasure and the fun he truly wants to experience. The purpose is always to achieve the consummation of that initial representation.

For the traveler, a place corresponds to a typical representation of the journey and includes a purpose and different space-time conditions that will favor a true fulfillment of that representation.

In this model, the concept of travelling would mean that one won’t even need a change of place to change a life story. This assumption is in complete accordance with our research and with our documentary sources because they all suggest a previous representation of the places people wish to visit: the image of the journey before its accomplishment. And we know that tourist images are filled with myths and imagery.

To measure the distance between ideal space (image) and real space, we have to offer a methodology based on three fields of research that correspond to three moments of contextual travel:

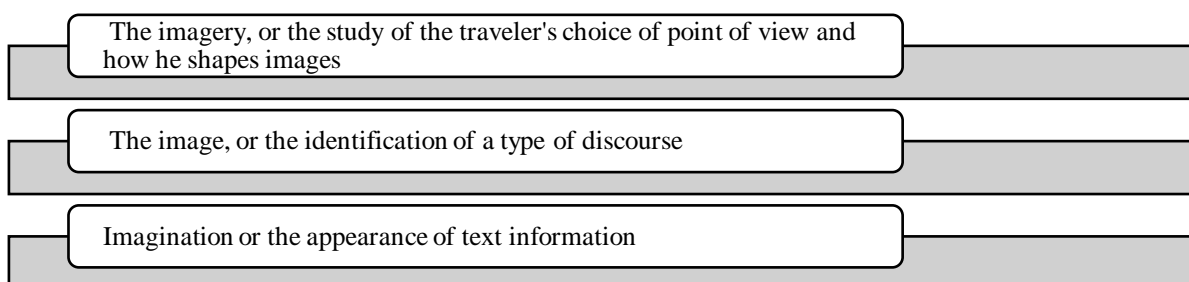


Figure 2 – Distance between ideal space and real space (adapted from Mendibil *et al.*, 2001)

The text information proposed by Mendibil *et al.* suggests the existence of stereotyped "guided spaces" that are part of a national or regional identity and are reflected in both textual information and representations (2001:86).

Stuart Hall claims that "representation acts symbolically to classify the world and our relationships within it" (2002:8). Therefore, it seems that the study of representations is increasingly critical to the understanding of stereotypes, places and images that pervade social imagery. It can also be said that these representations say a lot about social environment and that they are repeatedly found in media: photographs, illustrations, magazines, newspapers and even in the tourist guides.

Implementation study: The Douro Wine Region in foreign travel guides from the nineteenth and twentieth Centuries (1845-1974)

This implementation study- *the Douro Wine Region in foreign travel guides from the nineteenth and twentieth Centuries (1845-1974)*- aims to study the way Douro space has been perceived and disseminated over time through foreign travel guides (printed and edited) and, at the same time, to analyze social, cultural and spatial changes associated with the journey undertaken through this territory. This research is part of a travel experience offered to travelers and will take into account: their motivations, the possible ways to move to and throughout the region, their intention to stay in certain places, the way they are able to depict or shape the landscape.

The main objectives of this study are:

- to reconstitute the decisive chronological moments that have led to the current positioning of the Douro Wine Region as a renowned tourism space; to witness the changes observed in the trips along the Douro river, largely dictated by the technological and industrial development that has allowed the emergence and expansion of new means of transport;
- to analyze the aesthetic representation of nature and of the social and cultural angles that are commonly exposed in those written reproductions and, when possible, to observe the evolution in the depiction of the space (s) provided by the guides we had the chance to analyze.

In fact, this approach will always bring to mind the region that was called, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, "País Vinhateiro do Alto Douro", a region that has always been regarded as a defined area with its own identity even though it had never been recognized as an autonomous political and

administrative body. The limits of the wine-producing region of Alto Douro and the accurate ordnance survey of its complete surface were presented only in 1843, when the so-called *Mappa of the Paiz Vinhateiro* drafted by the Baron of Forrester (1831-1861) was published. This legal document is the starting point from which we will start our research, because from that moment on the Alto Douro region was finally cartographically defined. But, in our research, we could not discard the period of time that witnessed the democratization of travel and railways or omit the decades that gave birth to a wide diversification of the itineraries and in which new habits were created and travel have become widely available all around Europe

In Portugal, by the beginning of the twentieth century, tourism is finely regulated by the Portuguese State with the establishment of the Council and Tourism Division and is supported by a political propaganda machine that will transmit a new image of Portugal that would eventually help open the country to the outside world. 1974, the year of the implementation of a democratic regime in the country, is the limit established for this research. This date marks a turning point in the tourism sector favored by a profound administrative reorganization and the subsequent creation of the State Secretariat for Tourism.

Selection of information sources, methodology and presence of the Douro Wine Region in travel guides

Due to the diversity of travel guides and to the wide range of choices offered, we were confronted with the need to establish some kind of criteria that had to be followed when selecting the publications that provide information about Portugal and/or the Alto Douro region. All we really did was decide which strategies would be the most adjusted to help people capture and create a representation of a certain space using the sources that had been selected.

As we were looking for information about how Portugal and the Douro region was conveyed abroad, our favored universe was formed by the wide range of travel guides about Europe and their reprints in English and French. This analysis was possible because the most famous travel guides about Europe included plenty of references to Portugal.

We have decided not to analyze foreign travel guides dedicated exclusively to Portugal because their focus was mostly on twentieth-century Portugal, because the information conveyed was kind of repetitive and because those editions were for the most part based on translations of Portuguese editions. This feature could influence and limit our study. In our opinion, an external and original vision would allow us to obtain a more detached and unbiased vision.

At this stage we quantitatively observed references to the region of Alto Douro in the travel guides we had selected.

We realized that travel guides dedicated to Europe that were promoting the region of Alto Douro and its characteristics were quite scarce. This finding made us think that the Alto Douro, given the interiority that characterizes most of the region, might have remained unopened to expeditions undertaken by foreigners. This characteristic was enough to dissuade the authors of the best travel guides from promoting the region. This circumstance led us to analyze first and foremost the publications in which we could find general views about the Douro region, namely those which offered descriptions of the city of Oporto and its surrounding area. We tried to understand the importance of the Port wine business to the whole region and its importance beyond borders and we also checked whether or not the travel guides were capable of portraying the Douro region as a wine producing territory. As we analyzed the guides dedicated to the Iberian Peninsula we found out something quite surprising. We noticed that almost all of them refer to that territory and emphasize its qualities. We cannot, however, assert that this presence is constant and clear or that the guides include texts specifically about the Alto Douro Wine Region, but, regardless of the type of guide, be they more descriptive or more functional, this region eventually emerges as a fine tourism destination.

There is a constant presence of the region and the chronological information is relatively accurate. There was an information gap around 1945 but it is due to the almost complete absence of travel guides about the Iberian Peninsula of that time because of the Spanish Civil War and of the Second World War.

We could assume that the city of Oporto is the only reason why the region is referred in those publications and that the Douro valley and its description are mentioned just because of its relationship of proximity with the second largest city in the country, which is by no means the case. First of all because there are recurrent references to existing tourist circuits offered to people who want to discover the region of Alto Douro, although it is true that descriptions are restricted to precise locations or to generalities about Port wine.

Perception of the Douro wine-producing territory

Once we tried to understand the importance played by Port wine outside the territory where it is produced, we focused on the awareness and knowledge of the existence of a Douro wine producing territory.

In the late eighteenth century, the author of the famous "*Guide des voyageurs*" commented on an exclusive wine producer district, where the British used to buy the whole harvest that would then be loaded into their warehouses. However, travel guides about Europe published later have ignored this portion of territory and, since they focused almost exclusively on the city of Oporto, they mention only the wine business and its importance in Portuguese exports, describing the dynamism of the city that derives from this business, but have often ignored the Douro Wine Region, the territory from where Port wine originates.

This approach could mean that those who were writing those travel guides were trying to avoid a compromising position: since they had much more information available about Oporto and its surroundings, focusing on the city was the safest way to fulfill their task. The 1864 *Harper's handbook* was the only guide that referred explicitly to an adjacent territory where Port wine was produced. In fact, until 1920 there has never been room for this territory in the travel guidebooks covering European destinations. It was only in 1936 that the Fodor's Travel Guide mentioned the Region of Port Wine, but there was no invitation whatsoever to visit the region, no indication about the journey or suggestions about what to visit. This was the kind of information that was provided by every similar travel guide.

Along with this shortage of information, there was also a serious lack of accuracy in relation to the winemaking region in the travel guides dedicated to Europe. In the 1930s the confusion was far from being solved and the wine-producing region was registered as a comprehensive region that involved the entire outskirts of Oporto.

It was only in the 60s, thanks to the advent of commercial aviation, the road and railways repair programs, the growing popularity of automobiles(that had already become accessible to people on low and medium incomes) that a particular care was taken in the access roads in Portugal and that the tourist flow began. Domestic journeys became increasingly common and travel guides sought to advise tourists and provide them with information about trips to the suburbs of major cities. Oporto was one of the cities that met all the requirements to become a sought-after destination by tourists and the region of Alto Douro began to be included in those trips, as were Braga and Guimarães (Fielding,1960).

However, and despite the reference to this territory, the information available for those wishing to travel to the region and to enjoy what it has to offer is still scarce. Although it may turn up in travel guides about European tourism destinations, the Alto Douro region was never truly understood for what it really is. The region was nothing more than a reference to "the house of Port Wine".

We found out that the information about the region contained in travel guides depicting the Iberian Peninsula was objectively the only kind of information there was.

In the guides dedicated to the Iberian Peninsula, there was almost always some information about the Alto Douro region but that information was not always accurate and focused especially on details about the wine production, about the diseases that affect the grapevine and on the most famous and prosperous vineyards owned by the most important winemakers of the region. Objective and direct descriptions of the space were scarce. There was little information about how the territory had evolved before 1910 and most of the articles were about generalities about the Alto Douro region, trip offers,

references to small towns or villages, the characteristics of the vineyards and wines and of the whole region or some particular areas. We can find references about the region in guides published after 1910 and the expression “*Paiz do vinho*” (the Land of the wine) begins to appear regularly, there are recurrent references to its geological characteristics and to the subdivision of this territory in *Baixo Corgo* and *Cima Corgo*.

Travel guides about the Iberian Peninsula are now focusing increasingly on the availability of short tourist trips and seem to be highly concerned with the improvements of the Douro railroad line and, gradually, the information about the territory becomes less generalized and the different parts of the guides will focus on specific spaces or on specific aspects of the region. In the 1920s and 1930s this tendency becomes evident, as descriptions of the railroad or of the many railway halts was the only descriptive information readers were able to find.

From the 1940s onwards, travel guides writing about the peninsula begin to use a different approach and start to present descriptions in the form of articles, based on and (or) reproduced from the speeches of the Estado Novo, in which each region had its own identity and the information revolves around the wine and its production. It was the image of the "nation" that had to be transported to foreign travel guides. The land of wine is now an integral part of those guides and there was always a brief (one or two pages) vision of the “*Land of wine*” (Ogrizek, 1953:431), of the *Wine country* (Clark, 1953:116) or of *the Upper Douro* (Fodor, 1960:399).

Readers are now able to observe a separation between the city of Oporto and the wine-producing region. Each destination was depicted in different chapters. This separation should be evident since the wine is produced far away from the city. Obviously the information provided about distances is still of little accuracy and the pieces of advice given to travelers about the territory are still generic and of little use. This lack of accuracy shows that the kind of contact that the narrators and writers of those guides have with the region they are promoting is quite superficial. It is clear for readers that the information they have is taken from guides that had already been published. This appropriation

facet is quite common to the generality of travel guides but can distort the construction of an accurate image of the region. This situation will affect every kind of travel guides, even those which only narrow their field to Portugal and Spain.

Representation of space: the territory of the journey, the landscape, the river and the social aspects

The reading is mainly based on the study of variables that could transmit the travelers and inhabitants' spatial reality during the period under analysis. We are certain that the authors of the guides who used to suggest a visit to the north of Portugal were aware of the existence of an adjacent territory where Port wine was produced. However, the first references to the old "*Paíz do Vinho*" date back to the beginning of the twentieth century and were used to refer to the territory formed by the oldest vineyards. This area, the central axis-Vila Real-Régua-Lamego- would remain the most popular and well-known wine region in foreign travel guides.

There has always been some inconsistency about the limits of this region because there has always been certain confusion when people try to explain the differences between the area of the vineyards and the Douro demarcation area. In fact, the clarifications about the location, configuration and dimension of the region are not easy to grasp and seem to be of little importance for the authors of the guides.

Travel guides begin progressively to focus on the availability of itineraries bearing a close relationship with the Douro railroad line and, gradually, the information about the territory is fragmented and will focus on different areas or places and on their specific characteristics. A new Alto Douro existing along the river is now highlighted.

Records regarding the Douro Hydrographic Network found in travel guides refer almost exclusively to the Douro river, as if this was an isolated element. Once again, the new railway lines and their branch lines were crucial to shed some light on the Douro tributaries and on their geographic locations.

The description of the Douro landscape and of its surrounding environment provided by travel guides is also less extensive than one could expect. In fact, the landscape description is confined to the grandeur of a steep landscape completely covered in vineyards. Tiresome. Impressive and Solitary. The hyper-connotation of the wine in the landscape is not surprising at all, since this would surely be the most important reference possessed by the authors of the guides. This depiction will, somehow, help desertify the landscape they were describing.

In the second half of the twentieth century there is a return to the old image of the Douro and of its inhabitants created by the policies of the Estado Novo as far as traditions and tourism were concerned. Unexpectedly Forrester's *Paiz Vinhateiro do Alto Douro* was back. There is a return to the representation of Alto Douro through a curtain of idealism and an effort is made to preserve a picture that surpasses reality: what the Douro Wine Region could have been, but never was.

The English presence and their dominant position in the Port wine business were then even more impressive. In fact, they considered the Portuguese to be incapable of promoting their Port wine internationally, and they were patronizing enough to consider that Port wine was much more appropriate for British taste because they are much more capable, by nature, of enjoying its qualities.

Once more, this position represents the Portuguese permanent concession to foreign interests.

However, English merchants operating in the region are not referred or portrayed in travel guides, and neither are the relationship between farmers or winemakers and those merchants. The same can be said about the role played by Douro farm workers. In addition to the human effort applied to adapt the vine culture to the difficult conditions of the rough terrain there is little information about those farmers in travel guides. Readers' expectations to find information about social and cultural aspects of the region were generally dashed. In most cases, and for each village, travel guides referred only to issues related to their location, strategic position within the region's trade or short reflections on their organization and property values. Those villages' inhabitants, their lives and difficulties were completely forgotten

It was only in the second half of the twentieth century that the hustle and bustle of the harvest is valued and some stereotypes and images of the past are once again adopted, a repetitive and reprinted imagery that was a simple copy of literary descriptions produced in the nineteenth century. The moments of great activity associated with the harvest-related tasks are once again described. The texts spoke of activities that were not always perfect due to the extreme hardship of the underpaid work performed, but readers could somehow notice a constant concern for stressing the joy and excitement provided by such moments.

The main function of the Douro River depicted in the guides was the transport of wine barrels to the cellars of Vila Nova de Gaia. The river seemed useless for tourist use or activities. Nonetheless there were renewed allusions to adventurous journeys to Oporto by boat (the typical Rabelo boats) that are but copies of successful nineteenth century travel reports.

The land of the wine is now an integral part of travel guides presenting the Iberian Peninsula, however, the information provided to those who intended to travel to the region, even after 1960, is almost non-existent and this region never really got to be discovered.

In the second half of the twentieth century, with the dissemination of information and the publication of written works dedicated to Port wine, travel guides begin to stress out some of the technical issues related to wine tasting and to the wine aging process, a type of information never offered before. The mystery of wine production was closely related to the aging process that was taking place in the cellars located before the city of Oporto. With these references, people still believed that a visit to Oporto would give them the possibility to contemplate the famous vineyards.

Final considerations

We have chosen travel guides because of their effectiveness to send objective and clear messages, because they manage to summarize what is essential and elementary about the contents of their tourist representations. This choice has brought us some troubles.

It must be acknowledged that the old travel guides we have analyzed are part of a purely informative type of literature. Travel guides are closer to encyclopedias than to novels and, although they can often contain fantasy and imagination, they usually stick to a kind of information their writers consider safe and accurate. Therefore the text is based on repetitions more than on creation and they rarely take the risk of exposing the transformations that are taking place in a given destination. In fact, travel guides did not provide us with a "faithful" portrait of the Alto Douro region. They are a vision, one that exists among many others, of this region. Many of the social aspects and conflicts were covered up to maintain the dynamics of existing power relations. In general, these publications always tried to leave out aspects or situations that would evoke conflicts, dissatisfactions and the weaknesses of the territory and were important to help promote an apparent "social cohesion" we know did not exist. Throughout the whole analysis, travel guides rarely address issues related to the history of wine production, to the fact that wines may go through different processes that can lead to their adulteration, to conflicts between winemakers and traders that have been a constant in the history of this region. Interestingly, the role played by the *Companhia Geral da Agricultura das Vinhas do Alto Douro* (the general company that regulates the vineyard production of the Alto Douro region) as a regulatory trade authority trade is not mentioned.

The institutional and economic issues of the region, very diverse throughout the time span covered by our analysis, were suppressed. This led to the creation of a temporal "space" free of fluctuations or transformations of any kind what we know for sure did not exist.

When we realize that the variables studied were part of the past, grounded on the memory of a forgotten region and subsequently promoted during an internal and external propaganda regime, we find out that, in the case of the Douro region, the image recovered depicts a Alto Douro Wine region whose existence dates back to centuries ago and that was unable to adapt to the evolution of the territory and of society. The elements that remain tourist references have been the same for centuries and the image conveyed is so strong that it will hardly change, because those who inhabit the region believe that this is what their region really is.

REFERENCES

- Adams, Percy G. (1983), *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky
- Camargo, Haroldo L. (2001), "Fundamentos multidisciplinares do turismo: história" in Trigo, L. G. G. (org.) *Turismo: como aprender, como ensinar*, vol. I, São Paulo: Editora Senac.
- Clara, Fernando (1991) "Entre a literatura e a história: Verdade, ficção e Verosimilhança" in *Aspectos da história Luso-Alemã*, Comunicação apresentada no 2º Encontro da Associação Luso-Alemã para a Cultura e Ciência, Lisboa: Universidade Nova de Lisboa (pp. 57-68).
- Clark, Sydney (1953) - *All the best in Spain and Portugal*. Nova Iorque: Dodd, Mead.
- Corbain, Alain (2001), *História dos Tempos Livres*, Lisboa: Teorema.
- Cristóvão, Fernando (2002), "Para uma Teoria da Literatura de Viagens" in: Cristóvão, Fernando (Org.), *Condicionantes Culturais da Literatura de Viagens – Estudos e Bibliografias*, Coimbra: Almedina.
- Duncan, Carol e Derek Gregory (1999), *Writes of Passage. Reading Travel Writing*, London: Routledge.
- Fernandes, António Teixeira (1995), "Espaço social e suas representações", *Actas VI Colóquio Ibérico de Geografia – A Península Ibérica um espaço em mutação*, Porto: Univ. Porto, n.º 2, Vol. III (pp. 1179-1185).
- Fetridge, William Pembroke (1864) - *Harper's handbook for travellers in Europe and the East*, 2.ª ed.. Nova Iorque: Harper & brothers.
- Fielding, Temple (1960) - *Fielding's Travel Guide to Europe*. Nova Iorque: W. Sloane Associates Inc.
- Fodor, Eugene (1936) - *On the Continent*. Londres: Francis Aldor, Aldor Publications.
- Forrester, Joseph James (1843) - *Mappa do Paiz Vinhateiro do Alto Douro*. Porto: António Maria de Magalhães.
- Hall, Stuart (2002), *A Identidade Cultural da Pós-Modernidade*, 7.ª. Ed., São Paulo: DP&A Editora.
- Lavenir, Catherine Bertho (1999), *La roue et le stylo : comment nous sommes devenus touristes*, Paris: Editions Odile Jacob.
- Mendibil, Didier, Marie-Claire Robic, Jean-Marc Besse (2001), "Recherches pour une iconologie géographique", *Bulletin Intergéo*, 1/2001, Paris (pp. 85-93).
- Ogrizek, Doré (1953) - *Spain and Portugal*, Coleção World in colour series. Nova Iorque, Londres, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Publishing.

- Percy, Adams Percy G (1988), *Travel Literature Through the Ages: an Anthology*, New York: Garland.
- Perkins, Edwin (1979), *Tourists and Bankers: Travelers' Credits and the Rise of American Tourism, 1840-1900*, University of Southern California, Business and Economic History, Archives 1962- 1999, Second Series, Volume 8
- Reichard, Heinrich August Ottokar (1793) - *Guide des voyageurs en Europe*, 2 vol., 1.^a ed. Weimar: Bureau de l'Industrie.
- Rejowski, Mirian (2002), *Turismo no Percurso de Tempo*, São Paulo: Aleph.
- Schivelbusch, Wolfgang (1988), *The Railway Journey. The industrialization of time and space in the 19th century*, Berkely: The University of California Press.
- Soja, Edward W. (1993), *Geografias pós-modernas: a reafirmação do espaço na teoria social crítica*, Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor.
- Urbain J.D. (1991), *L'idiote du voyage Histoires de touristes*, Paris : Plon.
- Urry, John (2001), *O Olhar do Turista: Lazer e Viagens nas Sociedades Contemporâneas*, 3.^a edição, São Paulo: Studio Nobel SESC
- Vicente, Filipa Lowndes (2003), *Viagens e Exposições – D-. Pedro V na Europa do Século XIX*, Algés: Editora Gótica.

Received 05/02/2018

Accepted 07/05/2018