

# From the garden to the grave – three dark sites related to the legend of Pedro and Inês

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## ABSTRACT

By combining an interpretive reading of the spaces, a study of DMOs marketing strategies and TripAdvisor ratings, this research aims to understand the role of literary constructions, symbols, and discourses in the development, positioning, and management of a dark literary site. Three specific places will be highlighted in relation to the biography of the legend of King Pedro I and Inês de Castro, the "skeleton queen", assessing how these heritage sites exploit the legend for place branding, attracting visitors and creating a strong identity. In addition, this article aims to evaluate how and to what extent three heritage sites—Santa Clara a Velha's Church, Quinta da Lágrimas in Coimbra, and Alcobaça Monastery—associate themselves with the legend of Pedro and Inês, in order to increase their attractiveness, concluding that all the literary resonances of these locations can be traced to Luís Vaz de Camões' *The Lusíads*. As for the dark elements, while Quinta das Lágrimas and Alcobaça Monastery combine literary with a macabre appeal, notably Alcobaça, the darkest of the three, Santa a Clara a Velha's Church is primarily of a biographic nature. Additionally, the macabre use of the space in this case appears to overpower the literary associations.

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...dormida potestade, luz primeira,  
eras ontem rainha, hoje és ritual.

Jorge de Lima, *Invenção de Orfeu*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

A particular type of travel called dark literary tourism arises at the confluence of tourism, literary associations, heritage and culture, and sites of death or suffering. When a journey is motivated or sparked by the love of literature, it is said to be literary tourism. Literary tourism therefore occurs at locations connected to authors' lives, literary works, literary characters or events attracting the interest of visitors (Quinteiro & Baleiro, 2017). Seeking for places filled with literary significance, readers turn into tourists, travellers or pilgrims.

On the other hand, when a tourist is drawn to locations related to tragic or gruesome past events, it is called dark tourism. Dark tourism revolves around the visit to battlefields, graves and other sites of, or associated with, murder or death (Lennon & Foley, 1996) – natural catastrophes, accidental disasters, wars, massacres, genocide, serial killings and large-scale murders are all included in this category (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

Dark literary tourism is also linked to heritage tourism. The connection between literary tourism and heritage tourism has already been emphasized by Herbert (2001) and Squire (1996), as both are more site-oriented than cultural tourism, which may include cultural activities regardless of their location (travelling events like WOMEX are a case in point). The same holds for dark tourism, which is inextricably connected to a place or a location, from cemeteries, prisons and horror homes to famous people's death sites, death camps, holocaust museums and major disaster sites. Furthermore, literary places are frequently part of a nation's or region's legacy or become heritage as a result of their literary affiliation – such is the case of canonical writers' homes, like William Faulkner's Rowan Oak in Mississippi.

The hype for literary tourism and dark tourism study is a recent phenomenon in academia, emerging at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Dark literary tourism, in return, has not yet been properly investigated. Daniel Xerri (2018, p. 126), however, has approached the subject, dark and literary tourism, pinpointing what connects these two particular aspects of travel. Firstly, a dark literary travel consists of visiting places associated with books and authors as well as with death or human tragedy. When these two types of tourism merge, at places such as Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris or Novodevichy Cemetery in Moscow, they can be called dark literary tourism. Secondly, Xerri underlines these sites' potential to enrich tourists with both educational and emotional experiences. In literary places, visitors "bring with them an almost singular sense of veneration cultivated by the rewarding experience of reading literature associated with the site", whereas in dark tourism sites, they learn "about the place and its history as well as themselves as human beings" (Xerri, 2018, p. 128-129) – a statement that underlines the deep existential meaning of the vicarious encounters with death as provided by dark tourism.

Although the concept of dark literary tourism is still to be fully explored, other related typologies have been identified following literary subgenres, such as Gothic, Murder, Crime or Horror Literature sites. Gothic tourism<sup>1</sup>, as described by Emma McEvoy (2016), is one of the labels associated with dark literary tourism, and may be defined as "the act of visiting, for the purpose of leisure, a location that is presented in terms of the Gothic" (McEvoy, 2016, p. 3), i.e., "tourism that is intimately connected with Gothic narrative, its associated tropes, discourses and conventions" (McEvoy, 2016, p. 5). Other typologies include "crime tourism" (such as the Sherlock Holmes or Jack the Ripper tours in London) or "Holocaust tourism", which Busby and Devereux have researched by examining the influence of *The Diary of Anne Frank* on visitors' motivations to enter the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam. Questionnaire responses obtained by these researchers show the direct

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<sup>1</sup> Light et al. (2021) argue that gothic tourism is not clearly differentiated from other forms of tourism. Conceptualised both as a type of literary tourism and as a "lighter" form of dark tourism, they even put forward a model placing gothic tourism at the junction connecting dark and literary tourism.

impact that a book can have on the visitation of a site that is far from leisure-oriented (Busby & Devereux, 2015).

Without attempting an actual classification of the various ways in which dark tourism and literary tourism may intersect, a broad distinction might be suggested, on the one hand, between dark literary sites (that is, literary sites that are also dark) and, on the other, literary dark sites (i.e., dark sites with literary connections), depending on whether their dark aspects have been respectively created or depicted by literature. Thus, the dark aspects of dark literary sites are contingent on their literary associations, without which the sites may even disappear as tourist attractions. The streets and buildings of New England's Providence, for instance, are devoid of any dark connotations, unless they are deliberately associated with H. P. Lovecraft's writings. Other places belonging to this first group may be those connected to Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, Alexandre Dumas' *The Count of Monte Cristo*, or the Sherlock Holmes gift shop on 221b Baker Street<sup>2</sup>, to name a few. Due to their fictional nature, these sites are usually on the lighter side of the spectrum (Strange & Kempa, 2003). The second group, literary dark sites, are those in which dark features are described or made popular by literature, thus adding a new layer to an already dark tourist attraction. These sites include locations like Le Bagne, French Guiana's penal colony featured in Henri Charrière's *Papillon* (cf. Tallone, Pascoal & Furtado, 2021), Cambodia's Killing Fields, the Anne Frank House or Alcatraz Island, dark sites in their own right, which do not depend for their existence on the attention paid to them by literature and popular media.

This rough distinction proves to be useful in the present study, as the three locations associated with the legend of Inês de Castro do show different shades of dark. After a brief account of the historical background underlying the legend of Inês de Castro and Pedro I, as well as of its incorporation in the Portuguese literary canon, the paper deals with three locations related to Pedro and Inês, namely the Santa Clara Church, Quinta das Lágrimas (both in Coimbra), and the Alcobaça Monastery. In each of these locations, the Pedro & Inês story is commoditised in slightly different terms, in order to enhance the attractiveness of the three locations as tourist products.

## 2. OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

As tourist destinations, they all require appropriate development, management, positioning and understanding (Sharpley & Stone, 2009), particularly in view of the diverse ethical issues raised by darker sites. Creating narratives about a place's identity has become increasingly important in order to attract more tourists as well as to give inhabitants a sense of worth and belonging (Richards, 2014). Paris' reputation as the "city of love" or "city of lights," for instance, draws tourists from all over the world who yearn to take part in this beautiful story (Pine & Gilmore, 2011). Another chance to develop a compelling narrative that is entwined with a location's history and identity is to associate a renowned person

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<sup>2</sup> A totally fictional address, 221b Baker Street was created in 1932 due to the celebrity of Conan Doyle's detective.

(such as a painter or writer) with a city's brand<sup>3</sup>. Local communities may communicate a wide variety of myths about their history and identity, and tourists can interpret these stories in accordance with their own creativity, history, and identities (Richards, 2014).

Based on these assumptions and with Cultural studies as foundation studies, this paper intends to assess the relevance of literary constructions, symbols and discourses in the development, positioning, and management of a dark literary site. A hermeneutical reading of the spaces leads to a qualitative, non-numerical, analysis of DMOs strategies; in addition, TripAdvisor's (<https://www.tripadvisor.pt>) reviews provide evidence of visitors' perceptions and interpretations. These approaches, i.e., direct observation of the sites and analyses of DMOs strategies and visitors' reviews, allow the authors to establish research questions of a broader scope, as well as to adjust their analysis in the course of their studies.

Three specific locations will come into focus, related to the biography of the macabre and tragic story of King Pedro I and Inês de Castro, the "skeleton queen", crowned after death. For that purpose, after considering three different literary places associated to Pedro and Inês and their tragic love, this paper will evaluate how successfully these locations use the legend for place branding, attracting tourists and building a strong identity. Understood as a strategic vision for a particular location, place branding ensures that this vision is "supported, reinforced and enriched by every act of communication" (Fan, 2006, p. 6). Although literary associations may be recognised by a limited number of individuals, it is becoming increasingly usual for locations to adopt strategic approaches, using various resources to position and sell themselves as related with literature (Marques, 2019). Indeed, "literary places are no longer accidents of history [...] they are also social constructions, created, amplified, and promoted to attract visitors" (Herbert, 2001, p. 313). This study will show how and to what extent these three sites – Santa Clara a Velha's Church and Quinta da Lágrimas in Coimbra, and Alcobaça Monastery – associate themselves with the legend of Pedro and Inês in order to increase their attractiveness, while also attempting to gauge the extent of dark and literary references.

### **3. PEDRO I AND INÊS DE CASTRO: FACTS AND FICTION**

Love and death – Eros and Thanatos – go together well in fiction. Due to their power to capture the imagination, stories of doomed lovers and their illicit passions, like those of Romeo and Juliet or Tristan and Iseult, have been revisited again and again in literature, film, painting, music. They have been repeatedly adapted, updated, reshaped and transformed, making up a dense mesh of intertextual and intersemiotic relationships that continue to grow. We seem to never get tired of them.

What makes those tragic stories so compelling is no doubt the triumph of love over death. Lovers meet their death with the certainty of fulfilling their destiny, and therefore transcend it as they turn into timeless myths. And, as myths, they exist only as lovers – whether fictional or historical, they have almost no entity aside from that essential nature. We learn

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<sup>3</sup> An example of this type of branding effort is provided by the city of Málaga, where Picasso's name is increasingly marketed for tourist consumption (cf. Tallone *et al.*, 2022, p. 7-9).

very little about them, except that they love with a strength and conviction usually denied to most mortals, and seldom see them but through the lover's eyes, that make them beautiful, perfect, and eternal.

The story, or legend, of king Pedro I and Inês de Castro had all the necessary ingredients to turn them into the protagonists of the most famous love story in Portuguese history. The young Pedro, when still a prince, fell in love with his wife's lady-in-waiting, Inês, who was related to Galician and Castilian noble families. Fearing the Castilian influence on his son and heir, king Afonso IV first banished Inês from the court and later, when that did not stop Pedro from seeing her, ordered her execution. Pedro's ruthless revenge on her executioners, once on the throne, earned him the nickname "the cruel". He also announced to have secretly married Inês, and proclaimed her queen several years after her death. A particularly gruesome, and fictional, episode was added in 1577 by Fr. Jerônimo Bermudez, a Castilian writer (*apud* Almeida et al., 2021, p. 258), according to which Pedro required his vassals to kiss the hand of Inês' exhumed corpse during the coronation ceremony.

As pointed out by Resende de Oliveira (2008, p. 121), the romantic aspects of the story were first introduced in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century by Fernão Lopes' *Crónica de D. Pedro*, including a theatrical description of Pedro's revenge. Though Lopes' text focuses on Pedro's figure, giving Inês no agency but only the role of innocent victim, it marks the beginning of the mythification process that has foregrounded Inês de Castro as a major romantic character (Kreischer, 2012, p. 14). Following Lopes, the story was borrowed and reshaped throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, and episodes were added or expanded, particularly in connection with the death of Inês. By the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, then, when Luís de Camões published *Os Lusíadas*, all the "facts" connected to the legend of Pedro and Inês were already well established.

It is in fact the story as told by Camões (Canto III, stanzas 118 to 135) that has become the "authorised version" to modern readers, the passage having been mandatory reading for generations of Portuguese-speaking students. Although Pedro and Inês have inspired an almost uncountable number of works, from literary and historiographic texts to drama and film, both in Portugal and abroad, *Os Lusíadas* remains the uncontested reference, as the most important work in the Portuguese literary canon, translated into hundreds of languages.

Unlike Fernão Lopes' Inês in *Crónica de D. Pedro*, Camões' Inês takes centre stage. She loves back, so much so that Love is the ultimate cause of her death. Loving and being loved seals her destiny, to which she eventually surrenders; after pleading for the sake of her children, her last word, however, is Pedro's name – the lover speaking louder than the mother. As in other timeless stories of illicit love, the "black and lamentable accident" (Camões & Fanshaw, 1655, p. 69) of Pedro and Inês is so great that only eternal death can contain it.

Very briefly, these are the key components that undoubtedly go into making the Inês de Castro episode "the most widespread Portuguese subject in western culture" (Machado de Sousa, 2018, p. 72), which not only explains the popularity and expansion of this narrative in literary and artistic terms, but also accounts for its significance in the memorialization of

locations and the branding of the dark literary sites associated with the love story of Pedro and Inês.

#### **4. DARK LITERARY SITES OF THE MACABRE TALE OF PEDRO I AND INÊS DE CASTRO**

Unlike other famous love stories from the Middle Ages, like Romeo and Juliet or Tristan and Iseult, Pedro and Inês were historical characters and the locations where they were exiled, resided and fell in love with each other are well documented. But it was Literature and the Arts that have turned these locations into "non-tangible assets", a central part of Coimbra's city branding, and a very important tourist attraction in Alcobaça. Pedro and Inês' love story may well have been the first typical item of what would later be referred to as the Portuguese cultural industry sector, commoditised as a tourist product, in which a morbid love story becomes a literary *topos*, as shown in the three sites analysed in the following pages.

##### **4.1. Santa Clara's Church**

The Santa Clara-a-Velha Monastery was founded by Lady Mor Dias, who had retired to the female convent of the Santa Cruz Monastery in Coimbra (César, 2016). Due to the close relationship between that noble lady, originally from that city, and the friars of the Order of the Holy Cross, Lady Mor Dias endowed most of her fortune to them.

Being increasingly close to Franciscan ideals, she decided to set off the foundation of a women's monastery dedicated to the Order of the Clares, a work for which she was granted a license in mid-April 1283 (SIPA, n.d.). Fearing that Lady Mor Dias' fortune should be invested on the building of the monastery, the friars of the Order of the Holy Cross opposed the project (César, 2016). Only after three years was the first stone of the monastery laid, starting the building of a church, a cloister, and a dormitory in the facilities. A few years later, in January 1287, the monastery was handed over to the Order of the Clares (SIPA, n.d.). Finally, Lady Mor Dias was excommunicated by the prior of the Order of the Holy Cross in 1292 (César, 2016).

This set of conflicts made Lady Mor Dias – already on her deathbed – assure in her last will to leave the future of the monastery in the hands of D. João de Soalhães, at the time Bishop of Lisbon. Five years after her death in January 1302, however, the bishop handed over all the powers over the Monastery entrusted to him to Queen Isabel of Aragon, whose immediate intentions were to establish peace with the friars of the Order of the Holy Cross and to enforce Lady Mor Dias' last wishes (Côrte-Real, 2009, *apud* César, 2016).

Although an agreement between the prior of the Order of the Holy Cross and the Bishop of Lisbon had resulted in the dissolution of the Santa Clara House (César, 2016), Queen Isabel of Aragon "showed an interest in the re-foundation of the monastery, ordering the construction of new buildings of which the cloister and the church stand out [...]" (C.M. Coimbra, n.d., our translation). She did not give up the project, having obtained in 1314 papal permit to lay the foundation of the House of the Order of the Clares, in Coimbra (César, 2016).

In 1336, Queen Isabel of Aragon died in Estremoz, and her body was moved to the Santa Clara Monastery, setting in motion the process of her sanctification (Côrte-Real, 2009, *apud* César, 2016). The Monastery became a place of worship and residence for members of the nobility and the royal family. It was here, at the “Paço de Santa Clara”, where the grandson of Queen Isabel of Aragão, D. Pedro, lived together with Inês de Castro and their children, as portrayed in literary fiction. In fact, Cristóvão’s analysis (2012, p. 463) confirms this location as the place where the Princess had been assassinated:

There were rumours that King Pedro had secretly married Inês. Such circumstances had intense political implications within the context of the royal family. King Afonso IV decided that the best solution would be to murder the Galician lady. On January 7, 1355, the king surrendered to his advisors’ pressure and the people. Taking advantage of Pedro’s absence on a hunting tour, he sent Pêro Coelho, Álvaro Gonçalves and Diogo Lopes Pacheco to kill Inês de Castro at Santa Clara.<sup>4</sup>

As proposed in one of the most recent novels related to Princess Inês de Castro - *Inês de Castro – Espia, Amante, Rainha de Portugal* by Isabel Stilwell, Ferreira (2021) underlines that historical fiction about the subject, though riddled with a number of unresolved doubts, never questions some basic historical facts, namely that Princess Inês de Castro lived and was killed at Santa Clara:

[A]mong many doubts about the past of Inês de Castro, there are also some certainties, being one of them to have lived, along with her beloved one and the three children in the Palace of the Queen, close to the Santa Clara-a-Velha Monastery, in Coimbra [...]. It was also here that the actual murder of Inês took place, beheaded at the request of King Pedro’s father, Afonso IV of Portugal. And this is a fact that can be assumed to be “almost guaranteed”.<sup>5</sup>

Furthermore, according to Ferreira (2021), another undeniable historical fact is related to the Queen Isabel’s entombment at “Paço da Rainha”, close to the monastery (s. above). This author also points out that Isabel Stilwell’s intention was not merely to tell the legend about Inês de Castro, but also to convey the image of a usually neglected female characteristic, namely that of powerful woman, a spy willing to defend Castilian political interests on Portuguese territory. In Stilwell’s words, as highlighted by Ferreira,

[t]here has always been the notion that women should be obedient, devoted, and subject to what a man desires, but we also know today that Inês was not the only example of a lover at the time. Beautiful ladies have been used [at court] by numerous noble families to attract powerful men throughout history, leading to their eventual loss of control and submission (*apud* Ferreira, 2021, our translation).

The Mondego River’s proximity to the proposed construction location for the Monastery was an important consideration. However, this location has led to frequent flooding of the

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<sup>4</sup> Our translation.

<sup>5</sup> Our translation.

facilities throughout time. According to the national website of the Regional Directorate for Culture (DRCC, n.d.), and more specifically the information regarding the facilities of the Santa-Clara-a-Velha,

the presence of water was an added value for the monastic community and for the daily life [at ‘Paço de Santa Clara’], built in the vicinity of the Monastery [...] [O]n the other hand, the cyclical floods of the Mondego made the inhouse life unbearable, forcing the nuns of the Order of the Clares to definitely leave in 1677, for the new convent (Santa Clara-a-Nova Monastery) at Monte da Esperança.<sup>6</sup>

The Santa Clara-a-Velha Monastery has been listed as National Monument since 1910, having its ruins been restored throughout the years – particularly due to constant flooding of the facilities. After going through rehabilitation work, especially from the 1990s onwards, some gothic architectural structures were unearthed, as well as a vast range of artefacts of archaeological interest (DRCC, n.d.). In November 2021, the Portuguese Minister for Culture signed two administrative contracts with the Santa Clara-a-Velha Monastery, as well as with the Machado Castro National Museum – “two cultural jewels in Coimbra”, according to the current city’s Mayor. The almost 4-million-euro investment for construction works to begin in 2023 is mainly aimed at preserving and further recovering of the buildings, improving accessibility conditions, setting up wi-fi networks, etc. (ON Centro, n.d.).

The space comprises a museum and part of its ruins are open to the public, with admission tickets ranging between 2 and 4 euro. One of its most recent exhibitions, featuring Baroque artist António Saint Silvestre, was dedicated to “the dead queen and other disenchanted personalities” (Ferreira, 2021). The most recent of the 667 reviews and ratings on TripAdvisor highlight the historical importance of the Monastery, while complaining about its temporary closure due to construction and/or restoration work. Visitors also highlight the melancholy atmosphere “taking us back in time” (Rubén José, Mundo, August 2019), as well as emphasize the monument’s cultural value and relevance for the city of Coimbra, which is consistent with César’s (2016, p.99) point of view:

The [Santa Clara-a-Velha Monastery] is culturally and strategically of the utmost importance to Coimbra, to the nation, and to the world. Consisting of two entirely separate, yet interconnected structures where the old, the ruins of the Monastery, and the modern, the interpretive center, are strongly interconnected, the unique recovery project of this historical-cultural space has been acknowledged by the general public<sup>7</sup>.

#### **4.2. Quinta das Lágrimas**

Formerly known as Quinta do Pombal, the first references to Quinta das Lágrimas, belonging to the friars of the Order of the Holy Cross, documented a canal commissioned by Queen Isabel in 1326, in order to deliver water to the nearby Convent of Santa Clara-a-Velha (CMC,

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<sup>6</sup> Our translation.

<sup>7</sup> Our translation.

n.d.). The delightful garden of Quinta do Pombal, which served as the setting of Pedro and Inês' love, entered cultural history through the verses of *Os Lusíadas*, and Quinta do Pombal therefore became Quinta das Lágrimas due to Camões' work. For centuries, it continued to serve as an agricultural productive unit, first owned by the church, then by the University of Coimbra, and finally by private households, indicative of the trend towards the space's secularisation. After the April Revolution in 1974, Quinta das Lágrimas fell into an increasing state of disrepair, until it was transformed into a 5-star "charm hotel", within the network of Small Luxury Hotels of the World<sup>8</sup>, containing a one-star Michelin Restaurant and the lower part of the farmland, now turned into a golf academy (Turismo do Centro, n.d.).

In 2005, on the 650<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Inês' death, the Inês de Castro Foundation was officially established with the goals of promoting research and cultural activities centred on Inês de Castro and her legend. The Quinta das Lágrimas Society, owner of the estates and of Hotel Quinta das Lágrimas, loaned the land comprising the historical sites, gardens, hillside and woodland to the Foundation. This entire legacy is open to the public and, according to the Foundation figures, it attracts around 70 thousand visitors every year, who pay €2.5 each for admission. In addition to visits to the gardens of Quinta das Lágrimas, where the mythical Fountains of Love and Tears mentioned by Camões may be found, the Foundation also organizes an annual Arts Festival, held in the Camões Hill Amphitheatre, the result of restoration work led by architect Cristina Castel-Branco. In addition, the gardens of Quinta das Lágrimas, with a history spanning seven centuries, have been included into the Central Coastal Route of the Routes of Historic Gardens of Portugal by the Portuguese Association of Historic Gardens (AJHP)<sup>9</sup>. The Foundation is also responsible for a literary award in order to distinguish works that incorporate elements of the "Inesian myth", including broad themes like passion, vengeance, tragedy, and other representations of Portuguese history and culture (Fundação Inês de Castro, n.d.).

Coimbra is one of the most visited cities in Portugal, owing to its rich tangible and intangible legacy. The University of Coimbra-Alta e Sofia, designated as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 2013, and the Machado de Castro Museum, added to the list in 2019, are tourism and cultural hotspots. Despite attempts by the Municipality and DMOs to promote heritage assets such as the Church of Santa Clara a Velha and Quinta das Lágrimas, the left bank of the Mondego River remains the least frequented. Thus, the legend of Pedro and Inês not only plays a decisive role in the branding of the gardens of Quinta das Lágrimas, but is also present in the identity of the hotel, which even offers a Pedro and Inês experience for 679 euros<sup>10</sup>.

The romantic and tragic story of love, death and vengeance seems to be at the heart of the main motivations invoked by TripAdvisor users for visiting this historical site, particularly for those who rate their experience positively:

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<sup>8</sup> <https://slh.com/europe/portugal>

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.jardinshistoricos.pt/route/view/16>

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.quintadaslagrimas.pt/en/special-offers/pedro-ines-experience/1366/>

At Quinta das Lágrimas we learned an astonishing story about the Princess Ines de Castro, which gave name to this estate ("The Estate of Tears"). In two words, it's a tragic love story between her and Prince Peter of Portugal. At some point Peter's father, King Afonso IV, ordered to kill the Princess. The Prince started a whole war over it and won it. In the final scene of this medieval blockbuster he tore out the hearts of the two main villains with his own hands (one from the front and another one from the back). Then he took out his beloved from the grave, adorned her with a diadem and royal robes, and made the defeated enemies kiss her hands. A true story. Games of Thrones has nothing on this! (Alinamummy, S. Petersburg, October 2018).

One of the renewed tourist's uses of the space involves wrapping red ribbons around the tree branches at Fonte das Lágrimas, where lovers plead for eternal love by tying bows with their names. Quinta das Lágrimas' romantic and bucolic atmosphere appears to mitigate the less favourable impression of those who on TripAdvisor are disappointed with the space and describe it as a neglected and untidy woodland. As for the macabre features of the story, they were also inspired by *Os Lusíadas* – as Inês was murdered there in front of her children, the reddish seaweed found in Fonte das Lágrimas fuels the belief that it is her own blood, thus contributing to the dark appeal of this space.

While staying as a guest of his aid de camp, who was also the owner at the time, Sir Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington and Commander of the British Corps that helped counterattack the Napoleonic invasions, donated the stone currently found near Fonte das Lágrimas. There he transcribed the verses from *Os Lusíadas* narrating the death of Inês de Castro, thus merging literature with the macabre:

As filhas do Mondego a morte escura  
Longo tempo chorando memoraram,  
E, por memória eterna, em fonte pura  
As lágrimas choradas transformaram.  
O nome lhe puseram, que inda dura,  
Dos amores de Inês, que ali passaram.  
Vede que fresca fonte rega as flores,  
Que lágrimas são a água e o nome Amores<sup>11</sup>.

### 4.3. Alcobaça Monastery

Real Mosteiro Cisterciense de Santa Maria de Alcobaça, about one hour away from Quinta das Lágrimas and Santa Clara's Church, is probably the darkest of the three sites associated with the medieval legend, as its church contains the two royal tombs of king Pedro I and his

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<sup>11</sup> This act of horror, and black night obscure,  
Mondego's daughter long resented deep;  
And, for a lasting tomb, into a pure  
Fountain transformed the tears which they did weep.  
The name they gave it (which doth still endure)  
Was Ines' loves, whom Pedro did keep.  
No wonder, such sweet streams water those flowers:  
Tears, are the substance; and the name Amours. (Camões & Fanshaw, 1655, p. 73)

posthumous queen Inês de Castro. Established in 1153 by the first king of Portugal, the Monastery is acknowledged as the earliest Gothic building in Portugal. Its cultural and artistic importance led to its inscription in UNESCO's world heritage list in 1989. In 2007, it was voted one of the Seven Wonders of Portugal from a list of almost 800 monuments.

Due to the Monastery's close association with the Portuguese monarchy, the Royal Pantheon contains several tombs of early kings and queens, including the richly decorated coffin of Queen Urraca (d. 1220). It is, however, those of Pedro and Inês that get most of the attention – prominently placed in the church right transept, they are two magnificent examples of Gothic sculpture. Though initially positioned side by side, according to king Pedro's instructions (Vieira da Silva, 1997, p. 272), the tombs are now found foot to foot, so that, legend has it, the two lovers can look at each other's faces when they rise from the dead on Judgement Day. This adds another element of post-mortem romanticism to the inscription on Pedro's tomb, usually read as "até ao fim do mundo" (until the end of the world)<sup>12</sup>.

Most likely, the tombs themselves were the seed from which the legend started to develop. In 1360, five years after her death, Inês de Castro's remains were moved from Coimbra to her final resting place in Alcobça. The train escorting the queen's coffin through the almost 70 miles between the two places must have been an impressive sight, as several decades later Fernão Lopes described it as the most awe-inspiring convoy that Portugal had ever seen (*apud* Resende de Oliveira, 2008, p. 119). In almost tidal movements, wave after wave, history has provided the material for art to give shape to the story and build the Inesian myth.

Moved to the Room of the Kings in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the tombs were again relocated in the transept in 1957 (Vieira da Silva, 1997, p. 269), which had formerly been closed to the layman (Vieira da Silva, 1997, p. 270). This appropriation of sacred space<sup>13</sup> by the public coincides with the development of tourism in Portugal and with the beginning of public investment in the sector (Tulha, 2019). On the other hand, being an important tourist asset, the Monastery has gone through major conservation and restoration work since the 1960s (Antunes, 2013, p. 32-40), following the guidelines set forth by the Venice Charter.

Today, access to the church, and therefore the transepts, is free, admission only being charged to visit the actual Monastery, namely the kitchen, the reliquary chapel, the cloisters and other spaces. According to its official website (Mosteiro de Alcobça, n.d.), the Monastery receives 300,000 visitors per year, comparing fairly well to the fifth most visited monument in Portugal, Mosteiro da Batalha, only 30 minutes away, with 400,000 visitors per year (Região de Leiria, 2021). Most of the over 2,200 reviews written by some of those visitors on Tripadvisor highlight the tombs as the most striking feature of the place. As expected, visitors' reviews often use adjectives like "beautiful" and "romantic", in combination with "sad", "tragic" or "macabre" to describe the tombs, freely bringing

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<sup>12</sup> For an overview of the discussion around the actual inscription and its possible meanings, see Leal (2005).

<sup>13</sup> This appropriation, however, is not without its ups and downs. A recent attempt to stage António Patrício's 1918 play, *Pedro o Cru*, was rejected by the church, on the grounds that "the liberal republican author's text is at odds with the sacred nature of the place" (Notícias de Coimbra, 2022).

together historical and fictional facts (like the coronation of the corpse) to retell the story of the “star-crossed lovers”.

In contrast with the dark appeal of the Monastery, references to the literary sources of the legend are tenuous and relatively scarce, despite the town’s efforts to establish an overt connection with the author of *Os Lusíadas* – a permanent public art exhibition throughout Alcobaca, for instance, features a variety of ceramic pieces devoted to the Pedro and Inês theme and has the suggestive title of “Percurso Camonianos” (routes of Camões). Actually, the most frequent literary association is established with Romeo and Juliet, and occasionally other Shakespearian characters:

Their story is often compared to Romeo and Juliet, but even Shakespeare's imagination could not make up this story of love and medieval cruelty. [...] Then a modified "Hamlet", Pedro obtained the extradition of two murderers from Castile and personally tore out their hearts (VadimM67, Murmansk, 5 Jan. 2021).

Rather than a dark literary site, it could therefore be argued that, due to its strong association with death, Alcobaca Monastery is actually a literary dark site, i.e., primarily a dark site with a literary resonance for those acquainted with the literary sources of the legend. Whatever the case, however, it is undeniably a place where love and death – Eros and Thanatos – are forever intertwined. There is hardly anything more literary than that.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

This paper intended to examine how the legend of Pedro and Inês is used by Coimbra and Alcobaca DMOs for place branding, focusing on three sites associated to the tragic love story. When the Tripadvisor reviews are compared to the promotional efforts made by the Municipalities of Coimbra and Alcobaca, of Turismo do Centro, and of numerous tourism businesses operating in the area, it becomes clear that these sites use literary references to brand their locations and make them more appealing to tourists. The use of secondary data for the analysis, however, clearly constitutes a limitation to the study, which could benefit from the collection and treatment of quantitative information, allowing for better-grounded generalisations.

Even though the story has undergone numerous adaptations, it is Camões, in fact, who is largely responsible for the narrative being such an iconic image of all these locations. *Os Lusíadas* took Pedro and Inês beyond Portuguese borders and into Europe through its translation into other languages, as Camões’ lyric is embedded in the identity of the three spaces. Nevertheless, even though the literary associations are easily recognizable, the macabre features are also present in different degrees. Being the place where Inês actually lived, Santa a Clara a Velha’s Church is mainly connected to Inês’ presence as a historic figure, rather than literary character. Quinta das Lágrimas and Alcobaca Monastery, on the other hand, merge the literary with a dark appeal, specifically Alcobaca, the darkest of the three. And in this particular case, the dark use of the space seems to outweigh the literary association.

The analysis therefore illustrates the distinction between dark literary and literary dark sites, as established in the introduction. The first two locations, Santa Clara and Quinta das Lágrimas, show a more tenuous connection with the dark aspects of the legend, focusing on the appeal of their literary associations, whereas the presence of the tombs in the Alcobaça Monastery foregrounds the site as a dark tourist attraction, to some extent obfuscating the emergence of the Pedro and Inês story as a literary construction. This distinction between dark literary and literary dark sites deserves further exploration, in order to assess its validity and reliability, as well as its consequences for the design of a tourist product within the location's branding strategies.

On the other hand, the literary branding of a dark site seems to somehow sanction the tourist use of a place that incorporates other functions, such as the religious usage in the case of Alcobaça Monastery, or hospitality services in Quinta das Lágrimas. The ambivalence of dark and literary resonances within the same location may indicate that the management of dark locations with literary connections are not subject to the same type of constraints as those usually imposed to purely dark sites, and that some sensitive issues may be less conspicuous when literary aspects are foregrounded. Conversely, it may be suggested that literary sites may increase their tourist appeal when their dark aspects are enhanced. Future research could also pursue these lines, as they may reveal useful data and insights with direct implications in the visibility and management of some locations.

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