

## POPULAR TAUROMAQUIAS, HERITAGE AND IDENTITY

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### Abstract:

The cultural events are assumed to be strategic tools for dissemination of heritage and identity of a place, so their planning and management are increasingly essential to the success of many tourist areas. Thus, we view an event like a true showcase of the tourist destination, in which the actors, including the local communities, namely the context of bullfighting, promote their tangible and intangible heritage, generating income and contributing to economic and social development.

Popular *tauromaquias* combine immaterial and cultural resources of great value, which should be articulated in a complementary way on an integrated territorial approach, reinforcing the market broadly, combining products, the differences and proximity allow building a composite tourism product. These events, such as *Largadas*, the *Touradas à Corda*, the *Capeia Arraiana*, the *Picarias*, the *Vaca das Cordas*, among others, present through the history, culture, experiences and resources of nature of great value and should be seen as understanding element, permanence and construction of a local identity.

### Keywords:

Heritage, Capeia Arraiana, Identity, Resources, Local Communities, Tauromaquias.

### Resumo:

Os eventos culturais assumem-se como ferramentas estratégicas de divulgação do património e identidade de um lugar, pelo que o seu planeamento e gestão são cada vez mais imprescindíveis ao sucesso de muitas áreas-destino. Assim, encaramos um evento como uma verdadeira montra do destino turístico, na qual os atores, incluindo as próprias comunidades locais, designadamente do contexto da tauromaquia, promovem o seu património material e imaterial, gerando receitas e contribuindo para o desenvolvimento económico e social.

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As tauromaquias populares conjugam recursos imateriais e ecoculturais de grande valor, que devem ser articulados de forma complementar numa visão territorial integrada, reforçando um mercado mais amplo, conjugando produtos que, pelas diferenças e proximidade permitam construir um produto turístico compósito. Estes eventos, como as Largadas, as Largadas à Corda, a Capeia Arraiana, as Picarias, a Vaca das Cordas, entre outros, apresentam por via da história, cultura, vivências e da natureza recursos de grande valor, devendo ser encarados como elemento de compreensão, permanência e de construção de uma identidade local.

**Palavras Chave:** Património, Capeia Arraiana, Identidade, Recursos, Comunidades Locais, Tauromaquias.

## **Introduction**

Event tourism is one of the most creative and interactive sectors of the tourism industry, with economic, environmental, social and cultural impacts. With the concern of offering up-to-date attractions, event tourism increases flows and increases tourist stay rates, allows for the reduction of seasonal effects, and protects and enhances cultural and natural resources.

Cultural resources should be seen as elements of understanding, continuity and construction of a local identity, however, and if we look around us, the idea of underutilization of wealth and intrinsic value as a cultural resource hangs over heritage.

Thus, we view an event like a true showcase of the tourist destination, in which the actors, including the local communities, namely the context of bullfighting, promote their tangible and intangible heritage, generating income and contributing to economic and social development.

This research aims to make an exhaustive survey of popular *tauromaquias* in the Portuguese territory and its main objectives are evaluate the demand and tourist offer of the available local resources. It consists of several stages of research that can be summarized as: (i) Context, (ii) Supply characterization, evaluating existing data, using direct observation and interviews. (iii) Rebuild the period 2015-2016 data on the supply side, (iv) processing of data, (v) discussion of results, (vi) and conclusions.

### **1. Cultural Heritage**

Cultural heritage, in general, includes all man's testimony and his environment, contemplated in itself, without establishing obstacles derived from its use, property, antiquity or economic value, that is to say, it is the result of the work of man on nature and it can be subdivided into three categories: natural goods, material goods and intangible goods.

According to Vasco Graça Moura (2013), cultural heritage is the set of elements that allows a certain group to recognize itself as a bearer of its own identity and to communicate over time, either within that group or through making a difference out of it. This cultural heritage goes through many and varied elements, first and foremost by the mother tongue and the family to which it belongs, and then by material and immaterial heritage, by customs and traditions, by the conditionings, adaptations and morphologies imposed by history, geography, by the climate, and so forth... Cultural heritage results from a long process of existence of societies implanted in space and time, in interaction with factors of the most varied order. It has a spiritual and anthropological dimension, linked to human values, ethical, aesthetic, affective and others.

The vision of legacy has changed, as it is no longer just a static form that represents our identity and heritage of our ancestors, but also a way of learning and understanding the evolution of man. The growing importance attached to heritage by contemporary societies is highlighted by Guilherme d'Oliveira Martins in *'Património, Herança e Memória'* (2009, page 9) where he refers «heritage as a value and a resource, which serves both human development in general as concretized by a model of economic and social development based on the long-lasting use of resources, with respect for the dignity of the human person». Heritage is seen as a fundamental element for the understanding, permanence and construction of a regional and national identity, contributing to what many researchers call the 'democratization of culture'.

The increasing appreciation for Heritage is understood here as a factor where the transmission of knowledge is seen as an educational process, and education is seen as a process of permanent and continuous learning, from the transmission of knowledge, and, therefore, a growing role and fundamental in democratization and cultural interpretation, contributing to a '(...) society of culture' (Martins, 2009, page 17).

Heritage must be seen as a complex reality, it is enough to see how the concept of heritage has evolved considerably from the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century to the present day. The concept today tends to encompass cultural manifestations, in which man's ability to relate to the environment that surrounds him is revealed. Thus, the concept of heritage privileges the meaning, singularity and monumentality of buildings and objects, without, however, underestimating the articulation with its geographical and social surroundings. Therefore, we can say that the concept of heritage tends increasingly to encompass urban sets, locations, natural landscapes and/or cultural or territories as a whole and their endogenous resources. The cultural events and the tourist animation for the heritage resources thus appear as a vector of local development, at the service of the community and the tourist. Always reporting to the contact between visitors and local communities, the endogenous resources establish a relationship where use is both disciplined and sustainable. In short, we advertise to make it known in order to protect.

The tourist aspirations of a territory are defined, according to Spagnuolo (2009), as the ability of an area to attract certain flows (of businessmen, tourists, financial capital, business initiatives), a complex set of factors (material and immaterial) that qualify and

distinguishes the same in the geographical space (national, regional or global) where such flows originate. The appeal, however, depends not only on the specific territorial conditions, but above all of the synergistic interaction between them and how such conditions are perceived outside the territorial context (image). It is a relational and dynamic concept, which tends to assume different values over time and the variation of the space, changing, therefore, due to the features of the considered flow and the historical period. Tourism appeal derives from territorial attractiveness, though the two of them may not concur. For this reason, public and private operators in the tourism industry, in order to suit the new market conditions, seek at the same time to preserve territorial identity and environmental integrity, as defined in the principles of sustainable development.

The aspirations of tourism must respect the vocation of the territory. The latter can be explained as the ability of a territory to assume a predefined economic-productive configuration, when it is in coherence with all the material and immaterial resources of the available territory (territorial consistency) and the conditions of the global context (identity coherence) which constitutes the territorial subjectivity. The latter is assigned the task of interpreting and performing territorial vocations. Tourism vocation, on the contrary, is characterized by subordinate conditions that cannot dispense each other, influencing each other out (Caroli, 2006).

## **2. Cultural events**

The events are part of the tourism economy and have been increasingly used to boost the sector's activities, mainly due to its strong public appeal. In addition to bringing visitors to the site, they also contribute to promoting and preserving local culture and heritage.

The development that the cultural sector has been registering, in recent decades, in Portugal, has been accompanied by a growing and increasingly prominent presence of an assorted set of cultural intermediaries, whose activity unfolds through the various cultural dissemination tasks. It is worth noting the great and prestigious events, known to play an important role in relation to the city that welcomes them as regards both the image of the destination and the local economy. In this way, the scheduled events, according to Getz (2008), are spatio-temporal phenomena and each one is unique thanks to the interactions established between the environment, people and the management systems. According to the same author (2004), the events can be identified as attractions, image producers, animators of fixed attractions and development catalysts.

The celebration of cultural events (gastronomic festivals, historical-cultural representations, agricultural fairs, regulated or popular bullfights, pilgrimages, among others) as tourist activities function is therefore an effective strategy to diversify the tourism offer in order to capture new segments of demand and / or renew the interest of already regular visitors.

Cultural events, especially those that include popular festivities or festivals, can be seen as true spaces of hospitality, which are significant and attractive scenarios. After all, it

must be remembered that hospitality is linked to the question of territoriality, that is to say, it means receiving others in its territory, and as such, the place and the basic forms of social interaction play a vital role in hospitality relationships (Dencker, 2003). In order to have hospitality, it is necessary the involvement of the local community and for good hospitality we must remember that, in organizing an event, the wishes and needs not only of tourists, but also of the community must be met (Marujo, 2010). This is the only way to create the necessary conditions for an effective exchange of certain values between tourists and residents, providing a learning of knowledge which is modifying, in a certain way, the vision that both have of the world, and also adding value to the human link. The influence caused by the interactions that take place in a party refers mainly to the way of life of the locals, the linguistic expression, the gastronomy, the habits and customs and the forms of entertainment (Grinover, 2002).

It should be noted that, throughout the world, small local communities are sponsoring new events to improve community development and economic prosperity. In Portugal, by way of example, we highlight the Barroso area, with the promotion of the '*Barrosã*' breed and its traditions. '*As Chegas de Bois*' are an example of competition between all Barroso communities reflected in a regional identity promotion. Each village has its own 'Ox' which attests to the collective pride of the village, which is keen to show their 'superiority' over the 'Ox' from the neighboring village and vice versa. They are known as 'People's Oxen' because they are an asset to the communities, to the villages. The animals feed on pastures that belong to all, receive hay, rye and water belonging to all and stay overnight in a house ('court ') which is part of the heritage of all the villagers. Every year a shepherd rescues the ox, tending it for a year, initiating a competition with other oxen. It is, however, a healthy competition, there are no deaths. The ox naturally struggles for its male position, being that, in Barroso, the 'People's Oxen' are after all reason of pride for all, even in defeat. Given the expectation and pride of a display in front of thousands of strangers, the villages that face each other do it first in secrecy, advancing only to the public spectacle if the animals reveal that they are able to show the virility of the people from *Barroso* or, if we wish, from all the surrounding villages. The fights are an authentic festival of music and, of course, gastronomy. In the end, the image that remains is the '*Chegas de Bois*' of Montalegre. The winning animal is almost revered by its owners, being equally coveted by the neighboring villages, becoming a breeder that will yield some extra profits to its owners (Almeida, 2012).

The men of Barroso Land continue to be thrilled with the same enthusiasm before any of the '*Chegas*' which takes place on the occasion of the annual festivals of each village, currently being at the moment a folkloric evocation that managed to subsist to the passage of the years and to the forgetfulness of the day-to-day community of the people of the region. The competition extends to the 'Smokehouse'. Each family has its own production with specific characteristics and tastes that are different from their neighbor. And in the villages of Montalegre, a situation that spread in the counties of Boticas and Chaves, where each family makes a point of showing that their sausages are superior to those of their neighbors. The curious thing is that there is a smoke goods exchange between

families and when it comes to receiving foreigners, the image conveyed collectively is the one according to which 'our smoker' is the best in Portugal (Correia, 2010).

It is true that we live in an increasingly globalized and massified world, but, as the example above illustrates, to a certain extent we can affirm that Globalization 'feeds' also on difference. All that is unique is news and the so-called new cultural intermediaries do not escape this systemic perspective of Globalization, assuming the responsibility of promoting and selling on a planetary scale 'sanctuaries' of difference that will help us escape an alleged massification.

The more globalized, the more we like and the more we need have to take on our differences, that is, our identity. What matters in this regard is to highlight the power of the collective imaginary defined in part by the so-called "new cultural intermediaries." It will come as no surprise that the tourist seduction comes from the Imaginary (around the expectation that precedes the tourist experience), by Authenticity (the value of the genuine) and Nostalgia (referring to times we thought past but which reflect our roots).

### **3. Bullfights**

Cultural events are seen as strategic tools for disseminating the heritage and identity of a place, so it's planning and management are increasingly essential to the success of many destination areas. Thus, we envisage an event as a true showcase of the tourist destination, in which the actors, including local communities themselves, in particular in the context of bullfighting, promote their tangible and intangible heritage, generate revenue and contribute to socio-economic development. At the same time, intangible or immaterial heritage is increasingly valued as a way to meet the needs of tourists, both those who seek leisure and those who seek to know the cultural differences of each people. In short, the demand for tourism programs with relevant activity on the intangible heritage gains increasing importance for both leisure and cultural tourists, given that this target public intends to integrate the authenticity of the spirit of each region.

For instance, Waller & Lea (1998) refer that for many tourists, a visit to Spain should include activities related to bullfighting. Proof of this are the bullfighting images associated with Spain, mainly in the middle of the tourism promotion. On the other hand according to Martín & Cepeda (2003), there are also tourists who go to places for other reasons: to appreciate the landscape, spectacles and monuments, seeing the bullfighting phenomenon as an additional offer. In other words, bullfighting can become, by itself, an attractive global tourist offer of the communities or be an element that helps to compose it. In this dimension, tourism appears as a tool that allows the personal development of the tourist himself, as he or she is involved in the experiences of the communities visited, acquires a unique, vivid and experienced personal knowledge in a totally different, exclusive way, since each tourist is a singular individual.

Analyzing this new dimension of tourism activity, the bullfighting events constitute a historical, cultural, social and economic legacy of great relevance for several regions of the Country. This type of event is a good example of experiencing strong and exciting

experiences, as it represents the direct struggle between man and bull. Bullfighting is, in its various manifestations, an integral part of the heritage of Portuguese popular culture. Among its various expressions, social practices, festive events and rituals that make up the bullfighting, the importance of the spectacles is translated in the significant number of spectators who attend this type of venue. The public can experience these shows in two ways: in a soft and passive way, watching the regulated and popular bullfighting or In a hard and active way, participating in popular bullfights, like the *Tourada à Corda* in Azores, the '*Capectia Arraiana*' in the county of Sabugal, the '*Largadas*', and so forth. (Ramos, 2015).

Popular bullfights, besides being an identifying factor, carry great ethical, moral and aesthetic values, contributing simultaneously to the protection of the environment and popular culture, increasing the tourist offer of the regions and, also, being an asset for the local economy and promotional development where they are rooted.

The tourist who attends an event of this nature, besides being able to participate actively in the event, in itself, is also, through this, easily integrated into the local community, since this also participates effusively in the activity, presuming the interaction between both. This interaction can contribute to an attitude of involvement and sharing, typical of a community environment, characterized by fluid relationships and greater proximity when compared to everyday relationships.

It should also be noted that, in addition to the contact of the event, in these popular festivals tourists are often invited to interact with the community in the various gatherings, wineries and bullfighting '*peñas*' in the localities, where residents and visitors gather. These informal moments give the opportunity to tell past stories that characterize the population, where their customs, traditions and local culture are transmitted to tourists. The local community is a living collection of their culture (living museum). This direct, active and stimulating communication between tourists and the community is an added value for the affirmation of the shared tourist experience and factor of differentiation of its destiny.

Popular bullfights combine immaterial and eco-cultural resources of great value, which must be articulated in a complementary way in an integrated territorial vision, reinforcing a wider market, combining products that, due to differences and proximity, allow the construction of a combined tourism product. These events, such as the '*Largadas à Corda*', the '*Capectia Arraiana*', the '*Picarias*', the '*Vaca das Cordas*', among others, represent, through history, culture, experiences and nature, resources of great value, and should be seen as an element of understanding, permanence and construction of a local identity.

In a brief characterization of the various bullfighting venues, whether popular or institutional, Capucha (2013) defines the former as much diversified rituals performed in the street, according to the rules of local tradition and organized by the people or local authorities. For the author, the protagonists are the bull and the 'people'— even though some of the locals can stand out and 'play with the bulls' —, where innovations stem from the way economic and social structures evolve. In his study of the *Sanjoaninas* (Azores) festivals,

Antonieta Costa (2002) states that popular bullfighting represents the exaltation of the summer solstice and the worship of vegetation. For this author, the whole context of the Festivity is subordinated to the exaltation of the sun and its fertilizing effects on the land, the structure of the Festivity being based on this understanding, keeping in mind the most important points, the Queen's Court (representative of the Spirit of Vegetation, that is to say of the incorporation of the sun in the tree) and the parade of the *Marchas*, that are the praise of the joy of the fertility and the abundance, resulting from this time of the year. The foundation of these acts was the belief that the Spirit of Cereals, in the form of the Bull, meant attributes of the sacred, being killed at the end of the harvests.

These activities are represented in different regions of Portugal, with unique rituals and patrimony, namely, the '*Chegas de bois*' in Montalegre, the '*Capeia Arraiana*' in the county of Guarda, the '*largadas de touros*' in Vila Franca de Xira, the festivities of Barrancos in Alentejo and the rope bullfighting in Azores.

Institutional bullfighting corresponds to the '*corridas de toiros*' (Capucha, 2013). The bullfights emphasize social differences, the division of labor and the power that structures the people's daily lives. The State exercises the regulatory power, through the Bullfighting Director, appointed by the Government, in order to ensure compliance with the Taurine Regulation, which standardizes ritual procedures.

### **Methodologies**

The case study was chosen as a research technique of this work, elaborated in several stages. The first stage consisted of a bibliographical and documentary research for the survey on heritage and cultural heritage, cultural events and Bullfighting.

Since, except for the regulated bullfights, there is no legal regulation or official entity in the popular bullfights that concentrates all the official data on the number of events, their geographical distribution and their characterization, except for the Azores, which has a legal regulation about popular bullfighting, it was necessary to make a survey through semi-structured interviews (Barañano, 2008, Quivy & Campenhoudt, 1998, Ritchie, Burns, & Palmer, 2005) to municipalities, parishes, the public authorities involved in this issue and the private entities, cattlemen. Through this survey it was possible to create a geographic distribution map of events, as well as the estimation of annual events in our territory.

When we look at the data obtained and, overlapping with the geographical distribution of the Portuguese cattlemen, we observe that in most of the Portuguese territory the events of the popular bullfighting are close to existing cattlemen who are and registered in the herd book of the Portuguese Association of Breeders of Fighting Bulls.

Except for a few parishes of Guarda district, where the non-existence of registered cattle ranches does not prevent the numerous events of popular bullfighting according to the data found in the survey. In this specific region, there is a type of popular bullfighting, the *Capeia Arraiana* (Sabugal county). This type of event has unique characteristics, hence

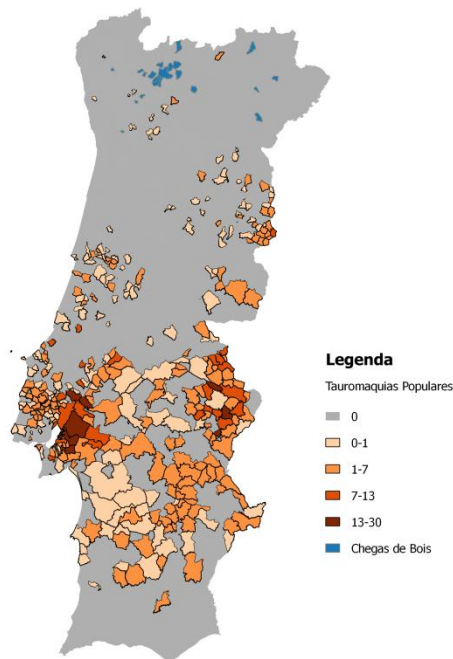


the need for the documentary research and, using the techniques of direct observation, in order to be the most objective and real in the characterization of this cultural and immaterial heritage.

### Geographic location

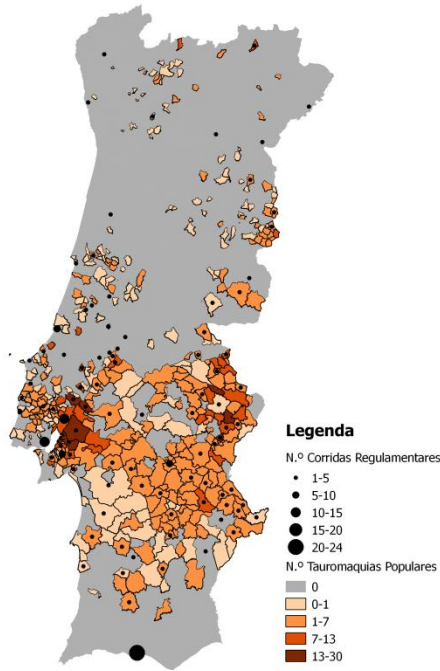
The present investigation aimed to survey the geographic distribution of popular bullfighting in Portuguese territory, since there is no official data on this type of show. The research was quite exhaustive because we had to resort to several entities in order to collect the data intended.

This collection led us to an estimate of 1,800 shows of popular bullfighting in the continent and in the Azores. In the map I we can observe the distribution of bullfighting events in mainland Portugal.



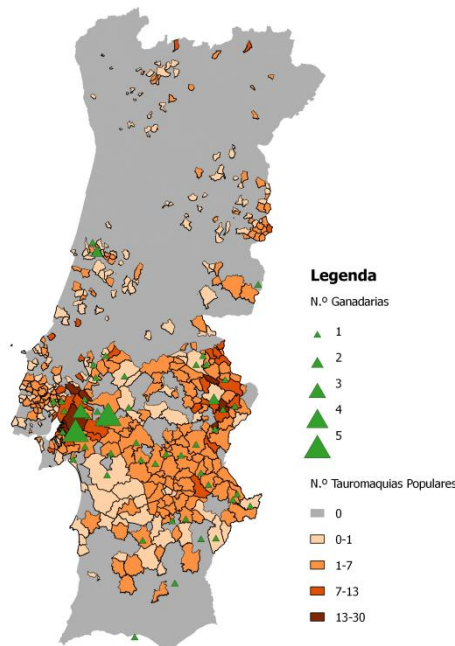
Map I: Distribution of Popular bullfights

The map shows the geographical distribution of events, as well as the different races that are used in these bullfights. The blue represents the *Chegas de Bois*, in the north of the country, that are representative of the Breed of *Barrosã* and *Mirandesa* cattle and in shades of brown is represented the Race of Fighting Bulls.



Map II: Distribution of Regulated and Popular bullfights

In Map II we can see that on the coast there is a higher number of regulated bullfighting than in the interior of the country. In relation to the popular bullfights, a significant representation in the interior of the country is highlighted, distinguishing the regions of the Ribatejo, the Alentejo, part of Lisbon and Vale do Tejo.



Map III: Distribution of Livestock and Popular Bullfights

In this third map we can see the geographical distribution of the herds registered in the herd book of breeders of fighting bulls and we can observe that where events of popular bullfighting are held by norm there is a cattle ranch nearby. We emphasize that in this map only the breeding stock of fighting bulls are represented, but by verification of the map I know that in the north of the country there is exploration of the *barrosã* and *mirandesa* races. The exception that overlaps on the map is the Guarda district, where there is no registered cattle ranch and it presents a significant number of events, mainly in the municipality of Sabugal.

This detail led us to the further study of this county and to discover a *sui generis* show that is called the *Capeia Arraiana*.

### **Study case: *Capeia Arraiana***

The bull has, since ancient times, been considered as a symbol of power. So, to tame this powerful animal would be, in a way, to assert the superiority of Man over the beast. The art of fighting the bull on horse, of which the Portuguese Bullfighting is a fine example, finds its roots merged in the training of knights, during the Middle Ages.

What was once a struggle for survival and later a more or less organised amusement, ended up acquiring an inner structure of its own, both by the rules adopted to give it cohesion, and by the arts which constitute bullfighting.

Even though one cannot determine precisely the origins of “*Capeia*”, it will not be hard to accept some of its influences came from our Spanish neighbours. It is vital not to forget that the border which separates Portugal from Spain (nowadays, just a fading memory of a recent past) is but an administrative frontier invented by man. Thus, there is a common interest being shared by both sides of the “*Raia*” (The frontier), even if the evolution of the territory and peoples who lived on it led to quite some distinct features.

Those who have known the “*Raia*” for the past few decades will know the relationship between Portuguese and Spanish has been set deliberately by life between love and hatred, between necessity and interest.

Smuggling turns out to be the perfect example of common demons and desires.

Reflecting upon more recent times, and bearing in mind there is no wild cattle this side of the border, one should not be surprised on knowing that bulls – stolen, run-away, or as a pay-back – would come from Spanish fields, especially *Ginestosa*, a community land where many animals pasture.

The “*Devesa Salmantina*” has been, for a long time, one of the major centres of wild cattle breeding in Spain. The neighbouring Spanish villages of *Alamedilla*, *Fuenteguinaldo*, *Albergaria de Argañan*, *Casillas de Flores* and *Navas Frias* consider bullfighting as one of their most appreciated popular expressions. In each and every one of these villages,

festivities with bulls are carried on, namely “Closures” with horses (the ones of Fuenteguinaldo being the most famous) (Pissarra, 2003).

This connection between the sides of the border has been the foundation for friendship and mutual respect; at present, either “*Capeia*” or Spanish “Fiestas” are ground for union of both peoples.

### ***O Forcão* – The Wooden Pitchfork**

An essential part giving this manifestation of popular art an interesting specificity is the so-called “*Forcão*”(wooden pitchfork). In fact, after the “Butlers” having been designated, this is the moment which indicates the beginning of the ceremony. The materials, with which the wooden pitchfork is going to be made, have to be prepared in advance. Those are chosen by the more experienced men of the village. This job takes usually place by Easter time, as the timber lies peeled and drying until the hot summer comes. Fraternisation starts as the wood is chopped off. The act is announced either by the butlers or the drummer and is often followed by some fireworks. Curious is the fact that this wooden pitchfork will not be kept for the event of the following year; instead, the ritual of its construction is preserved each and every new year. The reason for this is said to be the need to dispose of a tool which will, supposedly, give full guaranties of its solidity, facing the violent assaults by the bull.

The wooden pitchfork has in its structure a triangular framework, made of oak and pine wood. Its name comes from the Latin word “*Furca*”, which would later make up the word “fork” (Tavares, 1985). According to José Prata (2006), firearms were only to be used from the fifteenth century onwards, so that the resources of the military and local forces were based on the use of the sword and the spear and other means such as agricultural implements: scrapers, forks, etc. As a matter of fact, wooden tools are still used nowadays in the fields, being themselves a product of Nature’s will. This “fork” is made of three big oak trunks, being the two sides in a sort of equilateral triangles, and the one in the middle, the bisector. In this, facing the opposite side of the fork (the one to be used against the bull), one is to find the “*Rabião*”, a kind of helm used to maneuver the wooden pitchfork, according to the bull’s moves. This is the place where two or three taller and more experienced men will stand, so that they a better view of the front. In this way, they will be able to descend or bring the wooden pitchfork up, keeping the bull from hitting them from behind or from below.

The structure is kept by huge nails or bolts, and as for the galls, ropes tightly knotted do the trick.

However, the real dangerous positions are the galls – specially the left one – which are the bull’s preferred spot. It should also be pointed out that the wooden pitchfork is a extremely heavy tool, which requires a lot of strength to be kept in the air.

### **The “Corro”**

Usually, the art of cloaking the bull took place in the main square of the small town. That which is, normally, the typical postcard of each place was, at the same time, the perfect spot for the most genuine and heart-felt of the “*Arraianos*” festivities.

As the reader might have guessed by now, the “*corro*” is nothing more less than an improvised arena in the middle of the square, in which the bulls will be fought.

In a time where there weren’t still tractors, the entire square was fenced with yokes of cows piled with wood and oak branches. Besides these barriers, people also built the so-called “stages”.

The setting up of the arena is always a moment of fraternization among the town folks. The “Butlers” take care of erecting the stalls where the animals will be kept and separated, with the help of family, friends and everyone else who volunteers. This way, later on no one will have to wait longer than necessary for the animals to be taken to the arena. By now, the yokes will have been placed around the square (in ancient times, were temporarily stolen from the farms!).

The great projection in terms of Mass Media, the increase in the number of people attending these festivities, the difficulty in building a simple structure, and the vanishing of the traditional yokes of cows made some small towns take the initiative of constructing real arenas or more functional structures.

All community spirit which is the result of the arena construction brings the inhabitants closer together. That same spirit is witnessed when everything must get back to place after the festivities. Lots of men furnished with, shovels, hoes, pickaxes and other hardware gather early in the morning of the first after the end of the festivities so that everything gets cleaned and tidied up. These occasions of group labour are always the pretext for another chat and a lunch filled with meat, cheese, ham, and the traditional sausages (Pissarra, 2003).

### **The Walk**

Although it is, at present, connected to “*Capeia*”, Joaquim Manuel Correia (1996), in “Memories about the region of *Sabugal*”- mentions the “walk of lads”, stating that in most parishes of the region, a great number of boys performed military exercises during the festivities. For that purpose, they were taught every single evening, for a month.

On that day given day, they would wear bought or borrowed uniforms, and carry rifles and, headed by their captain who had given them specific orders and the “butlers” (or masters of ceremonies) taking their swords and drum, would walk in the streets of each small town.

The link between the holy and the profane is shown due to the fact that the ritual of the Walk includes religious ceremonies such as the Eucharist or the Solemn Procession.

At present, the Walk takes place the day of the festivities, with slight variations from small town to small town. Emigration did change several customs, namely those which implied a reschedule of the festivities dates.

### ***Encerro - The Closure***

It is a dangerous moment but thousands of people feel attracted by it. In the past, the Closure was usually done with some Spanish cattle, but now it is performed with Portuguese animals which are previously put in pastures.

The Closure is a very special moment. The tense awaiting of the bulls, the hearts beating as the beast draws closer, the running, the search for shelter while running behind or in front of them, tend to be sensations which borderers hardly put aside! It is the perfect occasion to talk to a long-time unseen friend, to recall one's childhood or to wander through opinions about the cattle's condition or the memories of past bullfights. When the first horses finally approach, everything swirls with the turmoil and the adrenaline rises. As they reach the village, the speed increases and the animals make it to the square in a cloud of dust, the horsemen exiting through an opposite door. There they are in dozens, all tired and full of dirt, oxen and horses and bulls.

By the time bulls reach its destiny, the event is cheered by a short round of fireworks. The morning reaches its end but not before an animal is "tried out" – the "test bull". Bets are made about the event to come: if the "test bull" responds well to the...test, then a fine afternoon is anticipated for the wooden pitchfork.

Everyone goes back to their houses now. Friends from the outskirts are invited, cafés and shacks with food and drinks are suddenly crowded as the afternoon reserves them a great deal of emotion and enthusiasm.

### **The request of the bullring audience**

The centre of the bullring is made of an impressive crowd. It is hard to believe that there will be place for so many people by the time the "*hastados*" enter the "*corro*"(arena). Meanwhile, the drummer beats his drum as if announcing. On the roofs of the houses, in the bell's tower, by the windows and around the square, one can easily see the anxious looks from people, though safe from the bull's feared horns. The time has come. Only the last protocol appears to be missing so that the ceremony may begin: the request from the bullring audience.

The request from the bullring's audience is made to the most important and respected person of the village. The so-called "Butlers", elegantly dressed-up and carrying their swords by the shoulder, ride beautifully decorated horses and open up the ceremony. The request is made in a solemn tone of voice, followed by an inflated speech (made by the person who will most likely give his/her permission), concerning the importance of the tradition and values of the people from the "*Raia*"; courage, bravery, and diligence will also be demanded, so as no tragedy might occur and all ends well. The attendance "ensemble" withdraws and the "*alabardas*" are carefully guarded.

As the anxiously awaited “Yes” is uttered, it is time for the ring to get emptied so that the first bull comes out: that of the butlers.

### **The “Capeia”**

The festivity of “*Capeia*” involves, as seen on previous pages, many aspects, several rituals and starts with the nomination for the masters of ceremony (the so-called “butlers”) a year in advance.

In its origin – for which there are no solid historic references – both entertainment and defensive, warlike reasons seem to co-exist. Supporting this argument is the fact that in Spain there are no signs of bullfighting activity.

After purchasing the animals, cutting the wood for the pitchfork and making it, performing the Walk, enclosing the ways where the animals will go through, and performing the Closure, everything is now set for the afternoon.

The first bull is coming out any time now and the men guarding the stalls hit the gates to warn the boys of the animal exit. The wooden pitchfork which was lying on the ground a while ago is now being held by about 20 men. At the “*galhas*”(the left and right sides of the pitchfork, a triangle-like construction made of wood), are usually the two “butlers”, almost praying for everything to be just fine.

Back to the bullfight, a sort of steersman – the “*rabejador*” – places himself in the opposite vortex of the basis of the triangle formed by the pitchfork, and keeps giving orders, so that the men won’t lose focus on the fight. On the other hand, those who handle the pitchfork – the “*pegadores*” – wait for the bull to attack, in a kind of catharsis, while executing a certain encompassed rhythm with their feet, and up and down movements with the pitchfork. The gates open and the beast rushes inside the arena, furious. Often, it goes round the arena again; or else, it charges immediately at the wooden pitchfork – if it comes from a good caste, it would attack the pitchfork directly, making the clash to be bigger and the men inside the pitchfork to recede slightly (Pissarra, 2003).

Normally, the bull will charge against the laterals of the pitchfork, specially the left “*Galha*” where the men need as much strength, courage, and technique as they can get – one could almost hear the gasp for breath from the “*pegador*” and the one from the bull be as one. It so happens that the bull will sometimes manage to force its head inside the whole structure of the pitchfork and, if the men are not strong enough, it will literally lift off, causing the men to be defenceless.

After a few passes from “*maletillas*” and some bold approaches by boys from the audience, the animal is taken back to the stall and the arena, reminding of an accordion opening, gets filled with people who had protected behind boards up until then.

After quenching one’s thirst, it is time for another bull to enter the arena and entertainment goes on.

The day was rather intense, with the boys already exhausted of holding the pitchfork, the assaults from the bull and all the running. The animals in the stalls are freed at last and the horsemen show up to perform the disclosure “*Desencerro*” taking the animals back.

### **Conclusions**

Popular bullfighting, besides being an identity factor, carries great ethics and aesthetics, contributing, simultaneously, to safeguarding the environment and popular culture, also increasing the tourist offer of the regions, as well as being an asset for the economic and promotional development of the places where they are rooted.

Cultural heritage can offer possibilities for job creation, professional training and qualification, either practical or theoretical, for a part of the population, especially the younger generation. Many activities related to intangible heritage can be supported, more or less easily, by local, regional or national authorities and institutions and open the way to successful projects, fostering solutions, entrepreneurship, innovation, creativity and competitiveness, exercising in a coherent way the active responsibilities implied by citizenship, demanding the continuity of full conditions of freedom of thought and expression, of affirmation of creative individuality, respect, tolerance and dignity of cultural creation.

The tourist who attends an event such as this, besides being able to participate in an active way in the event itself, is also, through this, easily integrated in the local community, since it also participates effusively in the activity, presuming the interaction between both. This interaction helps to materialize an attitude of involvement and sharing, typical of a community environment, marked by fluid relationships and greater closeness when compared to everyday relationships.

In this dimension, tourism appears as a tool that allows the personal development of the tourists because, when being involved in the experiences of the communities that they visit, they acquire a unique personal knowledge, lived and experienced in a totally different, exclusive way, since each tourist is a singular individual.

Tired of experiences replicated time and time again, tourists are now looking for what are called intensifying factors, that is, factors that more than promoting tourism, put the fulcrum in the experience of the tourism experience that will be all the more enriching the more it is differentiating, alternative and able to distinguish itself from other tourism products.

Analyzing this new dimension of tourism activity, bullfighting events constitute a historical, cultural, social and economic legacy of great relevance for several regions of the Country. This type of events is a good example of the experience of strong and exciting experiences, since it represents the struggle between the man and the bull. Bullfighting is, in its various manifestations, an integral part of the patrimony of Portuguese popular culture. Among the various expressions, social practices, festive events and rituals that



make up bullfighting, the importance of the spectacles is translated into the significant number of spectators who attend these types of events. The public can experience these spectacles in two ways, in a soft and passive way, attending institutional and popular bullfights, or in a hard and active way, participating in popular bullfights such as the Rope Bullfight in the Azores, *Capeia Arraiana* in the county of *Sabugal*, and the *Largadas*, among others.

We also have to point out that in addition to the contact in the event, in these popular festivities tourists are often invited to interact with the local population in the various taverns and cellars in the localities, where residents and visitors gather. These informal moments give the opportunity to tell past stories that characterize the population, where traditions, customs and local culture are transmitted to tourists. The local community is the living collection of its culture (Living museum). This direct, active and stimulating communication between tourists and the local community is an added value for the affirmation of a shared tourist experience, a factor of differentiation of destiny.

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