

LITERARY FESTIVALS AND NEW TENDENCIES IN THE PORTUGUESE LITERARY FIELD

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ABSTRACT: The new dynamics affecting the literary field today require new or little-explored approaches and objects of analysis. This article uses the Portuguese context to reflect on an innovative format, the literary festival, from various angles: how it is linked to the process of literature materialization, how it intersects with tourism, what are its (dis)connections to previous models, or the changes it fosters regarding the way the literary field works. By means of a significant mapping of literary festivals in Portugal, some reflections and relevant data about these tendencies are provided.

KEYWORDS: literary festivals; literary field; literary tourism; material turn; literary places; Portugal.

FESTIVAIS LITERÁRIOS E NOVAS TENDÊNCIAS NO CAMPO LITERÁRIO PORTUGUÊS

RESUMO: As novas dinâmicas que afetam o campo literário exigem abordagens e objetos de análise inéditos ou pouco percorridos. Este artigo parte do contexto português para reflexionar sobre um formato inovador, os festivais literários, em várias orientações: os vínculos com processos de materialização da literatura, os cruzamentos com o turismo, as (des)conexões com outros modelos prévios ou as mudanças que impulsiona no funcionamento do campo literário. Mediante um mapeamento significativo dos festivais literários em Portugal, são colocadas reflexões e dados relevantes sobre estas tendências.

PALAVRAS CHAVE: festivais literários, campo literário, turismo literário, viragem material, lugares literários, Portugal.

In the last few years, the literary field has experienced significant changes regarding the way it works, which means introducing new models and expediting dormant processes, more in tune with new economic and present social dynamics. This has resulted in new formats and me-

diums for relating with literature, which are still insufficiently well known. Hoping to contribute to fill this gap, this article compiles and focuses on elements about literary festivals that are very diverse, making the challenge greater in analytic terms: literature materialization, the relationship between literature and tourism, and also some of the social impacts stemming from these processes.

LITERATURE MATERIALIZATION

In recent years, we have seen a trend to spatialization in literature, which means transposing literary elements to physical realities, in other words, materializing them.¹ Due to its historical configuration, we might say that at its core, literature has books and the act of reading, which is a private act and does not present, at first glance, any direct ties with any concrete place (another issue would be the fictional places of the literary works).

We could also agree that there have always existed “places of literature” such as bookstores, or libraries, and even “places that are not

¹ This idea is based on proposals about the “material turn” put forward by Hendrix (2014: 201-221). The objective of this article is not to detail in depth the relationship between the concepts of *space* or *place*, which by themselves present an important historical tradition of debate and scientific discussion. Only some brief comments on this subject can be made here. In the first place, the “material turn” refers to an idea of physicality derived from the perceptible functioning, while the “spatial turn” has an essentially epistemological dimension; on this last matter, see Tally (2013). The distinctions between space and place are also complex. The latter is usually identified by a well-defined physical and socially determined dimension. Notwithstanding, geographer Tim Cresswell explains that recent developments – mainly according to Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* (1974), a book translated with great impact into English in 1991 – tend to erase the distinction between these terms: “Although this basic dualism of space and place runs through much of human geography since the 1970s it is confused somewhat by the idea of social space – or socially produced space – which, in many ways, plays the same role as place” (Cresswell 2015: 16-17).

static/stable” such as social gatherings to discuss books and literature (for instance, cenacles, tertulias, salons), or public readings. However, in recent decades, diverse initiatives revolving around literary issues have emerged, endowing them with a physical dimension, and establishing a direct connection to a specific space. Two logics and discourses are commonly intertwined here: on the one hand, public attraction showing a more, or less, direct link to tourism; on the other hand, the diffusion of literature and culture between new social sectors, thereby contributing towards the democratization of culture.

This tendency exhibits some common models, such as authors’ homes, literary routes or events inspired on the literature. The first are frequent in the Portuguese context, where it is possible to locate the houses of Fernando Pessoa (Casa Fernando Pessoa, Lisbon), Aquilino Ribeiro (Soutosa, Moimenta da Beira), José Régio (Portalegre), Guerra Junqueiro (Porto), Eça de Queirós (Casa de Tormes, Baião, Santa Cruz do Douro), Camilo Castelo Branco (São Miguel de Seide, Vila Nova de Famalicão), Júlio Dinis (Ovar), Fernando Namora (Condeixa-a-Nova), Eugénio de Andrade (Casa da Poesia Eugénio de Andrade, Fundão), Ferreira de Castro (Ossela, Oliveira de Azeméis), to cite but a few examples. These normally consist of museological spaces created around the author’s place of residence with the intent of paying homage to the figure, or their literary work, simultaneously disseminating and dynamizing culture.²

There are also multiple literary routes that have surfaced in Portugal in recent years. They are all inspired by the places referred to in the literary work, or by an author’s life, and map out a route that is sometimes guided, or displayed in detail in a public space on plaques, or other printable or digital material. Some examples of these are: the “Roteiro do Crime do Padre Amaro” [Father Amaro’s Crime walking tour]

² A similar case, although of a different origin and format, is the Museu do Neorrealismo [Museum of Neorealism] in Vila Franca de Xira, dedicated to this movement, including its literary dimensions while managing not to limit itself to them.

(Leiria), the “Roteiro literário camiliano” [Camilo Castelo Branco literary tour] (Vila Nova de Famalicão and Porto), “Pelos caminhos de Ferreira de Castro” [In the Footsteps of Ferreira de Castro] (Oliveira de Azevés), the “Roteiro literário vergiliano” [Vergílio Ferreira literary tour] (Gouveia) or the “Rota literária do Algarve” [Algarve Literary Route]. Precisely, some of these initiatives run parallel to the collection “Viajar com... Os Caminhos da Literatura” [Traveling with... the Paths of Literature], promoted by the Direção Regional de Cultura do Norte [Regional Direction for Culture in the North], which aims to edit booklets promoting routes linked to authors. This initiative dates back to 2003 and includes over twenty publications centered on 19th and 20th century Portuguese authors like Eça de Queirós, Camilo Castelo Branco, Guerra Junqueiro, Ferreira de Castro, Aquilino Ribeiro, Teixeira de Pascoas, Miguel Torga, José Régio and Luísa Dacosta. The words that introduce the collection illustrate the connection and reciprocity between tourism and literature but also the link between the land, the imaginary and the identity (Direção Regional de Cultura do Norte 2016):

Ao leitor propõem-se dois desafios: viajar pelo Norte de Portugal guiado pela mão experiente e mágica dos nossos escritores e, simultaneamente, viajar por dentro dos caminhos da literatura, descobrindo as paisagens, as cores, os sons que inspiraram as páginas que eles nos deixaram e, também, as ações e as gentes que deram corpo às personagens e heróis que criaram para nós e que, hoje, fazem parte do nosso imaginário coletivo e da nossa identidade.

[Two challenges are proposed to the reader: to travel throughout the North of Portugal guided by the authors experienced and magical hands, while simultaneously traveling the paths of literature, exploring the landscapes, colors, and sounds that inspired the pages the author left us with, and also, the action and people who gave life to the characters and heroes created for us, and that today are a part of our imaginary collective and our identity.]

In regard to events inspired by literature, perhaps the most internationally renowned one is Bloomsday, which takes place every 16 June in

Dublin, as well as in other cities around the world, to pay homage to *Ulysses* by James Joyce, and where the public dresses up in clothing from that era, and roams the places the work of fiction is set in. Recently, this ephemeris has expanded into the Bloomsday Festival, which starts a few days before 16 June, and features cultural activities all around the Irish capital. In the case of Portugal, there is no equivalent literary event capable of mobilizing so many around a literary figure, but it is possible to find roleplaying or other types of staging in public spaces with a similar inspiration, especially if they are part of larger events. Such is the case of the initiative “Raul Brandão vem à rua” [Raul Brandão steps out on the town], a part of the Húmus Festival in Guimarães (March 2017), which sets up itinerant shows based on the author’s works, in various points around the city.

However, these new dimensions in the relationship between literature and the place are not limited to the models referred above. In the Anglophone context there are many touristic products that use literary production as a starting point, and take advantage of the international projection of names such as Jane Austen, Virginia Woolf, the Bronte sisters or Dylan Thomas to create tours or travel guides based on their lives or literary works. Recent models in Portugal have accompanied these tendencies, as is evident from the development of the following: book-themed bars and cafes, also known as book-bars (such as Livraria da Baixa in Porto or Menina e moça in Lisbon); literary hotels (such as The Literary Man or Lov’in Book Guest House, both in Óbidos, or the Lisboa Pessoa Hotel); or the literary collections and projects created around a space that works both as a unifying element and motive, such as the bilingual book *Lisbon Poets: Camões, Cesário, Sá Carneiro, Florbela, Pessoa* by Lisbon Poets & co.’s editorial project, which offers foreign visitors to Lisbon poems by renowned Portuguese authors.

All these examples show, in some form or another, the inter-connected tendencies currently visible in the literary field, such as the previously mentioned materialization process and also merchandising – with a weighted increase of the heteronymous pole (Bourdieu 1992) and the dynamics that link literature to economic exchanges, including

its use as an inspirational resource or motive for the tourist industry. Finally, there is the importance of internationalization in the functioning of the literary field, with a gradual and relevant increase in international circulation, whether in regard to literary products *per se*, or writers' tours, or promoting ideas and references about a whole national literature, which end up influencing its position on a domestic level.

THE IMPACTS OF FESTIVALS IN THE LITERARY FIELD

Contrary to certain “intra-literary” events aimed at an exclusive public, which entails literary sociability (Ponton and Aron 2002) such as the already mentioned social gatherings to discuss books and literature, there are other types of actions that bring literature to the public space. Concretely, the most relevant, due to their dimension, are book fairs and literary festivals. The first are strongly connected to the editorial and book sector, in other words, to the commercialization of books, and present a long, historic tradition. The Frankfurt Book Fair, the first of its kind ever, dates back 500 years, while the first editions of these events in Porto and in Lisbon date back to 1931. Currently, there are two different models: local book fairs, and international ones, like the Frankfurt Book Fair, the Bologna Children's Book Fair, or the Guadalajara International Book Fair, all mainly destined at promoting commercial exchanges within the editorial sector.³

Literary festivals are a new type of literary events which aim to exceed and encompass all previous ones, and match similar events held in the field of cinema, music or the arts. The festival is characterized by concentrating in a limited time and a defined space (normally a place which the festival is connected to, and even contained in the selected name) multiple activities that revolve around a cultural element, which

³ Using the Brazilian case as a starting point, Villarino Pardo (2016) identified different functions – cultural, symbolic and political – of international literary fairs, in particular the role they play as a diplomatic representation.

serves as a motive, although this prominence does not invalidate a probable combination of several different art forms. In a very positive overview of the festival format, Giorgi et al. (2011: 6) highlight the following aspects:

Festivals are an important expression of aesthetic public culture: This is because festivals are spaces and times of *concentrated debate and social effervescence*. [...] At another level, festivals are interesting examples of those sites in society where *the performance dimension of culture* is emphasised more directly than in other situations. [...] Finally, festivals are good examples of the ways in which local cultures get expressed using *other cultures* [The italics are mine].

The recent character of the festival format (in its modern conception) justifies the relative delay in conducting systematic studies about this phenomenon. The work of Long and Robinson (2004) represents the first compartmentalized approach (with a special focus on the touristic dimension), that was completed with the analysis of economic roles (Guerzoni 2008) or impacts on urban space (Cudny 2016). Notwithstanding, none of these works contemplates literary festivals, and only one contemporary monograph by Weber (2018) focuses on analyzing them, specifically highlighting the audience's experience.

In literary festivals, literature and books function as the structural elements for designing a convivial space that brings together a diversity of activities such as round-table discussions, lectures, debates, book launches, workshops, seminars, classes, activities which involve schools, or staged readings. The authors have a prominent position in this proposal and represent one of its more innovative traits. The literary personalities at a festival are the main attraction, so it is usual to combine the big names, which are more newsworthy and/or have greater recognition, with less known authors. In fact, one of the literary festival's most relevant aspects, and what differentiates it from other types of literary activities, is the way the meeting space between authors and their reading public is set up.

According to Giorgi (2011: 12), the first European literary festival continually running till this day is the Times Cheltenham Literature Festival, which has been linked to the English town of Cheltenham since 1949. This type of event became entrenched in the United Kingdom in the 1980's through two key moments that corresponded to the birth of the Edinburgh Festival (1983) and Hay-on-Wye Festival of Literature and the Arts (1988). The literary festival format expanded to diverse European countries in the 1990s. Sapiro (2016: 13, 17) points out that “book festivals” appeared in France in the 1970s and 80s associated to niche genres such as comics and crime fiction, and then went on to establish itself as a market for (better) recognized literary production in the 1990s.

Literary festival event programs offer a variety of activities that include other artistic formats such as concerts, plays, films or exhibitions, not to mention mixed, less coded formats. Personalities from the world of music, cinema or theater are often invited to attend festivals in an attempt to attract a broader audience. In regard to festival content, Giorgi (2011: 20) highlights that amongst the three festivals she has analyzed – Hay, Berlin and Borderlands – “literary fiction” prevails and there is a special interest in promoting those authors distinguished with literary awards, while the more popular literary genres, such as the romance novel or the thriller, are absent. The tension between prestige and economic profit is structural at literary festivals and brings about ongoing reformulation to balance the two poles: “The more popular forms are necessary for attracting crowds and publicity, thus also for long-term financial viability. The less popular forms are important in terms of prestige” (Giorgi 2011: 21). According to this author, these dynamics raise serious questions about the distinction between high- and low-brow literature in contemporary times (Giorgi 2011: 12, 21).

In this sense, Sapiro (2016) values the role these types of festivals play in the democratization of high-brow culture, and points out some of the consequences resulting from this phenomena in the literary field such as the new role of festivals as an authority in consecrating, promoting and recognizing works of literature and authors. New books are

in fact fundamental to the structure of festivals, where events revolving around these literary works are held, and the professionalization of the author's career is strengthened through incomes related to his/her presence, in addition to the impact these performances have in promoting names, or in being invited to take part in events of a similar nature given the reciprocal tendency between festivals.

The French scholar equally emphasizes that this kind of event constitutes “a mode of unprecedented public sociability around reading” (Sapiro 2016: 17), which differs greatly from the more common forms of interaction between peers, as well as those models closer to the market. In this case, the *illusio*, according to Bourdieu's terms, is reinforced, which emphasizes the belief in the value of literature but outside the circuit between peers, that is, between the reading public (the secular public). The interaction between the public and authors “emphasizes the collective dimension of the literary experience” and promotes a reflection about the works of literature, in other words, an exchange of opinions and debate about them, provoking the relativization of the authority of criticism (Sapiro 2016: 17).

The majority of literary festivals are publicly financed, which enables them to put together an event program that is not strictly profit oriented. Giorgi emphasizes that a literary festival's principal motive is to develop critical thinking; in general, debate and capacity to transmit positive and civic values are appraised in these types of events, regardless of the artistic genre they are associated with: “Because festivals are also about transmitting ideas, more specifically the ideas of openness, curiosity, cultural diversity, internationalism and, last but not least, critical inquiry” (Giorgi et al. 2011: 68).

LITERARY TOURISM AND THE FESTIVALIZATION OF URBAN SPACE

Events are a fundamental element for the contemporary tourist industry, which sees these limited and temporary initiatives as a means for creating distinct products that can function as ways to attract tourists

at given times of the year. In a global market, more and more saturated with seductive elements, audiences with specific interests simultaneously emerge. Scholars of cultural geography and tourism Debbage and Ioannides (2002) allude to the contemporary economy's tendency, particularly in the cultural production industry, to materialize culture and experiences in certain places, which are subsequently transformed into commodities. Literary festivals are after all, another type of outdoor festival that fit into the dynamics of materialization in physical spaces for practices that were originally immaterial, as was argued previously.

Giorgi et al. (2011: 68) underline the main socio-economic and political goals of a cultural festival (cinema, musical, literary, or arts) as the construction and diffusion of a brand (i.e. the action of branding), urban regeneration and democratization. Of all, the first is the one which is most closely related to tourism since projecting images about a specific location aims to promote and attract (visitors but also investors or future residents). Based on their analysis about the potential of literary tourism, Hoppen, Brown and Fyall (2014) highlight its possibilities for “destination branding” and point out (2014: 45):

If destinations are able to facilitate deeper engagement among their visitors with their literary interests, and in turn enhance their sense of identity with the destination or “place”, such symbolic meanings and images can be utilised for future, and more sustainable, destination branding strategies.

Following reports by the market research company Mintel, Hoppen et al. (2014: 41 e ss.) classify literary festivals as yet another type of literary tourism, together with “author-related literary tourism”, “fiction-related literary tourism” and “bookshop tourism”. Different opinions are in favor of including literary tourism under the categories of “heritage tourism” or “cultural tourism”. Hoppen et al. adopt a mixed position, considering it belongs to both categories – “cultural and heritage tourism” – and this in turn would fit under the vaster category of “creative tourism” and more specifically “media related tourism” (2014: 39-40). This type of tourism associated to literature has experienced an expo-

nenial expansion over the past years – “from niche to mass tourism” (Hoppen et al. 2014: 43) – thanks in great part to the diffusion and growth of literary festivals on a global scale.⁴

The implosion of the festival format must also be associated to a progressive transformation of the use (real and projected) of public spaces, especially in cities, by establishing a concept that favors its commercial use in detriment of its (more or less) social and traditional dimensions. On the other hand, creating events packages that make a location more attractive and boost the urban space seems to work as an implicit imperative in political management and cultural structures. This tendency has given way to more frequent festivals, located in different points of a city, which in turn influence people’s perception of a space, while at the same time promoting one segment of the population and simultaneously excluding the other. In this sense, we need to emphasize the alleged festive character of these events, and elimination, or mitigation, in its discourses and practices, of more conflicting realities.

LITERARY FESTIVALS IN PORTUGAL

In Portugal, literary festivals are experiencing a phase of expansion and every year the number of events of this type multiply throughout the country, not unlike what is happening in festivals related to other artistic areas such as music or cinema. According to Marques (2016), the first festival of this kind, *Correntes d’Escritas*, took place in Póvoa de Varzim in 2000, drawing 70 attendees in its first edition, in comparison

⁴ The website <<https://www.literaryfestivals.eu/>> [accessed 18 October 2020] offers a broad overview of the literary festivals in Europe. On the other hand, cases such as the Hay Festival, with its own brand, currently take place in various cities around the globe and at different times of the year. The festival is celebrated in locations ranging from Hay (Wales), where it first originated, to cities like Cartagena de Indias (Colombia), which presupposes extending the festival to a Hispanic audience, thereby reaching an increasingly larger public.

with the 700 attendees in 2016. The chronological evolution and the geographical distribution of literary festivals in Portugal are shown in Table 1 and Image 1.

Table 1. Literary Festivals in Portugal (2000-2018)

Name	Location	First edition	Periodicity	Organization
Correntes d'Escritas	Póvoa de Varzim	2000	Annual	City Council + Francisco Guedes
Festa da Poesia	Matosinhos	2005	Annual	City Council + Booktailors (since 2014)
LeV - Literatura em Viagem	Matosinhos	2006	Annual	City Council + Francisco Guedes / Booktailors (since 2013)
Festival Literário Outono Vivo	Praia da Vitória, Ilha Terceira	2006	Annual	City Council
Escritaria	Penafiel	2008	Annual	City Council + Editorial Novembro
Festival Silêncio	Lisboa	2009	Annual (no editions in 2013, 2014, 2018)	Cultural Trend Lisbon (CTL)
Festival de Língua Portuguesa – A Língua Toda	Castelo Branco / Coimbra	2009	Annual	Alma Azul Editora
FLM – Festival Literário da Madeira	Funchal	2011	Annual	ECA – Eventos Culturais do Atlântico
Fronteira – Festival Literário de Castelo Branco	Castelo Branco	2012	Annual	City Council + Booktailors
Raias Poéticas	Vila Nova de Famalicão	2012	Annual	City Council + Associação Raias poéticas
Festival Literário Livros a Oeste	Lourinhã	2013	Annual	City Council
Afinidades Eletivas	Lisboa	2013	Discontinued	Goethe-Institut + Booktailors
Festival Literário da Gardunha	Fundão	2014	Annual (no edition in 2018)	City Council + Editora A23
Diáspora – Festival Literário	Belmonte	2014	Discontinued in 2015	City Council + Booktailors

Festival Novo Jornalismo	Santo Tirso	2014	Discontinued	City Council + Booktailors
FLIPS – Festival Literário do Porto Santo	Porto Santo	2014	Annual	Portuguese Group at Escola Básica e Secundária Professor Doutor Francisco de Freitas Branco
Books & Movies – Festival Literário e de Cinema de Alcobça	Alcobça	2014	Annual	City Council
Tabula Rasa	Fátima	2015	Biannual	MIL – Movimento Internacional Lusófono + Nova Água Magazine
Tinto no Branco	Viseu	2015	Annual	City Council + Booktailors
FIC – Festival Internacional de Cultura	Cascais	2015	Annual (Discontinued in 2018)	City Council + LeYa Editorial Group (also Booktailors in 2015)
Festival Literário de Bragança	Bragança	2015	Annual	City Council + Academia de Letras de Trás-os-Montes (also Booktailors in 2015)
Folio	Óbidos	2015	Annual	City Council + Ler Devagar
Festival Oeiras a Ler – Fique na História	Oeiras	2015	Discontinued	City Council + Booktailors
Festival Literário de Ovar	Ovar	2015	Annual	City Council
Encontradouro	Sabrosa, Vila Real	2015	Annual (substituted by FLID in 2017)	City Council + Douro Intermunicipal Community + Francisco Guedes
Festival Literário do Norte Alentejano	Alter do Chão	2015	Discontinued	City Council
FLIC – Festa da Literatura de Chaves	Chaves	2016	Annual	Clube dos Amigos do Livro de Chaves
FLIQ – Festival Literário Internacional de Querença	Querença, Loulé	2016	Annual	Fundação Manuel Viegas Guerreiro + City Council

Festival Literário de Manteigas	Manteigas	2016	Annual	City Council
Festa literária Elos de Leitura	Nelas	2016	Annual	City Council + Nelas libraries network
Ponte Escrita – Encontro de escritores galego-portugueses	Chaves	2016	Annual	Altino Rio + Sílvia Alves + City Council
FLiD – Festival Literário Douro	Sabrosa, Vila Real	2017	Annual (substituted of Encontro-douro)	City Council
Festival Literário Húmus	Guimarães	2017	Annual	City Council + Booktailors
FLiS – Festa do Livro de Serpa	Serpa	2017	Annual	City Council + Booktailors
Festival Literário Infantil	Vila Nova de Foz Côa	2017	Annual	Public library
FFIL – Freixo Festival Internacional de Literatura	Freixo De Espada À Cinta, Bragança	2017	Annual	City Council
Festa Literária Folha	Curia, Anadia	2018	Annual	City Council + Parque das Artes + Hotel Termas da Curia
Festival Literário Internacional do Interior (FLII) – Palavras de Fogo	Arganil, Castanheira de Pêra, Figueiró dos Vinhos, Lousã, Miranda do Corvo, Oliveira do Hospital, Pampilhosa da Serra, Pedrógão Grande, Penela, Sertão, Tábua	2018	Annual	Arte-Via (Artistic and Editorial Cooperative, Lousã) + Consórcio [Consortium] (14 entities)
Festival de Literatura-Mundo do Sal [Lisbon Extension]	Lisboa	2018		Festival Literatura-Mundo do Sal (Cape Verde) + Rosa de Porcelana Editora + Casa Fernando Pessoa + Fórum das Letras + Universidade Federal de Ouro Preto

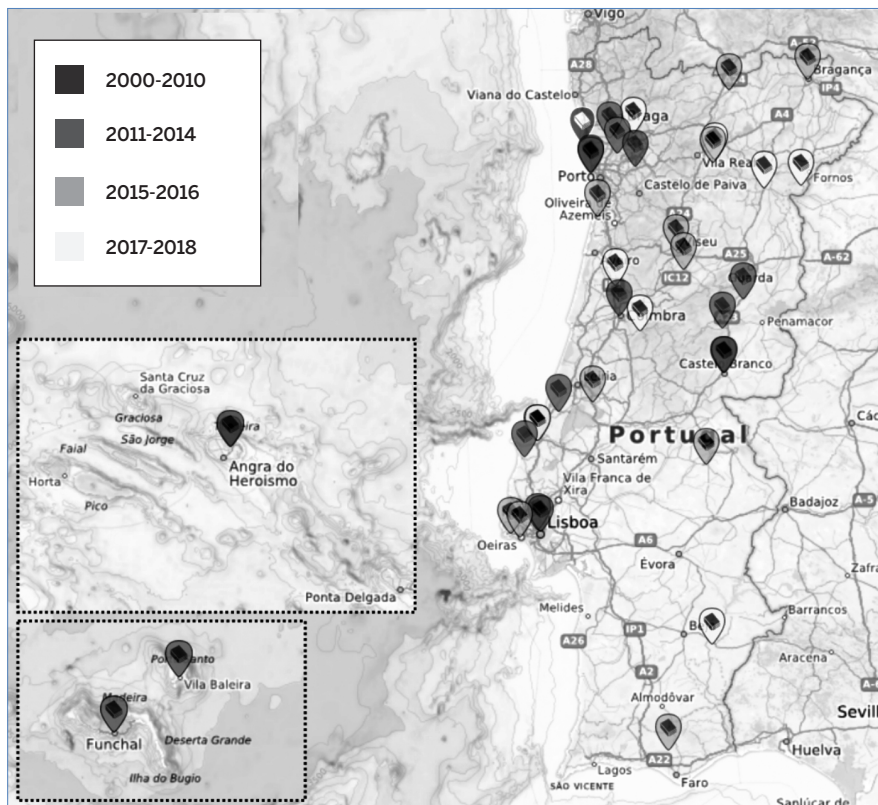


Image 1. Map of Literary Festivals in Portugal (2000-2018) according to start date [Source: author's work].⁵

The objective of this survey was to compile a list of the main ongoing literary festivals in Portugal based on information sourced from the Internet and several cultural agendas. In some cases, a certain amount of ingenuity is needed to establish a boundary between this model (literary festivals) and other event types that revolve around literature. In particular, including the Festa da Poesia de Matosinhos on this list may

⁵ This map is available online at: <<https://facilmap.org/4IM3Sch4f79E>> [accessed 18 October 2020].

be conflictive, considering the absence of historical events such as the Festival da Poesia de Vila Nova de Foz Côa created in 1984 and running continuously since that date. Although there is a tendency to homogenize the festival format, the poetry ones could be considered another festival model, prior to the literary festivals defined in the previous section. Thereby, the Poetry International Festival Rotterdam celebrated its first edition in 1970 and, three years earlier, poet Ted Hughes founded the Southbank Centre's Biennial Poetry International festival. At these model of festivals, declaiming poetry is the event program's structural element and they have become a space of reference with strong presence of exchange between peers where high-brow culture prevails. In opposition to this, literary festivals, usually of longer duration, seem to be more targeted at larger audiences; consequently, they are located closer to the heteronymous pole, with a greater mix of formats and more commercial artistic practices (keeping in mind that, as mentioned previously, public investment and other factors can mitigate this tendency).

We are in the face of a rather porous and unstable frontier (literary festival vs. poetry festival) that, if not respected, would force us to include other events connected to poetry and located on Portuguese soil, such as Mal Dito: Festival de Poesia (Coimbra, 2013), Festival de Poesia (Castelo de Evoramonte, 2017), and adVERSO – Festival de Poesia de Avintes (Avintes, 2017), to name but a few of the multiple examples. Inclusively, recent developments like Slam Poetry would lead us to question whether including in this study initiatives like PortugalSLAM – Festival de Poesia e Performance, running since 2014.

Thus, based on this data, we are more in search of representativeness than complete inclusiveness. The literary festival format has expanded over the last years, to new venues such as schools, giving way to smaller, intimate meets, aimed at a more restricted audience. Another kind of event, the book fair, incorporates an increasing number of work models similar to this type (see, for example, Carvalho 2014). On the other hand, some artistic and cultural festivals such as Azores Fringe or the Festival de Artes da Lusofonia (Figueira da Foz) also include literature in their event programs but are not restricted to it.

This analysis contemplates festivals of a different nature, some of large dimensions – such as the Festival Literário da Madeira, the Silêncio, the Folio or the Literature em Viagem (LeV) – while others are more modestly-sized and may arise from reformulations or associations with book fairs as a more traditional format, as is the case of the Festival de Manteigas or the Festival Literário do Norte Alentejano, in Alter do Chão, which take place alongside the corresponding fairs in these locations. Some have only had one or two editions (such as the Afinidades Eletivas, the Diáspora, the Festival Novo Jornalismo, the Festival Oeiras a Ler and the Festival Literário do Norte Alentejano), yet others are strongly entrenched and are regular annual events (Correntes, Festival Literário da Madeira, Fronteira or LeV). Despite this, the cancellation of editions of Silêncio, Festival Internacional de Cultura (FIC), or the Festival Literário da Gardunha in 2018 are a sign that this model may be in crisis or looking to be reconfigured.

The map [Image 1] lets us clearly see the privileged locations of these event models in the north and center of the country; in the Alentejo and Algarve they are far less common. It is easy to verify a huge expansion over the last years, with remarkable growth starting in 2012; in fact, Marques (2016) noted that close to 30 “literary feasts” took place in Portugal that year. Despite having specific themes that are renewed in each edition, some of the festivals are designed to have very particular formats or orientations. For example, Escritaria focuses on “a living Portuguese writer”, Afinidades Eletivas targeted literature from German-speaking countries, Novo Jornalismo was dedicated to journalistic and non-fiction writing, Oeiras a Ler was centered around the historical novel, Tinto no Branco brings together the “worlds of Literature and Wines”, and Alcobaça Books & Movies combines these two artistic formats. Of notable mention is the Festival Literário Internacional do Interior – Palavras de Fogo, whose first edition took place in 2018, which pays homage to the forest fire victims who perished in that region in 2017. An ethical dimension of involvement of the local communities plays a vital role here, but also the will to change the meanings associated with the different locations where this event takes place.

As far as the organization of the festivals is concerned, it is not always easy to secure this data due to difficulties in locating the information, as well as the co-existence of different entities that finance, or collaborate on the logistics of the event. For example, Marques (2016) states that the budget for Correntes d'Escritas' 2016 edition was 70 thousand euros, 30 thousand euros of which were paid for by the municipality and the remainder raised through sponsors and partnerships. Almost all the registered literary festivals rely on local and regional governments (the Festival Literário da Madeira is an example of the latter) as well as public entities such as the Direção Geral de Artes [General Directorate for the Arts] or Turismo de Portugal, I.P. [Portugal Board of Tourism] for financial support.

Most municipalities take the initiative to organize these events, and at the very least partake in them, demonstrating the potential that this model represents for investing in culture and simultaneously in tourism, thereby attracting visitors and boosting the location's image. The words of the Mayor of Praia da Vitória, on Terceira Island in the Azores, in regard to the Outono Vivo Literary Festival refer to this format's capacity to encourage tourism (*apud* Lusa 2017):

O Outono Vivo é uma referência a nível regional e é uma referência a nível nacional, pela dimensão e pela programação, mas temos a humildade de assumir que ainda não tem capacidade de ser um atrativo turístico. Temos aqui um enorme potencial e é possível fazê-lo, tornando o Outono Vivo cada vez mais um festival literário [...]. A cultura pode dar um passo decisivo na atratividade, porque o nosso objetivo é consolidar do ponto de vista turístico o período de época alta e fazer aumentar o período de época baixa. Eventos como o Outono Vivo são cruciais.

[Outono Vivo (Live Autumn) is a reference on a regional and national level due to its dimension and events program but we are humble enough to realize that it does not yet have the capability to act as a tourist attraction. The festival affords tremendous potential and it is entirely possible to gradually transform Outono Vivo into more of a literary festival [...]. Culture can take on a decisive role as a tourist attraction, because our objective is to consolidate, from a touristic point of view, the high season, and

increase the low season. Events like Outono Vivo are crucial for achieving this goal.]

FESTIVALS' ROLES IN THE PORTUGUESE LITERARY FIELD

In addition to the connection to literary tourism mentioned above, festivals have also become a reference point to observe new tendencies in literature. An example of this is the emergence of new companies and of unprecedented public roles associated to agency in literature.

In the field of festival promotion and management in Portugal, there are individuals figures such as Francisco Guedes – promotor of *Correntes*, *LeV* and *Encontradouro* – but worthy of special mention is *Booktailors*, a company which is behind many of the aforementioned festivals. It is specialized in creating and managing events connected to literature for different public organisms and, in fact, this company directed the Portuguese participation at the International Book Fair of Bogotá (FILBO) in 2013, where Portugal was the featured guest country. It has also coordinated the organization of the Festival Literário Morabeza in Cape Verde since 2017, thanks to an accord with this country's Ministério da Cultura e das Indústrias Criativas [Ministry of Culture and Creative Industries].⁶ Its organizational capabilities have been

⁶ This festival's first edition was highly controversial mainly because the government of Cape Verde handed the organization of the festival over to Portuguese company *Booktailors*. The process was influenced by some (neo-)colonial fears and dependencies that stem from the fact that some cultural practices continue to consider Portugal as the reference or the center for the development of initiatives in Lusophone countries. Some criticized the fact that Cape Verdean authors were given less visibility than Portuguese or other Lusophone authors. The festival's name, "morabeza" (meaning affable, likeable), was also considered inappropriate, essentializing and directed at a foreign public. This controversy can be followed in *África21* (2017). I would like to thank Felisa R. Prado for providing me with the references about this topic.

strengthened by taking part in international platforms such as Literature Across Frontiers (LAF), which promotes an exchange between literatures, and recently launched the project Literary Europe Live, funded by the EU Creative Europe program. This initiative has undertaken the mission to optimize the organization of festivals and helped, for example, to establish the 2016 and 2017 editions of the LeV festival.⁷

Aside from its role as an events producer, Booktailors also offers editorial and literary agent services, and it is at the crossroads of these elements that some controversy related to its work emerges. Concretely, Marques (2016) documents the fact that Booktailors constantly turns to certain writers who frequently headline at events organized by the company, namely Francisco José Viegas and Afonso Cruz, but also Bruno Vieira Amaral, Pedro Vieira or Mário Cláudio. All these writers are actually authors represented by “Bookoffice, agência de serviços para autores”, the company’s service agency for authors, and Francisco José Viegas was appointed to serve in relevant positions at some festivals, such as the role of commissioner at the Guimarães Húmus Literary Festival. On the other hand, Marques also echoes Francisco Guedes’ accusations about monopolistic practices that involve Porto Editora, Booktailors and the Fundação Saramago [Saramago Foundation].

Another example of this type of enterprise, although not as centered on literary events, is CTL – Cultural Trend Lisbon, a company dedicated to cultural management and production, responsible for organizing the Festival Silêncio, which takes place annually in Lisbon’s Cais do Sodré. This company helped boost the renovation of this area of the city, by promoting the music venue Musicbox and the restaurant business Povo, and actively worked to reformulate this area into a “creative district”. In addition to the Festival Silêncio, CTL regularly organizes events related to music and poetry. The social consequences of the changes to this urban space, once marginalized and disadvantaged, were studied by researcher Jordi Nofre (2013), who highlights the process of

⁷ This data is sourced from the Literature Across Frontiers (LAF) website: <http://www.lit-across-frontiers.org> [accessed 18 October 2020].

elitism exercised, and the role nightlife and leisure have played in gentrifying this area of the city.

Cases such as Booktailors or CTL act as new intermediaries in the literary field, offering services that either did not exist, or were less common, and are directed at stimulating the literary production and consumption in classical or renewed formats. There are certain tendencies that symbiotically work with literary festivals to stimulate literary production. Thus, several of them have created a literary award whose winner is announced during the event (as is the case of *Correntes d'Escrita*, *Latitudes* and, more recently, the *Festival Literário Internacional do Interior*), and some have even implemented literary residencies to host authors.

Festivals represent an important connection to the editorial field as they are the preferred launching pads for new literary works, since they take advantage of the attending public and of the media coverage of the event. Consequently, and considering the international dimension's growing impact on the literary field, larger festivals also function as mandatory stopping points for international tours, which renowned writers do to promote their latest works. We have seen this practice at *Cascais FIC*, where writers, for example Paul Auster and Arundhati Roy, put in an appearance in 2017. These popular authors undoubtedly serve to attract large audiences to attend literary festivals. Event organizations frequently resort to personalities from different artistic fields, such as musicians, or well-known journalists. At the same time, recognized literary names (like Pedro Mexia, Gonçalo M. Tavares and Afonso Cruz) are mixed in with less known, emerging authors.

Today's new tendencies require authors to become easily recognizable public figures, with a well-crafted image (via on-line personal pages, image catalogs, etc.) and an active role in the media and events such as launches, debates and festivals but also literary workshops or activities at schools, in order to cultivate a literary capital that could be converted into solid economic resources. Therefore, the objective is to secure a professional career (or the most professional possible) in the world of writing. In the Portuguese case, paying honorary fees to au-

thors at festivals has become more common but does not always happen, even though we were able to determine that this does happen in cases such as LeV, the Festival Literário de Ovar and Folio (in its first two editions).

Marques (2016) identified a restricted list of Portuguese literary names that are very active in festivals. Many of the factors previously mentioned, such as the organization, the editorial houses, some writers' greater availability for some of these events and not others, or the mutual exchange between festivals are all influential aspects that contribute to explain this tendency. Furthermore, festivals are an opportunity for writers to make informal contacts and network, which may lead to more options within the literary field such as translations, book launch tours or future collaborations on a national or international dimension. In the current landscape, festivals are spaces for dynamizing literary circulation, and because of this they are "obligatory points of passage" (Cudny 2016: 61).

DISCUSSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH TOPICS

Literary festivals and the other driving forces underlined in this article are among the multiple exponents that show that the way the literary world works is changing. In a certain way, these changes extend to its social uses, which make it necessary to rethink and upgrade the objects and mechanisms of analysis we use to study literature and culture. This article aims to fill this void and create an innovative research area about the Portuguese literary field, which may be strengthened in the future with the following research topics.

At literary festivals, the book, as a depository format for an idea of culture, conceived as a positive benchmark for creating a critical conscience, or for personal and social development, is used as a symbolic resource. The cultural fields were historically conceived to oppose prevailing, economically-driven logics. Notwithstanding, the current economic dynamics, especially in the West, are characterized by the

importance of creative and cultural dimensions in detriment of an industrial production that is increasingly more reduced (Yúdice 2001). It is in this context that the festival format flourishes (Cudny 2016: 6, 157).

Literary festivals present different uses that are often interconnected: cultural (making artistic fields more dynamic); political (the democratization of culture, the legitimation of projects and political careers, or the urban remodeling of areas of a city); economic (the activity's direct and indirect impacts); promotional (diffusing the local brand); or touristic (attracting visitors), among others. Literary festivals are therefore an especially suggestive way for the political power to simultaneously intervene in all of these areas in the form of cultural investment.

These event formats (material structure, trips, lodging, promotion, etc.) require greater economic resources than other traditional models active in the literary field. As previously mentioned, public funding is the most common, followed by corporate sponsorship, or even collaborating editorials that in this way are able to achieve greater prominence in the event program. This brings us to one of the most relevant issues literary festivals raise, and that have to do with renewed forms of heteronomy – political and economic – concerning the literary field.

Another point of interest is linked to cultural democratization, in other words, conquering new audiences for literature. Sapiro (2016: 16-17) points out that although festival audiences may have gotten larger, in general, the barrier arising from cultural and economic capitals remains intact. In the Portuguese case, it is foreseeable that we will find different situations in small and large localities, but further inquiry is needed in order to validate this hypothesis.

Lastly, and given the connection between literary festivals and tourism, we need to take into consideration the risks associated with the practice of tourism, such as: participating in the creation of otherness, social segmentation, and symbolic exclusions; commercialization of the public space, and the topicalization and uniformization of physical and socially complex realities.

FUNDING AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research was supported by the Centro de Estudos Comparatistas (Universidade de Lisboa) through the cluster Lit&Tour (Literature and Tourism).

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