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Music, theatre and the nation:
The entertainment market in Lisbon
(1865–1908)

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Abstract

The development of the Portuguese entertainment market and the rise of several types of musical theatre are inextricably bound to the complex symbolic and material process through which Portugal was established, presented, developed, and commodified as a modern nation-state between 1865 and 1908. During this period, several fundamental transformations that merged urban planning, everyday life, and modernity took place in Lisbon. In this process, leisure activities began to include new forms of music theatre (such as operetta and the revue theatre) that became an important site for the display of modernity, representing and commodifying the nation.

Despite its colonial possessions, Portugal was a peripheral European country where modernity developed in a specific way. The commodification of music associated with both music publishing and mechanical music fostered the creation of a transnational market for goods in a period when most of the trade was conducted with or within national economies. In this context, the Portuguese entertainment market reflected a particular form of negotiation between the local, the national and the global levels, in which gender, class, ethnicity, and technology intertwined with theatrical repertoires, street sounds and domestic music making.

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Introduction

“The King D. Carlos of Bragança, assassinated in broad daylight in one of the squares of the capital of his kingdom, and the teacher Buíça, his assassin, both sought to rescue, in this anguished historical moment, the Portuguese character from the discredit it had fallen into.”¹ This is how a chronicle by Alfredo Mesquita published ten days after the traumatic event that dictated the symbolic death of the Portuguese Constitutional Monarchy began.

My thesis concentrates on studying the connections between the symbolic construction of the Portuguese nation and the field of popular entertainment between 1865 and 1908, the year of the regicide. Despite a recent increase of publications on both the regicide and the establishment of the Portuguese Republic in 1910, a rise that can be associated with the centennials of both events, these tend to overlook the theatrical and musical elements of the entertainment market of the later years of the Constitutional Monarchy. Thus, this thesis aims to address a gap in the knowledge of these subjects in the Portuguese context through the study of several musical activities in Lisbon from 1865 to 1908, mainly focusing on the expansion of the theatrical scene of the city, a development that widened the choice of available entertainment. Therefore, my thesis concentrates on the analysis and contextualisation of cultural artefacts associated with various musical practices and their association with a changing theatrical panorama, reconfiguring the leisure activities in Lisbon. According to my perspective, new forms of music theatre (the operetta and the *revista*) played a key role in creating a privileged space for the display and representation of modernity, a process in which the notion of the cultural nation-state was embedded. For that purpose, the symbolic nation was commodified and disseminated through its integration in these entertainment products, relying on the pervasiveness of the popular theatre in Portuguese society for the promotion of the idea of a modern Portugal, facilitating its internalisation by several social groups of the time. In this sense, my work concentrates on the study of the interaction between symbolic expressions and “the historical conditions and structures of social organisations within which those expressions are grounded.”²

¹ Alfredo Mesquita, “Chronica occidental”, *O Occidente*, n° 1048, 10th February 1908, 26.

² Michael Pickering, *History, Experience and Cultural Studies* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd.), 10.

Most of the works dealing with the history of the *revista* in Portugal were published in the late 1970s and in the early 1980s and, despite including the musical aspects of the genre, did not examine them thoroughly.³ Therefore, one of the main contributions of my research is a musicological study of the *revista* in the period when the genre was encoded and became dominant in Lisbon's theatres. Moreover, it is possible to detect a rising interest in the musicological study of the Portuguese entertainment market, as the research project on the musical comedy in that country from 1849 to 1900 that has been developing in CESEM (a centre based in the Universidade Nova de Lisboa) attests. However, what strikes me the most in the extant scholarship on the operetta and the *revista* is that the significance of these genres in the Portuguese theatrical scene tends not to appear reflected in most of the available musicological bibliography. This may be explained by the role that musicology has played in the encoding and reproduction of a polar relation between art (embodied by the operatic theatre and the public concert) and entertainment (predominantly associated with forms of spectacle perceived as "popular", such as the *revista*).

Until recently, historical approaches to nineteenth century Portuguese music have concentrated on the study of opera and concert music whilst neglecting the popular entertainment market of the time. However, my work aims to show that the segmentation of art and entertainment in the Portuguese context during the period 1865–1908 is highly problematic, given the blurred distinction between these realms as well as the complex superimposition of numerous agents in place in Lisbon's theatrical scene of the time. For example, several orchestra musicians of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos (Lisbon's opera house) composed operettas and *revistas* for the popular stage, a fact that evidences the porosity between the realms of art and entertainment at the time. Conversely, the incorporation of representations of the vernacular in operatic narratives points not only to the construction of an operatic aesthetic that draws from naturalistic paradigms, but also to the role the popular began to play in the cultural imaginary of the segment of the entertainment market then presented as art.

³ See Vitor Pavão dos Santos, *A revista à portuguesa* (Lisbon: O Jornal, 1978) and Luiz Francisco Rebello, *História do teatro de revista em Portugal*, 2 vols (Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 1984). Nevertheless, a recent work on the history of the *revista* during the First Portuguese Republic was published. See Pedro Caldeira Rodrigues, *O teatro de revista e a I República: Ernesto Rodrigues e "A Parceria" (1912–1926)* (Lisbon: Fundação Mário Soares/Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2011).

Another contribution of this thesis is the analysis of the introduction of phonographic technologies in the Portuguese context, where a market for sound recording and reproduction technologies (as well as for its associated commodities) was progressively established from the last years of the nineteenth century. On this issue, I want to stress musicologists' rising interest in the study of the phonographic industry in Portugal, as the project *The Recording Industry in 20th Century Portugal* being carried by the INET-MD (a research centre working in the Universidade Nova de Lisboa) illustrates. As the project is still running, various of its outcomes remain unpublished to this date. Nevertheless, several groundbreaking articles concerning the introduction of phonographic technologies in Portugal have been recently published.⁴ Still, my thesis contributes to create knowledge in this field by giving a broader and chronologically more concentrated perspective on the early phonographic period, where the implementation of sound reproducing technologies relied on the action of both local entrepreneurs and international companies. Thus, this thesis addresses a body of repertoires that has been overlooked both by musicologists who concentrate on the study of nineteenth century opera and concert music and by popular music scholars who tend to concentrate their research on the Anglo-American context of a later chronological period. Moreover, my work draws extensively from primary sources and archival materials that have not been examined in relation to the Portuguese context, thus contributing to a broader understanding of the popular entertainment market in Portugal between 1865 and 1908 and its complex relations with other geographical spaces.

My thesis analyses Lisbon's theatrical market between 1865 and 1908 in order to study the complex relation between the symbolic construction of a nation and the field of popular entertainment. I have selected Lisbon as a case study for this work because this city has the symbolic weight of being the country's capital where an intense theatrical activity (both in its subsidised and unsubsidised forms) had developed during the period this thesis is concerned with. Moreover, the city underwent a significant process of urban development that resonates with several points this work aims to

⁴ Leonor Losa, "Indústria fonográfica", in Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), *Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2010), 633–634 and Leonor Losa and Susana Belchior, "The introduction of phonogram market in Portugal: Lindström labels and local traders (1879–1925)", in Pekka Gronow and Christiane Hofer (eds), *The Lindström Project: Contributions to the History of the Record Industry: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schallplattenindustrie*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Gesellschaft für Historische Tonträger, 2010), 7–11.

discuss, namely the complex interaction between public and private spaces, the foregrounding of the representational value of various commodities through the rationalisation of space, and the attempt to superimpose what were perceived as traits of a modern capital in Lisbon's urban fabric of the time. In that process, a planned modern urban layer intertwined with other layers and everyday practices that were already in place at the time, further complicating an intricate interaction between space, culture, and everyday life.

However, selecting a specific city to illustrate a process of establishing a national narrative poses significant problems in terms of scale. On the one hand, it would be impossible to study in detail 43 years of the cultural life of an entire country in the normal duration of a doctoral programme. Conversely, selecting one city to illustrate a much wider cultural process raises important practical questions, namely the risk of taking that city to represent the entire kingdom. Consequently, it becomes impossible to take Lisbon's cultural fabric as representative of the heterogeneity of Portugal, then a predominantly rural nation. Nevertheless, the country's capital can be presented as a site in which several levels of representation of the Portuguese nation were located, such as the Royal Family and both chambers of Parliament. Moreover, the concentration of entertainment venues in this city provides a fertile ground in which to address the role that popular musical theatre played in the symbolic construction of the Portuguese nation.

The chronological limits for this thesis were drawn up to include a set of events that had a significant impact in several strata of the Portuguese society of the time. I have selected the year 1865 because it was the first year in which the *Diário de notícias*, the first generalist periodical published through a mechanised industrial process in Portugal, was published. This newspaper was established in December 1864 and contributed to the development of a specific editorial line and of various marketing strategies, features that were key in reshaping the Portuguese press. Moreover, starting in the late 1860s there were important chronological markers associated with the expansion of Lisbon's theatrical activity, such as the building of several entertainment venues and the incorporation of operetta and *revista* repertoires in the entertainment market of the city.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the partition of Africa among the European colonial countries and the international financial crisis were associated with

two key events that shook the Portuguese society of the time: the British Ultimatum of 1890 (the apex of an ongoing differendum between Portugal and Britain involving the demarcation of borders of the African colonies of both countries) and the declaration of partial default by Portugal in 1892.⁵ These occurrences were promoted as signs of national decadence and effectively used by the republican movement of the time to criticise the Portuguese monarchist regime and to increase its own voting. I have selected 1908 as the end date of the period covered in this thesis due to several events that happened in that year, such as the regicide, an episode that precipitated the fall of the Portuguese monarchy in 1910. Furthermore, the first daily newspaper associated with the workers movement, *A greve*, was created in 1908 and, in that year, the score of Viana da Mota's symphony *À Pátria* (a key work in the Portuguese panorama of art music of the time that had been premièred in Porto in 1897) was published in Brazil. From this selection it is possible to understand that this thesis presents historical time as a multilayered and discontinuous entity in which particular events have distinct levels of relevance for several sectors of the social space; the thesis thus adopts a strategy that aims to complicate the establishment of a single linear narrative based on the perception of historical time as a homogeneous entity and its main events as universal.

For Benedict Anderson, the modern nation is associated with the development of print capitalism, a process that “made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways.”⁶ Moreover, “the convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation.”⁷ Accordingly, the publishing business played a key role in the creation of what may be designated as a national public sphere by introducing a new kind of relationship between the members of a specific linguistic community. In order to understand the relation between publishing (namely, the periodical press) and the creation of a national space, the first chapter of my thesis concentrates on the analysis of the Portuguese press between 1865 and 1908.

⁵ See Pedro Lains, “The power of peripheral governments: coping with the 1891 financial crisis in Portugal”, *Historical Research*, 81/213 (2008), 485–506.

⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London/NY: Verso, 1991), 36.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 46.

Periodicals, Politics and Iconography

The creation of a bourgeois public sphere induced transformations in the cultural market in Portugal during the period of this thesis.⁸ Despite the supposed apolitical character of several publications, the discourse of the press was essentially carried as a conditioner of opinion, thus indicating the role newspapers played as privileged social constructors of reality.⁹ Before that time, most of the periodicals were connected to the undisguised promotion of political agents through their mediatisation in the public sphere. However, during the period in which this thesis concentrates, several journalistic typologies relied on industrial mechanised processes of production and focused on the actual narration of facts, evidencing a substantial transformation in the Portuguese journalistic scene of the time.

The presence of two generations of writers/journalists who drew from distinct (albeit sometimes related) aesthetic paradigms as regular content providers for periodicals is a key issue in studying the Portuguese press of the time. The first generation included several writers who became part of the so-called *Geração de 70*, a heterogeneous constellation associated with the dissemination of realism in Portuguese literature. The second generation can be related to the dissemination of aesthetic paradigms such as naturalism or symbolism in Portugal towards the end of the nineteenth century. In this process, people like Raúl Brandão or Abel Botelho relied on the depiction of the lower social strata of the Portuguese population, albeit in an aestheticised fashion, in their works. Furthermore, the rise of political movements such as socialism, anarcho-syndicalism and republicanism achieved a significant visibility in the social space of the time by creating and influencing public opinion through the then recently created newspapers. The establishment of several periodicals associated with working class segments or workers associations (such as *A voz do operário* or *A greve*) and of the first conglomerates of publications connected within a company (such as the group that included *O século*, *Ilustração portuguesa e Modas e bordados*, among others) point to an expansion of the editorial business in Portugal.

⁸ See Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989).

⁹ Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968) and Nick Couldry, “Media meta-capital: Extending the range of Bourdieu's field theory”, *Theory and Society* 32/5–6 (2003), 653–677.

This chapter addresses the creation of several newspapers that included mainly (or significantly) musical subjects (such as *Crónica dos teatros*, *Amphion*, *Arte musical*), a process that began in the 1860s, and analyses their contents and their role in the development of a discourse about music in the Portuguese public sphere of the time. However, most of the periodicals that concentrated mainly on musical subjects were short-lived and intermittent, a fact that indicates their difficult implementation in a minuscule area of a small-scale market. Nevertheless, their establishment and the frequent publication of articles on musical activities in generalist publications point to a transformation in the periodicals of the time, integrating music as a topic in public discourse. Alongside the various approaches to written repertoires of the past and of the present and an ethnology that collected music from rural areas of the country, several writers/journalists contributed to develop a historiographical narrative of Lisbon's popular urban genre, fado. In the early years of the twentieth century authors such as Pinto de Carvalho or Alberto Pimentel published what became two important sources for the study of these repertoires – *História do fado* and *A triste canção do sul*, respectively.

An iconographic culture developed towards the end of the nineteenth century and objects such as posters, illustrated postcards, and photographs were incorporated in everyday life and widely disseminated through the periodicals. This process was associated with innovations such as photography and halftone printing techniques that were developed at the time and reshaped the global printing press. The iconography published in the Portuguese periodicals during a significant part of the nineteenth century was multiform, ranging from technically rudimentary engravings to photographs. For instance, until the 1880s most of the press relied on engravings but the dissemination of photographic reproduction techniques towards the end of the nineteenth century was rapidly incorporated in the coeval periodicals. This shift from a text-based periodical press to a field that fostered the inclusion of images promoted the iconisation of a selective group of agents in Portuguese society (politicians, military officers, writers, actors, singers or composers), symptomatic of a transnational system in which the production and dissemination of imagery became a key element to the promotion of artists, as the third chapter of this thesis develops.

Methodologically speaking, the first chapter of this thesis is based on a survey of periodicals belonging to the National Library of Portugal and to the Hemeroteca

Municipal de Lisboa. The analysis of both texts and images in a number of periodicals contributed to trace the general framework in which the journalistic field operated at the time and to formulate several hypotheses concerning their readership and role.¹⁰ Furthermore, the chapter analyses various levels of musical activity and their association with the sociability routines of several specific social strata of Lisbon's society, such as frequenting the theatre. The thesis also examines several foreign periodicals of the time in order to situate the local press in a broader context and to address specific points that were developed in an international framework, such as the relevance of French (namely Parisian) culture to several segments of Portuguese society or the diplomatic conflict with Britain in the 1890s.

Urban Space, Theatrical Entertainment and Sociability

“The audience goes to the theatre to spend an evening. Here [in Lisbon] the theatre is not a curiosity of the spirit, it is a Sunday leisure.”¹¹ This remark by the writer Eça de Queirós serves to introduce one of the key observations of my work, that the theatre occupied a prominent place in the social life of several segments of Lisbon's population. The chapter concentrates on the study of theatrical life in Lisbon from 1865 to 1908, a period in which the processes of urban expansion were closely associated with paradigms of modernity as it was perceived at the time, producing new spaces in the urban fabric. Some of these spaces were directly connected with the development of a market for cultural goods (in which theatrical and musical activities are included).

In this process the notion of space is embedded in the mechanisms of consumption, as the work by Styre and Engberg on Benjamin's Arcades attests. For them, in Paris during the Second Empire “consumption becomes an aesthetic experience; space and consumption are merged in the spatial practice producing spaces of consumption.”¹² Drawing from this assertion, the spatialisation of consumption is a key feature for the study of a new perspective on urban planning that strives to rationalise both public and private spaces in a way that emphasises the representational

¹⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, *Sur la télévision suivi de L'emprise du journalisme*, (Paris: Raisons d'Agir Éditions, 1996).

¹¹ Ramalho Ortigão and Eça de Queirós, *As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes*, (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1872), 53.

¹² Alexander Styhre and Tobias Engberg, “Spaces of consumption: From margin to centre”, *ephemera*, 3/2 (2003), 116–117.

value of commodities through specific strategies of display. Therefore, “consumption is always spatial: it is based on the spatial-aesthetic arrangement, associations, and display of commodities in social space.”¹³

The study of specific theatrical activities in Lisbon in the second chapter of this thesis opens with the study of the city’s opera house, the Real Teatro de São Carlos, a venue where the performances reflect the constitution of an operatic canon (at the time consisting mostly of operas in the Italian tradition) from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. Although the formation of a transnational operatic repertoire during this period was the most characteristic feature of the programming of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, it must be emphasised that this canon was dynamic and subject to change, both through the integration of recently composed operas by active composers and through the circulation of different aesthetic paradigms, such as the incorporation of repertoires of French and German traditions in the theatre’s seasons.

Furthermore, the chapter concentrates on the study of the flowing dynamic associated with the presentation of unsubsidised types of theatrical spectacles in Lisbon, such as operetta (and *zarzuela*) and *revista*. In terms of operetta and *zarzuela*, most of the performances took place in theatres that relied heavily on imported materials, depending on translations for the performance of plays that were able to communicate with their audience. For that purpose, French and Viennese operettas and Spanish *zarzuelas* were translated and musically adapted to suit both the company’s group of actors/singers and to maximise the impact of the libretto to a Portuguese-speaking audience. Conversely, the chapter examines several operettas authored by Portuguese composers and librettists, relating them to the paradigm of the modern nation.

Subsequently, the chapter concentrates on *revista*, a theatrical genre whose plasticity allowed for the genre to rapidly incorporate the present (in terms of situations, characters, music, choreography and visual presentation) in its narratives, a key feature in the role played by this genre in the Portuguese entertainment market from the last decades of the nineteenth century to the 1960s. Furthermore, the *revista* included, absorbed and metabolised everyday life, translating it into a specific imaginary in which several of its tropes were recurrently revisited by the playwrights. This recurrent imagery contributed to the creation and naturalisation of a “composite image” of Portuguese (mostly) urban society that can be associated with the concept of the modern

¹³ Styhre and Engberg, *op. cit.*, 121.

nation. In this sense, popular entertainment can be understood as a privileged field for the dissemination of national (or nationalist) ideas.

The chapter illustrates both the heterogeneity of Lisbon's theatrical entertainment between 1865 and 1908 and the multilayered and complex notions of nationalism that were part of that market. For example, the notion of nationalism that can be discussed when addressing the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, a subsidised institution with a resident foreign company that presented operatic repertoire, has to remain distinct from the possible representations of local actuality by Portuguese authors, such as the *revista*. Moreover, operetta and *zarzuela* occupy a specific place in this system because of their association with distinct geographic and cultural spaces. On the one hand, French operetta was perceived as a cosmopolitan and transnational form of entertainment, despite the prominent role that Parisian everyday life played in its plots. Conversely, Spanish *zarzuela*, because it was not directly integrated into the predominant forms of the transnational entertainment market whose apex was Paris, was perceived as a more local genre. This distinction between the local and the cosmopolitan can be detected in a review of the Portuguese operetta *O burro do Sr. Alcaide* published in the periodical *O Occidente*, an article that presented the work as a "kind of Portuguese *zarzuela*."¹⁴ This may indicate the prominence of Portuguese traits in this work, thus demarcating that operetta from what was perceived as the French cosmopolitan canon. Therefore, the heterogeneity of operetta repertoires occupied an ambiguous place in the market for cultural goods of the time, where the interaction between cosmopolitan and the local was a constitutive feature.

The development of a tendency for the establishment of an entertainment market centred in popular theatre genres throughout Europe and America is an interesting component for the study of this period. Hence, the process of creation of the "popular" stands conspicuously in the foreground of the discourse about cultural goods. The segmentation of spaces, repertoires, and audiences in Lisbon's theatrical market points to the polarity between art (embodied by the operatic theatre and the public concert) and entertainment (predominantly associated with forms of spectacle perceived as "popular," such as the *revista*). This polar segmentation of the market for cultural goods has been present in public discourse since at least the second half of the nineteenth century, and can be related to transnational processes of cultural legitimation of several

¹⁴ *O Occidente*, n° 458, 11th September 1891, 206.

social groups at a time when both the universe for these goods and the numbers of its intended consumers were in rapid expansion. Popular culture in the nineteenth century can be closely associated with the rise of mass consumption of goods and with the rise of specific forms of entertainment in which theatre and music were embedded.¹⁵

Furthermore, the processes through which the vernacular is aestheticised (and commodified) are essential to understand the space in which popular culture operates. For example, the way “popular characters” were depicted in the naturalistic theatre performed in Lisbon’s theatres of that time can prove to be enlightening. Conversely, composers of operettas and *revistas* employed strategies in the creation of their plays that superimposed heterogeneous elements that would refer to several and distinct symbolic universes (associated with specific social and aesthetic spaces and practices of consumption), allowing for a composite image of modern Portugal to be crafted, performed, and naturalised.¹⁶

The second chapter of the thesis concludes with the analysis of the *revista* as a fragmentary form that draws on both transnational and local elements in a context of modernity where the symbolic nation is operating. On the one hand, it displays the problematic of locating the “national” in a local/global polar system, making way for the emergence of the “national” as a logic that is both inherent and complementary to these terms. Conversely, it poses an interesting point in the study of the *revista*: despite incorporating both local (or, sometimes, promoted as “national”) and transnational repertoires, all of these repertoires were considered “modern” at the time, situating the *revista* as an archive or a repository of popular modernity. Moreover, the inherently polysemic character of the *revista* promoted the widening of its audience (making it a profitable business enterprise) and the presentation of a symbolic order to which traces of the modern nation were embedded.

Both operetta and *revista* epitomise one of the major methodological issues in the study of this repertoire: the nature of the sources. In these genres, most of the surviving sources (apart from a few specific collections) are printed materials associated with the shows, especially the *coplas* and the printed sheet music of several extracts.

¹⁵ According to David Throsby’s definition, “cultural goods and services involve creativity in their production, embody some degree of intellectual property and convey symbolic meaning.” See David Throsby, *Economics and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 112. See also Pierre Bourdieu. *La distinction. Critique social du jugement* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1979).

¹⁶ Jennifer Robertson, *Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 116.

Nevertheless, some musical and textual manuscripts concerning a few shows have been preserved, but this is not the norm in Portugal. These sorts of problems are inherent to the study of several ephemeral genres associated with the entertainment market of the time and demand a specific methodological approach that aims to reconstruct the symbolic and material universe in which these repertoires operated instead of attempting to recreate the totality of the spectacle. In that approach, the focus of research is concentrated on the collections of the National Music Theatre (in Lisbon) and of the National Library of Portugal.

Commodities, Technology and Everyday Life

According to Scott, one of the reasons for the rapid circulation of popular repertoires during the nineteenth century (such as the waltz, black minstrelsy or the operetta) was the presence of an “organized means of dissemination” and the fact that some music “became available in a commodity form designed for exchange.”¹⁷ The system for the dissemination of musical commodities and the role the commodity form played in that system form the core of the third and fourth chapters of this thesis. In his analysis of the Victorian era, Picker presents that period as being associated with the transformation of what was considered by the Romantics as a sublime experience “into a quantifiable and marketable object or thing, a sonic commodity, in the form of a printed work, a performance, or, ultimately, an audio recording.”¹⁸ My work aims to display the tendency presented by Picker in the coeval Portuguese context by examining the circulation of several commodities in Lisbon’s entertainment market. Moreover, this thesis strives to portray this trend as a process in which technology, class, and gender were embedded, a move that raises several methodological problems. For instance, a significant amount of the bibliography analysing this process has been mainly developed in Anglo-American contexts and its application to Portugal, a country with a distinct cultural fabric, proves to be highly problematic. Nevertheless, various points of this discussion appear to be present, in several degrees, in the Portuguese context.

In the period covered by this thesis several goods were marketed as a complement to each other, pointing to an articulated entertainment system in which the

¹⁷ Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The 19th-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris and Vienna* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), 44.

¹⁸ John Picker, *Victorian Soundscapes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 10.

same theatrical show (itself a cultural good) generated a set of associated commodities that extended the scope of that universe to the city's streets as well as to domestic spaces, thus incorporating the musical theatre repertoire into various contexts of everyday life. The process of commodification of music was essential for the dissemination of that repertoire be it in its libretto, sheet music or sound recording formats. In addition, theatrical performances generated goods (such as posters or postcards) that were mostly associated with the direct advertising strategies of their entrepreneurs. Chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis concentrate on the process through which these repertoires circulated, an ongoing trend operating in the transnational entertainment market of that time. This is a line of thought that has been recently developed in Portugal by me, Leonor Losa, and Gonçalo Oliveira, all of us having published several case studies on the topic pertaining to different historical contexts.¹⁹ Thus, my work contributes to the expansion of the current knowledge about the subject because its scale is much broader than the previously mentioned publications and concentrates on a distinct historical period. Furthermore, the period covered by this thesis encompasses the local encoding of theatrical genres such as the *revista*, the expansion of Lisbon's entertainment market through the incorporation of popular theatre into the sociability routines of several segments of the city's population, and the introduction of phonography in Portugal.

The third chapter of the thesis examines the role played by domesticity and activities such as collecting as well as reproducing repertoires in the form of sheet music during late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Portugal, a crucial aspect in the development of the entertainment market of the time. The established link between musical repertoires and the privileged instrument for its reproduction, the piano, occupied a prominent place in the sociability process of various social segments, condensing attributes such as gender and class. If, on the one hand, the opening of venues in which genres such as the operetta and the *revista* were performed contributed to and reflected the expansion of theatregoing audiences, on the other hand, the trade in goods such as *coplas* or sheet music promoted the consumption of theatrical repertoires in domestic spaces and their associated contexts of sociability. Consequently, the

¹⁹ Gonçalo Antunes de Oliveira, Leonor Losa and João Silva, "A edição de música impressa e a mediação do fado: o caso do 'Fado do 31'", *Etno-Folk: Revista Galega de Etnomusicología*, 12 (2008), 55–67 and Gonçalo Antunes de Oliveira, Leonor Losa and João Silva, "Teatro, música e dança: entreter o cidadão no Portugal da Primeira República. O caso da revista 'De Capote e Lenço'", in Daniel Tércio (ed.), *Dançar para a República* (Lisbon: Editorial Caminho, 2010, 235–274).

circulation of repertoires through several media promoted the ubiquitous presence of theatrical music in everyday life. Furthermore, this brings to the foreground a complex dynamic between continuity and change of these repertoires. Although the same musical piece was performed in several environments, it had to be accommodated to its intended context, audience, and medium. This surfaces clearly when dealing with piano works based on theatrical melodies or when analysing the way phonography, especially in the period of the acoustic recording that this work addresses, introduced significant changes to the sonic materials themselves.

This allows me to introduce the theme of the fourth chapter of this thesis: the process of the commodification of music and its relation to the development of technologies for sound and music recording and reproduction, such as the phonograph, the gramophone, or the player piano. These innovations transformed Lisbon's entertainment market of the time and pose interesting theoretical questions on the storage media and their specific materiality. Conversely, the positioning of these media in a market that relied mainly on local sheet music retailers and importers (many of them accumulating that role with the trade of musical instruments) is key in the production, reproduction, and dissemination of theatrical repertoires. Furthermore, the chapter concentrates on the introduction of mechanical music in the Portuguese market in its two main forms, mechanical instruments and phonography, and aims to discuss its cultural implications. At the time, the possibility of music reproduction, portrayed as an embodiment of modernity, helped to reconfigure domestic space and time around new technologies, such as the player piano or the gramophone, allowing for a redistribution of cultural capital in the social networks.

However, mechanical instruments and phonographic products occupy distinct spaces in the market for cultural goods. According to Suisman, "if both the player-piano and phonograph were forms of inscription, they diverged in what they inscribed – and this divergence illuminates the complementary ways the two technologies contributed to the underlying constitution of modern society."²⁰ Thus, he describes phonography as a capturing and conveying "a specific instance of musical labor (or other sound-making activity)" whilst mechanical instruments store "information and instructions on how to make music."²¹ Moreover, the role mechanical instruments played in the reproduction

²⁰ David Suisman, "Sound, knowledge, and the "immanence of human failure", *Social Text* 102, 28/1 (2010), 23–24.

²¹ *Ibid.*

and circulation of repertoires through several realms can be interpreted as an important feature in the entertainment market of the time. In his comparison of the piano player and the phonograph (two coeval innovations), Taylor argues that the former, a “seemingly less sophisticated technology provides a better site to address the question of the commodification of music.”²² This perspective is shared by Suisman, for whom “even more than the piano and the phonograph, it is the player-piano that best symbolizes the close relation between music machines and industrial manufacturing – and not just by homology.”²³ Although the cited bibliography concentrates on the player piano, my thesis also examines the role that instruments such as the barrel organ or the church bells played in the sociability rituals of everyday life, noting that the reconfiguration of Lisbon’s sonic everyday fabric through the introduction of mechanical instruments was not limited to the domestic realm.

The development and dissemination of phonographic technologies during the period of this thesis added the commodification of sound itself to this discussion and reshaped the coeval market for cultural goods.²⁴ The complex dialectic of the local and the global plays an important role in the creation of a phonographic market in Portugal during the first years of the twentieth century, where both local entrepreneurs and multinational companies developed their business. For instance, in the first decade of the twentieth century the main European recording companies (such as the *Companhia Franceza do Gramophone*, associated with British-based *The Gramophone Company*, or the French-based *Pathé*) established stores in Portugal that traded exclusively on their own products.²⁵ For the study of *The Gramophone Company* in Portugal between 1903 and 1908, I have consulted valuable primary sources belonging to the EMI Archives extant in the British Library, such as catalogues and recording sheets. Conversely, the implementation strategy of recording companies such as *Beka*, *Dacapo*, *Parlophone*, *Homokord*, and *Odeon* (which were progressively integrated the German group *Lindström* from 1908 onwards) was significantly different from the ones adopted by both *Pathé* and the *Companhia Franceza do Gramophone*, and consisted in using already

²² Timothy D. Taylor, “The commodification of music at the dawn of the era of ‘mechanical music’”, *Ethnomusicology*, 51/2 (2007), 284.

²³ David Suisman, “Sound, knowledge, and the ‘immanence of human failure’”, *Social Text* 102, 28/1 (2010), 19.

²⁴ Picker, *Victorian Soundscapes*, 117. For an overview of phonography during the period of mechanical recording see Michael Chanan, *Repeated Takes: A Short History of Recording and its Effects on Music* (London/NY: Verso, 1995), 1–36.

²⁵ Geoffrey Jones, “The Gramophone Company: An Anglo-American multinational, 1898–1931”, *The Business History Review*, 59/1 (1985), 83.

established traders as local agents and their commercial venues as selling points.²⁶

Moreover, due to the Portuguese dependence on imported goods and technicians, local traders were motivated to establish a symbiotic relation with several foreign companies in order to record and publish their discs, thus creating their local catalogue.

Science, Alterity and Traditional Music

The last chapter of the thesis examines several approaches and disciplines that were being established with scientific intents that contributed to the reshaping the coeval perspectives of Portugal as a symbolic nation-state. From the last third of the nineteenth century onwards a broad field of studies, such as geography, geology, archaeology, ethnology, philology, and folklore studies played a key role in establishing a notion of the Portuguese nation. For the study of this process, my thesis addresses the work of a heterogeneous constellation of individuals who drew on distinct epistemological frameworks (such as positivism, pre-evolutionary diffusionism, and evolutionism) in order to study specific features of vernacular culture. In this endeavour there was a significant shift of the notion of popular culture.

The initial work of several distinguished ethnologists relied on textual materials (such as folk tales), which may indicate the working of a Romantic and Herderian concept of nationalism at the time, a paradigm that interacted with the positivist trends that were disseminated in Portugal from the 1870s onwards. Moreover, this approach tended to perceive popular culture as a trace of the past (portrayed within an ethnogenealogical perspective), and was mainly grounded in the capture of what was perceived as the “authentic tradition,” what was peculiar, picturesque, or unusual.²⁷ However, Portuguese anthropology underwent a significant change in the last decade of the nineteenth century, favouring a less textual approach to popular culture and expanding its scope beyond popular literature to include art, architecture, technologies, and forms of economic and social life.²⁸ Moreover, the rising interest in material culture towards the end of the nineteenth century was fundamental for the recognition of archaeology and ethnology as parts of the scientific field in this period, a process that

²⁶ Losa, *op. cit.*, 633 and Losa and Belchior, *op. cit.*, 7.

²⁷ João Leal, *Antropologia em Portugal: mestres, percursos e transições* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2006), 178.

²⁸ Leal, *Etnografias portuguesas (1870–1970): cultura popular e identidade nacional* (Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 2000), 43.

was reflected in the institution of the museum.²⁹ As in other countries, the creation of the Museu Etnológico Português (Portuguese Ethnological Museum), in late 1893, is a symptom of both the rising interest on material culture and the role institutions could play in the recognition and legitimation of academic activities. A few years before the establishment of the museum, the creation of the discipline of Anthropology, Human Palaeontology, and Prehistoric Archaeology in the University of Coimbra was also a key symbolic marker in the recognition of anthropological enquiry as part of the scientific field in Portugal.³⁰ By the end of the nineteenth century Portuguese anthropology had been institutionally legitimated by its association with the two foremost scientific organisations of the time: the university and the museum.³¹

For the study of Portuguese anthropology and archaeology, I have relied both in primary sources, such as academic journals and books, and on secondary materials, mainly drawing from the groundbreaking works of George W. Stocking, Jr. and João Leal. Stocking's work as writer and editor tends to concentrate in the Anglo-American world, a perspective which raises important concerns when dealing with other geographical and chronological contexts. For instance, João Leal's work on the Portuguese anthropological tradition tends to import (and impose) some of Stocking's views on the imperial and national condition of anthropology to the local context. I find extremely problematic a move of this type in studying the development of anthropology in Portugal because of the ambiguous place occupied by Portugal at the time as a peripheral, yet colonial European state. Nevertheless, the problematic interaction between imported concepts and local developments can be read as a symptom of the complex relation between the local and the global and of the difficulties associated with the construction of a national space that emerges from the articulation of these levels.

The last chapter of my thesis also discusses the study, collection and publication of music from predominantly rural contexts as part of the efforts of Portuguese ethnology of the time. However, when comparing the amount of attention given to song lyrics with the collections of music it is possible to argue that the latter was not a central

²⁹ Orvar Löfgren, "Scenes from a troubled marriage: Swedish ethnology and material culture studies", *Journal of Material Culture*, 2 (1997), 111.

³⁰ Gonçalo Duro dos Santos, *A escola de antropologia de Coimbra, 1885–1950* (Lisbon: Imprensa das Ciências Sociais, 2005), 77.

³¹ About the creation of anthropological museums during the period of this thesis see George W. Stocking, Jr. (ed.), *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985) and Nélia Dias. "The visibility of difference: nineteenth-century French anthropological collections, in Sharon Macdonald (ed.), *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture* (LondonNY: Routledge, 1998), 36–52.

element in the constitution of that field. Nevertheless, several works containing Portuguese traditional music that later became key sources for the study of that universe and for groups of ethnographic revivification were published during the period this thesis concerns. My thesis examines these works, focusing on the inherent politics of repertoire selection, transcription, and commercialisation. It aims to pursue the pioneering work started in the 1980s by Salwa Castelo-Branco and Manuela Toscano on traditional Portuguese music. In a groundbreaking article published in 1988, Castelo-Branco and Toscano trace the process of collecting and editing traditional music in Portugal, contributing to a narrative about the establishment of ethnomusicology in Portugal.³²

However, this thesis privileges a synchronic view of this subject, comparing and integrating these repertoires in the domestic entertainment market of the time, alongside songs drawn from the *revista*. This move can be supported by the fact that most of the collections published in the period this thesis concerns consisted in tonal harmonisations of traditional music repertoires that shared the conventions associated with sheet music formats. Moreover, several traditional songs collected and published at the time were recorded by the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, an occurrence that is symptomatic of the ambiguous status of the editions of traditional music, objects that were situated in the interstitial space between the commodity forms of the entertainment market and ethnological scientific endeavour.³³

Due to the heterogeneity of the materials examined, my work draws on distinct methodologies and bodies of theory to address several points and reflects both the interdisciplinary approach that grounds it and the discontinuity and fragmentary nature of establishing a symbolically efficient concept of the modern nation-state in Portugal. To produce a comprehensive study of cultural spheres requires a transdisciplinary approach to the materials and their integration using a diverse array of types of sources and methodologies. In my work, I have privileged primary sources (archival, bibliographical, iconographic, and discographic) in order to study practices of production, mediation and consumption of cultural goods in Portuguese society. Moreover, these sources are multiple traces of a fragmentary past that need to be

³² Salwa Castelo-Branco and Manuela Toscano, “‘In search of a lost world’: An overview of documentation and research on the traditional music of Portugal”, *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 20 (1988), 158–192.

³³ Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *Novo catalogo de discos portugueses* (Lisbon: n.p., 1908), 7–10.

interpreted and contextualised, avoiding a predominantly historicist reading that aims to vividly reconstruct a specific context in a continuous and coherent fashion. With this move, my thesis contributes to the critique of a modern and evolutionist perspective on history, a knowledge that tends to be presented as “a narrative of the victor who legitimizes his victory by presenting the previous development as the linear continuum leading to his own final triumph.”³⁴ Consequently, this work includes the popular segments of Lisbon’s society in the discussion of various strategies associated with the promotion and development of the Portuguese nation state between 1865 and 1908. By examining popular repertoires, my thesis stresses cultural phenomena that were integrated in the everyday life of a significant number of individuals, many of them living in social spaces whose history remains yet to be written.

Technological innovations, aesthetic, political, and economic changes provide a fertile ground in which to analyse the reshaping of various established fields of cultural production associated with the Portuguese nation. Moreover, these materials were progressively interwoven in the fabric of the everyday life of Lisbon’s population, creating an efficient symbolic order in which the modern nation-state operates. Hence, a discourse of nation-building that relies on the commonality of several factors (such as cultural or ethnic background) can be discussed as a key element for the grounding of the Portuguese nation in other institutions than the organisations associated with the Constitutional Monarchy. This opened the space for the replacement of this political system by a regime inspired by the French Third Republic in 1910. Furthermore, the symbolic construction of Portugal is a complex process in which several heterogeneous (and sometimes, incompatible) perspectives were articulated in a specific set of symbols that strove to attract the investment and promote the attachment of several sectors of the Portuguese society.

Therefore, in the construction and presentation of a nation, the selection of national symbols had to be twofold: they must be efficient for the “people” to attach to them through a kernel of enjoyment and they must be open enough to contain ambiguity and to be continuously re-encoded in order to achieve that efficiency.³⁵ Consequently, one of the main contributions of this thesis is the analysis of several sectors of the

³⁴ Slavoj Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptom!* (London/NY: Routledge, 2008), 92–93.

³⁵ Slavoj Žižek, *For They Know Not What They Do* (London/NY: Verso, 2008) and Stuart Hall, “Encoding/decoding” in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (ed.), *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972–79* (London: Hutchinson, 1980), 128–138.

market of cultural goods of the time, especially of popular music theatre, as part of an operation that aimed to naturalise the Portuguese nation through entertainment, a strategy that can be associated with the promotion of personal investment in the process of identification and construction of a collective identity.³⁶

³⁶ Yannis Stavrakakis and Nikos Chrysoloras, "(I can't get no) enjoyment: Lacanian theory and the analysis of nationalism", *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society*, 11/2 (2006), 144–163.

Chapter 1. Periodicals, Music and Society in Portugal from 1820 to 1908

Introduction

The establishment of a constitutional monarchy after the liberal revolution of 1820 triggered the expansion of a system of production, mediation and reception of news in a market where all constitutional texts (the 1822 and 1838 constitutions and the 1826 Constitutional Charter) guaranteed freedom of expression. However, during the absolutist reign of D. Miguel (1828–34), the suspension of the Constitutional Charter and the re-establishment of censorship, associated with the emigration of several liberal writers and politicians, had a severe impact in the establishment and growth of a bourgeois public sphere.¹ Although absolutist rule imposed direct constraints on the production of newspapers, severe limitations on the freedom of the press were upheld during specific periods of the constitutional monarchy in which civil guarantees were suspended (sometimes including the interruption of newspaper publishing). These intervals were generally associated with moments of social unrest (such as in the Patuleia Civil War, 1846–47 or the turbulence following the British Ultimatum, 1890) and had variable duration.

The legal framework in which journalists operated is essential to understand the process of creating a public opinion. One general trait of these laws is the tendency to establish boundaries, an extremely relevant characteristic for the understanding of the context of their promulgation. However, hermeneutic analysis of these texts (promoted by some historiographical empiricist methodologies) can be misleading, since they require also the study of practices and conventions as a complementary analytical tool. Taking for granted the idea that a body of legislation mirrors practice is problematic because of the relevance of specific (*i.e.* geographic and chronological) interpretations for the enforcement of legislation. This can be perceived in the first years of Cabralismo (the political period from 1842 to 1846), during which there was a tightening of limitations on the freedom of the press on the ground, albeit not accompanied by a substantial change in legislation.

¹ Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992) and José Tengarrinha, *História da imprensa periódica portuguesa* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1989), 141–146.

The formation of a public sphere in which private individuals come together as public promoters of opinion was linked to the “civilising” process of modernity and to the crystallisation of the citizen as the basic building block of society.² At this time, citizenship was being created as a symbolic resource of hegemonic rule. Nevertheless, this construct proved to be ideologically effective in the political sphere and in the promotion of an ideology of active citizenship (which is expected to develop in public contexts), was installing a complex relationship between the public and private spheres.³ The democratic possibility of accessing the public sphere was promoted as a right of the citizen, for whom it was a requirement to be politically informed. The level at which one was able to enter this space depended on one’s social capital and on the way one managed to optimise this specific form of capital embedded in social networks.⁴

The written word played an essential part in the workings of a public sphere. The constitution of a discourse network that revolves around the written word and is directed to a cultural market is of significant importance for the study of nineteenth-century cultures.⁵ The dissemination of ideas through publishing is one of the key agents of the ongoing dynamic forging of the public sphere. These cultural artefacts encompass both the immaterial (the information published) and the material (the object itself). The dichotomy of Ideal and Real had been thoroughly theorised by Romantic philosophers, but this will not constitute the focus of this section. Instead of concentrating on the encoding of these two spheres, this study stresses the transference between both of those spaces and how they can relate to each other in the nineteenth-century press. Furthermore, this chapter stresses the problematic relation between materiality, ideals and discursive practices that are enacted in the realm of the symbolic order (according to Lacan), a space where a contentious dichotomisation of subjectivity and objectivity operates.⁶ Thus, the object of this investigation is the link between both these features (the conceptual and the material) approached from a perspective indebted to cultural materialism.⁷

² Jurgen Habermas, *op. cit.*

³ Carol E. Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

⁴ Nan Lin, “Building a network theory of social capital”, *Connections* 22/1 (1999), 28–51.

⁵ Friedrich A. Kittler, *Discourse Networks, 1800/1900* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992).

⁶ Jacques Lacan, “Fonction et champ de la parole et du langage en psychanalyse”, in Jacques Lacan, *Écrits I*, (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1999), 235–321.

⁷ Raymond Williams, *Culture and Materialism* (London/NY: Verso, 2006).

Periodicals were one of the most efficient mechanisms by which the construction and dissemination of opinion in the bourgeois public sphere were enacted. However, the concept of a bourgeois public sphere as a phase in the development of “publicness” raises several theoretical questions. The transition of a representative public sphere to a bourgeois public sphere does not account for the development of those aspects of publicness relating to other social groupings, thus privileging the succession of hegemonic discourses. The exclusion of important segments of the population is essential in the boundary setting of a bourgeois culture that promoted a specific hierarchy of values. This exclusion is based on categories such as class, gender and ethnicity, which encapsulate in themselves both material and discursive elements, acting as floating signifiers to achieve symbolic efficiency under specific conditions.⁸ In his analysis, Habermas tends to present a monolithic view of bourgeois sociability in which the universe is limited by the boundaries of rational discourse, associated with Norbert Elias’s concept of bourgeois rationality, itself based on the Weberian model of rational-legal authority.⁹

Nevertheless, the concept of a shifting publicness is essential to understand the network of creators and disseminators of information, such as newspapers and magazines. The creation of a journalistic field which intersects and develops a relationship between several spheres of society (political, literary, economic) is a key element in this study.¹⁰ The concept of the “field” is central for Bourdieu’s social theory and is used in his works on journalism.¹¹ For him, the field is “understood as a space of objective relations between positions defined by their rank in the distribution of competing powers or species of capital.”¹² To “understand the media both as an internal production process and as a general frame for categorising the social world” is crucial in order to analyse the media sphere and its intersection with a broader social field.¹³ In a context that relied on the written press to communicate and disseminate representations

⁸ See *Stuart Hall, Race, the Floating Signifier*, by Sut Jhally, 1996, 62m (DVD, The Media Education Foundation).

⁹ Norbert Elias, *The Court Society* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1983) and Max Weber, “The types of legitimate domination” in Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 212–252.

¹⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, “L’emprise du journalisme”, *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 101/1 (1994), 3–9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1992), 113.

¹³ Nick Couldry, “Media meta-capital: Extending the range of Bourdieu’s field theory”, *Theory and Society*, 32/5 (2003), 653–677.

and symbols of reality, the study of journalism as a privileged social constructor of reality is paramount.¹⁴

The journalistic field demonstrates its own logic and relation of forces. On the one hand, periodicals and their journalists accumulated symbolic capital, a process inherent to their presence in the public sphere, which encourages a particular kind of consumption rite (*a habitus*) among their readers.¹⁵ On the other hand, this consumption rite is connected to a delimitation of universes of discourse and to a segmentation of the public. So, most political newspapers constructed contents that appealed to and reflected the lifestyle of the higher social strata.¹⁶ The manipulation of information within a specific discursive universe is associated with the dissemination of a hierarchy of meanings. This essentially reproduces the hegemonic discourse of a particular socio-political cultural formation.¹⁷ However, due to the relative fluidity and the absence of any real “administration” of the process of decoding, an important space for the attribution of meanings by the receivers, still remains.¹⁸

The encoding and circulation of representations and meanings through the press points to the journalist as a systematiser of cultural features through the constructing of a coherent narrative of the facts presented. In this process the discontinuities between a complex and ineffable reality and its condensed version in an eight-page newspaper are intimately connected to the media’s own position in the cultural field and the constraints that are imposed upon its agents (obligations towards advertisers, time to process and write the news, market area in which the newspaper develops its activity, for instance).¹⁹

The systematisation of reality through a metonymic process of representation, in which particular elements are selected to represent the whole, is embedded in an inherent logic of power reproduction and circulation. Consequently, power relations play an important role in the working of a discursive network.²⁰ The translation of several kinds of capital into symbolic capital via the press is what is at stake here. It

¹⁴ Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1962) and Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968).

¹⁵ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

¹⁶ Bourdieu, *La distinction: Critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1979), 517–526.

¹⁷ Hall, “Encoding/decoding” in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (ed.): *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79* (London: Hutchinson, 1980), 128–38.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Bourdieu, “L’emprise du journalisme”, *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 101/1 (1994), 3–9.

²⁰ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (NY: Vintage, 1979); Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975) and Risto Heiskala, “Theorizing power: Weber, Parsons, Foucault and neostructuralism”, *Social Science Information*, 40/2 (2001), 241–264.

points to the circulation of power in the representation strategies promoted by periodicals.²¹ Conversely, there was an important shift in the Portuguese public sphere in the last third of the nineteenth century. If the monopoly of the representations in the public space until then was concentrated in privileged and literate social groups, the creation of a workers's press during this period evidences the entry of lower social strata into the public sphere. This can be explained by the rise of literacy among workers, the increase of labour associations and the existence of a specific new target audience (and thus a new market) in the Portuguese press. The formation of a representational system of workers by workers is a qualitative addition to the cultural sphere. On the one hand, literate workers published articles concerning their specific issues in their own terms, representing a symbolically constructed working class. On the other hand, their newspaper formats and the discourse style were similar to those associated with the upper social segments. To achieve respectability, the workers' press tended to emulate widely read newspapers mixing a specific content with a jargon well established in the last third of the nineteenth-century.

One of the most prominent features in the Portuguese press is the coexistence of more than one professional role in the same individual (who could simultaneously act as journalist, writer or politician). What is striking about liberalism in Portugal is the significant increase of political newspapers, and this is connected to the creation of a parliamentary system and the development of a relatively free press. Furthermore, these events created a sphere for discussion that was much limited in earlier periods. Until the stabilisation of the political system after the *Regeneração* (1851), most of the press legislation was directed towards political newspapers (which acted as influential agents in the political and economical fields).²² The primarily political newspaper (which also contained sections about subjects such as music, theatre, literature and an advertising section) was the most commonplace form in which the printed press was consumed for an important sector of society. In terms of agency, nation-wide newspapers such as *A Revolução de Setembro* (established in 1840) and *O comércio do Porto* (established in 1854) relied on a small number of journalists but maintained a wider network of content providers for their issues.

²¹ Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

²² José Miguel Sardica, "A vida partidária portuguesa nos primeiros anos da Regeneração", *Análise social*, 32/143-144 (1997), 747-777.

A generic characteristic of most of the Portuguese periodicals in the first half of the nineteenth-century was the promotion of interests associated with a small number of individuals in the public sphere.²³ It is essential to be aware of the previous connections between periodicals and proto-party formations in order to understand their role at the micro as much as the macro level. As the political turmoil stabilised with the *Regeneração*, periodicals still conveyed small group perspectives and promoted specific political and economic actions. Although newspapers such as *A Revolução de Setembro* acted as unofficial organs of factions, parties and governments, the universe of the Portuguese press was complex. Local, regional and national periodicals had influenced politics tremendously since the early stages of a relatively free press in Portugal and this still resonates today. One important trait of this style of press is the tendency to comment on facts instead of “narrating” them. Furthermore, most of the periodicals were connected to the undisguised promotion of political agents in the public sphere.

The Establishment of a “Neutral” Press and the Industrialisation of Periodicals

In late 1864, the creation of the *Diário de notícias* (the first generalist periodical published through a mechanised industrial process) changed the Portuguese journalistic field. Tengarrinha connects the *Diário de notícias* (first published on the 29th December 1864) with the start of the industrial phase of the Portuguese press.²⁴ The use of steam-powered printing presses contributed to increased production, therefore facilitating a larger profit margin for its proprietors while using the same printing matrix. As a consequence of both the interaction between technological change and the expansion of a market for news, the *Diário de notícias* became the foremost national newspaper of that period.

This process encloses a complex set of sociocultural dynamics. First, the mechanised and industrialised process of production allowed for the *Diário de notícias* to be sold at a much lower price than other national newspapers. Consequently, this was

²³ Sardica, *op. cit.*

²⁴ José Tengarrinha, “A fase industrial da imprensa”, *História da imprensa periódica portuguesa* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1989), 213–263. In the period this thesis concerns several studies and inventories about the periodical press in Portugal and its colonies were published, such as Brito Aranha, *Subsídios para a história do jornalismo nas províncias ultramarinas portuguesas* (Lisbon: Imp. Nacional, 1885); Aranha *et al.*, *Rapport de la Section Portugaise, 1er Congrès International de la Presse, Anvers* (Lisbon: Imprimerie Universelle, 1894); Aranha, *Mouvement de la presse périodique en Portugal de 1894 a 1899* (Lisbon: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900); Bento Carqueja, *A liberdade de imprensa* (Porto, Typographia do “Commercio do Porto”, 1893).

translated into lower costs for publishing advertisements in the newspaper and encouraged the widening of the reading public.²⁵ The development of a network of direct sellers, the *ardinas* (paperboys), whose cries were woven into the sound fabric of the city, was also important to the expansion of the newspaper's distribution.²⁶ Later in the century, the introduction of the rotating printing press and of the mechanical composition (in 1890 and 1896, respectively) by this newspaper were key moments in the industrialisation of the Portuguese press more broadly.²⁷ Another change is clearly stated in the periodical's title. *Diário de notícias* (literally "Daily of News" or "News Daily") concentrated on narrating facts, so its concern on informative matters rather than commentaries and its political neutrality contrasted with a sphere mostly consisting of political newspapers. This striving for "neutrality" and "objectivity" is deeply connected to the expansion of *Diário de notícias*'s market and was emphasised by its first director, Eduardo Coelho (1835–89) in the early editions of the newspaper.²⁸

The ideology of neutrality and objectivity is deeply associated with the notion of pluralism. In this case, the tendency to be an exclusively informative newspaper (whatever meanings that expression may contain) allows for the newspapers to expand to a wider market area by avoiding hostility between conflictual political forces. On the other hand, the wider access available to the advertisements section can represent a sort of mediated communication between readers. This relates the mythical objectivity, a tendency present in most social spheres by mid-nineteenth century (in which the rise of positivism constitutes a good example), with the myth of the apolitical as a conveyor of unbiased information, the "brute facts."²⁹

The legitimation of a newspaper based upon its apparent neutrality and objectivity while being embedded in a free market ideology can be problematic. According to Bourdieu, the journalistic field tends to privilege the positioning of agents and institutions that are closely bound to the market, so that, in the public sphere, wide consumption confers democratic legitimacy to commercial logic, devaluing specific

²⁵ Tengarrinha, "A fase industrial da imprensa", 222.

²⁶ About the creation of a mass press in Paris during this period in order to understand its similarities and differences with the Portuguese case see Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 28–44.

²⁷ José-Augusto França, *Lisboa 1908: Estudo de factos socioculturais* (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 2002), 158.

²⁸ António Valdemar, "Um jornal que faz história e faz parte da História", *Diário de Notícias*, 2004, http://dn.sapo.pt/2004/12/29/tema/um_jornal_faz_historia_e_parte_histo.html (3 February 2009). See also Sardica, "O jornalismo e a *intelligentsia* portuguesa nos finais da Monarquia Constitucional", *Comunicação & cultura*, 7 (2009), 17–38.

²⁹ John R. Searle, *The Construction of Social Reality* (New York: Free Press, 1995).

knowledge produced by specialist areas and undermining the autonomy of the different fields of cultural production.³⁰ Conversely, several social sectors (such as the bourgeoisie) relied on a climate of political calm to develop their business and to prosper, an element that can frame the power of the newspapers in presenting a certain version of reality to its readers.³¹

The Theatrical Press

The creation of several theatrical publications was important in the Portuguese public sphere of the nineteenth century but most of this press was episodic and short-lived. One of the most enduring efforts in publishing this type of periodical was *Chronica dos teatros*. This magazine was established in September 1861 with an issue twice a month. Its central journalist was the same Eduardo Coelho who, with Tomás Quintino Antunes, established and directed *Diário de notícias* from 1864 to 1886. Coelho was responsible for the publication until its last number, published in July 1880, showing that journalists at the time accumulated roles in several periodicals of different publication frequency and subject matter.

These periodicals reviewed and discussed the theatrical scene in its broadest sense, evaluating specific performances, managerial strategies or literary texts. In the volatility of the Portuguese market for theatrical periodicals there were several publications, such as *Album theatral*, that printed theatrical plays to be represented in domestic or voluntary societies' settings.³² The promotion of amateur theatrical practice is a fundamental aspect in the circuits of sociability and in the interchange between professional and amateur fields of cultural production during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.³³

Several journalists were also playwrights and their plays were frequently presented in Lisbon. For example, Eduardo Coelho wrote the *revista A sombra de 1859*, premièred at Teatro da Rua dos Condes in 1860. *Revista* is the translation of the French

³⁰ Bourdieu, "L'emprise du journalisme", 6.

³¹ Thierry Gervais, "L'Illustration and the birth of the French illustrated press", *Medicographia*, 27/1 (2005), 98.

³² Published in Lisbon, 1872.

³³ According to Tengarrinha, the first periodicals publishing theatrical plays in Portugal were established in the second half of the eighteenth century and were connected to the rise of a salon culture in the late *Ancien Régime*. Nevertheless, the cultural settings where this practice took place in the late nineteenth-century (regarding both the press and the theatre) were distinct. See Tengarrinha, *História da imprensa periódica portuguesa*, 52.

Revue, a theatrical genre that presented sequential sketches linked by the role of the *compère* (an actor/commentator who was responsible for the continuity of the play). It included dialogue, song, dance and instrumental music. Initially inspired by the *Revue de fin d'année*, a seasonal theatrical genre in which past year events were satirically revised, it soon established itself as the yearlong and foremost genre in the Portuguese theatrical scene.³⁴ One of the most successful promoters and impresarios of the genre in Portugal was António de Sousa Bastos (1844–1911). Bastos was the impresario of several theatres and companies in Portugal and Brazil, dominating the theatrical market in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.³⁵ Apart from those activities, he wrote and translated several plays, published a dictionary of Portuguese theatre and was a renowned journalist, especially in theatrical periodicals, such as *O palco: hebdomário theatral* (that himself directed, 1863), *A arte dramática: folha instructiva, critica, e noticiosa* (1875–78) and *Tim tim por tim tim: assumptos theatrais* (1889–93).³⁶

This interpenetration of spheres was common in Lisbon. Individuals such as Eduardo Schwalbach (1860–1946), Luís Galhardo (1874–1929), André Brun (1881–1926) or Artur Arriegas (1883–1924) contributed to the development of the musical theatre in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Schwalbach worked as a journalist for several newspapers, such as *Diário da manhã* (1876–84), *Diário ilustrado* (1872–1911), having established *A tarde* (1889–1905).³⁷ Of German descent, Schwalbach was also a playwright, becoming the foremost author for *revista* in the transition between the two centuries.³⁸ His other activities also included the translation of several plays and the role of inspector of the Conservatório Real de Lisboa (from 1896 to his retirement), Portugal's state school for the teaching of music, drama and dance.

A significant feature of the early twentieth century is the presentation of theatrical plays that dealt with fado and were based on an aesthetisation of the vernacular. For example, the writer and journalist Júlio Dantas (1876–1962) wrote the drama *A Severa*, premièred at the Teatro D. Amélia in the 25th January 1901.³⁹ The plot

³⁴ Luiz Francisco Rebello, "Teatro de revista", in Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), *Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX*, vol. 4 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2010), 1248–1253.

³⁵ Luiz Francisco Rebello, *História do teatro de revista em Portugal*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 1984), 95–111.

³⁶ António de Sousa Bastos, *Diccionario do theatro portuguez* (Lisbon: Imp. Libânio da Silva, 1908).

³⁷ Eduardo Schwalbach, *A lareira do passado: memórias* (Lisbon: Eduardo Schwalbach, 1944).

³⁸ Luiz Francisco Rebello, *op. cit.*, 111.

³⁹ Júlio Dantas, *A Severa: drama em quatro actos* (Lisbon: M. Gomes, 1901).

was a fictional reconstruction of the nineteenth-century Mouraria district involving the first narrative myth in fado: the relationship between Maria Severa (played in the première by the actress Ângela Pinto) and Conde de Vimioso (the Count of Vimioso, renamed in Dantas' play as Conde de Marialva and performed by the actor Augusto Rosa). Later, Dantas converted it into a novel, which was published in the same year.⁴⁰ In order to convey a more realist narrative, Dantas built his story using linguistic traits characteristic of popular segments of society, stylising their jargon as a way of constructing the Other within national boundaries. This metonymic appropriation of the vernacular by writers permeates much of the artistic production of the time and was connected to the rise of a realistic-type aesthetics, in which the vernacular played a key role.⁴¹ This attributed respectability to the vernacular by its incorporation into a “respectable” cultural market. Nevertheless, this incorporation and legitimation was based on a aestheticising process of selection, processing the vernacular and transforming it into a suitable entertainment for the consumers of those commodities.

Although most of his publications about fado fall in the second decade of the twentieth century, Artur Arriegas was already a successful playwright in the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries. He was an active republican who contributed to the promotion of fado in the public sphere, especially in his articles in several periodicals, such as *A canção de Portugal - o Fado* (established in 1916) and *O faduncho* (established in 1917), and in writing several books about the genre, one of which was published in 1907.⁴² The book *A canção da minha terra: fados* included a preamble by the playwright D. João da Câmara (1852–1908) in which he stated the relevance of the urban space as a *topos* for poetry.⁴³ The book included several poems in *quadra glosada em décimas*, a form frequently used in fado. This form consists of a four-line *mote* followed by four ten-line stanzas in which a specific relation between the *mote* and the *glosas* is established – for example, the third ten-line stanza ends with the third line of the *mote*. Most of the poems are about love, but “O caçador” (The Hunter) presents social critique, reflecting Arriegas' republican views.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Júlio Dantas, *A Severa: romance original* (Lisbon: Francisco Pastor, 1901).

⁴¹ See, for example, the literary works of Fialho d'Almeida and of Raúl Brandão or some paintings of José Malhoa.

⁴² Artur Arriegas, *A canção da minha terra: fados* (Lisbon: Imprensa C. do Cabra, 1907) and Artur Arriegas, *A trova portuguesa: Fados e canções* (Lisbon: Barateira, 1922).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 11–13.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 51–52.

Illustration, Media and the Public Sphere

In the early 1840s, several periodicals began to include illustrations through the process of woodblock engraving. Some of the most influential illustrated periodicals were: *Illustrated London News* (London, established in 1842), *L'Illustration* (Paris, 1843–1944), *Illustrierte Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1843–1940) and *Harper's Weekly* (New York, 1857–1916). This transformation took place in Portugal during the last third of the nineteenth century. Until this time, most newspapers published rudimentary illustrations, mostly in the advertising section. With the dissemination of techniques for the reproduction of images, several magazines which emphasised illustration were established in Portugal, such as *A ilustração portuguesa: revista litterária e artística* (1884–90), *O Occidente: revista ilustrada de Portugal e do estrangeiro* (1878–1909) or *O António Maria* (1879–98). In a similar fashion, several newspapers published illustrations, such as *Diário ilustrado* (1872–1911), but usually more space allocated to illustration was available in the aforementioned magazines.

The growing market for illustrated periodicals marks an expansion in the text-based public sphere by incorporating analogue images in a digital universe.⁴⁵ When discussing photography, Roland Barthes remarked “the image is not the reality but at least it is its perfect *analogon*.”⁴⁶ Conversely, authors deploy language as a digital code that translates reality into a system of signification.⁴⁷ Hence, the process of including illustrations (although not yet photographic images) in the newspapers stresses the ideological presentation of reality through the press. With the development of techniques for the reproduction of illustration, the public sphere tends to iconisation. As Kittler has noted, technology can be an agent for changing our perception of the world.⁴⁸ Although he examines the change of the discourse networks from 1800 to 1900, associated with the development of recording technologies and writing technologies (such as the typewriter),⁴⁹ Kittler pays little attention to the change between text- and image-based communicative processes. In the process of creating a symbolic order that demands voluntary attachment (such as the nation state), an iconographic shift marks an important change in the relationship between symbol and

⁴⁵ Roland Barthes, *Image-Music-Text* (NY: Hill and Wang, 1978).

⁴⁶ Barthes, “The photographic message”, in Barthes, *op. cit.*, 17.

⁴⁷ Barthes, “Rethoric of the image”, in Barthes, *op. cit.*, 41.

⁴⁸ Friedrich A. Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999).

⁴⁹ Kittler, *Discourse Networks, 1800/1900* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992).

receiver. On the one hand, it promotes a specific type of proximity between distant entities. On the other hand, it may increase the distance between them by reinforcing the aura of the symbol: “the aura opens up distance only the more effectively to insinuate intimacy.”⁵⁰ The relationship distance/proximity in the public sphere is crucial for understanding the circulation of meanings and the crystallisation of specific hierarchies.

The illustrated press played a fundamental role in creating a national graphic space. For instance, the magazine *O Ocidente* frequently published illustrations of several Portuguese sites and monuments as well as colonial landscapes.⁵¹ This representation of colonial imagery is widely connected to a public awareness of the empire.⁵² As in other European countries, the creation of the Sociedade de Geografia (Geographic Society, established in 1875) and the promotion of expeditions to the interior of Africa, at a time when European colonial powers were enforcing a new perspective on colonialism, were central to the incorporation of colonial ideology in the public sphere through the press.⁵³ Another important feature associated with the encounter with the Other is the development of the social sciences, especially anthropology and sociology. In late 1880, the ninth edition of the International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology was held in Lisbon and its proceedings were extensively covered by *O Ocidente*.⁵⁴ Moreover, several participants of that congress were caricatured in the satirical press of the time, especially in the 30 September 1880 issue of *O António Maria*.⁵⁵

One specific case regarding the representation of the Portuguese African colonies was an extensive reportage (a new genre of article, alongside the interview) of the cartographic expedition from Benguela (coastal Angola) to the interior of the continent conducted by the Navy officers Hermenegildo Capelo (1841–1917) and Roberto Ivens (1850–98). This expedition took place in 1877–80 and was widely

⁵⁰ Terry Eagleton, *Walter Benjamin or Towards a Revolutionary Criticism* (London/NY: Verso, 2009), 39 and Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2008).

⁵¹ Peter Sinnema, *Dynamics of the Pictured Page: Representing the Nation in the Illustrated London News*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998). Later on, other periodicals had the same strategy. See, for example, *Ilustração portuguesa*, n° 92, 25th November 1907. On the usage of photograph in the Portuguese African colonies see Jill R. Dias, “Photographic sources for the history of Portuguese-speaking Africa, 1870–1914”, *History in Africa*, 18 (1991), 67–82.

⁵² Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914* (London: Folio Society, 2005).

⁵³ Nuno Severiano Teixeira, “Politica externa e politica interna no Portugal de 1890”, *Análise social*, 23/4 (1987), 691–697.

⁵⁴ The issues of *O Ocidente* between October of 1880 and September 1881 contained extensive reports of this congress.

⁵⁵ *O António Maria*, n° 70 (30th September 1880).

documented in the magazine *O Ocidente*, that published several illustrations of the journey.⁵⁶ An illustration of two African women, for example, was based on a photograph taken by the explorers. This means the use of a new kind of media for the visual documentation of events. Nevertheless, at the time, all illustrations had to be engraved in order to be printed in a periodical.⁵⁷ So, most of them are still the result of an engraver's work based on a drawing or photography.

Another example of how colonial attitudes were promoted and embedded in the public sphere as some sort of “natural” event (an issue that will be addressed in the fifth chapter of this thesis) can be seen in a specific issue of *O Ocidente*. In that publication, there is the cover image of the Pinhal de Leiria under the title “Picturesque Portugal”, several illustrations regarding the news such as the floods of the Douro River or the cross of D. Sancho I and a reproduction of a painting by a Portuguese artist.⁵⁸ These illustrations merged natural landscape and historical elements in the construction of Portuguese heritage. In the same issue an image of the Town Council of S. Vicente, in Cape-Verde, was also printed.⁵⁹ Moreover, the presence of the empire is evidenced by the portraying of administrative buildings in the colonies on the same page as a review of the book *A raça negra, sob o ponto de vista da civilização da África* (The Black Race through the Point of View of the Civilisation of Africa) was published.⁶⁰ That book was written by António Francisco Nogueira and takes anthropometric, ethnological, and historiographical data in order to understand the civilising process of the black man in the Portuguese colony of Angola. This can be analysed as an incorporation of the colonialist ideology and its promotion in relation to the Other.⁶¹

In the depiction of colonial scenes, avoiding violence other than symbolic violence remained a key issue, which facilitated the incorporation of colonialist values into the everyday life of both the coloniser and the colonised.⁶² It is thus possible to

⁵⁶ *O Ocidente*, n° 75 (21st January, 1881), 24. For the book see Hermenegildo Capelo and Roberto Ivens, *De Benguella ás terras de Iácca; descrição de uma viagem na Africa central e occidental*, 2 vols (Lisbon: Imp. Nacional, 1881). For a coeval English translation see Hermenegildo Capelo and Roberto Ivens, *From Benguella to the Territory of Yacca: Description of a Journey into Central and West Africa*, 2 vols (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1882).

⁵⁷ Gervais, *op. cit.*, 99–100.

⁵⁸ *O Ocidente*, n° 78, 21st February, 1881.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ António Francisco Nogueira, *A raça negra sob o ponto de vista da civilização da Africa: usos e costumes de alguns povos gentílicos do interior de Mossamedes e as colonias portuguesas* (Lisbon: Typ. Nova Minerva, 1880).

⁶² Edward W. Said, *Culture and imperialism*, (NY: Vintage Books, 1994) and Albert Memmi, *Portrait du colonisé, portrait du colonisateur* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002).

connect the colonial mentality with the creation of a symbolic nation because “probably the construction of an Other in the colonial world was part of the process of constructing the Same in the homeland.”⁶³ At this time, the symbolic encoding of Portugal as a nation was deeply connected to two geographic and ideological trends: the transnational ideology embedded in nationalism and the development of an effective colonialist ideology. On the one hand, Portugal was immersed in the transnational process of establishing nations throughout Europe and the Americas (the construction of the Same in its Western world). On the other hand, colonialism played a major role in the external relations of Portugal and in its integration in a worldwide political and economic order as well as in defining the geographical and symbolic boundaries of the nation. In this way, the “construction of an Other in the colonial world” and the construction of “the Same in the homeland” were two sides of the same coin.

Media and National(ist) Celebration

The construction of a nostalgic past based on the selection of elements from a purported golden era for Portugal (the Expansion) will crystallise a populist discourse which will be frequently revisited and re-encoded throughout Portuguese history.⁶⁴ Moreover, the creation of national celebrations as part of civic rituals plays an important role in performing nationality.⁶⁵ In France, the centennials of the deaths of Rousseau and Voltaire (in 1878) were celebrated as national festivities in a time when the recently established Third Republic was positioning itself as the ideological successor of the First Republic.⁶⁶ In Portugal, the celebration of the tricentennial of Luís de Camões’ death (the author of *Os Lusíadas*, an epic poem about the Portuguese voyages first published in 1572) took place in 1880 and established itself as a model that other civic gatherings should aspire to. A committee of several men of letters associated with the journalistic field organised the celebrations that culminated in a “civic procession” on 10th June 1880. The committee included Teófilo Braga (philologist and ethnologist who

⁶³ Miguel Vale de Almeida, “Anthropology and ethnography of the Portuguese-speaking empire” in Prem Poddar, Rajeev S. Patke and Lars Jensen *A Historical Companion to Postcolonial Literature. Continental Europe and its Empires* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 435–439.

⁶⁴ Ernesto Laclau, *On Populist Reason*, (London/NY: Verso, 2007).

⁶⁵ Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de memoire*, vol. 1 (Paris: Gallimard, 1984).

⁶⁶ Jean-Marie Goulemot and Eric Walter, “Les centennaires de Voltaire et de Rousseau: Les deux lampions des lumières” in Nora, *op. cit.*, 381–420 and n.a., *Le centenaire de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Paris: Deriveaux, Libraire-Editeur, 1878).

developed a political career as a republican, becoming president of the provisional government after the establishment of the Portuguese Republic in 1910 and President of the Portuguese Republic in 1915, 1843–1924), Ramalho Ortigão (writer and journalist, 1836–1915), Eduardo Coelho (director of *Diário de notícias*), Luciano Cordeiro (journalist and politician, 1844–1900), Jaime Batalha Reis (agronomist, journalist and writer, 1847–1925), or Sebastião Magalhães Lima (journalist, 1851–1928). Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro (1846–1905) depicted Camões wearing a Phrygian cap in his periodical *O António Maria*, thus caricaturing the prominence of people associated with the republican movement in these celebrations.⁶⁷ The celebration extended to other Portuguese cities, such as Coimbra or Porto and, on that day, the magazine *O Ocidente* issued a supplement focused exclusively on this anniversary.⁶⁸ The same publication presented the celebration as a civic and patriotic work that could wake the Portuguese public spirit and make the people understand modern social ideals.⁶⁹

Two years later, Ramalho Ortigão evaluated the outcome of the celebrations in his periodical *As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes*.⁷⁰ *As farpas* were a monthly periodical written by Ramalho Ortigão and Eça de Queirós (1845–1900) that established itself as one of the foremost commentators of Portuguese public life since its first edition in 1871. These two writers were of tremendous importance for the Portuguese press and literature. They wrote frequently in periodicals and their novel *O mistério da estrada de Sintra* was first published as a series of anonymous letters to *Diário de notícias* (as a serial in the form of an epistolary novel) from July to September 1870, marking an important event in the dissemination of naturalistic aesthetic paradigms by the so-called *Geração de 70*.⁷¹ In his text about the Camões celebration, Ortigão analyses the outcome of the entire process and manifests his dissatisfaction with it. He links the celebrations to the creation of reformist trends within the monarchy's institutional framework, encapsulated in an idea of progress to

⁶⁷ *O António Maria*, n° 55, 17th June 1880, 197.

⁶⁸ *O Ocidente*, Suplemento ao n° 59, 10th June 1880.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, n° 63, 1st August 1880, 125.

⁷⁰ Ramalho Ortigão and Eça de Queirós, *As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes* (Lisbon: Empreza Litteraria Luso-Brazileira – Editora, 1882), 32–47.

⁷¹ Nevertheless, the dissemination of naturalism in Portugal was a complicated issue that involved geographical, chronological and ideological processes associated with the aesthetic dialectic relation between romanticism and naturalism, such as the so-called “Questão Coimbrã” illustrates. Later on, the periodical press also reflected the emergence of *fin-de-siècle* aesthetic movements, such as symbolism or decadentism. See, for example, *O António Maria*, 13th May 1892, 451.

which the press (in its broadest terms) and the associative movement should contribute.⁷²

However, preceding the cited text in *As farpas*, Ortigão reflects on Portugal as a nation.⁷³ He states that nationality should be bound by one coherent national idea and does not find it in Portugal during that time. He then analyses the four elements he believes to be constitutive of the “collective mentality” of a people: religion, politics, morals and art.⁷⁴ Ortigão also argues that the Camões celebrations were promoted in order to provide a national symbol to unite an incoherent society.⁷⁵

Satire played an important role in the Portuguese press throughout the nineteenth century. Starting in the 70s, the publication of *As farpas* and several periodicals that concentrated on caricatures changed the Portuguese press. In a period of relative political stability and freedom of press, the iconisation of the public sphere was also extended to satirical publications. The work of Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro, especially in his weekly publication *O António Maria* (1879–85 and 1891–98) contributed greatly to this transformation, encoding in a satirical way some of the mythological imagery associated with Portugal during the period of its publication.⁷⁶ Apart from his own publications (such as *Pontos nos ii*, 1885–91 or *A paródia*, 1900–07 – the last of which was printed in colour), Bordalo published his graphic work in other periodicals, illustrated several books and was an acknowledged designer, establishing a ceramic factory in Caldas da Rainha in 1884. Furthermore, he was an amateur actor and was closely involved in the design of costumes for several theatrical productions.

The Workers’s Press: A Theoretical Perspective

As intimated earlier in this chapter, the rise of a workers’s press in the Portugal of the last third of the nineteenth century reconfigured the journalistic field.⁷⁷ The creation of a

⁷² Ortigão and Queirós, *op. cit.*, 32–47.

⁷³ Ortigão and Queirós, *op. cit.*, 4–39.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁷⁶ To frame Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro’s caricatures regarding the sociability regarding Teatro Nacional de S. Carlos (Lisbon’s Opera House) see Luzia Rocha, *O palco da ópera e o palco da vida: O Teatro de S. Carlos nas caricaturas de Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro*, Master’s thesis (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2003).

⁷⁷ For several studies on the workers movement in Portugal published in the first decade of the twentieth century see Luís Gonçalves, *A evolução do movimento operário em Portugal* (Lisbon: Adolpho de Mendonça, 1905), José Lobo de Ávila Lima, *Movimento operário em Portugal* (Lisbon: Ferreira & Oliveira, L.da, Editores, [1905]), and João Evangelista Campos Lima, *O movimento operário em Portugal* (Lisbon, n.p., 1910).

new public sphere that parallels the bourgeois public sphere and relies on analogous mechanisms for the support of specific systems of values promotes an expansion of the journalistic field and a shift in the discursive universe. Nevertheless, the term “workers’s press” appears problematic and its boundaries have proven difficult to establish. This specific sphere is constituted by a heterogeneous set of publications, such as newspapers, magazines or leaflets, promoted by agents positioned in various social settings. This raises the issue of demarcating boundaries between periodicals exclusively published by workers, periodicals promoted by other agents in the social fabric (such as Catholic bourgeois) and their intended readership. Although boundaries in this sub-field are blurred during this time given the operative organic nature of the field, the rise of the workers’s press implies a substantial transformation of the journalistic field. This is related to the development of a co-operative movement in Portugal during the last third of the nineteenth century and to the expansion of mutualism. The latter developed as an organisational practice in order to replace *ancien régime* confraternities of workers (such as guilds) and represented an important transformation in the political economy of labour. Despite its existence since 1839, the first legislation addressing mutual assistance societies was produced in 1891.⁷⁸

Setting the boundaries for a workers’s press by tracing its publishers can also be problematic. Coexisting with periodicals written by and for workers (such as the official newspapers of worker societies), several publications aiming at working-class readership were produced by a heterogeneous array of individuals belonging to different social spheres. Theorising class raises important issues associated with the ever-changing dynamics of social space and the internalisation of practices. One of the most important theories of class was developed by Pierre Bourdieu who expanded the Marxian definition of class, in which the term is exclusively delimited by the role a specific group develops within the processes of production.⁷⁹ In his work, Bourdieu stresses the relevance of relationships as opposed to substantiality, emphasising the constructive process of “class” as concept. In Bourdieu’s theorising of class the concepts of field (described earlier) and *habitus* occupy a prominent position. Bearing in mind his implicit acknowledgement of homophily as the predominant network relation, class can be analysed as a field, in which “shared dispositions result from the

⁷⁸ Laura Larcher Graça, *Propriedade e agricultura: evolução do modelo dominante de sindicalismo agrário em Portugal* (Lisbon: Conselho Económico e Social, 1999), 15, 27.

⁷⁹ Bourdieu, “The social space and the genesis of groups”, *Theory and Society*, 14/6 (1985), 723–744.

internalization of shared conditions of existence, which Bourdieu presents as shared relations to the different forms of capital, but which also implies homophilous social networks.”⁸⁰ This predominance of homophily in network relations can be traced back to Bourdieu’s ethnological work, in which he points out the role of the homogeneous mode of production of the *habitus* in the uniformisation of the dispositions and interests of a social group.⁸¹ Hence, homophily implicitly stands, in Bourdieu’s thought, as the basis for commonality, the element that plays the predominant role in the genesis of groups.⁸²

“Bourdieu’s theory of subject formation focuses on the internalization and embodiment of hierarchical social relations, and the ways in which socialized individuals actively reproduce those social relations.”⁸³ Furthermore, Bourdieu described *habitus* as “systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures.”⁸⁴ Thus, his concept of *habitus* parallels Lacan’s idea of the incorporation into the symbolic order, and Bourdieu’s idea of symbolic capital relates to the symbolic order in Lacan.⁸⁵

Furthermore, for both theorists, recognition and misrecognition stand as the kernel of social interaction. For Bourdieu, “symbolic capital is a credit; it is the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition.” and “symbolic efficacy depends on the degree to which the vision proposed is founded in reality.”⁸⁶ On the other hand, for Lacan, the realm of the Symbolic is where the Ego-Ideal is situated: “the point of my symbolic identification, the point in the big Other from which I observe (and judge) myself.”⁸⁷ However, in linking reality with the symbolic order, the Lacanian thinker Slavoj Žižek states the

⁸⁰ Wendy Bottero, “Relationality and social interaction”, *The British Journal of Sociology* 60/2 (2009), 414.

⁸¹ Bourdieu, “La parenté comme représentation et comme volonté”, in Pierre Bourdieu, *Esquisse d’une théorie de la pratique, précédé de Trois études d’ethnologie kabyle* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2000), 173.

⁸² Bourdieu, “The social space and the genesis of groups”, *Theory and Society*, 14/6 (1985), 723–744.

⁸³ George Steinmetz, “Bourdieu’s disavowal of Lacan: Psychoanalytic theory and the concepts of ‘habitus’ and ‘symbolic capital’”, *Constellations*, 13/4 (2006), 450.

⁸⁴ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 72.

⁸⁵ For a discussion regarding the problematic interaction between Bourdieu’s and Lacan’s theories see George Steinmetz, *op. cit.*

⁸⁶ Bourdieu, “Social space and symbolic power”, *Sociological Theory*, 7/1 (1989), 23.

⁸⁷ Slavoj Žižek, “Ego ideal and superego: Lacan as viewer of Casablanca” in *How to read Lacan* (NY: W. W. Norton, 2007), 79–90.

separation of Symbolic and Real cannot be overcome because the Symbolic *is* that ontological barrier.⁸⁸

By associating recognition with legitimacy, Bourdieu states: “the most absolute recognition of legitimacy is nothing other than the apprehension of the everyday world as self-evident that results from the quasi-perfect coincidence of objective structures and embodied structures.”⁸⁹ So, the ideological construction of legitimacy is connected to the process of identification between subjective and objective elements. For Lacan, “recognition of desire is bound up with the desire for recognition.”⁹⁰ Therefore, individuals project their identities in order to be recognised by the Ego-Ideal through a sort of epic process of disembodiment, a re-enactment of the mirror stage. However, in Lacanian theory, desire can never be fulfilled, so recognition is an ongoing process that frames and bounds one’s identity in the Symbolic and Imaginary realms, in a dialectic between the Ego-Ideal and the Ideal-Ego. This ongoing process of identification, “the transformation that takes place in the subject – when he assumes an image”,⁹¹ is central for a both discursive and non-discursive construction of the self and, by extension, of the collective self both projected and internalised as class.

The symbolic efficiency of a broad concept such as class relies upon its possibility to change and enclose new meanings that promote the attachment of the individuals to that specific idea. This attachment is enacted through a surplus of meaning, stressing the communicative aspects of identity.⁹² Moreover, for Lacan “the subject’s identity is based on a *failed* interpellation. There is an excess or surplus of meaning produced by this failed encounter with the symbolic – a radical void between the identity and meaning, which the subject inhabits.”⁹³ The idea of class as a floating signifier is evidenced by several semantic shifts of the titles of workers’s publications throughout the period of this study. For example, the term “artist” (*artista*) was frequently included in newspaper titles during most of the nineteenth century. Afterwards, the titles incorporated terms such as “worker” (*operário*), frequently used in the second half of that century, and “proletarian”, a more frequent move towards the

⁸⁸ Žižek, *For They Know Not What They Do* (London/NY: Verso, 2008), 201.

⁸⁹ Bourdieu, “The social space and the genesis of groups”, *Theory and Society*, 14/6 (1985), 731.

⁹⁰ Quoted in Daniel Dervin, “Where Freud was, there Lacan shall be: Lacan and the fate of transference”, *American Imago*, 54/4 (1997), 362.

⁹¹ Jacques Lacan, “The Mirror Stage as formative of the function of the *I* as revealed in psychoanalytic experience”, in Jacques Lacan, *Écrits: A selection* (London/NY: Routledge, 2001), 2.

⁹² Yannis Stavrakakis and Nikos Chrysoloras, “(I can’t get no) enjoyment: Lacanian theory and the analysis of nationalism”, *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society*, 11/2 (2006), 144–163.

⁹³ Saul Newman, *Power and Politics in Poststructuralist Thought* (NY: Routledge, 2005), 57.

end of the century.⁹⁴ So, in this case, changes of vocabulary are deeply connected to the reconfiguration of social space, enhancing their symbolic efficiency.

By stressing the constructed and relational characters of class, Bourdieu portrays it as a heterogeneous collective that is grouped around several discursive elements.⁹⁵ This discursive approach allows for internal agency in the definition of the social space, as outlined, for example, in the work of E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*.⁹⁶ In this respect, class substantiates a complex concept based in both material conditions and discursive practices. Furthermore, material conditions are often used to legitimate a discursive homogenising practice and to promote a constructed “class consciousness.” For example, Raymond Williams situates the development of a language of class in the English context during the early nineteenth century, pointing to the reorganisation of society after the Industrial Revolution.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, he related the term class to two different entities: an economic category and an ideological formation, emphasising the unclear distinction among the “variable meanings of class.”⁹⁸

The process involved in the homogenisation of a heterogeneous segment of social space can be described as hegemony through the manipulation of floating signifiers, a process that will be explained further along. In this particular case, there are two processes operating: external hegemony and internal hegemony. According to Gramsci, hegemony is a process “by which a system of values and beliefs supportive of the existent ruling class becomes permeated throughout the whole of society.”⁹⁹ For him, hegemony is situated as a set of mechanisms which are complementary to direct domination (a process that is enforced by the state) in the sphere of civil society.¹⁰⁰ Building on this concept, Laclau and Mouffe have argued that “social objectivity is constructed through acts of power” and they present hegemony as, precisely, the mutual

⁹⁴ Vítor de Sá, “Problemas e perspectivas num inventário da imprensa operária portuguesa”, *Análise social*, 17/67–69 (1981), 839–860.

⁹⁵ Bourdieu, “The social space and the genesis of groups”, *Theory and Society*, 14/6 (1985), 723–744.

⁹⁶ E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (NY: Vintage, 1966).

⁹⁷ Raymond Williams, *Keywords* (London: Fontana Press, 1988), 67.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁹⁹ Andrew Milner, *Re-Imagining Cultural Studies* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2002), 88.

¹⁰⁰ Antonio Gramsci, “The intellectuals” in Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 3–23. To frame recent approaches to this concept see Thomas R. Bates, “Gramsci and the theory of hegemony”, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 36/2 (1975), 351–366; Stuart Hall, “The problem of ideology: Marxism without guarantees” in David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen (eds.), *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (NY: Routledge, 1996), 25–46; Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, (London/NY: Verso, 2001).

collapse between objectivity and power.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, Laclau and Mouffe theorised a non-essentialist view of hegemony, contributing to the flexibilisation of its usage to a realm in which power “should not be conceived as an external relation taking place between two preconstituted identities [thus associated with the Kautskian dichotomy between the working class and the bourgeoisie, for example],¹⁰² but rather as constituting the identities themselves.”¹⁰³ For example, the dialectic of the negotiation of discourses between the rulers and the other social strata can be seen as the classic Gramscian approach to the process of hegemony.

The construction of a social objectivity within the class is also obtained through a hegemonic process (therefore, an act of power) that strives to incorporate discursive formations in the *habitus* of a specific social space.¹⁰⁴ It can be argued that, in both cases, the sharing of meanings is an articulated ideological process based on strategies of distinction.¹⁰⁵ One appropriate example of the type of internal processes associated with the construction of the working class was the frequent publication of texts in workers’ newspapers that promote a specific moral ethos (condemning drunkenness, for instance).¹⁰⁶ Hence, these newspapers were aiming to promote the social respectability of the groups they represented. Despite the mutability embedded in the dynamic workers’ movement, the common ground in the universe of workers periodicals seems to be the pre-eminence of links to class collectives (associations or unions, for example) and the ongoing process of indoctrination through reading.¹⁰⁷

Voicing the Workers Through the Press

The main geographical spaces for the publishing of workers’ periodicals were Lisbon, Porto, Coimbra and towns and villages with rising industrial activities. Despite its initial

¹⁰¹ Chantal Mouffe, “For an agonistic model of democracy”, in Chantal Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox* (Verso: London/New York, 2009), 99. On this approach to hegemony see Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *op. cit.*

¹⁰² Laclau and Mouffe, *op. cit.*, 23.

¹⁰³ Mouffe, *op. cit.*, 99.

¹⁰⁴ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1977) and Bourdieu, “Social space and symbolic power”, *Sociological Theory*, 7/1 (1989), 14–25.

¹⁰⁵ Bourdieu, *La distinction. Critique social du jugement* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1979) and Stuart Hall, “Notes on deconstructing the popular” in Raphael Samuel, *People’s History and Socialist Theory* (Oxford: Taylor & Francis, 1981), 227–240.

¹⁰⁶ Maria Filomena Mónica (ed.), *A formação da classe operária portuguesa: antologia da imprensa operária, 1850–1934* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982).

¹⁰⁷ César Oliveira, “Imprensa operária no Portugal oitocentista: de 1825 a 1905”, *Análise social*, 10/3 (1973), 562.

places of publication, during the last decades of the nineteenth century, this type of periodical was disseminated throughout the national territory. To complicate the issue of class, in several urban centres several periodicals connected both to an affluent lower middle-class and to a white-collar proletariat were published. These group boundaries seem blurred and difficult to effectively set and frame, due to their positioning in the material/discursive economy. On the one hand, the group shares some material elements with the “traditional” working class. On the other hand, it articulates those elements with the adoption of *habitus* discursively related to a projected and constructed bourgeois space, in a strategic process mainly based on emulation.¹⁰⁸

However, the appropriation of traits associated with other social segments is not a passive or simple one because it involves a negotiation of meanings through which these elements are incorporated into a efficient system of signification.¹⁰⁹ Professional categories such as teachers, shopkeepers, civil servants and postal workers published several periodicals in this sub-field.¹¹⁰ On the other hand, activities linked to industrial labour (traditionally constructed as the core of the working class), such as metalworkers, railroaders, typographers, leatherworkers or carpenters were widely represented in this discursive universe.¹¹¹ On a related note, several clubs became spaces that facilitated workers’s networks and the dissemination of political agendas. According to Mónica, republican clubs tended to be dominated by shopkeepers and civil servants whilst socialist clubs were mainly frequented by “respectable workers.”¹¹²

This leads to a problematisation of artisanship during this period, demonstrating the heterogeneity of the concept of “working class” and its use as a floating signifier. Even among industrial workers there were distinctions concerning their activity. For example, occupations such as hat-making or glassmaking needed highly qualified workers that, despite being integrated in an industrial process of production, still retained the manual artisanship of their trade, while the mechanisation of industries led

¹⁰⁸ Geoffrey Crossick (ed.), *The Lower Middle Class in Britain* (London: Croom Helm, 1977) and Bourdieu, *La distinction. Critique social du jugement* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1979).

¹⁰⁹ Orvar Löfgren, “The sweetness of home: Class, culture and family life in Sweden” in Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (eds.), *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2009), 142–159.

¹¹⁰ Vítor de Sá, “Problemas e perspectivas num inventário da imprensa operária portuguesa”, *Análise social*, 17/67–69 (1981), 846–851.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Mónica, “Os fiéis inimigos: Eça de Queirós e Pinheiro Chagas”, *Análise social*, 36/160 (2001), 720. For a study regarding the relation between shopkeepers and republicanism in Portugal in the last forty years of the Monarchy see Daniel Ribeiro Alves, *A República atrás do balcão: os lojistas de Lisboa na fase final da Monarquia (1870–1910)*, Ph.D thesis (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2010).

to the creation of an undifferentiated proletariat.¹¹³ This distinction is based on the notion of a specific trade crystallised in terms of an acquired cultural capital associated with specialised manual labour.¹¹⁴

Migration also played an important role in defining urban spaces in cities that were in the process of industrialisation, especially with the creation of accommodation for workers since the 1870s. The reconfiguration of urban landscape in the districts of Alcântara, Graça, Xabregas or Poço do Bispo (that were situated in the vicinities of important spaces of the industrial activity) through the construction of *pátios* and *vilas*, is a significant element in this process.¹¹⁵ At an initial stage, workers were accommodated in previously existing spaces, such as converted palaces or convents, where the individual rooms were rented and the environment was obviously insalubrious due to the inadequacy of the facilities.¹¹⁶ Afterwards, several private agents (entrepreneurs, industrials or co-operatives) started to buy lands specifically for the building of workers's accommodation.¹¹⁷ In this process, physical and cultural space merge in a narrative of class, sociability and *habitus*.¹¹⁸ Due to migration, these neighbourhoods became privileged sites for the contact between Portuguese regional cultures and for the development of specific traits of a vernacular culture, frequently aestheticised in periodicals and in literature.¹¹⁹ This aestheticisation of the vernacular is a common trait for Western literature, especially when it comes to the works of writers that strove for the “realistic” depiction of lower social strata. Moreover, the iconic status of authors like Émile Zola (1840–1902) was appropriated by working class publications in Portugal during the beginnings of the twentieth century. For example, a newspaper entitled *Germinal* was published in Setúbal (1903–11) and Emílio Zola was used as pseudonym in periodicals such as *A voz do operário*.¹²⁰

¹¹³ Mónica, *Artesãos e operários: indústria, capitalismo e classe operária em Portugal* (Lisbon: Instituto de Ciências Sociais, 1986) and Iñigo Garcia-Bryce, “From artisan to worker: the language of class during the age of liberalism in Peru, 1858–79”, *Social History*, 30/4 (2005), 463–480.

¹¹⁴ Bourdieu, “The forms of capital”, in Mark Granovetter and Richard Swedberg (eds), *The Sociology of Economic Life* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2001), 46–58.

¹¹⁵ About these types of housing and urbanism in Lisbon see Nuno Teotónio Pereira, “Pátios e vilas de Lisboa, 1870–1930: a promoção privada do alojamento operário”, *Análise social*, 29/127 (1994), 509–524.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 511.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1991).

¹¹⁹ See, for instance Fialho d’Almeida, *Contos* (Porto/Braga: Livraria Chardron, 1881) or Abel Botelho, *Amanhã!* (Porto: Livraria Chardron, 1902).

¹²⁰ de Sá, *op. cit.*, 845 and *A voz do operário*, nº 1464, 17th November 1907, 1.

A voz do operário (literally “The Worker’s Voice” or “The Voice of the Worker”) presents itself as an interesting case-study in the development of a workers’s press in Portugal, despite the atypicality of the process of its establishment. Established in 1879 as the weekly periodical of the Associação de Socorros Mútuos União Fraternal dos Operários do Tabaco (Fraternal Union of the Tobacco Workers Mutual Assistance Association), the newspaper appealed to other professional classes from its inception.¹²¹ Its first main redactor, Custódio Brás Pacheco (1828–83), soon established himself as a remarkable working class journalist, both a voice of a largely illiterate community and a privileged constructor of the working class, acting as a homogenising mediator. Of socialist tendency, the newspaper was unaffiliated with any Portuguese political party, despite the activity of several of its contributors in the Portuguese Socialist Party.¹²² In order to survive and maintain efficiency, *A voz do operário* originated a co-operative society in 13th February 1883, the Sociedade Cooperativa A Voz do Operário, subsequently represented in the Possibilist International Workers Congress (held in Paris, 1889). This society became an important space for sociability and a promoter of schooling for the working class, maintaining its own schools. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, *A voz do operário* reflected in its pages the rise of anarcho-syndicalism in Portugal and the institution grew remarkably during the First Republic (1910–26), expanding its schooling system and maintaining a library.

As a newspaper, *A voz do operário* is similar to other publications produced in Portugal during that time. Despite the circulation of illustrated periodicals, the newspaper relied almost entirely on typesetting and published a few small images in the adverts section. This section is valuable to understand the readership of newspapers, because it is aimed for a specific public. If, in other newspapers, are advertised piano lessons or fashion items, *A voz do operário* published advertisements for sewing machines, drugstores, midwives or medicines (for cough or intestinal worms, for example). Although centred in Lisbon, the newspaper published news about several features of the labourer’s life and promoted events held by a growing number of workers societies created throughout Portugal in the last decades of the nineteenth century. To the growth of these societies is associated the rise of amateur marching

¹²¹ Fernando Piteira Santos, “A fundação de ‘A voz do operário’ – do ‘abstencionismo político’ à participação no ‘congresso possibilista’ de 1889”, *Análise social*, 17/67–69 (1981), 681–693.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 691.

bands (the *bandas*).¹²³ Browsing through several numbers of *A voz do operário*, it is possible to witness the rise of a crucial event in the new forms of civic and political participation, the rally. In 1908, the first daily workers's newspaper was published in Lisbon, *A greve* (The Strike). The first number was issued on the 18 March, the same day as the Paris Commune was declared in 1871, therefore, a symbolic date for the workers' movement. The publication survived only four months as a daily newspaper and its property was then transferred to an association of typographers that transformed it into a biweekly newspaper.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, *A voz do operário* publicised the forthcoming publication of this daily newspaper as an important event for the workers.¹²⁵

The creation of a class discourse is connected to the formation of working class intellectuals.¹²⁶ In this way, intellectual activity is relational and not intrinsic to a particular professional status. Furthermore, the accumulation of social and cultural capitals situates intellectuals in specific areas of the social space.¹²⁷ Gramsci also argues that the relation between the intellectuals and the productive world is indirect and mediated by the totality of the social fabric. This implies an association with certain social groups in order to define their agency, turning it into a non-neutral activity. This non-neutrality is linked to the enactment of processes within the social fabric and, in this particular case, to the promotion of a class ideal through the asymmetrical power relation established by the media.¹²⁸

Gramsci portrays a type of intellectual, the organic intellectual, as being embedded in the productive system and playing an important role in the negotiation of hegemony (the process by which political domination is extended to civil society). Hence, the organic intellectual is created by social groups with specific demands,¹²⁹ afterward articulated with demands from other social agents, establishing a relation between them and “making the emergence of the ‘people’ possible.”¹³⁰ Therefore, the function of the organic intellectual concentrates on the unification of these demands in order to promote the transformation of a “vaguely solidary” and contingent relation

¹²³ See, for example, *A voz do operário*, nº 1464, 17th November 1907, 2.

¹²⁴ Alexandre Vieira, *Em volta da minha profissão: subsídios para a história do movimento operário no Portugal Continental* (Lisbon: Author's edition, 1950), 37–44.

¹²⁵ *A voz do operário*, nº 1477, 16th February 1908, 1.

¹²⁶ Gramsci, “The intellectuals”, 3–23.

¹²⁷ Gramsci, *op.cit.* and Bourdieu, “Social space and symbolic power”, 14–25.

¹²⁸ Bourdieu, “L'emprise du journalisme”, 3–9.

¹²⁹ Gramsci, *op.cit.*

¹³⁰ Laclau, *On Populist Reason*, (London/NY:Verso, 2007), 72–74.

“into a stable system of signification.”¹³¹ Accordingly, the task of the mediator is to promote the incorporation of a fragmented reality in a specific symbolic order by constructing, promoting and disseminating a particular narrative.

It can be inferred that, in Gramscian terms, an organic intellectual, due to his/hers positioning within a recently established social group and his/hers organising role within that collective, has to be adjusted to the necessities and demands of a newly established productive framework. This was certainly the case of the first working class journalists, developing their activity of homogenising a discontinuous reality in a recently established sub-field within journalism.¹³² Agents such as Custódio Brás Pacheco maximised the social capital embedded in social networks to construct and promote a discursive concept of class in the public sphere.¹³³

Fado, Periodicals, and Politics

The practice of fado associated with the dissemination of class ideology in working class settings plays an important role in the history of the genre, especially in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the next.¹³⁴ Fado singers such as João Black (João Salustiano Monteiro, 1872–1955), Francisco Viana (1885–?1945), Fortunato Coimbra, or Avelino de Sousa (1880–1946) performed regularly in workers’ societies, spreading these repertoires throughout the country.¹³⁵ João Black was also an important journalist, working for *O Século* (from 1892) and publishing a pedagogical column about fado’s textual repertoire (‘A carteira de um operário’) in *A voz do operário* from 1905 to 1920.¹³⁶

Apart from his singing activity, Avelino de Sousa was a typographer (one of the most active segments of the working class in accessing the public sphere through periodicals) and dedicated most of his life to the promotion and defence of fado through his writings. Despite that its publication date exceeds the chronological framework for this research, Avelino de Sousa’s book *O fado e os seus censores* is one important

¹³¹ Laclau, *op. cit.*, 74.

¹³² James Curran and Jean Seaton, *Power without Responsibility: The Press and the Broadcasting in Britain* (London: Methuen, 1985), 24.

¹³³ Lin, “Building a network theory of social capital”, 28–51.

¹³⁴ Rui Vieira Nery, *Para uma história do Fado* (Lisbon: Público/Corda Seca, 2004), 37–40.

¹³⁵ See, for instance, *A voz do operário*, n° 1464, 17th November 1907, 3.

¹³⁶ Pedro Félix, “João Black” in Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), *Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2010), 144 and António Alberto Ramos, “A memória de João Black e o fado como canção de protesto”, *Sítios e Memórias*, 2 (1997), 63–68.

source about the polemics in which the genre was implicated during a remarkable period of its existence.¹³⁷ The book consists in a series of articles published in *A voz do operário*, in which de Sousa defended fado against some of its detractors employing a working class perspective, associating the genre with progressiveness and with the education of the illiterate people.¹³⁸ To the connotation of fado with marginal (and even degenerate) milieus and performers, de Sousa juxtaposes its practice by a class of respectable, honest and hardworking citizens, a portrait characteristic of moralising tendencies enacted within the working class at this time.¹³⁹

João Black and Avelino de Sousa, together with Carlos Harrington (a singer and poet that would later be responsible for publishing one of the first periodicals on fado,¹⁴⁰ 1870–1916), were the foremost poets and singers associated with the working class during that period. Their propagandistic way of promoting political ideals through fado contributed to the dissemination of that genre in several social settings, associating music with the indoctrination of the working class.¹⁴¹ In 1892, Carlos Harrington published a book where he tried to record the poems of his fado improvisations (consisting of the *quadra glosada em décimas* structure).¹⁴² In Harrington's book, most of the poems have a sentimental thematic, except for “Desgraçada!...”, which analyses the motives that lead poor women to prostitution as one of the few income sources for them.¹⁴³ A few years later, several of his poems were published in a small book, possibly issued without the author's supervision.¹⁴⁴ This book consists of several poems with a two-line *mote* and only one ten-line stanza. The lines of the *mote* correspond to the fourth and tenth lines of the stanza, respectively. Other formal structure used is the *quadra glosada em quadras* in which a four-line *mote* is followed by four four-line stanzas that use lines from the *mote*. In this form, the book included a poem that

¹³⁷ Avelino de Sousa, *O fado e os seus censores: artigos colligidos da Voz do Operario: Critica aos detractores da canção nacional* (Lisbon: Avelino de Sousa, 1912).

¹³⁸ Joaquim Pais de Brito, “Le fado: ethnographie dans la ville”, *Recherches en anthropologie au Portugal*, 7 (2001), 111–112.

¹³⁹ Mónica (ed.), *A formação da classe operária portuguesa: antologia da imprensa operária, 1850–1934* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982).

¹⁴⁰ *O Fado*, First published in Lisbon, 16th April 1910.

¹⁴¹ To further investigate the dynamics of workers fado and its process of dissemination see Paulo Lima, *O fado operário no Alentejo, séculos XIX–XX: o contexto do profanista Manuel José Santinhos* (Vila Verde: Tradisom, 2004).

¹⁴² Carlos Harrington, *Improvisos (Fados)* (Lisbon: Typographia Costa Braga, 1892).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 55–56.

¹⁴⁴ Harrington, *Versos de Carlos Harrington, para guitarra, orchestra ou piano* (Lisbon: Impr. Lucas, 1907).

presents fado as the expression of the “national soul”, a trope that is frequently revisited in the history of the genre.¹⁴⁵

Music Periodicals in Portugal: Printed Music and Historiography

In the last third of the nineteenth century, the richness and heterogeneity of the Portuguese public sphere was remarkable. During that period, several short-lived periodicals that included printed music were published, indicating a new tendency. Their contents were mainly related to the prevalent repertoires in the market for sheet music, including national and international pieces, such as waltzes, arrangements of theatrical songs and opera and operetta arias, or harmonisations of traditional melodies. Some of these publications were *O álbum: jornal de música para piano* (1869–71) or *Recreio musical: álbum de músicas para piano* (c.1880). As a complement, several theatrical periodicals sometimes included printed music alongside with texts of plays, such as *Almanaque dos palcos e salas* (1889–1928). The establishment of an iconographic culture through illustrated theatrical periodicals parallels the technological innovations in both lithography and photography printing and the development of historiographic trends in several artistic fields. Nevertheless and like most musical publications, most of these periodicals were short-lived, as the following examples attest: *A revista theatral, ilustrada humorística, de critica imparcial*, 1899–1900, *O Grande Elias, semanário ilustrado litterário e theatral*, 1903–05 or *Archivo theatral: revista ilustrada*, 1908–09.

Most of the music journalism concentrated on criticism and a few biographical articles on composers and performers.¹⁴⁶ However, from the last third of the nineteenth century onwards, the study of music under objectivistic and positivistic paradigms was an emerging discipline among several scientific domains. People such as Ernesto Vieira (1848–1915), Joaquim de Vasconcelos (1849–1936), or Michel’angelo Lambertini (1862–1920) helped to set a narrative for the history of Portuguese music. This process developed not unlike other fields of cultural production, such as history of literature. Paralleling the contribution of these agents to periodicals, their effort also resulted on

¹⁴⁵ Harrington, *Vop. cit.*, 8 and Rui Ramos, Emergência do fado no contexto do “reaportuguesamento” de Portugal, finais do século XX princípios do século XX, Communication presented at the International Congress *Fado: Percursos e Perspectivas*, Lisbon, 18th June 2008.

¹⁴⁶ See, for instance, Carlos Lobo, “Marcos Portugal” in *O Occidente*, nº 84, 21st April 1881, 92–94.

the publishing of several musical dictionaries and biographical works, authored by individuals with heterogeneous backgrounds, such as Ernesto Vieira or Joaquim de Vasconcelos.¹⁴⁷

This new approach to music is well documented in several periodicals established during the last third of the nineteenth century. For example, the title *Arte musical* was taken up by three short-lived periodicals during this period. *A arte musical: jornal artístico, crítico e literário* (1873–75) was the earliest Portuguese music periodical and, alongside with reviews, it published historical works produced by several of the first music writers working in that country, such as Joaquim José Marques (whose chronology of Portuguese opera was a valuable contribution for the field, 1836–84), Platon Lvovitch de Vaxel (1844–1917) or Joaquim de Vasconcelos. *A arte musical: revista quinzenal* (1890–91) was published by the music shop Matta Junior & Rodrigues, but had a much lesser historiographical content when compared to *A arte musical: revista publicada quinzenalmente* (1899–1915), directed by the pioneer of Portuguese organology Michel'angelo Lambertini and edited by Ernesto Vieira. This periodical included music criticism (mostly about the Teatro de S. Carlos), biographical texts, or news on music. It also published the plot of *A Serrana*, the first opera to be published in Portuguese (despite having being sung in Italian in its premiere), composed by Alfredo Keil (painter and composer, 1850–1907) with a libretto by Henrique Lopes de Mendonça (poet, playwright and military 1856–1931).¹⁴⁸

The earliest global narrative concerning music in Portugal (“Estudos sobre a história da música em Portugal”) was written by the Russian immigrant Platon Lvovitch de Vaxel and published in *Amphion: crónica quinzenal, biblioteca musical, agência de teatros e artes correlativas* (1884–98). This magazine was published by the musician and entrepreneur Augusto Neuparth (1830–87) and contained a historiographical section in which Ernesto Vieira presented musical events that took place on related dates of each specific issue of the magazine. Other periodicals on music were *Ecco musical* (1873–74) and *Gazeta musical de Lisboa* (1889–97). This journalistic sub-field is heterogeneous and multiple tendencies coexisted in parallel during the period of study. However, the creation of a discursive field which, to some extent, facilitated the

¹⁴⁷ Joaquim de Vasconcelos, *Os músicos portugueses: biografia-bibliografia*, 2 vols (Porto: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1870), Ernesto Vieira, *Dicionário musical* (Lisbon: Gazeta Musical de Lisboa, 1890), and Ernesto Vieira, *Diccionario biographico de musicos portugueses: historia e bibliografia da musica em Portugal*, 2 vols (Lisbon: Lambertini, 1900).

¹⁴⁸ *A arte musical*, n° 4, 28th February 1899, 34.

construction of a Portuguese musical heritage is significant in the multilayered creation of a symbolic nation.

Towards a Historiography of the Vernacular: Fado and Journalism

Alongside the study that concentrated on written repertoires of the past and an ethnology that collected music from rural areas in the early years of the twentieth century, several journalists contributed to the establishing of a historiographical narrative of Lisbon's popular urban genre, fado. In 1903, the chronicler and journalist for *Almanaque Portugal-Brasil*, Pinto de Carvalho (1858–1930), published his *História do fado*.¹⁴⁹ He begins the book by stating that national characters and customs are best noticeable through a country's popular songs. Approaching several philological theories of literature, Carvalho links the origins of the genre to sailors up to the 1840s, when it began to be incorporated in the *habitus* of the marginal *fadista*.¹⁵⁰ At the time, fado was associated with a lifestyle of drinking, smoking and brawling in dark and unclean sites, frequently linked to prostitution, sociability poles of attraction for marginal sectors of society.¹⁵¹ Afterwards, Pinto de Carvalho embarks on a historical urban ethnography through the Mouraria district to examine the mythology associated with Maria Severa Honofriana (1820–46), A Severa. In this excursion, Carvalho describes several spaces, such as the tavern or the *horta*, the clothing of women *fadistas* and their social integration with different segments of society, for example.¹⁵²

Carvalho presents two stages in fado separated in 1868–69. The first of them relates to the period when the genre was performed by the popular segments in Lisbon (the popular and spontaneous stage). The second stage began with the incorporation of fado in salon sociability, designated by Carvalho as the aristocratic and literary phase.¹⁵³ For that specific year of separation, Carvalho refers to an organological feature: at that turning point, the guitar was incorporated in salon practices and the piano relegated to

¹⁴⁹ Pinto de Carvalho, *História do fado* (Lisbon: Empresa da História de Portugal, 1903).

¹⁵⁰ For an account of the *fadista* as a marginal character associated with criminality see, for example, Ramalho Ortigão and Eça de Queirós, *As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes*, vol.2 (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1878), 30–40 and Júlio de Castilho, *Lisboa antiga* (Lisbon: Antiga casa Bertrand, José Bastos, 1904), 150–152.

¹⁵¹ On the marginal aspects of fado and its relation with prostitution see José Machado Pais, "A prostituição na Lisboa boémia nos inícios do século XX", *Análise social* 19/77–79 (1983), 939–960.

¹⁵² Pinto de Carvalho, *op.cit.*, 45–69.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 79.

popular entertainment sites.¹⁵⁴ He then explains musical and poetical practices of the genre and draws a historiographical chronology of vocal and instrumental performers, pointing to the expansion of the genre outside Lisbon and to the creation of socialist fados.¹⁵⁵ The *História do fado* also includes a list of fados and extensive reproduction of lyrics to illustrate the Carvalho's main points. *História do fado* is still a valuable source for fado historiography that addresses the relationship between popular music and national character and the process of incorporation of a vernacular music genre into other performative contexts.

Metonymy forms the basis for another historiographic book on fado written by a journalist. In 1904, Alberto Pimentel (1849–1925) published *A triste canção do sul: subsídios para a história do fado*.¹⁵⁶ In this book, he presents fado as the song that accounts for the entire south of Portugal, ignoring the plurality of the musical practices in that region and giving prominence to an urban popular genre by disregarding rural music practices. The following year, Pimentel published his *As alegres canções do norte*, where he bases the differences between the character of northern and southern music in Portugal on ethnicity and environment.¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, he opposes a “spontaneous” choral musical practice by peasants in the North to a soloist-inflected song of the cities.¹⁵⁸ Pimentel quotes a substantial section of the entry “Fado” of the musical dictionary published by Ernesto Vieira to limit the initial practice of that genre to the city of Lisbon.¹⁵⁹ In the article, Vieira dismisses the possible Arab origin of fado and circumscribes its original practice to the city of Lisbon. Despite Coimbra being also an important centre for that genre, Vieira maintains that fado practice in that city was due to the influx of migrant students from Lisbon. Pimentel emphasised the urban environment where fado developed, very dissimilar from the music performed in the rural surroundings of both Lisbon and Coimbra. Pimentel argues that the diffusion of fado throughout the country resulted from a fad and states that, nevertheless, the regional repertoires were not absorbed during the process.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁴ Pinto de Carvalho, *op.cit.*, 79.

¹⁵⁵ Despite the relevance of fados with political content at the time, Carvalho depicts this practice as early as 1848. See *Ilustração oortuguesa*, n° 51, 11th February 1907, 170.

¹⁵⁶ Alberto Pimentel, *A triste canção do sul: subsídios para a história do Fado* (Lisbon: Livraria Central, 1904).

¹⁵⁷ Pimentel, *As alegres canções do norte* (Lisbon: Livraria Viúva Tavares Cardoso, 1905) and José Manuel Sobral, “O Norte, o Sul, a raça, a nação – representações da identidade nacional portuguesa (séculos XIX–XX)”, *Análise social*, 39/171 (2004), 271.

¹⁵⁸ Pimentel, *As alegres canções do norte* (Lisbon: Livraria Viúva Tavares Cardoso, 1905), 33–34.

¹⁵⁹ Pimentel, *A triste canção do sul: subsídios para a História do Fado*, 21.

¹⁶⁰ Pimentel, *op. cit.*, 21–22.

In a similar manner to Pinto de Carvalho, Pimentel reproduces several fado lyrics throughout the book, but, unlike Carvalho, also includes musical notation examples. Pimentel refers to several publications containing fado lyrics and music as indicators of the dissemination of the genre.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, he discusses the semantic universe of lyrics and the poetic techniques used and problematises the mythology associated with *A Severa*, a trope frequently re-enacted, especially in the first third of the twentieth century. Finally, Pimentel includes a survey of fados in which three main branches were predominant: printed music, theatrical productions and the *Cancioneiro de músicas populares*, a three-volume ethnological work that published harmonisations of collected songs.¹⁶² This shows a unified vision of fado, still undivided by contexts of performance or formal and musical traits, a taxonomy that later began to be applied to the compositions in the genre. However, relying on commercial printed music as a source for some sort of authenticity of fado repertoires can be a naive approach. Moreover, by analysing Pimentel's survey, there is an underlying process by which fado was being transformed from vernacular to popular during that time. Another trait that both Pinto de Carvalho and Pimentel point to is the inclusion of fados in the works of classical composers working in Portugal then, stylising popular repertoires.

Although Pimentel's main contribution to the history of fado was his monography published in 1904, several of his texts included extended references to the genre. In his *Fotografias de Lisboa* (Photographs of Lisbon), first published in 1874, Pimentel included a chapter about fado.¹⁶³ Interestingly enough, the title of the book reveals the rising symbolic relevance of photography as an accurate representation of reality. *Fotografias de Lisboa* consists in a collection of small texts portraying several aspects of the life in Lisbon and is presented almost as a series of photographic slides of that city. In one of the chapters, Pimentel remarks the relevance of fado as a popular genre and portrays the guitar as the foremost instrument in the performance of that genre.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, he states the appropriation of fado by other social strata as an "invasion of the people's rights" and the unsuitability of the piano accompaniment for vernacular genres.¹⁶⁵ In this small text, Pimentel portrays fado as the "anthem of

¹⁶¹ Pimentel, *op. cit.*, 68–70.

¹⁶² Gualdino de Campos and César das Neves, *Cancioneiro de músicas populares* (Porto: Tip. Ocidental/ Empresa editora César, Campos & C^a, 1883–1888).

¹⁶³ Pimentel, "A guitarra", in Pimentel, *Fotografias de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Frenesi, 2005), 73–78.

¹⁶⁴ Pimentel, "A guitarra".

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

misfortune/disgrace (*desgraça*), the romance of the obscure sorrows, the epic poem of the people.”¹⁶⁶

Music histories of a wide range of genres can be framed within a nationalist project of the discursive construction of a specific musical heritage because: “Far from being a neutral exercise in facts and basic truths, the study of history, which of course is the underpinning of memory, both in school and university, is to some considerable extent a nationalist effort premised on the need to construct a desirable (*sic*) loyalty to and insider’s understanding of one’s country, tradition, and faith.”¹⁶⁷

Commonality and Difference in Nation-constructing Discourses: Sameness and Otherness

Promoting nationalism by aiming for a cohering of “the people” around a common symbolic construction is a central trait in media discourse during this period. This discourse can be interpreted as a negotiation within a certain community, resulting in an apparent internalised consensus. The articulation between demands of different social groups was key in encoding the elements of the modern nation. However, the notion of commonality is problematic, especially when dealing with the operative realm of “common sense.” In order to question the apparently spontaneous and unproblematic development of “common sense”, Antonio Gramsci remarks that “common sense is not something rigid and stationary, but is in continuous transformation, becoming enriched with scientific notions and philosophical opinions that have entered into common circulation [...] Common sense creates the folklore of the future, a relatively rigidified phase of popular knowledge in a given time and place.”¹⁶⁸ This fluid view situates common sense as a dynamic middle ground between folklore on the one hand and science and philosophy on the other. Another valuable contribution for the study of common sense as a historically and geographically contained social construct was developed by Clifford Geertz.¹⁶⁹ Instead of relying on the immediacy of experience, Geertz states common sense to be an articulated system of thought that is neither

¹⁶⁶ Pimentel, “A guitarra”, 73.

¹⁶⁷ Edward W. Said, “Invention, memory, and place”, *Critical Inquiry* 26/2 (2000), 176.

¹⁶⁸ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from cultural writings* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1985), 421.

¹⁶⁹ Clifford Geertz, “Common sense as a cultural system” in Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 73–93.

spontaneous nor directly drawn upon from experience, but a mediated interpretation of experience.¹⁷⁰

If intrinsic factors like commonality play an important role in defining the ideal of a nation, extrinsic constraints and the way they interfere with the populist internalisation processes of nationalism can be of extreme importance. “National identification is an exemplary case of how an external border is reflected into an internal limit. Of course, the first step towards the identity of the nation is defined through differences from other nations, via an external border.”¹⁷¹ One particular event pertaining to this specific construction/constriction of national identity related to the encounter with the Other was the British Ultimatum of January 11th 1890, the apex of an ongoing differendum between Portugal and Britain involving the demarcation of borders in the African colonies of both countries. In this memorandum, Lord Salisbury demanded the withdrawal of Portuguese troops from several areas where the colonial interests of both countries overlapped.

The British Ultimatum and its acceptance by Portuguese authorities stirred a campaign promoted by some newspapers to create an unfavourable public opinion towards the government, which resigned afterwards.¹⁷² This shows that political newspapers connected to specific factions were still represented, and conducted effective strategies in the Portuguese public sphere, despite a tendency towards neutrality enacted by some periodicals.¹⁷³ Concerning the Ultimatum, the attribution of responsibility to that specific government was seen as a way of safeguarding national interest.¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, republican agents (who, for the first time, were represented in parliament after the elections of 1878) progressively shifted the emphasis of this crisis from government towards regime.¹⁷⁵ By exploring the anti-British hatred generated by several episodes associated with colonial policy (in which the Ultimatum was one among many events that stirred patriotic reactions amongst several Portuguese groups),

¹⁷⁰ Geertz, *op. cit.*, 76.

¹⁷¹ Žižek, *For They Know Not What They Do* (London/NY: Verso, 2008), 110.

¹⁷² José Tengarrinha, *Imprensa e opinião pública em Portugal* (Coimbra; Edições Minerva, 2006), 167–171.

¹⁷³ In relation to the promotion of nationalism through media during a period of instability see Kenneth O. Morgan, “The Boer War and the media (1899–1902)”, *Twentieth Century British History*, 13/1 (2002), 1–16.

¹⁷⁴ Nuno Severiano Teixeira, “Política externa e política interna no Portugal de 1890”, *Análise social*, 23/4 (1987), 698.

¹⁷⁵ Teixeira, *op. cit.*, 703. The growth of republicanism in Portugal was, by no means, a continuous and simple process of increasing social influence (both electoral and symbolic), but a complex issue, such as it is stated in Fernando Catroga, *O republicanismo em Portugal* (Lisbon: Editorial Notícias, 2000), 65.

the republicans took advantage of their recently expanded symbolic capital to orient their criticisms towards the monarchic system itself.¹⁷⁶ For them, the outcome of this process was a blow to national ideals that was related to the inefficiency of monarchic institutions. This promoted a cleavage between King and Motherland, essential for the questioning of the regime and to a republicanisation of the country.¹⁷⁷ Despite the rise of the republican vote, especially in Lisbon, in the aftermath of the Ultimatum, their voting declined throughout the rest of the nineteenth century and this tendency was only inverted after 1906, displaying the complexity of the regime during this time.¹⁷⁸

The Ultimatum as a symbolic traumatic event raised awareness of the Empire during a time when colonialism was being embedded within a nationalist framework. Conversely, the solution for that event demarcated the geographical and symbolic boundaries of the Portuguese Empire. This political crisis was an important impulse for creative representations, where the satirical periodicals on both sides thrived.¹⁷⁹ This was followed by severe repression of the press and the suspension of several periodicals in the aftermath of the negotiations with Britain and of the failed republican revolt in Porto on 31st January 1891.¹⁸⁰ One of these cases was *Pontos nos ii*, directed and illustrated by Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro, last published on February 5th 1891. Along with Bordalo Pinheiro, the republican artist Tomás Júlio Leal da Câmara (1876–1948) was deeply influential in this process, having illustrated several books and edited or collaborated with several periodicals, such as *A corja: semanario de caricaturas* (1898) or *A marseleza: supplemento de caricaturas* (1897–98). Due to political persecution he emigrated in 1898 and worked for several periodicals in the countries he inhabited (Spain, France and Belgium), having returned to Portugal after the fall of the monarchy (on the 5th October 1910).¹⁸¹

As stated earlier, the limitation of the freedom of press through legislation was complex during this time.¹⁸² The Press Law of 11 April 1907 stands out a good example

¹⁷⁶ Catroga, *op.cit.*, 77.

¹⁷⁷ Tengarrinha, *op. cit.*, 168–170 and Rui Ramos, *A segunda fundação*, vol. 6 in José Mattoso (ed.), *História de Portugal* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1994).

¹⁷⁸ Catroga, *op.cit.*, 63–67 and Maria Filomena Mónica, *Eça de Queirós* (Lisbon: Quetzal Editores, 2001), 275.

¹⁷⁹ Se, for example “The latest from Portugal”, *Fun*, nº 1291, 5th February 1890, 58.

¹⁸⁰ For a coeval narrative of the events between the British Ultimatum and the 1891 revolt see Basílio Teles, *Do Ultimatum ao 31 de Janeiro: esboço d’História Política* (Porto: Bazillio Teles, 1905).

¹⁸¹ Victor Santos, *Leal da Câmara – um caso de caricatura: a sátira na atitude política portuguesa* (Sintra: Câmara Municipal de Sintra, 1982).

¹⁸² On the repressive tendencies upheld on the press in the last years of the Portuguese monarchy see Tengarrinha, *História da imprensa periódica portuguesa* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1989), 245–259.

of that ambiguity. In this law, the restriction of circulation and apprehension of periodicals was forbidden, except if they contained materials considered liable to criminal prosecution.¹⁸³ Nevertheless, these materials included offending the royal family, rulers and representatives of other nations. Furthermore, it stated that the King should not be criticised for his government's acts, stressing the separation between King and Government or between royalty and state bureaucracy, safeguarding the symbolic capital of the monarch and striving to protect him from the propagandistic process enacted by the republican media, which tended to amalgamate both king and government as agreeing and responsible parts for the political, cultural and economic situation.¹⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the publication of caricatures in which King Carlos I was depicted was a frequent event in satirical newspapers.¹⁸⁵

The apprehension of periodicals was becoming ever more difficult due to the radical change in the distribution networks of newspapers since *Diário de notícias*. In this time, instead of relying exclusively in fixed venues for their sales (as did the press of the earlier part of the nineteenth century), the periodicals established complementary networks of direct sellers (the *ardinas*) who moved freely around their area, making their apprehension more difficult. Nevertheless, a new legislation regarding the press was published only two months later, when João Franco's cabinet was ruling "in dictatorship."¹⁸⁶ In that decree, all manifestations that were considered a menace for security and peace were prohibited, giving power to the civil authorities to suspend them. Furthermore, any new periodical had to be sanctioned by the civil authorities of that region in order to be published.¹⁸⁷ The cabinet attempted to reveal the abuses enacted by the press during that time, displaying this decree as a necessary and exceptional measure. Nevertheless, in that legislation it was clearly stated that the cabinets had to frequently apprehend publications (the most severe immediate action

¹⁸³ *Diário do Governo*, n° 81, 13th April 1907, 189–194.

¹⁸⁴ *Diário do Governo*, 189.

¹⁸⁵ D. Carlos was recurrently portrayed in the satirical media since he was the prince heir. See, for example, *O António Maria*, n° 3 (Anno VII), 21st January 1885. Nevertheless, artists such as Leal da Câmara and writers such as António de Albuquerque published caricatures and texts deemed offensive for the monarch in the beginning of the 20th century. See *A corja: semanario de caricaturas*, n° 17, 16th October 1898, 2; Sousa Figueiredo, *Ilustradores portugueses no bilhete postal (1894–1910)* (Lisbon: Arte Mágica Editores, 2003), 39 and António de Albuquerque, *Marquez da Bacalhôa* (Lisbon: A. Albuquerque, 1908).

¹⁸⁶ In the nineteenth-century Portugal, govern in dictatorship meant ruling by decree in the period after the dissolution of the two chambers of parliament. This was indeed an effective mechanism to allow the cabinet both to rule with less constraints and to prepare for elections, in order to create a supporting majority in the parliament. The monarch was the sole responsible for the dissolution of parliament.

¹⁸⁷ *Diário do Governo*, n° 136, 21st June 1907, 443–444.

allowed by the law) and even admitted the practice of censorship (an illegal process, according to the legislative framework valid at the time).¹⁸⁸

In the field of cultural production, there was a significant stress on works related to the political climate either by performance or by publishing.¹⁸⁹ The foremost example of this practice is the march *A Portuguesa*, a setting of a Henrique Lopes de Mendonça's poem by Alfredo Keil. The sheet music of this march (for voice and piano) was published and distributed free of charge by the firm Neuparth & C.^a. The piece was arranged for various groups and performed in several theatres in Lisbon during the year of 1890, especially in events related to the reaction to the Ultimatum (such as the Great Patriotic Concert, held at Teatro de S. Carlos on the 29th March 1890). Afterwards, it was included in Henrique Lopes de Mendonça's play *As cores da bandeira* (1891).¹⁹⁰ However, due to its appropriations by republican sectors and its use by the uprising military units marching bands in the previously mentioned revolt of 31st January 1891, public performances of *A Portuguesa* by regimental bands were forbidden until the last years of the nineteenth century.¹⁹¹ This connotation with the republican movement was crucial for its adoption as the anthem of the Portuguese Republic in 1911.

Especially in the period immediately after the Ultimatum, republicanism was presented in some areas of the public sphere as a synonym for patriotism. In this campaign, the daily newspaper *O século*, established in 1881 by Sebastião de Magalhães Lima (who had been a journalist for several years and was part of the

¹⁸⁸ *Diário do Governo*, n° 136, 21st June 1907, 443–444. On the practice of censorship during this period see Rogério Santos, “O jornalismo na transição do século XIX para o XX: o caso do diário *Novidades* (1885–1913)”, *Media & jornalismo*, 9 (2006), 89–104. The figure of the judge responsible for the censorship, Francisco Maria da Veiga (1852–1934), was frequently caricatured in *A Paródia* and the journalist França Borges published his pamphlet on the state of the Portuguese press referring extensively to the judge's work. See França Borges, *A imprensa em Portugal (notas dum jornalista)* (Porto: Typ. da Empresa Literaria e Typographica, 1900) and Maria Virgílio Cambraia Lopes, *O teatro n' A Paródia de Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro*, (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2005).

¹⁸⁹ Rui Leitão, *A ambiência musical e sonora da cidade de Lisboa no ano de 1890*, Master's thesis (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2006) and Nuno Severiano Teixeira, *op. cit.*, 711.

¹⁹⁰ Luiz Francisco Rebello, *O teatro naturalista e neo-romântico (1870–1910)* (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1978), 47 and *Pontos nos ii*, n° 248, 27th March 1890, 97. For more information regarding Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, see Albino Forjaz de Sampaio (ed.), *Henrique Lopes de Mendonça: A sua vida e a sua obra* (Lisbon: Empresa do Diário do Notícias, 1926). About Alfredo Keil see Mafalda Magalhães Barros, José Alberto Ribeiro, Sílvia Leite, Beatriz H. Correia, and Catarina Oliveira (eds), *Alfredo Keil, 1850–1907* (Lisbon: IPPAR, 2001) and Rui Ramos, *O cidadão Keil: Alfredo Keil, A Portuguesa e a cultura do patriotismo cívico em Portugal* (Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 2010).

¹⁹¹ Manuscript note on the first page of Alfredo Keil and Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, *A Portuguesa – Marcha*. Shelfmark PTBN: M.M 345//3, National Library of Portugal. See also Teixeira, “Politica externa e politica interna no Portugal de 1890”, 713.

committee in charge of the Camões celebration) was particularly influential.¹⁹² Created as an overtly republican newspaper (such as *O mundo*, 1900–36, or *A luta*, 1906–35),¹⁹³ after the substitution of Magalhães Lima for José Joaquim da Silva Graça (1858–1931) in 1886, it became one of the most widely circulated Portuguese newspapers, competing directly with *Diário de notícias*. In order to achieve that status for the newspaper, Silva Graça moved *O século* to a less engaged political activity, yet maintaining its republican orientation.¹⁹⁴ In the twentieth century, he created several publications attached to *O século* in order to broaden the scope of the original newspaper, such as *Ilustração portuguesa* (1903–24) or *Modas e bordados: vida feminina* (1912–75).¹⁹⁵

Photography, Mechanical Music and the Regicide: Media and Technology in the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, a technological innovation marked its presence in journalism: photography. Although photographic processes had been in use since the first third of the century (some of them indirectly providing illustration for periodicals), their regular application to periodicals started in the 1890s with the development of halftone reproduction, which allowed the insertion of an image without requiring an engraver.¹⁹⁶ For instance, the French periodical *L'Illustration* started publishing regularly photographic reproductions as early as 1891.¹⁹⁷ The iconisation of the public sphere took another step towards faithfulness of representation with this new process. Pertaining to the dialectical tension between the concepts of realism and authenticity, it can be argued that

¹⁹² About Magalhães Lima see Archer de Lima, *Magalhães Lima e a sua obra: notas e impressões* (Lisbon: A Editora, 1911) and Maria Rita Lino Garnel, *A República de Sebastião de Magalhães Lima* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2004).

¹⁹³ About the establishment of republican periodicals in Portugal see Tengarrinha, *História da imprensa periódica portuguesa*, 234–240.

¹⁹⁴ Letter from Silva Graça to Afonso Costa, 4th March 1901, published in António de Oliveira Marques (ed.), *Correspondência política de Afonso Costa (1896–1910)* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1982), 93–96.

¹⁹⁵ Rui Ramos, *A segunda fundação*, vol. 6 in José Mattoso (ed.), *História de Portugal* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1994), 54–55.

¹⁹⁶ Gervais, “*L'Illustration* and the birth of the French illustrated press”, *Medicographia*, 27/1 (2005), 102.

¹⁹⁷ About the history of *L'Illustration* see Jean-Noël Marchandiau, *L'Illustration, vie et mort d'un journal, 1843–1944* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1987).

the photograph possesses an evidential force, and that its testimony bears not on the object but on time. From a phenomenological viewpoint, in the Photograph, the power of authentication exceeds the power of representation.¹⁹⁸

The idea of photography as a conveyor of faithfulness (or “mechanic objectivity”) is deeply connected to its framing as an industrial process in which technology takes lead over human action.¹⁹⁹ “The photograph professing to be a mechanical analogue of reality, its first-order message in some sort completely fills its substance and leaves no place for the development of a second-order message.”²⁰⁰ In the era of positivism, the process behind photography, which apparently obliterated the subject behind the camera, played a key role in the striving for realistic representation. Therefore, one of the possible applications of photography was scientific. As stated earlier, this technology was used as a tool for data collection in the African expedition of Capelo and Ivens.²⁰¹ Photography’s claimed focus of capturing reality through a chemical process, therefore a conveyor of objectivity, forms the basis for a critique of that technology by the French poet Charles Baudelaire. In a series of letters to the director of *Revue française* (published as *Le salon de 1859*) during June and July of 1859 he critiqued photography through its depiction as a new religion and as an industry incapable of portraying the surplus effect of art.²⁰² In this sense, it is possible to understand that the same technology simultaneously generated artistic and scientific modes of discourse that could be incompatible with each other.

Both Baudelaire and technology constituted important subjects in the work of Walter Benjamin.²⁰³ Benjamin links the processes of mechanical reproduction the destruction of the aura of the artwork in a dialectic relationship between art and industry in his 1935 essay “The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction.”²⁰⁴ Nevertheless, Benjamin theorised the concept of aura in earlier publications, such as

¹⁹⁸ Barthes, *Camera Lucida* (London: Vintage Books, 2000), 88–89.

¹⁹⁹ Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, “The image of objectivity”, *Representations*, 0/40 (1992), 81–128.

²⁰⁰ Barthes, “The Photographic Message”, in Barthes, *Image-Music-Text*, 18.

²⁰¹ See Maria de Fátima Nunes, “Arqueologia de uma prática científica em Portugal – uma história da fotografia”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras: História*, 6 (2005), 169–183.

²⁰² Charles Baudelaire, “The salon of 1859: The modern public and photography” in Francis Francina and Charles Harrison, *Modern Art and Modernism: A Critical Anthology* (London: Harper and Row, Publishers; The Open University Press, 1983), 19–22.

²⁰³ See, for example Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire* (Paris: Éditions Payot Rivages, 1990) and Walter Benjamin, “Petite histoire de la photographie”, *Études photographiques*, 1 (1996), <http://etudesphotographiques.revues.org/index99.html> (15th February 2009).

²⁰⁴ Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2008).

Little History of Photography, first published in 1931.²⁰⁵ In this text, he relates aura in photography to a correspondence between object and technology, stressing the role of the relation between the photographer and his/her technique. In Benjamin's work, "aura and photography are not simply cast as mutually exclusive opposites but are in fact engaged in a complex process of interaction."²⁰⁶ Benjamin described aura as a medium, which "implies a sense of distance but also of mediation and encounter."²⁰⁷ This specific interaction plays an important role in the iconisation of a public sphere, promoting both proximity (by realistic depiction of icons) and auratic distance.

On the one hand, the wide dissemination of photography points to the integration of iconic representations in everyday consumption, apparently promoting the proximity between reader and the icon. Relating to the previously enunciated analogue/digital dichotomy, this iconic turn suggests that the readers of the newspapers could now associate the information they possessed with a realist (analogue) representation of it, a reduction without transformation.²⁰⁸ On the other hand, some of the representational strategies of the newspapers emphasised the *Verfremdungseffekt* between the image and its receiver, crystallising a mode of representation of several individuals (such as members of royalty, politicians, actors or musicians) in which the auratic element is emphasised. According to Anderson, the establishment of the modern nation is associated with print capitalism, a process that "made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways."²⁰⁹ Therefore, the inclusion of photographs of various prominent individuals in periodicals contributed to reinforce their presence in the public sphere (thus, their social capital). Moreover, this imagery was disseminated throughout the country and can be interpreted as a residual remainder of the process of portraying the individual through the staging of their power, a characteristic Habermas associates with the representative public sphere.²¹⁰ Later on, Benjamin proposed a concept of aura as a

²⁰⁵ Benjamin, "Petite histoire de la photographie", *Études photographiques*, 1 (1996), <http://etudesphotographiques.revues.org/index99.html> (15th February 2009).

²⁰⁶ Carolin Duttlinger, "Imaginary encounters: Walter Benjamin and the aura of photography", *Poetics Today*, 29/1 (2008), 80.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 86

²⁰⁸ Barthes, *Image-Music-Text* (London: Fontana Press, 1977), 17.

²⁰⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London/NY: Verso, 1991), 36.

²¹⁰ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. On the concepts of "residual" and "emergent" see Raymond Williams, "Base and superstructure in Marxist cultural theory", in Raymond Williams, *Culture and Materialism* (London/NY: Verso, 2006), 31–49.

group of images that emerge, by the process of involuntary memory, linked to an encountered object.²¹¹ Furthermore, he states that photography contributes to the enlargement of the field of involuntary memory, in a sense, expanding the aura.²¹² This complex relation between several typologies of publicness acting in the same chronological and geographical space shows the flexibility of the models of representation in the public sphere, expanding Habermas's approach and presenting it in a less monolithic way.

One interesting example of the interaction of these premises is the publication of a series of photographs in *Ilustração portuguesa* in which the actor Augusto Rosa (1852–1918) recited *O melro*, a poem by the republican Abílio Guerra Junqueiro (1850–1923).²¹³ The graphic presentation of an actor reciting poetry in a magazine after the introduction of phonography in Portugal can be rather disconcerting. In that disposition, the actor seems to be addressing directly the public and promoting the encounter between the photograph and its receiver, essential to the construction of an aura through this medium. Furthermore, the complex process of iconising the public sphere through photographic means can be related to the history of how that technology was integrated into practice: “In an initial period, photography, in order to surprise, photographs the notable; but soon, by a familiar reversal, it decrees notable whatever it photographs.”²¹⁴

The development of photographic techniques applied to periodicals had also an impact on the dissemination of printed music. Musical notation could be inserted in periodicals by using the same techniques for printing photographs in newspapers, instead of relying on a complex typesetting or lithographic process. So, music as image began to be introduced in some of the Portuguese magazines, such as *Ilustração portuguesa* in the beginning of the twentieth century. Most of the published music consisted of songs (for voice and piano) or works for solo piano comprising one or two pages.²¹⁵ This reflects the content of most of the sheet music published in Europe during this period. The dissemination of repertoires through their inclusion in nation-wide distributed periodicals is relevant to the domestic musical practices at this time and

²¹¹ Walter Benjamin, “Sur quelques thèmes baudelairiens”, in Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire* (Paris: Éditions Payot & Rivages), 196–205.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 196–197.

²¹³ *Ilustração portuguesa*, n° 41 3rd December 1906, 11–12. For the poem see Guerra Junqueiro, *A velhice do Padre Eterno* (Lisbon: Editora Livraria Minerva, n.d.), 125–144.

²¹⁴ Barthes, *Camera Lucida* (London: Vintage Books, 2000), 34.

²¹⁵ *Ilustração portuguesa*, n°29, 10th September 1906, 18–19 and n° 31, 24th September 1906, 8.

indicates the prominence of the piano as a place of sociability, especially to an expanding intermediate social segment.

The development of photojournalism in Portugal in the early twentieth century soon became an important mechanism for the construction of a collective memory by presenting iconographic depiction of everyday life. These representations established themselves not only as a technological product integrated in the industrial production of actuality but also as sources for historical research of this period.²¹⁶ For example, the work of the photographer Joshua Benoliel (1873–1932) has been widely used in illustrating several publications.²¹⁷ Moreover, photography began to play an important role as a spatial organiser of visual collective memory. “Memory and its representations touch very significantly upon questions of identity, of nationalism, of power and authority.”²¹⁸ Consequently, the transformation of subject into object through the physical and chemical processes of photography enabled the development of an iconographic heritage.²¹⁹ This crystallised images intended as part of the standard production of immediate news into iconic representations of a specific reality.²²⁰ Although Benoliel photographed for several periodicals (such as *O Ocidente* or *Panorama*), his activity is especially associated with the publication of the second series of *Ilustração portuguesa*, starting in 1906.²²¹

Just as the British Ultimatum demarcated the Portuguese empire, another traumatic event was determinant to the end of the monarchy: the regicide of 1st February 1908. On that afternoon, when returning from Vila Viçosa, both King Carlos and the prince heir Luís Filipe were fatally shot by two republicans in a square in Lisbon.²²² Although the event was not photographically documented, several illustrated reconstitutions were published in Portuguese and foreign press (such as *Le petit journal*,

²¹⁶ See Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

²¹⁷ For instance Ramos, *A segunda fundação*, vol. 6 in José Mattoso (ed.), *História de Portugal* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1994) or António Sena, *História da imagem fotográfica em Portugal: 1839–1997* (Porto: Porto Editora, 1998).

²¹⁸ Said, “Invention, memory, and place”, *Critical Inquiry* 26/2 (2000), 176.

²¹⁹ Barthes, *Camera Lucida* (London: Vintage Books, 2000), 13.

²²⁰ Bourdieu, “L’emprise du journalisme”, 3–9 and Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 6. For a discussion regarding photography and memory see Jens Ruchatz, “Photography as externalization and trace”, in Astrid Erll; Ansgar Nünning (eds), *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin/ NY: De Gruyter, 2008), 367–378.

²²¹ Emília Tavares (ed.), *Joshua Benoliel, 1873–1932: repórter fotográfico* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2005).

²²² For a biography of King Carlos I see Rui Ramos, *D. Carlos (1863–1908)* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006).

Le Monde illustré, *Wiener Bilder* or *Illustrated London News*).²²³ In another social setting, *A voz do operário* published a text where the regicide was discussed, stating that, though not partaking bourgeois politics, the seriousness of the event required a comment.²²⁴ The text expressed its disapproval of the regicide, remarking that their fight was against capitalist institutions, not men.²²⁵

Apart from the moment of the regicide, an extensive photojournalistic coverage was set into motion. Benoliel photographed the corpses of both the victims and the perpetrators, the royal funerals and the families involved (the royal family and the sons of Manuel Buíça, one of the gunmen).²²⁶ The royal funerals were also captured by another rising medium of the time: film. Several film companies (such as Companhia Cinematográfica de Portugal, Empresa Portuguesa de Cinema or Gaumont) recorded the event and exhibited their films in several sites. The symbolic efficiency of the iconography of the regicide can be attested by its frequent presentation and re-encoding in the Portuguese press.²²⁷

New technologies were widely disseminated through the periodicals in Portugal since the last third of the nineteenth century. For instance, *O Ocidente* published a section on scientific actualities in which Edison's phonograph was presented.²²⁸ The article examines the functioning of the phonograph without mentioning its functions apart from recording speech and includes an illustrated schema. This is coherent with the inception of the phonograph as an office tool, not specifically destined for musical purposes, but as a support for memory and an emulator of a human nervous system.²²⁹

The author of this article was Francisco da Fonseca Benevides (1835–1911), lecturer, scientist and historian who wrote about technological innovations in *O Ocidente*. Apart from some scientific and historiographical publications, his accounts of

²²³ See Eduardo de Noronha, "A tragédia de Lisboa", *Serões: revista mensal ilustrada*, n° 32 (February 1908), 127–151 and *Le petit journal*, n° 16474, 3rd February 1908.

²²⁴ *A voz do operário*, n° 1476, 9th February 1908, 1.

²²⁵ *Ibid.* This can also be related to the complex relationship between socialism and republicanism in Portugal since the 1870s. To frame this issue see Fernando Catroga, *Antero de Quental: História, socialismo, política* (Lisbon: Editorial Notícias, 2001), 199–223.

²²⁶ Emilia Tavares, *op.cit.*

²²⁷ Rui Tavares, "O atentado iconográfico", in Maria Alice Samara and Rui Tavares, *O Regicídio* (Lisbon: Tinta da China, 2008), 125–200.

²²⁸ *O Occidente*, n° 8, 15th April 1878, 64.

²²⁹ Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter* and Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

the history of the Teatro de S. Carlos are a valuable source for musicologists.²³⁰ In *O Ocidente*, Benevides also wrote an article about a transposing keyboard for the piano.²³¹ This device was superimposed on the original keyboard and moved according to the transposition needed. The centrality of the piano as an element for the sociability practices of a specific social segment and the relevance of singing integrated in these practices (which can be seen by analysing the printed music repertoires) can be useful to understand this innovation. In countries where a market for printed music was established, transposing songs was common practice among the music publishers, maximising their profit by enlarging the consumer spectrum for the same repertoire and addressing the physical constraints of the human voice.²³² With this device, there was no need to transpose the sheet music in order for it to be performed.

Besides phonography, another market associated with mechanical music was the player piano.²³³ If the phonograph allowed to record and reproduce sound, the player piano was a machine initially developed exclusively for the reproduction of music. Its mechanism was easily adjusted to an existing technology in several Portuguese households: the piano.²³⁴ Taylor relates the development of a market for player pianos to an advertising industry and to the commodification of music.²³⁵ He argues that the player piano manufacturers expanded their market by transforming one of the icons of cultural capital and respectability into a conveyor of mechanic music whose players did not need specific musical training.²³⁶

The idea of the accessibility of the repertoires to larger sectors of the public is emphasised in an article about the Phonola, a player piano mechanism, published in *O Ocidente*.²³⁷ This device was presented to the public in the Sociedade de Geografia premises in a session organised by Neuparth & Carneiro, a music store devoted to pianos and printed music. In a period when the recording and gramophone manufacturing companies were promoting their own products, piano sellers

²³⁰ Francisco da Fonseca Benevides, *O Real Theatro de S. Carlos de Lisboa desde a sua fundação em 1793 até à actualidade: estudo histórico* (Lisbon: Typ. Castro Irmão, 1883) and Francisco da Fonseca Benevides, *O Real Theatro de S. Carlos de Lisboa: memorias 1883–1902* (Lisbon: Typographia e Lithographia de Ricardo de Sousa & Salles, 1902).

²³¹ *O Occidente*, n°18, 15th September 1878, 142.

²³² See, for example, David P. Schroeder, “Schubert’s ‘Einsamkeit’ and Haslinger’s ‘Weiterreise’”, *Music and Letters*, 71 (1990), 352–360.

²³³ Timothy D. Taylor, “The commodification of music at the dawn of the era of ‘mechanical music’”, *Ethnomusicology*, 51/2 (2007), 281–305.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 285.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 285–286.

²³⁶ Taylor, *op.cit.*, 289.

²³⁷ *O Occidente*, n° 942, 28th February 1905, 46.

incorporated mechanical reproduction technologies in their business to appeal to the same public. The Phonola was based on the punctured roll technology and was added several registers through which the consumer could expressively alter the reproduction of the roll, making possible a sort of humanisation of the passive consumption of mechanical music.

The recording industry was introduced in Portugal in the beginning of the twentieth century through the action of several companies selling gramophones, phonographs, flat records, and cylinders. This installation was complemented with an advertising process in the Portuguese press. For example, at least as early as 1904, *Ilustração portuguesa* published several advertisements to Companhia Franceza do Gramophone (French Gramophone Company), situated on the Rua Garrett and later relocated to Largo da Rua do Príncipe (now Rua 1º de Dezembro).²³⁸ In various issues, the advertisements concentrated on several operatic recordings from their catalogue (promoting discs by Nellie Melba, for instance).²³⁹ Later, the company's advertisements included photographic reproductions of several recorded singers, such as Francesco Tamagno (1850–1905) or Enrico Caruso (1873–1921).²⁴⁰ Despite the connection of its name to France, the symbols presented in this advertisement are the icons of The Gramophone Company, Ltd (both the Recording Angel and the Barraud painting *His Master's Voice*). This is due to the fact that the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone was associated with the The Gramophone Company, Ltd and was under the supervision of their French office, according to the division of the European markets into several branches at the time.²⁴¹ Another interesting publicity strategy of that company was advertising its several labels in the press. For example, the Zonophone label advertised in *Ilustração Portuguesa*, promoting the catalogue and the store of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone.²⁴² At this time, other companies advertised reproduction technology and recordings in the press. An interesting case is Simplex, a store located in the Rua de Santo Antão (now Rua das Portas de Santo Antão, the same street where the Coliseu de Recreios de Lisboa is located) owned by J. Castello Branco and initially specialised in importing bicycles, a fashionable commodity that was, at the time,

²³⁸ *Ilustração portuguesa*, n° 53, 7th November 1904, 17.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, n° 54, 14th November 1904, II or *Ilustração portuguesa*, 2nd series, n° 2, 12.

²⁴⁰ *Ilustração portuguesa*, 2nd series, n°4, 19th March 1906, 7.

²⁴¹ Peter Martland, A business history of the Gramophone Company Ltd: 1897–1918, Ph.D. thesis (Cambridge University, 1992), 114.

²⁴² *Ilustração portuguesa*, 2nd series, n°16, 11th June 1906, 6.

associated with modernity.²⁴³ In 1905, Simplex started to advertise, along with bicycles, records and talking machines, expanding their business to other commodities/technologies and registering a brand for their records in August 1906.²⁴⁴ This establishment also commercialised phonographic products manufactured by Odeon, according to the photographs taken of that shop in the beginnings of the twentieth century by Joshua Benoliel.²⁴⁵

This last section of the chapter reflected mainly on how technology allowed the reshaping of periodicals and musical consumption. Although in certain places this may seem this as a technological determinist approach, there is a stress in human action and how technological innovations are enacted and incorporated in a *habitus* by its users.²⁴⁶ Authors such as Marshall McLuhan or Friedrich Kittler claim that the ontological realm of technology determines its own use, upholding a clear division “between matter and information, the real and the symbolic.”²⁴⁷ By stressing the role of the human mediator (people such as Joshua Benoliel or Fonseca Benevides) in the approach to technological innovation, this work frames the development of technologies that changed the public sphere towards its iconisation as a subject/object dialectic.²⁴⁸

Technologies are socially shaped along with their meanings, functions, and domains and use. Thus, they cannot come into existence simply to fill a pre-existing role, since the role itself is co-created with the technology by its makers and users. More importantly, this role is not a static function but something that can change over time for groups of people.²⁴⁹

²⁴³ G. B. Norecliffe, *The Ride to Modernity: The Bicycle in Canada, 1869–1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

²⁴⁴ The brand was registered not by Castello Branco, but by the German Charles Timm and its logo was a bicycle, just as the one printed in the advertisement. See Ministério das Obras Públicas, Comercio e Industria. Repartição da Industria, *Boletim da propriedade industrial*, August 1906, 316.

²⁴⁵ Joshua Benoliel, *Casa Odéon, gramofones e discos*, after 1904. Shelfmarks PT/AMLSB/AF/JBN/000985 and PT/AMLSB/AF/JBN/000988, Municipal Archive of Lisbon.

²⁴⁶ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

²⁴⁷ Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 16.

²⁴⁸ Theodor W. Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

²⁴⁹ Jonathan Sterne, “Bourdieu, technique and technology”, *Cultural Studies*, 17/3 (2003), 373.

Chapter 2. Urban Space, Theatre and Music in Lisbon: Opera, Operetta, *Zarzuela* and *Revista*

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the theatrical life in Lisbon between 1865 and 1908. During this period, the processes of urban expansion were closely associated with new paradigms of modernity, producing new spaces in the urban fabric. In the previous chapter, I demonstrated the relevance of the creation of neighbourhoods for workers for new models of sociability that mixed the rural and the urban as a consequence of internal migration. In this chapter, I examine how the theatrical panorama changed during this time, reconfiguring the leisure activities in Lisbon with new forms of music theatre (the operetta and, especially, the *revista*) as privileged places for the display of modernity, representing (and commodifying) the nation as a part of those entertainment products.¹ For this purpose, this chapter draws from both anthropological and psychoanalytic theories to study the mechanisms that aimed to naturalise the symbolic order of the Portuguese nation through entertainment.

From the Liberal Revolution of 1820 until 1846, theatrical activity in Lisbon was mainly concentrated on three theatres built in the eighteenth century: the Real Teatro de S. Carlos (established in 1793 to perform mostly opera in Italian, run by an impresario, although subsidised by the state),² the Teatro da Rua dos Condes (established in 1765 and mostly dedicated on the presentation of drama and, occasionally, musical events) and the Teatro do Salitre (established in 1783, presenting the same genres as the Teatro da Rua dos Condes). The prominent role played by the romantic historical drama in the theatrical market of this period contributed to the shaping of the local/cosmopolitan dialectic. On the one hand, the new political and aesthetic orientation towards historicism created a space for the promotion of Portuguese history in the public sphere (especially in the literary and theatrical fields). Conversely, most of this historicism was closely associated with foreign models mostly

¹ For an overview of the Portuguese Romantic and Naturalist theatre see José de Oliveira Barata, *História do teatro português* (Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 1991), 255–302.

² On the production system of this theatre from 1834 to 1854 see Luísa Cymbron, *A ópera em Portugal 1834–1854: o sistema produtivo e o repertório nos teatros de S. Carlos e de S. João*, Ph.D. thesis (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1998).

emanating from Paris (a city where a significant number of Portuguese liberals were exiled during the absolutist reign of D. Miguel).

The interaction between French historical drama and Portuguese history surfaces, in a very clear manner, with the presence of a French theatrical company in the Teatro da Rua dos Condes from 1835 to 1837.³ The actor and stage director Émile Doux played a key role in the Portuguese theatrical scene, importing French Romantic theatre (such as the plays of Victor Hugo or Alexandre Dumas) and promoting historicist stagings. Furthermore, he contributed to the professional development of several actors and was director of several theatres (such as the Teatro do Ginásio) in Lisbon until his emigration to Brazil. Another influential figure then was the liberal writer, poet and playwright Almeida Garrett (1799–1854), who was appointed Inspector-General of the Theatres and Spectacles in 1836, a job he occupied until 1841. In 1836 the Conservatório Geral de Arte Dramática – Escola de Música e Escola de Teatro e Declamação (General Conservatoire of Drama - School of Music and School of Theatre and Declamation) was established, directed by Garrett. This institution was created as a state school for theatre and dance and incorporated the Music Conservatoire (established in 1835 and directed by the composer João Domingos Bomtempo, 1775–1842), having changed its designation to Real Conservatório de Lisboa (Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon) in 1840.⁴

The opening of the Teatro Nacional D. Maria II in 1846 as a consequence of the new political power's interest in theatregoing as a civilising transformed Lisbon's theatrical scene.⁵ Particularly through the action of Garrett, this theatre reshaped Lisbon's cultural market and provided a new privileged space for the presentation of drama.⁶ In the same year, the Teatro do Ginásio opened, a theatre mostly devoted to drama that presented other type of spectacles. According to Sousa Bastos, the *vaudeville* was introduced to Portugal by Émile Doux while he was directing the company of the Teatro do Ginásio.⁷ Alongside drama performances, this theatre also staged comic

³ José-Augusto França, “Duas notas sobre Alexandre Dumas em Portugal”, *Conhecer Alexandre Dumas: estudos sobre a vida e a obra* (2003), <http://purl.pt/301/1/dumas-estudos/jafranca-1.html> (2nd October 2009).

⁴ Joaquim Carmelo Rosa, “Essa pobre filha bastarda das artes”: a Escola de Música do Conservatório Real de Lisboa nos anos de 1842–1862, Master's thesis (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1999).

⁵ For a literary account on the Teatro D. Maria II up to 1875 see Júlio César Machado, *Os teatros de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Frenesi, 2002), 47–116.

⁶ Luiz Francisco Rebello, *O teatro romântico (1838–1869)* (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1980), 31–48 and Maria de Lourdes Lima dos Santos, “Para a análise das ideologias da burguesia”, *Análise social*, 14/53 (1978), 39–80.

⁷ António de Sousa Bastos, *Diccionario do theatro portuguez* (Lisbon: Imp. Libânio da Silva, 1908), 343.

operas composed by António Luís Miró (1815–53), such as *A marquezia* or *O conselho das dez*.⁸ There are accounts of regular performances of comic operas in Portuguese (although indebted to Classical and Romantic styles) in the city of Lisbon since, at least, 1841, when the Teatro da Rua dos Condes' impresario, the Count of Farrobo, Joaquim Pedro Quintela (1801–69), Émile Doux and the composer João Guilherme Daddi (1813–87) started to present translations of *opéra comique* and of Italian comic operas alongside comic operas authored by Portuguese composers in this theatre.⁹ The Teatro de D. Fernando had a relatively short span of activity (from 1849 to 1859) and presented drama both in Portuguese and in French (much due to the role of Émile Doux) together with *opéra comique* and *zarzuela*. Frequent financial losses determined the closing of the theatre and underline the volatility of the theatrical business in Lisbon in the middle of the nineteenth century.¹⁰ Alongside these spaces, smaller theatres were established in Lisbon during the 1850s, such as the Teatro da Floresta Egípcia or the Teatro do Calvário, most of them short-lived.¹¹

Changing the City, Reshaping the Social

During the period 1865–1908, the urban fabric was radically altered through planning strategies that created modern facilities within the city. As shown in the first chapter of this thesis, the industrialisation of Lisbon and the consequent need for housing for workers reconfigured the city's landscape both by modifying existing structures and by creating new buildings. The expansion of the city limits required a planned urbanisation of new areas and the creation of residential neighbourhoods (such as Estefânia or Campo de Ourique) to suit the demands of other segments of the housing market.¹²

One of the most significant transformations of urban space that carried with it a symbolic aspect was the opening of the Avenida da Liberdade, a wide avenue that

⁸ Sousa Bastos, *op. cit.*, 343. A manuscript of a piano reduction for the *O conselho das dez* dated from 1848 is deposited in the National Library of Lisbon. See António Luís Miró, *O conselho das dez: opera comica em um acto*, 1848. Shelfmark PTBN: M. M. 191, National Library of Lisbon.

⁹ Isabel Gonçalves, "A introdução e a recepção da ópera cómica nos teatros públicos de Lisboa entre 1841 e 1851", *Revista portuguesa de musicologia*, 13 (2003), 93–111.

¹⁰ Bastos, *op. cit.*, 331. Just as the major theatres in Lisbon, the D. Fernando advertised frequently in the press. See *A Revolução de Setembro* (1849–1857, for example).

¹¹ This survey of regular theatrical activity in Lisbon relied heavily on the advertisements published in the press. This method is, of course, limited because it excludes spaces that did not advertise and those associated with theatrical amateur activity.

¹² Nuno Teotónio Pereira, "Pátios e vilas de Lisboa, 1870–1930: a promoção privada do alojamento operário", *Análise social*, 29/127 (1994), 510.

linked the city centre to the new urbanised areas further north. This process implied the destruction of the Passeio Público, a public park built in the eighteenth century.¹³ Despite the constant works to make that park more attractive, it was only during the second third of the nineteenth century that the Passeio Público became a privileged space for aristocratic and bourgeois sociability. Also during this time, a fence was built around the park, evidencing a complex and active dialectic interaction of public and private spaces. To expand on this demarcation, some clothing restrictions on the frequenters of the Passeio Público, such as the requirement for men to wear a tie, were imposed until 1852. The centrality of this place for sociability can be read in *O primo Basílio*, a novel by Eça de Queirós published in 1878. The couple Jorge and Luísa met in the Passeio Público on a summer evening and got married afterwards.¹⁴ Further along, the housemaid Juliana, who was blackmailing Luísa regarding her adultery with Basílio, is described as an assiduous frequenter of the Passeio Público on Sundays, where she displayed herself, proudly showing off her feet.¹⁵ In this respect, the Passeio was a meeting point for several social strata of Lisbon's society and was clearly incorporated in their routines.

In his study on Romanticism in Portugal, José-Augusto França subsumed the everydayness of the society of Portuguese liberalism to the idea of “Passeio” (promenade) and included in it all aspects of public entertainment and “publicness”, such as theatres, cafés, the circus, the bullring and parliament.¹⁶ Thus, the Passeio Público stands as a metonymic representation of bourgeois lifestyle in Lisbon during the second third of the nineteenth century. For example, in 1853 a journalist of the newspaper *A Revolução de Setembro* wrote that Lisbon's city life spanned only from the Teatro do Ginásio (in Trindade) to the Teatro de D. Maria II (in Rossio), a relatively small area, when compared to the actual size of the city.¹⁷ In the article, he stressed the relevance of the theatre for models of sociability fostered at this time, and narrowed the

¹³ About the constitution of the Passeio Público as a Romantic garden see Maria Alexandra Salgado Quintas, *Do Passeio Público à Pena: um percurso do jardim romântico*, Master's thesis (Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, 2001). The National Library of Portugal possesses several iconographic depictions from the middle of the nineteenth century of that space. See F. A. Serrano, *Passeio publico do Rocio*, Lith. R. N. M.es 2 e 4, [1850–1869]. Shelfmark PTBN: E. 1689 P., National Library of Portugal [<http://purl.pt/13801>] and *Iluminação do Passeio Público em 1851*, Lith. de A.S. Castro, [1851]. Shelfmark PTBN: E. 1690 P., National Library of Portugal [<http://purl.pt/13802>].

¹⁴ Eça de Queirós, *O primo Basílio, episódio doméstico* (Porto/Braga: Livraria Chardron, 1878), 9.

¹⁵ “O pé era o seu orgulho, a sua mania, a sua despeza.”, Queirós, *op. cit.*, 103.

¹⁶ José-Augusto França, *O Romantismo em Portugal: estudo de factos socioculturais* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1974), 364.

¹⁷ *A Revolução de Setembro*, nº 3245, 24th January 1853, 1.

city to the areas which contained its publicness (its Passeio). A few years earlier, the same newspaper stated that the opening of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos was as important for the author of the *feuilleton* as the opening of the parliament for the author of political articles, reinforcing the role theatres (especially the S. Carlos) played in the social dynamics of the time.¹⁸ The primacy of a socio-communicative model based on the exhibition of the self was proposed by Mário Vieira de Carvalho and had in the Italian theatre one of its main focuses. Carvalho argues that in the Real Teatro de S. Carlos a dissolution between stage and audience favoured the exhibition of the self and the alienation of the receiver of the spectacle, which relied on the *bel canto* as the essential cultural function of the performance.¹⁹ This aspect of a space that privileged sociability instead of the presentation of dramatic action during operatic performances is presented by Júlio César Machado in his work on the theatres in Lisbon.²⁰ In the chapter on the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, he states that its audience was mainly constituted by regular spectators, describing the role opera played in the everyday sociability of some social groups, which maintained lively conversations throughout the performance, thus incompatible with a new auditory culture associated with the rise of “absolute music” (and, therefore, of a bourgeois Enlightenment aesthetic).²¹ Furthermore, Machado stresses the programming of the theatre by equating it to recurrent attendance of the boxes: people knew both the operas and the people who attended them by heart.²²

Associated with the demolition of the Passeio Público was the construction of the Avenida da Liberdade on the same grounds, a process that started in 1879, which allowed the expansion of the urban centre of Lisbon. Just as the Passeio Público stood for the everydayness of bourgeois life, so the Avenida da Liberdade is emblematic of its time.²³ The construction of this avenue had been an intention of the city council since, at

¹⁸ *A Revolução de Setembro*, nº 2614, 7th December 1850, 1.

¹⁹ Mário Vieira de Carvalho, *Pensar é morrer ou o Teatro de São Carlos na mudança de sistemas sociocomunicativos desde fins do séc. XVIII aos nossos dias* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1993), 65–129 and Mário Vieira de Carvalho, *Eça de Queirós e Offenbach* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 1999), 29–37.

²⁰ Machado, *Os teatros de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Frenesi, 2002).

²¹ *Ibid.*, 13 and James Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

²² Machado, *op. cit.*, 13.

²³ In order to compare the Passeio Público with the Avenida da Liberdade and to understand how this area Lisbon was radically modified during this period see João Cristino, *Lisboa: Avenida da Liberdade*, R. Cristino: A Editora, [1905]. Shelfmark PTBN: E. 935 A. National Library of Portugal [<http://purl.pt/11551/1/>] and Francisco Rocchini, *Lisboa: panorama tirado de Vale de Pereiro para a Avenida da Liberdade*, F. Rocchini Pht., [1881]. Shelfmark PTBN: E. 1065 A, National Library of Portugal [<http://purl.pt/12258/1/>].

least, 1859.²⁴ Nevertheless, it is a work that reveals new planning strategies for the city, especially after the appointment of the engineer Frederico Ressano Garcia (1847–1911) to head the technical department of the city’s council in 1874. Ressano Garcia had studied in Lisbon and in Paris and was responsible for the planning and the construction of the new and expanded areas of Lisbon at the time.²⁵ During the period in which he occupied his place as lead planner of the new cityscapes, Lisbon was deeply transformed by the reconfiguration of the urban landscape. New neighbourhoods were built in the city and were linked to new and broad avenues (such as the Avenida da Liberdade and the Avenida das Picoas). Furthermore, a network of omnibuses and streetcars (initially using animal traction, but later on electrically powered) was created to facilitate the circulation of people inside the city.²⁶ Another aspect of the transport system was the construction of several funiculars and elevators (such as the Ascensor Ouro-Carmo – nowadays known as the Elevador de Santa Justa –, the Ascensor da Bica, the Elevador do Município, the Ascensor do Lavra, and the Ascensor da Glória – the last two leading to the new Avenida da Liberdade) and the development of the railway system leading to Lisbon, especially the Sud-Express that linked Paris to Lisbon and started operating in 1877 and the regional railways (such as the West railway and the Sintra railway, that started operating in 1887).

These new facilities would seem to epitomise the trends of modernity associated with the new planning of Lisbon, especially by the integration of iron as a visible construction material into a modern city (see the Elevador de Santa Justa, for example) and by the definitive altering of Lisbon’s soundscape.²⁷ Furthermore, this sonic realm was reshaped in the last decade of the nineteenth century with the introduction of another technology of modernity in Portugal, the automobile.²⁸ As a consequence of the railway development, its integration in a wider transport planning strategy, a new

²⁴ Isabel Maria Rodrigues, “As avenidas de Ressano Garcia”, *Boletim Lisboa Urbanismo*, <http://ulisses.cm-lisboa.pt/data/002/003/003/artigo.php?ml=6&x=b13a4pt.xml> (6 October 2009).

²⁵ Raquel Henriques da Silva (ed.), *Lisboa de Frederico Ressano Garcia, 1874–1909* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1989).

²⁶ Rodrigues, *op. cit.*. For historical accounts of urban transport in Lisbon see Manuela Mendonça (ed.), *História da Companhia Carris de Ferro de Lisboa em Portugal*, 2 vols (Lisbon: Companhia Carris de Ferro de Lisboa, S.A./Academia Portuguesa de História, 2006) and António Lopes Vieira, *Os transportes públicos de Lisboa entre 1830 e 1910* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1982).

²⁷ For a study of the acoustic changes introduced in architecture by modernity see Emily Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America 1900–1933* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004).

²⁸ José Carlos Barros Rodrigues, *O automóvel em Portugal: 100 anos de história* (Lisbon: CTT, 1995). For a coeval narrative on the urban transport in Lisbon during this period, see Alfredo Mesquita, “Do omnibus ao automóvel”, *Ilustração portuguesa*, 24th September 1908, 233–238.

railway station, the Estação da Avenida (Avenida Station, nowadays called the Rossio Railway Station) was inaugurated in 1890.²⁹ Situated in the southern end of the Avenida da Liberdade, close to the city centre, this station was the terminal for several national and international trains inbound for Lisbon. The engineer Ressano Garcia contacted with the new perspectives on urbanism while studying in Paris, especially its reconfiguration by Georges-Eugène Haussmann (1809–91) between 1853 and 1868. In this context, the Avenida da Liberdade can be compared to the wide Parisian boulevards built according to Haussmann’s perspective.³⁰ The so-called process of Haussmanisation in Paris had a tremendous impact on urban planning at the time, and some of its tendencies were adopted in the reconfiguration of Lisbon.³¹

The modern cityscape as “a site of disambiguation and rationalisation of social space through either privatisation and atomisation (in the case of Berlin and Paris) or collectivisation (in the case of Moscow) of built space and hence also atomisation or collectivisation of the subjects who dwelt within these spaces” is a key element in the work of Walter Benjamin.³² In his work, Benjamin points out a tendency for a stricter separation of the public and private spaces in Paris starting from the reign of Louis-Philippe I (1830–48).³³ Furthermore, this separation displays the rationalisation of space as a tendency inherent in the development of modern cities. Subsequently, during the Second Empire, Paris was transformed in order to suit the needs of an imperial capital of an industrial state, much to the concerted efforts of Napoleon III and of Haussmann.³⁴ During this time:

²⁹ Maria Helena Lisboa, *Os engenheiros em Lisboa, urbanismo e arquitectura (1850–1930)* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2002), 101–140.

³⁰ The idea of Paris as the epicentre of European cultural life and a model to emulate is very much present in Portugal during this time. See, for example, Álvaro Manuel Machado, *O “francesismo” na literatura portuguesa*, (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1984). Regarding the association of the Parisian boulevard with the rise of a mass culture in Paris in which entertainment and the spectacle are embedded see Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

³¹ About the process of Haussmanisation see, for example, Vanessa R. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, 16–26. Aspects of this paradigm of urbanisation were also incorporated in the reconfiguration of Rio de Janeiro in the first the decade of the twentieth century. See Jaime Benchimol, *Pereira Passos: um Haussmann tropical* (Rio de Janeiro: Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, Turismo e Esportes, 1992) and Glória Kok, *Rio de Janeiro no tempo da Av. Central* (São Paulo: Bei Comunicação, 2005).

³² Peter Schmiedgen, “Interiority, exteriority and spatial politics in Benjamin’s cityscapes” in Andrew Benjamin and Charles Rice (eds), *Walter Benjamin and the Architecture of Modernity* (Prahan: re.press, 2009), 147.

³³ Walter Benjamin, “Paris – capital of the nineteenth century”, *New Left Review*, 1/48 (1968), 83.

³⁴ Bill Risebero, *Modern Architecture and Design: An Alternative History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982), 79–84. Nevertheless, the strict identification of Haussmann with modernity is problematic. Despite his modernisation of the surface of the city, Matthew Gandy argues that the underground infrastructures, such as the sewage system, stood as a problematic issue during Haussmann’s urban reform. See Matthew Gandy, “The Paris sewers and the rationalization of urban space”, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 24/1 (1999), 22–44.

Haussmann's urbanistic ideal was one of views in perspective down long street-vistas. It corresponded to the tendency which was noticeable again and again during the 19th century, to ennoble technical exigencies with artistic aims. The institutions of the worldly and spiritual rule of the bourgeoisie, set in the frame of the boulevards, were to find their apotheosis.³⁵

Furthermore, Benjamin associated Haussmann with the "rendition into stone" of what he called phantasmagoria,³⁶ an image a "commodity-producing society [...] produces of itself [...] and that it customarily labels as its culture."³⁷ When discussing the commodity-form in *Capital*, Marx states that: "It is nothing but the definite social relation between men themselves which assumes here, for them, the fantastic [the German term Marx uses is *phantasmagorisch(e)*] form of a relation between things."³⁸ Thus, according to Derrida, Marx analyses "not only the phantomalisation of the commodity-form but the phantomalisation of the social bond."³⁹ In *The Arcades Project* Benjamin expands on that element of phantasmagoria developed by Marx that relates to the commodity-in-the-market. Benjamin shifts his emphasis to a conceptualisation of phantasmagoria associated with the commodity-*in-display*, thus stressing its representational value.⁴⁰ Shifting the attention from the spectacle of commodities to the process that relates capital with labour, David Harvey has argued that Haussmann's projects were, indeed, a contribution to solving the issue of the concentration of unemployed surpluses of both capital and labour power.⁴¹ Therefore, at this time, urbanisation in Paris can be seen as a way of absorbing those surpluses, acting as a vehicle for social stabilisation.⁴²

Returning to the urban reconfiguration of Lisbon according to Parisian inspiration (thus related to the phantasmagoric image of modern life) and to the idea of

³⁵ Benjamin, *op. cit.*, 86.

³⁶ Benjamin, "Paris – Exposé de 1939", in Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 24.

³⁷ Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, 669. For a more detailed discussion on Benjamin's concept of phantasmagoria see Margaret Cohen, "Le Diable à Paris: Benjamin's phantasmagoria", in Margaret Cohen, *Profane Illumination: Walter Benjamin and the Paris of Surrealist Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 217–269.

³⁸ Karl Marx, *Capital* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1992), 165.

³⁹ Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx* (London/NY: Routledge, 1994), 159.

⁴⁰ Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 81–82.

⁴¹ David Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (London/NY: Routledge 2003), 118.

⁴² Harvey, "The right to the city", *New Left Review*, 53/September–October, (2008), 23–40. For an interesting discussion about surplus from Spinoza to Lacan see Kiarina Kordela, *Surplus (Spinoza, Lacan)* (NY: SUNY Press, 2007).

modernity, Eça de Queirós presented the discontinuity between the Passeio Público and the Avenida da Liberdade in his novel *Os Maias* (published in 1888). In one section of the text, the protagonist, Carlos da Maia, returning to Lisbon in 1887 after a long absence brought by the tragic outcome of his incestuous relationship, goes for a walk in the city and encounters the Passeio Público transformed into the Avenida. Interestingly enough, this new broad and bright space is presented as having heavy buildings geometrically organised and as being frequented by the modern generation of Lisbon's men.⁴³

A concern associated with urban planning in Lisbon at the time was *salubridade* (public health planning).⁴⁴ The improvement of sanitation through the renewal of the sewer network and the establishment of several indoor markets, such as the Mercado da Ribeira Nova (inaugurated in 1882) and the Mercado de Alcântara (inaugurated in 1905) can be related to this concern. Nevertheless, the urban fabric in Lisbon was anything but homogenous and the old neighbourhoods of Lisbon existed concomitantly with the modern areas. In this respect, Lisbon was a city where the superimposition of buildings of several epochs and styles displays the multi-layered complexity of urban spaces.

Extending the analogy of the then-recently built areas of Lisbon with Benjamin's Paris, this thesis will also posit a relationship between the old districts of Lisbon (such as Alfama or Bairro Alto) and Benjamin and Lacis' Naples.⁴⁵ In this short essay, Benjamin and Lacis stress the porosity of the architecture of the Southern European city, in which "building and action interpenetrate in the courtyards, arcades, and stairways," and the "forced socialisation" imposed by poverty and the "passion for improvisation" are linked to the preservation of "the scope to become a theater of new, unforeseen constellations."⁴⁶ For them, another prominent aspect in Naples was the interpenetration of the public and private spheres, a distinction they stress when comparing that city with its Northern European peers. So, in Naples "each private

⁴³ Eça de Queirós, *Os Maias: episódios da vida romântica* (Porto: Livraria Chardron/Casa Editora Lugan & Genelioux Successores, 1888), 291–292 [the page numbers are from the digital edition of the National Library of Portugal, <http://purl.pt/23/2/>].

⁴⁴ Lisboa, *op. cit.*, 151–177.

⁴⁵ Walter Benjamin and Asja Lacis, "Naples", in Walter Benjamin, *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings* (New York/London: Schocken Books, 2007), 163–173. For an interesting account of everyday life in the old Lisbon's neighbourhoods see Maria Filomena Mónica, "O dia em que Cesário Verde morreu", *Prelo – Revista da Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda*, 12 (1986).

⁴⁶ Benjamin and Lacis, *op. cit.*, 165–166, Simón Parker, *Urban Theory and the Urban Experience: Encountering the City* (London/NY: Routledge, 2004), 16.

attitude or act is permeated by streams of communal life.”⁴⁷ Furthermore, “buildings are used as a popular stage. They are all divided into innumerable, simultaneously animated theaters. Balcony, courtyard, window, gateway, staircase, roof are at the same time stage and boxes.”⁴⁸ Hence, to a rationalised concept of urban space where the public and the private is separated, characteristic of modern industrial cities, the writers see Naples as a chaotic and almost archaic city, not yet subject to the rationalisation embedded in the capitalist development.⁴⁹ On this specific point, “the structuring boundaries of modern capitalism – between public and private, labor and leisure, personal and communal – have not yet been established.”⁵⁰

In his analysis of Haussmann’s Paris, however, David Harvey relates the establishment of commercial spaces and entertainment venues with precisely the flexibilisation of the boundary between public and private spaces, a limit that became porous.⁵¹ This statement seems to make Harvey’s and Benjamin’s perspectives incompatible. However, the two authors are addressing distinct types of porosity. On the one hand, Harvey emphasises a rationalisation of space that established a porosity in which the circulation of capital, people, and commodities was facilitated. Conversely, Benjamin addresses the porosity of the older districts of Naples (and Lisbon) based in the forced socialisation process to which their inhabitants were subjected, a consequence of their belonging to the poor segments of the city’s population. Therefore, the idea of porosity is used by both Benjamin and Harvey in their analysis of various and specific aspects of urban life, pointing to multilayered and shifting concepts of publicness and domesticity that cannot be consistently and directly translated into a polarity between public and private realms. Moreover, Boym argues that porosity is a quality present in all cities, consisting in a spatial metaphor for a “variety of temporal dimensions embedded in physical space” that reflects multiple “layers of time and history, social problems, as well as ingenious techniques of urban survival” and creates “a sense of urban theatricality and intimacy.”⁵²

One example drawn from literature of a porosity (in Benjamin’s sense of the word) between some spaces in Lisbon during the second half of the nineteenth century

⁴⁷ Benjamin and Laciš, *op. cit.*, 171.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁴⁹ Jennifer Robinson, *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development* (London/NY: Routledge, 2006), 33.

⁵⁰ Buck-Morss, *op. cit.*, 26.

⁵¹ Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity*, 207.

⁵² Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 77.

is the poem *O sentimento de um ocidental* (The feeling of a Westerner) written by Cesário Verde (1855–86).⁵³ Initially published in 1880 as part of a special supplement of the newspaper *Jornal de viagens* entitled *Portugal a Camões* (that paid homage to the poet Luís de Camões in the tri-centennial of his death), the poem was afterwards included in a posthumous compilation of Cesário Verde’s poetry.⁵⁴ In this text, the subject perambulates through Lisbon, from dusk until late at night.⁵⁵ Each of the four sections is marked as a specific temporal signature (the “Avé Marias” – Hail Marys, the “Noite Fechada” – Dark Night, “Ao gás” – When the gas lighting is turned on and “Horas Mortas” – Late Hours). The stance of the subject in this poem can be related to Michel de Certeau’s work on everyday life, in which walking is seen as “an elementary form of this experience of the city.”⁵⁶ De Certeau states that “the act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to the statements uttered.”⁵⁷ Cesário’s poem can be framed by an urban experience in which “the moving about that the city multiplies and concentrates makes the city itself an immense social experience of lacking a place.”⁵⁸ Furthermore, this poetic subject is a *flâneur*, a strolling spectator of urban life who “could no longer fully identify his sense of modernity with the actual empirical city of Paris [or Lisbon], nor could he celebrate it in the social types and everyday life he observed in the urban landscape.”⁵⁹

Although the *flâneur* has been mostly associated with the writings of Charles Baudelaire and Walter Benjamin on Paris during the Second Empire, David Harvey argues that the same character is present in Balzac’s work about the same city in the period 1830–48, and even earlier.⁶⁰ “Balzac’s flâneur (or flâneuse) maps the city’s terrain and evokes its living qualities. The city is thereby rendered legible for us in a

⁵³ I will not attempt to make a full literary analysis of the poem, but to select a few constellations that are more related with this section. For a literary analysis see, for example, Sônia Maria de Araújo Cintra, “O sentimento dum ocidental”, de Cesário Verde: uma poética das relações espaço-temporais no “território vivido”, 2007, www.abralic.org.br/enc2007/anais/84/1682.pdf (8th October 2009).

⁵⁴ About the Camões’ celebrations, please see the previous chapter of this thesis. The posthumous compilation is Cesário Verde, *O livro de Cesário Verde* (Lisbon: Typographia Elzeveriana, 1887).

⁵⁵ Fialho d’Almeida also wrote an account of the nights in Lisbon during this time. See Fialho d’Almeida, “De noite”, in Fialho d’Almeida, *Lisboa galante* (Porto: Livraria Civilização, 1890), 205–220.

⁵⁶ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 93.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁵⁹ Mary Gluck, *Popular Bohemia: Modernism and Urban Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 100. For an account of the role of the strolling spectator in the literature of this time see John Rignall, *Realist Fiction and the Strolling Spectator* (London/NY: Routledge, 1992). On the *flâneur* see Keith Tester (ed.), *The Flâneur* (London/NY: Routledge, 1994).

⁶⁰ Harvey, *op. cit.*, 23–57.

very distinctive way.”⁶¹ About the *flâneur*, Schwartz states: “As a Parisian ‘type’ the *flâneur* has been taken to exemplify the masculine and bourgeois privilege of modern public life in Paris. The *flâneur* delighted in the sight of the city and its tumultuous crowd, while allegedly remaining aloof and detached from it.”⁶² Nevertheless, the problematic association of the *flâneur* with the masculine subject has been brought into question in the past decades, as Harvey’s quote reproduced above illustrates.⁶³ Furthermore, the issue of the *flâneur* as a bourgeois type has been dealt with by Schwartz, who argues that, in modern urban life, “*flânerie* became a cultural activity for a generalized Parisian public” and that the “*flâneur* is not so much a person as *flânerie* is a positionality of power – one through which the spectator assumes the position of being able to be part of the spectacle and yet command it at the same time.”⁶⁴ About the Musée Grévin (a waxwork museum established in Paris in 1882), Schwartz remarked that “the consumption of life as spectacle was not necessarily alienating, that *flânerie* had possibly liberating and even democratizing effects.”⁶⁵ In another work, Schwartz stated that “*flânerie* has become so common a term to describe urban spectatorship that it has begun to seem hollow.”⁶⁶ Furthermore, the focus on the *flâneur* obfuscated another spectator of Parisian modern life: the *badaud* (translated as onlooker, rubberneck or gawker), a character also present in the works of Benjamin.⁶⁷ A distinction between the *flâneur* and the *badaud* was included in Victor Fournel’s book *Ce qu'on voit dans les rues de Paris* (published in 1867) and quoted by Benjamin in *Charles Baudelaire and The Arcades Project*:

The *Flâneur* must not be confused with the *badaud*; a nuance should be observed here ... The simple *Flâneur* ... is always in full possession of his individuality. By contrast, the individuality of the *badaud* disappears, absorbed

⁶¹ Harvey, *op. cit.*, 55.

⁶² Schwartz, *op.cit.*, 9.

⁶³ About the discussion on gender regarding the *flâneur/flâneuse* see Janet Wolff, “The invisible flâneuse. Women and the literature of modernity”, *Theory, Culture & Society*, 2/3 (1985), 37–46; Deborah L. Parsons, *Streetwalking the Metropolis: Women, the City, and Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Aruna D’Souza and Tom McDonough (eds), *The Invisible Flâneuse? Gender, Public Space, and Visual Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

⁶⁴ Schwartz, *op. cit.*, 9, 16.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁶⁶ Schwartz, “Walter Benjamin for historians”, *American Historical Review*, 106/5 (2001), 1732. This article also addresses the relations between Benjamin and the thought of Georg Simmel regarding the metropolis. See also Georg Simmel, “The metropolis and mental life”, in Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson (eds), *The Blackwell City Reader* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 11–19.

⁶⁷ Gregory Chaya, “The *flâneur*, the *badaud*, and the making of a mass public in France, circa 1860–1910”, *American Historical Review*, 109/1 (2004), 41–77.

by the outside world, which ravishes him, which moves him to drunkenness and ecstasy. Under the influence of the spectacle that presents itself to him, the *badaud* becomes an impersonal creature; he is no longer a man, he is the public, he is the crowd.⁶⁸

This distinction is key when dealing with the narrator of Cesário Verde's poem whose individuality is never absorbed into the urban crowd he contemplates, thus making him a *flâneur*. *O sentimento de um ocidental* starts in the shipyards near the river, where the shipwrights are still working (hopping around the scaffoldings) and the caulkers are returning home. Further along, the narrator sees the barefooted *varinas* (itinerant female fish merchants) returning to their insalubrious districts, and relates those places with the places where infections are triggered.⁶⁹ In the next section of the poem ("Noite Fechada"), the subject arrives at Chiado, where the social landscape changes. He hears the noises of the nearby jail, watches the turning on of the lights in the flats, observes the cafés, tobacconists, the *tascas* (eating houses), the *tendas* (small groceries) and sees the horsed patrolmen. Further along, the narrator crosses his path with the florists and the seamstresses that are leaving work, yet some of them are going to the theatres where they perform as extras or chorus girls.⁷⁰

The third section, "Ao gás", marks an abrupt change of the city, describing the bourgeois women returning from their religious practices. Further along, the narrator sees shop-windows being examined by a young delinquent and cruises the fashion and fabric shops, where the suffocating smells of face powder linger through "clouds of satin."⁷¹ The reference to gas lighting as a temporal marker is important here because it reveals a boundary between day and night in the city. At the time, gas was still the main fuel for the public lighting in the city, but the late nineteenth and the earlier twentieth centuries saw electric-powered public illumination reaching a significant part of Lisbon's centre.⁷² In his writings on Baudelaire, Walter Benjamin remarks that "the appearance of the street as an *intérieur* in which the phantasmagoria of the *flâneur* is concentrated is hard to separate from gas lighting."⁷³ At this point, the dim gas lighting

⁶⁸ Chaya, *op. cit.*, 50. This passage appears, in a slightly modified form in Walter Benjamin, *The Writer of Modern Life: Essays on Charles Baudelaire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 248 [n. 189] and in Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, 429.

⁶⁹ Cesário Verde, "O sentimento de um ocidental", in Cesário Verde, *O livro de Cesário Verde* (Lisbon: Typographia Elzeveriana, 1887), 61–62.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 62–64.

⁷¹ Verde, *op. cit.*, 64–66.

⁷² Abílio Fernandes, *Lisboa e a electricidade* (Lisbon: EDP, 1992), 15–63.

⁷³ Benjamin, *The Writer of Modern life: Essays on Charles Baudelaire*, 81.

seems to reinforce the phantasmagoric appearance of the commodity-in-display in the city. In *O sentimento de um ocidental*, the nauseating smell of the leaking gas was set forth just as the poem starts and an oppressive atmosphere can be found throughout the text. Despite the prominence given to a bourgeois social space, the section “Ao gás” finishes with a reference to a hoarse lottery seller and to an old man (the narrator’s former teacher of Latin), who is begging.⁷⁴

The last section of the poem moves to the gates of the private houses of wealthy people, where the subject pictures the “chaste wives” nestling “in mansions of transparent glass.”⁷⁵ Afterwards, the subject walks past the taverns where drunken men sing, sees the guards of the city searching the stairways and the “immorals” wearing their robes while smoking on the balcony.⁷⁶ The poem finishes with the stanza: “And, huge, in this irregular mass / of sepulchral buildings sized like hills / the human Pain searches the broad horizons, / and has tides, of gall, like a sinister sea!”⁷⁷ A narrative poem, *O sentimento de um ocidental* can be useful to understand the complexity of the urban spaces in Lisbon at this time, portraying the sequential and successive changes of the social and physical landscape, hinting at the porosity present in the old districts of the city. In this sense, several areas in Lisbon had, simultaneously, common traits with both Paris and Naples, as they were presented by Walter Benjamin.

As mentioned earlier, the shift of the public lighting in Lisbon from gas or oil to electricity was uneven throughout the city, first benefiting both the newly developed areas and the districts traditionally associated with commerce and entertainment. Consequently, the first spaces to have a definitive installation of electrical lighting (from 1889) were: Chiado, Rua do Ouro, Praça D. Pedro IV (Rossio), Praça do Município, Praça dos Restauradores, and Avenida da Liberdade.⁷⁸ This planning of lighting created a kind of delimited corridor for a specific kind of publicness in Lisbon, putting sites such as shops, theatres, public buildings, and cafés on display. Furthermore, several commercial enterprises helped to transform the Chiado from the last decade of the nineteenth century onwards, especially the first multi-storey department stores in Lisbon (analogous to the French *magasins* of the time): the Grandes Armazéns do Chiado

⁷⁴ Verde, *op. cit.*, 66.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁷⁷ “E, enorme, nessa massa irregular/De prédios sepulcrais, com dimensões de montes/A Dor humana busca os amplos horizontes,/E tem marés, de fêl, como um sinistro mar!”, Verde, *op. cit.*, 68.

⁷⁸ Fernandes, *Lisboa e a electricidade* (Lisbon: EDP, 1992), 15–63.

(established in 1894) and the Armazéns Grandella (established in 1907).⁷⁹ The latter was owned by the entrepreneur Francisco Grandella (1853–1934) who, in order to supply his store, possessed also factories in Benfica (a civil parish incorporated in the city of Lisbon in 1885) and Alhandra (a village in the eastern periphery of Lisbon). To provide accommodation for workers, Grandella built a neighbourhood in Benfica (the Bairro Grandella – that also included a school, 1903), planned as a way of “reproducing the labour hierarchy in the place of habitation” promoting a paternalistic view of the workers.⁸⁰ The Companhia dos Grandes Armazéns do Chiado was established in 1894 by two French immigrants and traded on clothes, jewellery and perfumery and lasted only three years.⁸¹ Nevertheless, the store was occupied by other businesses until the opening of the Grandes Armazéns do Chiado (a department store owned by the company Santos, Cruz & Oliveira, Lda) in 1904.⁸²

The entertainment business was not immune to the transformation of the urban landscape.⁸³ Being a volatile activity, several theatres opened and closed in various areas of Lisbon, such as the Teatro do Salitre, which changed its name to Teatro das Variedades in 1858, and was demolished in 1879 for the construction of the Avenida da Liberdade.⁸⁴ Another space demolished in the building of the new avenue was the Circo Price, which presented mainly circus, although there are references to operettas and *zarzuelas* being staged there.⁸⁵ The Teatro da Rua dos Condes closed down in 1882 and a provisional theatre was built on that same plot, the Teatro Chalet da Rua dos Condes, lasting only three seasons.⁸⁶ During the last years of the Teatro da Rua dos Condes, *revistas* were the most important source of income for the theatre and the same repertoire was also dominant in its successor, the short-lived Teatro Chalet (in which

⁷⁹ Joaquim Palminha Silva, “Armazéns Grandella: como nasceram e o que foram”, *História*, 112 (1988), 4–27 and João Mário Mascarenhas (ed.), *Grandella, o grande homem* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1994).

⁸⁰ Nuno Teotónio Pereira, “Pátios e vilas de Lisboa, 1870–1930: a promoção privada do alojamento operário”, *Análise social*, 29/127 (1994), 518. On the paternalistic practices of employers during this period in the United States of America see Andrea Tone, *The Business of Benevolence: Industrial Paternalism in Progressive America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997).

⁸¹ For a graphic depiction of this enterprise see *O micróbio*, n° 29, 31st January 1895, 32.

⁸² Hélder Ferreira and António Azevedo, *Armazéns do Chiado: 100 anos* (Mafra: Elo, 2001).

⁸³ For an overview of the musical theatre in Portugal during the nineteenth century see Manuel Carlos de Brito and Luísa Cymbron, *História da música portuguesa* (Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 1992), 129–137.

⁸⁴ *O Occidente*, n° 42, 15th September 1879, 138–140; António de Sousa Bastos, *Diccionario do theatro portuguez* (Lisbon: Imp. Libânio da Silva, 1908), 362–363, and Francisco da Fonseca Benevides, *O Real Theatro de S. Carlos de Lisboa desde a sua fundação em 1793 até à actualidade: estudo histórico* (Lisbon: Typ. Castro Irmão, 1883), 316–317.

⁸⁵ *O Occidente*, n° 155, 11th April 1883, 83, 85 and Bastos, *op. cit.*, 194.

⁸⁶ Bastos, *op. cit.*, 325, 359–361.

one of the most successful *revistas* of the seasons of 1884 and 1885, *O micróbio*, by Francisco Jacobetty, was presented).⁸⁷ In 1888, a new theatre, the Teatro Condes, was open in the same grounds and presented operettas and *revistas*. Furthermore, the newspaper *O Micróbio* mentioned a café-concert in the theatre, in which “saucy songs” were performed with a “French grace.”⁸⁸ This space belonged to Francisco Grandella and was initially run by the entrepreneurs Salvador Marques (1844-1907) and Casimiro d’Almeida.⁸⁹ The opening of three theatres (and a cinema in 1950) on the same exact plot can indicate that this space was part of Lisbon’s entertainment market for a long period, evidencing a spatial *habitus* (the integration of a specific space into the routine of sociability of individuals).⁹⁰ In retrospect, of the theatres working in the first forty years of the nineteenth century, only the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, the Teatro de D. Maria II and the Teatro do Ginásio (where the first *revistas* were presented in the 1850s) have survived and maintained regular activity throughout the nineteenth century.

In the last third of the nineteenth century, several theatres were built in Lisbon and in other towns and villages, which might indicate an increase of the theatrical activity. Despite the ephemerality of the theatrical business, a few of these new spaces were key to the expansion of the market for performances in Lisbon, especially by becoming important venues for the presentation of new genres of musical theatre that were then becoming dominant: the operetta and the *revista*. For example, the Teatro do Príncipe Real opened in 1865, in the district of Mouraria, and presented melodrama and, occasionally, operetta.⁹¹ The Teatro da Trindade opened in 1867 as a space that could both accommodate drama, comedy and comic operas in the main hall and concerts and balls in another hall (the Salão), giving a special relevance to operetta and *revista*.⁹² This theatre was built with the capital of a society and was directed by one of its members, Francisco Palha (1826–90), who was running the Teatro da Rua dos Condes

⁸⁷ Bastos, *op. cit.*, 325, 359–361. and Luiz Francisco Rebello, *História do teatro de revista em Portugal*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 1984), 84.

⁸⁸ See *O micróbio*, n° 23, 16th December 1894, 182. It was not possible to determine the frequency nor the duration of this activity. However, Carlos Malheiro Dias relates the café-concert in Lisbon with the closing of Lisbon’s main theatres during the Summer season and the opening of improvised theatres in the periphery of the city. See Carlos Malheiro Dias, *Cartas de Lisboa: terceira série (1905–1906)* (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1907), 262–269.

⁸⁹ Bastos, *op. cit.*, 359.

⁹⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

⁹¹ Bastos, *op. cit.*, 355.

⁹² Tomaz Ribas, *O Teatro da Trindade: 125 anos de vida* (Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1993), 13 and Luiz Francisco Rebello, *O teatro naturalista e neo-romântico (1870–1910)* (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1978), 53–54.

during the season of 1866.⁹³ The Teatro Taborda, situated in the Costa do Castelo and concentrating especially on drama, was inaugurated in 1870.⁹⁴ The Real Coliseu de Lisboa (mostly dedicated to circus, but also presenting opera, comic opera, operetta and *zarzuela*) opened in 1887. Furthermore, the first projections of film in Lisbon took place in this space (from 1896 onwards) and the new type of entertainment was soon disseminated to other theatres, such as the Teatro D. Amélia and in venues built for its presentation, such as the Animatógrafo do Rossio (established in 1907).⁹⁵ In 1888, the Teatro da Avenida (one of the first buildings of the Avenida da Liberdade) began presenting comedies and *revistas*.⁹⁶ The short-lived Teatro da Alegria (near the Avenida da Liberdade and dedicated to spoken theatre) was built on the same grounds of the Rua Nova da Alegria where a provisional theatre once stood, and opened in 1890.⁹⁷ Further along the same year, the biggest venue in Lisbon, the Coliseu dos Recreios (an octagonal hall with a glass and iron dome), was open. The Coliseu premièred with a comic opera by an Italian company, although its main specification was the presentation of circus shows.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the space also accommodated several theatrical genres (such as operetta, *zarzuela* and Italian opera), public concerts, film (with Edison's projectoscope), and wrestling.⁹⁹ In 1894, an operetta inaugurated the Teatro D. Amélia, located in Chiado, but the theatre came to present mainly drama, comedy, and cinema.¹⁰⁰ By interlocking theatres and spaces of circulation and sociability, it is possible to grasp that most of the recently built theatres were still in the areas traditionally associated with leisure (such as Chiado or Trindade), but the expansion of the city with the Avenida da Liberdade also enlarged the theatrical circuit (especially with the Teatro Condes, the Teatro da Alegria, the Teatro da Avenida, and the Coliseu dos Recreios).

⁹³ Bastos, *op. cit.*, 372–373.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 371.

⁹⁵ Marina Tavares Dias, *Lisboa desaparecida* (Lisbon: Quimera Editores, 1987), 143–146.

⁹⁶ Bastos, *op. cit.*, 312, 318.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 316 and *O Occidente*, n° 412, 1st June 1890, 123.

⁹⁸ Bastos, *op. cit.*, 309–310. Another possible entertainment for the population of Lisbon was the bullfight. These have been frequently presented in Lisbon since, at least, the last years of the eighteenth century (first in Salitre, then in the Campo de Santana). In 1892, a modern and specifically designated space for its practice was opened, the Praça de Touros do Campo Pequeno.

⁹⁹ Mário Moreau, *Coliseu dos Recreios: um século de história* (Lisbon: Quetzal Editores, 1994), 17–20, 25, 38, 205–206.

¹⁰⁰ Bastos, *op. cit.*, 332–333. For several reviews of presentations in the Teatro de D. Amélia (among other chronicles) see Fialho d'Almeida, *Actores e autores* (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1925). This spatial distribution of theatrical genres was presented both in Bastos, *op. cit.*, 35 and in Rebello, *O teatro naturalista e neo-romântico (1870–1910)*, 53–54. About the presentation of film in the Teatro de D. Amélia see Dias, *Lisboa desaparecida*, 145.

An analysis of ticket pricing, shows that this did not play a major role in audience segmentation. The Real Teatro de São Carlos charged the most expensive prices in almost all of its sections of the room (boxes, balconies and stalls). This reinforces the notion of that theatre as a highly selective space and associates opera going with a strategy of social distinction promoted by the upper strata of Lisbon's society.¹⁰¹ According to Bourdieu, "it is true that one can observe almost everywhere a tendency toward spatial segregation, people who are close together in social space tending to find themselves, by choice or by necessity, close to one another in geographic space."¹⁰² Towards the end of the century, the Coliseu dos Recreios started to present Italian opera (although this repertoire never became the core of its programming), thus complicating the association of opera with a social and spatial demarcation of Lisbon's audiences.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, the Real Teatro de São Carlos retained its symbolic capital and kept its role in the sociability circuits of the upper strata of Lisbon's audience. In his analysis of the social segmentation of that audience, Rebello states that the Real Teatro de São Carlos, the Teatro Nacional de D. Maria II and the Teatro D. Amélia attracted the haute and middle bourgeoisie and the other theatres had a predominantly popular audience.¹⁰⁴

Associating theatres with the spectacles presented, it is possible to infer a relation between audience segmentation and theatrical genres. Therefore, opera (performed in the Real Teatro de São Carlos) and drama and high comedy (presented in the Teatro Nacional de D. Maria II and the Teatro D. Amélia) attracted the high and middle bourgeoisie (and, although Rebello does not refer to it directly, the aristocracy) and operetta, *revista* and circus attracted the popular segments of Lisbon's theatregoers.¹⁰⁵ Apart from the Real Teatro de São Carlos, the other Lisbon theatres had identical ticket prices among themselves, a fact that complicates a straightforward use of pricing as a gatekeeping strategy.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, the capacity to attract specific

¹⁰¹ Pierre Bourdieu. *La distinction. Critique social du jugement* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1979). Eça de Queirós presented this view in his text concerning the theatre included in *As farpas*. See Ramalho Ortigão and Eça de Queirós, *As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes*, (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1872), 65.

¹⁰² Bourdieu, "Social space and symbolic power", *Sociological Theory*, 7/1 (1989), 16.

¹⁰³ Moreau, *op. cit.*, 20.

¹⁰⁴ Rebello, *op. cit.*, 53–54.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ On ticket pricing in the Lisbon theatres in 1890 see Rui Leitão, *A ambiência musical e sonora da cidade de Lisboa no ano de 1890* Master's thesis (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2006), 163–164, 307–308.

segments of the audience was also heavily indebted to the type of entertainment on offer in those spaces and to the agents involved in it (such as famous actors, for example).

According to James Clifford's approach to Michel de Certeau's theory of everyday life: "'space' is never ontologically given. It is discursively mapped and corporeally practiced."¹⁰⁷ This conceptualisation of space leads me to the thought of Henri Lefebvre who concentrated "not on space as an a priori or ontological entity, but on the processes and strategies of producing space, which are by definition historical."¹⁰⁸ Considering his groundbreaking book *The Production of Space*, Deborah Pellow remarks that Lefebvre "emphasizes the symbolic meaning and significance of particular spaces, in effect how spaces are culturalized, but also how culture is spatialized, how practices are lived in space."¹⁰⁹ Therefore, spatial and cultural practices are not only inseparable, but are inherently intertwined with each other.

In his work *The Urban Revolution*, Lefebvre constructs a synchronic analysis of space in contemporary societies divided into three levels: the global, the mixed and the level of habiting.¹¹⁰ Although he was theorising contemporary society, due to the necessary historicity implicit in his thought, these analytical levels can be applied to other historical moments, especially if one pays close attention to their historical particularities. In his theory, the global level is presented by its association with the exercise of power (by politicians, for instance) and it relates to what he terms institutional space.¹¹¹ If the global level "projects itself into part of the built domain: buildings, monuments, large-scaled urban projects", it is possible to relate the planning and construction of the Avenida da Liberdade, for example, with this level.¹¹² The mixed level is, for Lefebvre, the specifically urban, an intermediary level between the global and the private, where elements related to "institutions and higher-level entities" are removed from the cityscape.¹¹³ On this point, Lefebvre's examples relate, in a particular way, to contemporary society, because he includes on that level avenues and a

¹⁰⁷ James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 54.

¹⁰⁸ Kanishka Goonewardena, *et al*, "On the production of Henri Lefebvre", in Kanishka Goonewardena, *et al* (eds), *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (London/New York: Routledge, 2008), 9.

¹⁰⁹ Deborah Pellow, "The architecture of female seclusion in West Africa", in Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga and Setha M. Low (eds), *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 2003), 161 and Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1991).

¹¹⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 78.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 80.

few institutional buildings such as city councils and parish churches. For a city with the dimension of Lisbon and the centralisation of local and national institutions, there is a complex permeability between its global and the mixed levels. Finally, the level of habiting is associated by Lefebvre with the private realm, mainly housing.¹¹⁴ Again, the blurring of the threshold between public and private spaces in Lisbon points to a bleeding of the mixed level into the level of habiting and vice-versa. In the case of Lisbon at this time, it is possible to observe a porosity between spaces and between levels. Therefore, a hypothetical reconstruction of the produced land/soundscapes in the several levels of the city of Lisbon can only be multilayered and complex.

The Real Teatro de São Carlos and Lisbon's Operatic Activity

As mentioned earlier, the Real Teatro de São Carlos was the foremost site for the sociability of the higher social strata of Lisbon, occupying a privileged place for the display of prestige in the city.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, this theatre worked not only as a place for the exhibition of the self, but also as a gathering point that fomented the “investment in social relations with expected returns” for the aristocracy/bourgeoisie of Lisbon.¹¹⁶ Thus, the opera theatre is a favoured place for the study of the workings of social capital in the sociability networks.¹¹⁷

Since its establishment, the Real Teatro de São Carlos concentrated most of the operatic performances in Portugal and presented predominantly opera in Italian. As most of the Italian theatres throughout Europe, it was run in an impresario-based model (but subsidised by the government in most of the seasons studied) and employed an Italian company during its season.¹¹⁸ Being associated with the entertainment of the upper social strata, its repertoire reflected the coeval transnational trends of the European operatic scene. The programming was initially concentrating in opera by Italian composers, especially Rossini, Donizetti, Bellini and Italy's foremost Italian

¹¹⁴ Lefebvre, *op. cit.*, 80–81.

¹¹⁵ Carvalho, *Eça de Queirós e Offenbach* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 1999), 29–37.

¹¹⁶ Nan Lin, “Building a network theory of social capital”, *Connections*, 22/1 (1999), 30.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 28–51.

¹¹⁸ According to Benevides, the state subsidy for the S. Carlos was suppressed in 1892. See Francisco da Fonseca Benevides, *O Real Theatro de S. Carlos de Lisboa: memorias 1883–1902* (Lisbon: Typographia & Lithographia de Ricardo de Sousa Salles, 1902), 81–82, and Rui Vieira Nery and Paulo Ferreira de Castro, *História da música* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1991), 152.

composer of that period, Verdi.¹¹⁹ For example, in the 1864/1865 operatic season, of the seventeen operas presented, thirteen were written by the composers mentioned above.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, in this period there was a noteworthy change in the way operatic theatres managed their repertoire. During a significant part of the nineteenth century, and despite the frequent performance of a few operas, theatrical programming relied on novelty and on staging premières of unknown works. However, from the middle of that century, the constitution of an operatic canon reshaped the season structure. The programming shifted towards the recurrent performance of the same operas (mainly associated with the Italian tradition), including a few occasional premières. Nonetheless, most of the operatic premières in the Real Teatro de São Carlos until the 1880s were of new operas by prominent living composers associated with that canon, like Verdi.

On the one hand, this transformation points to a narrowing of the operatic repertoire and to the homogenisation, and thus commodification, of operatic performances. Conversely, this shift is crucial to understand the development of the musical canon in Lisbon. This frequent presentation of the same repertoire fomented the creation of an informal archive of operas and other related artefacts in the São Carlos, that still remains one of the most important collections for the study of music in Lisbon, and is now extant in the National Library of Portugal. However, due to the informal (thus unsystematic) nature of this archive, to the changes operated in the management of the theatre by the government, and to the ephemerality of the repertoire of the operatic activity until the middle of the nineteenth century, several materials associated with a significant number of operas presented in the Real Teatro de São Carlos were lost or misplaced and never found their way into that collection.¹²¹ For instance, the transition between a model in which the materials bought by a specific impresario were included in the inventory of the theatre (being its buyer refunded after the end of the contract) to a model in which the enterprises owned their specific materials, was reflected in the slower expansion of the theatre's inventory.¹²² On that note, Sousa Bastos argued that none of the Portuguese theatres possessed an archive, but a collection of several manuscripts or printed materials for their own use, a reality that complicates the task for

¹¹⁹ For an account of Verdi's reception in Portugal see Luísa Cymbron (ed.), *Verdi em Portugal 1843–2001* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 2001) [exhibition catalogue].

¹²⁰ Benevides, *op. cit.*, 312–313.

¹²¹ Benevides, *op. cit.*, 307–309.

¹²² *Ibid.*

theatre and music historians.¹²³ In this case, he stresses the importance of a formal (thus systematic) approach to archives as a source for future historians. Nevertheless, the ephemerality of the theatrical activity in Portugal as well as a mainly utilitarian perspective on these materials remain fundamental issues to understand the dynamics of the entertainment market at the time.

Apart from the performance of full operas and ballets, other types of spectacle were presented in the Real Teatro de São Carlos. A number of presentations were benefit shows for a large number of people associated with the theatre and with the musical life in Lisbon. This consisted in a performance that its net profit was to be delivered to the benefited (who could be an individual or a society, for example). Because benefits were not included in the season tickets, their gain depended directly on specific ticket office revenue. In order to maximise profit, the repertoire chosen had to be the most appealing possible, such as the performance of successful operas in their entirety or in parts (full acts or selected arias). These varied programmes were similar to the heterogeneous repertoire performed in public concerts from the first part of the nineteenth century, and, if the beneficiary was an instrumentalist, generally included soloist pieces performed by him/her.

The season of the Real Teatro de São Carlos was shorter than most of the theatres in Lisbon (whose season lasted between six and eight months), usually extending from October to March or April.¹²⁴ On this issue, the writer Júlio César Machado (1835–90) started his book *Os teatros de Lisboa* (in which he discussed the activity of the São Carlos, D. Maria and Trindade) by comparing the São Carlos to a cloak, for they only served during the wintertime.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, its short season allowed for the space to be used by other companies during the long summer break and for the orchestra musicians to work in other theatres.¹²⁶ For example, the *zarzuela* company associated with Circo Price performed several shows in S. Carlos during May of 1866, in which works by Francisco Barbieri (1823–94), Joaquín Gaztambide (1822–70), Manuel Caballero (1835–1906), and José Rogel (1829–1901) were presented.¹²⁷ An interesting use of that theatre by this company took place during May and June of 1870.

¹²³ Bastos, *Diccionario do teatro portuguez* (Lisbon: Imp. Libânio da Silva, 1908), 16. For an interesting discussion about archives see Carolyn Steedman, *Dust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).

¹²⁴ Bastos, *op. cit.*, 58 and Benevides, *op. cit.*, 385.

¹²⁵ Machado, *Os teatros de Lisboa*, 11.

¹²⁶ Leitão, *op. cit.*, 60.

¹²⁷ Benevides, *op. cit.*, 316–317.

Aside from several *zarzuelas* by Barbieri, Gaztambide, and Emilio Arrieta (1821–94), they performed two of Jacques Offenbach’s operettas (*La vie parisienne* and *Barbe-Bleu*) in Spanish.¹²⁸ This demonstrates the role played by that type of entertainment during this period and its frequent performance in translated versions, as well as the complexity embedded in naming operatic genres at this time, especially in this segment of the entertainment market. Nevertheless, when comparing the *zarzuela* with French operetta, Sousa Bastos emphasises the national character of the latter, especially because of its inclusion of “popular songs,” patriotic marches, and dances such as *seguidillas* or *malagueñas*.¹²⁹ Several theatrical companies (such as the ones performing in the Teatro de D. Maria II or in the Teatro Ginásio as well as foreign companies) performed occasionally in the Real Teatro de S. Carlos.¹³⁰ Another seasonal entertainment provided in the several theatres and societies in Lisbon were the masked balls. For instance, in the carnival of the 1877/1878 season, the impresarios promoted four balls and three corresponding operatic performances (the fourth being included in the regular season of the theatre), for which they created a signature ticket.

Although the establishment of a transnational operatic repertoire was the most prominent feature of the programming of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, it must be emphasised that this canon was dynamic and subject to change, both through the integration of recently composed operas by active composers and through the rise of new aesthetic movements. Notwithstanding the dominance of the Italian canon, the programming started to include Meyerbeer’s operas in the late 1830s, and works by Gounod, Halévy, Auber, Thomas, Massenet, Délibes, or Bizet were regularly performed from the 1860s onwards. Furthermore, the performance of operas associated with Italian *verismo* and the incorporation of works by German composers (especially Wagner’s musical dramas, although *Lohengrin* premièred in that theatre in 1883) were key events in Lisbon’s operatic seasons of the 1890s.¹³¹ Nevertheless and considering that the paradigm was changing at the beginning of the twentieth century, the vast majority of these operas were presented in their Italian version, stressing the Italian scope of the S. Carlos. In a sketch about Lisbon’s theatres included in the *revista A nove* (premièred in the Teatro da Avenida in the 28th of February 1909), Sousa Bastos stated that, in the S.

¹²⁸ Benevides, *op. cit.*, 330.

¹²⁹ Bastos, *op. cit.*, 157.

¹³⁰ Benevides, *op. cit.*, 320, 347, 372, 336.

¹³¹ Bastos, *op. cit.*, 261–262 and Mário Moreau, *O Teatro de S. Carlos: dois séculos de história*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Hugin Editores, 1999), 88–157.

Carlos of those days, people were singing in so many tongues, that, one day, they would also “sing in ox tongue.”¹³² This satirical statement not only points to linguistic issues that developed in the opera theatre, but also places the *revista* as a commentator of the theatrical activity, a type of show that does not merely displaying the actuality, but reflects about it.

This expansion of the operatic repertoire is integrated in the transnational reshaping of the entertainment markets during the second half (and, especially, the last third) of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the Real Teatro de S. Carlos is an interesting case to understand the reception of French and German opera within the tradition of an Italian operatic theatre. One striking example took place in 1842, with the performance of two of Saverio Mercadante’s operas: *Il bravo* and *La vestale*. In an article published in the newspaper *A Revolução de Setembro*, a journalist depicted Mercadante (who had previously worked in the Real Teatro de S. Carlos) as a composer who mixed the melodiousness of the Italian operatic tradition with the techniques associated with Viennese late Classicism.¹³³ On the same page, the journalist compared Mercadante with Meyerbeer who, at the time and especially in Southern Europe, stood for the paradigm of German opera, despite his cosmopolitan activity and his contribution for the encoding of the French *grand opéra*.¹³⁴

In the introduction of a posthumous edition of Eça de Queirós’ early writings published in the twentieth century, but referring to the years of 1866 and 1867, Jaime Batalha Reis (1847–1935) critiqued this association stating, that, in Lisbon, the supreme art form was the Italian opera and that Meyerbeer’s productions, albeit Italian operas, were portrayed as representative of the German tradition.¹³⁵ Mário Vieira de Carvalho argues that this association made by Batalha Reis of Meyerbeer with the Italian opera was not only the outcome of its performances in Italian, but also as a result of their adaptation to the Italian company of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos.¹³⁶ Thus, the spectre of an Austro-German (sometimes through an oblique reference to France) musical culture

¹³² Bastos, *A nove: revista em 3 actos e 15 quadros* (Lisbon: Impr. Lucas, 1909), 16.

¹³³ *A Revolução de Setembro*, nº 502, 2nd August 1842, 1.

¹³⁴ About the reception of these two composers in Italy see Michael Wittmann, “Meyerbeer and Mercadante? The reception of Meyerbeer in Italy”, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 5/2 (1993), 115–132 and Fabrizio della Seta, “L’immagine di Meyerbeer nella critica italiana dell’Ottocento e l’idea di ‘dramma musicale’”, in Maria Teresa Muraro, *L’opera tra Venezia e Parigi* (Florence: Olschki, 1988), 147–176. It is also relevant to reinforce this idea that the staging of Weber’s operas in Lisbon happened much later in the nineteenth century.

¹³⁵ Jaime Batalha Reis, “Introdução”, in Eça de Queirós, *Prosas bárbaras* (Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1912), 17.

¹³⁶ Carvalho, *Eça de Queirós e Offenbach*, 96.

surfaces periodically throughout the nineteenth century in Portugal, with regard to both opera and instrumental music.

Later in the century, the rise of Wagner as the German paradigm for the musical theatre became a frequent topic for some Portuguese writers, such as Ramalho Ortigão and Jaime Batalha Reis, who belonged to the so-called *Geração de 70*.¹³⁷ Their quasi-messianic perspective on Wagner can be traced even before the presentation of his musical dramas in Portugal. For example, in his 1876 volume of *As farpas*, Ramalho Ortigão states that, until opera achieves the religious status of the Wagnerian art form, Offenbach's operettas constitute its worthy substitute for Lisbon's public.¹³⁸ This sort of statement reinforces a trope enacted during the nineteenth century: on the one hand Italian opera as entertainment, on the other hand, Austro-German music as art, and French traditions as somewhere in between those principles.

Another example of the public discourse about Richard Wagner is a series of articles by Batalha Reis (under the initials V. de D.¹³⁹) published in *O Occidente* in March and April 1883.¹⁴⁰ These articles were published less than a month after the composer's death and coincided with the première of *Lohengrin*, the first of his operas to be performed in Portugal (staged on the 13th of March). In several issues, Batalha Reis (an alumnus of a German school in Lisbon, the Roeder),¹⁴¹ traces a biography of the composer consistent with the myths that Wagner promoted of himself and which were in wide circulation throughout Europe at the time.¹⁴² In other issues, Batalha Reis writes about the theatre in Bayreuth and the texts of Wagner's dramas.¹⁴³ By portraying the new illusionist apparatus of the Bayreuth theatre as a way of satisfying the "most elevated aesthetic needs of the modern spectator," Batalha Reis emphasises the idea of the full aesthetic experience when attending a performance of a Wagnerian musical drama and promotes the dichotomy between the German art and Italian entertainment.

¹³⁷ For a discussion on Wagner's reception in Portugal see Maria João Rodrigues de Araújo, *The reception of Wagner in Portugal (1880–1930)*, Ph.D. thesis (University of Oxford, 2004).

¹³⁸ Ramalho Ortigão and Eça de Queirós, *As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes*, vol. 7 (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1876), 71–72 and Carvalho, *op. cit.*, 76. On the parallels between Offenbach and Wagner, especially their alternatives to the then-prevalent socio-communicative system of opera consumption see Carvalho, *op. cit.*, 121–125.

¹³⁹ Adriano da Guerra Andrade, *Dicionário de pseudónimos e iniciais de escritores portugueses* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 1999), 269.

¹⁴⁰ *O Occidente*, n°s 151–154, 156–157, from the 1st of March 1883 to the 1st of May 1883 and Carvalho, *op. cit.*, 95.

¹⁴¹ Maria José Marinho, "Jaime Batalha Reis e Celeste Cinatti: diálogo sobre um retrato incompleto", *Análise social*, 42/182 (2007), 281–284 and Mário Vieira de Carvalho, *op. cit.*

¹⁴² *O Occidente*, n° 151, 1st March 1883, 50–51; n° 152, 11th March 1883, 59; n° 153, 21st March 1883, 67 and n° 156, 21st April 1883, 94. Richard Wagner, *My life* (London: Constable & Robinson Ltd, 1996).

¹⁴³ *O Occidente*, n° 154, 1st April 1883, 78 and n° 157, 1st May 1883, 100–102, respectively.

After the première of *Lohengrin* in Lisbon, it was only during the season of 1892/1893 that other Wagnerian music dramas were staged (*Lohengrin* was performed again and *Der fliegende Holländer* and *Tannhäuser* were given their premières).¹⁴⁴ The performance of Wagnerian music dramas in the S. Carlos was related both to the incorporation of that repertoire in the operatic seasons of Italian theatres (a process that started in the 1870s) and to the action of Freitas Brito, the impresario of the theatre at the time.¹⁴⁵ Still on the subject of Wagner's performance in Portugal, the première of *Tristan und Isolde* was scheduled for the 1st of February of 1908. In order to attend that première, the Royal Family returned to Lisbon from Vila Viçosa, a journey that proved to be fatal: on that afternoon, King Carlos I and the Prince D. Luís were mortally shot in Lisbon. Nevertheless, after a postponement due to the regicide, *Tristan und Isolde* premiered on the 10th of February 1908.¹⁴⁶ In the following season (1908/1909) the S. Carlos presented Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen* in German, a fact that evidences both the changes operated in the transnational theatrical repertoire at the time, and the end of the monopoly of Italian companies in the programming of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos.¹⁴⁷

The magazine *Contemporânea* published in 1923 an interesting article on the reception of Wagner's music dramas in Porto, by Manuel Ramos (1862–1931).¹⁴⁸ This piece included an account of the full performances of the piano reductions of Wagner's music dramas *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* by the pianist and composer Miguel Ângelo Pereira (1843–1901) during the year of 1872, based in a description by one of the foremost musicians in that city, Bernardo Valentim Moreira de Sá (1853–1924).¹⁴⁹ According to the article, these private *soirées* were hosted by the violinist Augusto Marques Pinto (1838–88) and attended by Moreira de Sá and the musicographer Joaquim de Vasconcelos (mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis), among other musicians of Porto.¹⁵⁰ In this sense, Wagner's initial reception in Portugal was not exclusively dependent on theatrical performances, but relied also on private circuits of sociability and on the dissemination of the composer's theoretical works.

¹⁴⁴ Moreau, *O Teatro de S. Carlos: dois séculos de história*, vol. 1, 128. For a review of the première of *Der fliegende Holländer* see *A semana de Lisboa*, n° 10, 5th March 1893, 78. For a review of the première of *Tannhäuser* see *A semana de Lisboa*, n° 13, 26th March 1893, 103.

¹⁴⁵ Nery and Castro, *op.cit.*, 152.

¹⁴⁶ Moreau, *op.cit.*, 157.

¹⁴⁷ Nery and Castro, *op.cit.*, 152–153 and Brito and Cymbron, *op. cit.*, 137.

¹⁴⁸ *Contemporânea*, n° 9, March 1923, 137–141.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, n° 9, March 1923, 138.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

At this time, the Real Teatro de S. Carlos only sporadically presented operas by Portuguese composers.¹⁵¹ This can be explained both by the relevance of a transnational operatic repertoire and by the presence of an Italian company in the theatre. For example, when the opera *L'arco di Sant'Anna*, composed by Francisco de Sá Noronha (1820–81), was staged in 1868, several singers refused to learn it because it would not be performed anywhere else.¹⁵² Several operas by local composers staged in the S. Carlos were inspired by Portuguese Romantic historical novels and dramas: *L'arco di Sant'Anna* (based in the novel *O arco de Santana*, by Almeida Garrett), *Eurico* (composed by Miguel Ângelo Pereira, based in the novel *Eurico, o presbítero*, by Alexandre Herculano, and staged in 1870), *Fra Luigi di Sousa* (composed by Freitas Gazul, based in the drama *Frei Luís de Sousa*, by Almeida Garrett, premièred in 1891).¹⁵³ This reveals the importance of Romantic historicism for Portuguese operatic composers at the time, which indicates a complex relation between dramaturgical narratives concerning Portugal (although inspired by French models) and Italian operatic conventions.¹⁵⁴ Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that the dominance of the historical drama in the Portuguese theatre started in the late 1830s and, despite several aesthetic shifts, remained an important spectacle throughout the century. For instance, this model was heavily re-encoded in its last two decades to suit the emergence of the cultural nation-state (a tendency Rebello associates with neo-Romanticism).¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, factual rigour became a significant element in the appreciation of historical plots, a tendency reflected in several reviews of Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine* (an opera that draws on Portuguese history, despite including several historical inaccuracies and inconsistencies).¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ About the performance of operas by Portuguese composers see Teresa Cascudo, “A década da invenção de Portugal na música erudita (1890–1899)”, *Revista portuguesa de musicologia*, 10 (2000), 196–208.

¹⁵² Benevides, *op. cit.*, 324. For an extensive study of Noronha's opera see Luísa Cymbron, Francisco de Sá Noronha e “L'Arco di Sant'anna”: para o estudo da ópera em Portugal (1860–70), Master's thesis (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1990).

¹⁵³ The première of *Fra Luigi de Sousa* was reported abroad in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 1st May 1891, 32/579, 300.

¹⁵⁴ Luísa Cymbron, “Entre o modelo italiano e o drama romântico – os compositores portugueses de meados do século XIX e a ópera”, *Revista portuguesa de musicologia*, 10 (2000), 117–150.

¹⁵⁵ Rebello, *O teatro naturalista e neo-romântico (1870–1910)*, 41–54.

¹⁵⁶ Glória Bastos and Ana Isabel de Vasconcelos, *O teatro em Lisboa no tempo da Primeira República* (Lisbon: Museu Nacional do Teatro, 2004), 100 and Gabriela Cruz, “*L'Africaine*'s savage pleasures: Operatic listening and the Portuguese historical imagination”, *Revista portuguesa de musicologia*, 10 (2000), 151–180.

Another example of Portuguese works performed in the S. Carlos was the staging of several operas by Augusto Machado (1845–1924).¹⁵⁷ Having studied in Paris, Machado returned to Portugal, where he presented three operas and several operettas. His opera *Laureanne* (based in George Sand’s drama *Les beaux messieurs de Bois-Doré*) premièred in Marseille in 1883 and was staged in Lisbon the following year. This opera was performed in Italian and spoken dialogues were substituted for recitatives.¹⁵⁸ *I Doria* (with a libretto by Antonio Ghislanzoni, 1824–93) premièred in S. Carlos in 1887 and, in the following year, *Mario Wetter* (whose librettist was Ruggero Leoncavallo) was also presented.¹⁵⁹ Apart from his work as composer, Machado co-directed the Real Teatro de S. Carlos between 1889 and 1892.¹⁶⁰

Alfredo Keil (mentioned in the previous chapter) had three of his operas staged in the Real Teatro de S. Carlos between 1888 and 1899: *Donna Bianca* (inspired by a poem by Almeida Garrett),¹⁶¹ *Irene* (premièred in Turin’s Teatro Regio and published in Italy),¹⁶² and *Serrana* (an adaptation of Camilo Castelo Branco’s short story *Como ela o amava*). *Serrana* (one of the many collaborations between Keil and Henrique Lopes de Mendonça), despite its performance in Italian, was the first opera to be published in Portuguese and was later presented as a national opera.¹⁶³ Due to its affiliation with *verismo*, especially in its aestheticisation of the vernacular and of a rural community through the use of “popular melodies,” *Serrana* tends to be presented now as a fundamental contribution to a nationalist operatic aesthetic.¹⁶⁴ Nevertheless, none of the reviews of the time presented *Serrana* as a national opera.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, it can be read as an attempt by Keil to impose himself on the entertainment market in Lisbon by

¹⁵⁷ For a coeval biography of Machado written by Jaime Batalha Reis (under the pseudonym V. de D.) see *O Occidente*, n° 148, 1st February 1883, 26–27.

¹⁵⁸ Both the manuscript of the opera and its piano reduction are held in the National Library of Lisbon. See Augusto Machado, A. Guiou and Jean-Jacques Magne, *Lauriane*, [1883]. Shelfmarks PTBN: A. M. 91–93, National Library of Portugal and Augusto Machado, *Lauriane: opéra en quatre actes et 7 tableaux* (Paris: Louis Gregh & Cie, [1889]).

¹⁵⁹ See the manuscript Augusto Machado and Antonio Ghislanzoni, *I Doria*: *Dramma lirico in 4 atti*, 1884–1886. Shelfmark PTBN: A.M. 108, National Library of Portugal.

¹⁶⁰ Bastos, *Carteira do artista; apontamentos para a historia do theatro portuguez e brasileiro* (Lisbon: Antiga casa Bertrand, José Bastos, 1899), 242. For an interesting parallel between Augusto Machado and the character of the musician Cruges in *Os Maias* (by Eça de Queirós) see Carvalho, *op. cit.*, 95–100.

¹⁶¹ *Donna Bianca: drame lyrique en quatre parties et un prologue* (Paris: G. Hartmann, [1888–1890]).

¹⁶² *Irene: leggenda mistica (dramma lirico) in quattro parti* (Lipsia: Stamperia Musical di C. G. Roder, [1893–1896]).

¹⁶³ César Fereal, Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, and Alfredo Keil, *Serrana: drama lirico em três actos* (n.p.: n.p., 1899).

¹⁶⁴ For a detailed stylistic and dramaturgical analysis of *Serrana* see Luís Raimundo, “Para uma leitura dramaturgical e estilística de *Serrana* de Alfredo Keil”, *Revista portuguesa de musicologia* 10 (2000), 227–274.

¹⁶⁵ Cascudo, *op. cit.*, 205–206.

affiliating himself with a different tradition from the Franco-Italian repertoire that was being presented in the S. Carlos at the time. Nevertheless, the press of the time wrote extensively on *Serrana*, that was performed in the Coliseu dos Recreios only two years after its première.¹⁶⁶ It is not surprising that the first opera that was promoted as national was composed by a dilettante and not by a person fully integrated in the productive system like Augusto Machado, who, as a professional, had to possess stylistic plasticity and to master the conventions of several dramatic traditions in order to work regularly in the entertainment market of Lisbon.

This episodic constellation of operas by Portuguese composers staged in the S. Carlos had an interesting case in 1907, with the première of *Amore e perdizione*, composed by João Arroio (1861–1930) and inspired by Camilo Castelo Branco's novel *Amor de perdição*, published in 1862. The opera was performed in Hamburg in 1910 (falling outside the chronological boundaries of this thesis) and a German edition was published by Schott.¹⁶⁷

The idea of a national opera parallels the strive for a national theatre in Portugal throughout the nineteenth century. In this process, the Real Teatro de S. Carlos was sometimes portrayed as an obstacle to the development of the local theatrical activity. On the one hand, the theatre's Italian leaning favoured the performance of the transnational repertoire instead of promoting Portuguese works. On the other hand, governmental policy endowed the S. Carlos with greater subsidies than any other theatre, namely, the Teatro Nacional D. Maria II. Therefore, a polarity between these two venues (and, consequently, ideologic canons) surfaced and was disseminated through the press. For example, the writer António Pedro Lopes de Mendonça (1825–65) stated in 1847 that the opening of the Italian compromised the development of a national theatre.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, in 1853 and drawing a panorama of the Portuguese theatre, Luís Augusto Palmerim (1825–93, who became director of the Conservatório Geral de Arte Dramática in 1878) stated the absence of renowned Portuguese plays by the successors of Almeida Garrett (who would die in 1854) and the prevalence of translations in the

¹⁶⁶ See, for example, *A arte musical*, n° 5, 15th March 1899, 42–43 and Colyseu dos Recreios and Empreza Santos, *Opera lyrica A Serrana: argumento* (Lisbon: Typ. Almeida, Machado & C.^a, 1901). Shelfmark PTBN: M.9 A., National Library of Portugal.

¹⁶⁷ Alberto Pimentel, *Notas sobre o Amor de Perdição* (Lisbon: Guimarães & C.^a, 1915), 138–155. In this work, Pimentel includes his critique of the première of this opera. The German edition of the opera is *Liebe und Verderben: Lyrisches Drama in 3 Akten nach der Portugiesischen Novelle C. C. Branco's* (Mainz: Schott, 1909).

¹⁶⁸ *A Revolução de Setembro*, n° 1693, 26th October 1847, 1

entertainment market of the time.¹⁶⁹ Therefore, a duality between national theatre and imported models was also present in the spoken theatre during that time, complicating the association between the S. Carlos with transnationalism and the D. Maria II with nationalism.¹⁷⁰

Along those lines, Eça de Queirós wrote a substantial article in *As farpas*, (published in December of 1871) about theatrical activity in Lisbon.¹⁷¹ He states that theatrical activity was condemned due to a decay in the audience's "spirit and intelligence" and to the economic situation of the theatres themselves.¹⁷² Queirós then stresses the prevalence of translated plays in the Teatro Ginásio, Teatro do Príncipe Real and Teatro da Rua dos Condes (lacking in all of them the quality of the interpretations and of the scenic apparatuses) and the performance of operettas and *zarzuelas* in the Teatro da Trindade by poorly trained actors/singers.¹⁷³ Afterwards, the author presents the work of the Teatro D. Maria II in heroic terms, by comparing it to the painting *The Raft of the Medusa*, by Théodore Géricault (1791–1824), stressing the constraints associated with its activity (namely the lack of dramatic literature, the public's own inertia, the economic difficulties, and the shortcomings in the education of actors).¹⁷⁴

Subsequently, Queirós proposes a model for the theatrical activity in Lisbon: the Teatro D. Maria II would stage drama, Teatro da Trindade would present comic operas, and one theatre, with a company created by the merging of the Teatro da Rua dos Condes, Teatro do Príncipe Real and Teatro Variedades, for the performance of popular theatre at cheap prices.¹⁷⁵ To finish the article, he then attacks the Real Teatro de S. Carlos by using several tropes frequently reproduced in the press: the theatre as a government subsidised entertainment for the upper social strata (whereas the D. Maria II did not get such a generous support from the public revenue), and the dominance of the Italian repertoire (based on sensualist, thus decadent, entertainment) instead of the

¹⁶⁹ *A Revolução de Setembro*, nº 3377, 11th July 1853, 1–2, nº 3378, 12th July 1853, 1–2, and nº 3383, 18th July 1853, 1.

¹⁷⁰ For an snapshot of the theatrical market in Lisbon and the importance of translations see Bernard Martocq, *Manuel Laranjeira et son temps (1877–1912)* (Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985), 405–406.

¹⁷¹ Ramalho Ortigão and Eça de Queirós, *As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes*, (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1872), 48–72. Several of the issues addressed in this text were similarly approached later in the century by Fialho d'Almeida in his *Actores e autores* (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1925).

¹⁷² Ortigão and Queirós, *op. cit.*, 49.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 49–50.

¹⁷⁴ Ortigão and Queirós, *op. cit.*, 51–52.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 58.

promotion of a civilising national theatre.¹⁷⁶ However, despite his criticism, Eça de Queirós was a frequenter of the S. Carlos and several of his works (such as *Os Maias* or *O primo Basílio*) contain extensive references to that theatre.¹⁷⁷

Presenting Stories with Music in Lisbon: Operetta and Zarzuela

Most of the operatic performances in Lisbon were concentrated in the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, which indicates a strict association between a specific venue and the repertoire presented there. Concerning other musical theatrical genres, it is not possible to develop a clear association between these elements. The ephemerality of theatrical activities and the constraints of unsubsidised types of spectacle (such as the constant change of theatrical enterprises managing the venues) contributed to a flowing dynamic between agents and spaces. Although in a less rigid way than in the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, some theatrical genres were associated with specific theatres. This section will examine types of spectacles that present a coherent story and include spoken dialogue and musical and choreographic elements in its narrative, such as the operetta and the *zarzuela*. It will address the performance of imported repertoires in Portuguese translation (and, sometimes, adaptation), a frequent practice in Lisbon's entertainment market.¹⁷⁸

The operetta was initially cultivated in Paris by composers such as Hervé and Offenbach, and was associated by several authors with the period of the Second Empire and the rise of a boulevard culture during the second half of the nineteenth century (deeply related with the transformations led by Haussmann).¹⁷⁹ The genre was, according to Andrew Lamb, “a light opera with spoken dialogue, songs and dances” and to Sousa Bastos, “a comic opera of little importance.”¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Ortigão and Queirós, *op. cit.*, 59–72.

¹⁷⁷ See Maria Filomena Mónica, *Eça de Queirós* (Lisbon: Quetzal Editores, 2001).

¹⁷⁸ I will use the term “operetta” to designate a narrative genre where music and song have prominent roles, aside from spoken dialogue. At this time in Portugal, this sort of spectacle could also have designations such as *ópera cómica* (comic opera), *ópera burlesca* (burlesque opera) or *comédia lírica* (lyrical comedy), for example.

¹⁷⁹ Richard Traubner, *Operetta: A Theatrical History* (London/NY: Routledge, 2003) and Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). For two studies on Offenbach see Siegfried Kracauer, *Jacques Offenbach and the Paris of his time* (Cambridge, MA MIT Press, 2003) and Jean-Claude Yon, *Jacques Offenbach* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000).

¹⁸⁰ Andrew Lamb, “Operetta”, *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (5 November 2009) and Bastos, *op. cit.*, 102.

As mentioned earlier, the circuits of sociability and entertainment in Lisbon were reframed by several transformations of the urban space taking place at the time. Nevertheless, most of the theatres were still concentrated on areas such as Chiado and Trindade, traditionally associated with commerce and entertainment. Despite the frequent presentation of *opéra comique* and *zarzuela* in Lisbon during the first half of the nineteenth century, the establishment of new theatres can be interpreted as a stylistic discontinuity. This is also associated with the creation of a space for the consumption of the then recently imported genres from Paris, such as the operetta and the *revista*. One of the markers of this change was the première of Offenbach's *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein*.¹⁸¹ This operetta was presented in the Teatro do Príncipe Real on the 29th of February 1868 in its Portuguese version (*A Grã-duquesa de Gérolstein*, translated by the playwright Eduardo Garrido, 1842–1912),¹⁸² and was, according to Sousa Bastos, a commercial success.¹⁸³ In October of the same year, the Teatro Ginásio premièred *As georgianas* (*Les géorgiennes*, translated by Eduardo Garrido).¹⁸⁴

In June 1868, and between the presentations of Offenbach's operettas in the Teatro do Príncipe Real and in the Teatro do Ginásio, the entrepreneur Francisco Palha translated and presented the Portuguese version of *Barbe-bleue* in the Teatro da Trindade, the space that would mostly be associated with operetta performance during this period.¹⁸⁵ Starting from then, the programming of the main hall of that theatre consisted mainly of Portuguese versions of operettas (often called *comédia musical* – musical comedy – in Portugal) and *zarzuelas*, and the Teatro da Trindade became primarily associated with this repertoire.¹⁸⁶ Offenbach's work was portrayed as a critique of the institutions of the time and this was reflected in the use of the imagery of his operettas in the satirical press. For example, Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro's *O António*

¹⁸¹ Carvalho, *op. cit.*. Sousa Bastos states that one of Offenbach's operettas was translated and performed in the Teatro Ginásio as early as 1859, having had subsequent performances in other theatres. The Portuguese title of it was *O Tio Braz* and I could not precisely identify the original. See Bastos, *Diccionario do theatro portuguez*, 303. Nevertheless, this operetta was performed before the 1860s, the peak of Offenbach's success (see Andrew Lamb, "Jacques Offenbach", *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (5 January 2010)), and before the establishment of most of the theatres that regularly presented operetta in Lisbon. I will be mostly concentrating on the period when the operetta was a significant part of the entertainment market, but this occurrence should be noted.

¹⁸² About Eduardo Garrido see *O Occidente*, n° 1226, 20th January 1913, 14–15. Eduardo Garrido, *A Grã-duquesa de Gérolstein: ópera burlesca em três actos e quatro quadros* (Lisbon: Typographia Universal de Thomaz Quintino Antunes, 1868).

¹⁸³ Bastos, *Carteira do artista; apontamentos para a historia do theatro portuguez e brasileiro*, 85–86.

¹⁸⁴ Garrido, *As georgianas: ópera burlesca em três actos* (Lisbon: Typographia Universal de Thomaz Quintino Antunes, 1868).

¹⁸⁵ Bastos, *ibid.* and Francisco Palha, *Barba azul: ópera burlesca em 3 actos e 4 quadros*, (Lisbon: Typographia Franco Portugueza, 1868).

¹⁸⁶ Tomaz Ribas, *O Teatro da Trindade: 125 anos de vida* (Oporto: Lello & Irmão, 1993).

Maria and *A paródia* included several caricatures satirising politicians by relating the then current state of affairs with scenes from Offenbach's operettas, especially *A Grã-duquesa de Gérolstein*.¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, in *As farpas*, Eça de Queirós mordantly stated that Portugal's fundamental laws seem to have been drawn from *Barba-Azul*.¹⁸⁸ In a slightly altered version of the text from *As farpas* published in *Uma campanha alegre* (a compilation of *As farpas* written exclusively by Eça de Queirós), he goes even further and states that the institutions in Portugal seem to have been drawn from Offenbach's operettas *Barba azul* and *A Grã-duquesa de Gérolstein*.¹⁸⁹ There are other occasions that reinforce the ubiquity of Offenbach's operettas in Queirós' fiction. For example, the couplets *A carta adorada* (*Lettre adorée*), from *A Grã-duquesa de Gérolstein* were given a prominent role by Queirós in his novel *O primo Basílio* and the initial scene of his novel *A tragédia da Rua das Flores* (published posthumously) was set in the Teatro da Trindade during a performance of *Barba-azul*.¹⁹⁰

In spite of the consistent portrayal of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos as the space for the performance of foreign repertoires, the rest of Lisbon's theatres relied heavily on imported materials, depending on translations in order to stage plays and still be able to communicate with their audience. The main sources for this foreign repertoire were, clearly, France and Spain, which can be observed by the prominence of the operetta and the *zarzuela* in the Teatro da Trindade. Furthermore, Sousa Bastos refers, in his *Diccionario do theatro portuguez*, to the conventions pertaining to intellectual property (which included both the literary – covering translations – and the musical elements of theatre) between Portugal and France (in 1867) and between Portugal and Spain (in 1881).¹⁹¹ By referencing these two agreements, it is possible to extrapolate that they were the most significant for the Portuguese theatrical scene, hence revealing the majority of the foreign sources for the repertoire presented. Nevertheless, the translators from French were critically satirised in a sketch of the *revista Tim tim por tim tim*.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁷ Carvalho, *op. cit.* and Maria Virgílio Cambraia Lopes, *O teatro n'A Paródia de Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro*, (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2005).

¹⁸⁸ Ortigão and Queirós, *As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes*, (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1872), 51

¹⁸⁹ Carvalho, *op. cit.*, 38.

¹⁹⁰ Carvalho, *op. cit.*

¹⁹¹ Bastos, *Diccionario do theatro portuguez*, 44, 148.

¹⁹² Bastos, *Tim tim por tim tim: revista phantástica e de costumes em 1 prólogo, 3 actos e 12 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.), 10.

Furthermore, translation for the theatres was concentrated in the hands of experienced agents such as entrepreneurs and playwrights.¹⁹³ People such as Francisco Palha, António de Sousa Bastos, Eduardo Garrido, or Aristides Abranches (playwright and stage director, 1842–1912) were responsible for a significant number of translations presented in Lisbon’s theatres at the time. One interesting case of the libretto as a literary source was described by Sousa Bastos about the vaudeville-operetta *Mam'zelle Nitouche*.¹⁹⁴ According to Sousa Bastos, its libretto was translated by Gervásio Lobato (journalist, writer and playwright, 1850–95) and Urbano de Castro (journalist and writer, 1850–1920). However, the Lisbon première of that text in 1886 was held in the Recreios Whittoyne, a space that presented circus and several theatrical genres and was demolished for the construction of the Estação da Avenida, to a musical setting by Rio de Carvalho (1838–1907).¹⁹⁵ In the following year, the same translation was presented, now with Hervé’s music, in the Teatro da Trindade.¹⁹⁶

Although several theatres in Lisbon presented operettas and *zarzuelas*, it can be argued that the Teatro da Trindade was the most prominent space for their introduction in the theatrical market. Various operettas and *zarzuelas* that became the standard repertoire of the genre were premièred in the Teatro da Trindade and then circulated in other theatres but the inverse situation was not frequent. The importance of the Teatro da Trindade in premièring Portuguese versions of operettas is evident in the following selection of titles: *Barba azul* (*Barbe-bleue*, by Jacques Offenbach in 1868),¹⁹⁷ *Fausto, o petiz* (*Le petit Faust*, by Hervé in 1870),¹⁹⁸ *Sinos de Corneville* (*Les cloches de Corneville*, by Robert Planquette in 1877),¹⁹⁹ *A Perichole* (*La périchole*, by Offenbach in 1880),²⁰⁰ *Orfeu nos infernos* (*Orphée aux enfers*, by Offenbach in 1880), *Boccaccio*

¹⁹³ As an American example of the role entrepreneurs played in the encoding of these new types of spectacle during this period see Kathryn J. Oberdeck, “Contested cultures of American refinement: Theatrical manager Sylvester Poli, his audiences, and the vaudeville industry, 1890–1920”, *Radical History Review* (1996), 40–91. On the entrepreneurial activity of the Viscount S. Luiz Braga in Brazil and in Portugal see Eduardo Noronha, “Visconde S. Luiz Braga”, in *O grande Elias*, n° 17, 21st January 1904, 1–2.

¹⁹⁴ Bastos, *Diccionario do teatro portuguez*, 300.

¹⁹⁵ Bastos, *op. cit.*, 300. For that translation see Urbano de Castro and Gervásio Lobato, *Mam'zelle Nitouche: vaudeville em 4 actos* (Lisbon: Liv. Economica, n.d.).

¹⁹⁶ However, because I could not locate Carvalho’s score, it is not possible to compare both settings and discern if it is a version of Hervé’s music or a new work by Rio de Carvalho.

¹⁹⁷ For an article published in 1906 regarding the première of *Barba-azul* see *Ilustração portuguesa*, n° 7, 1906, 197–199.

¹⁹⁸ Aristides Abranches, *Fausto, o petiz: opereta phantastica em 3 actos e 4 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.).

¹⁹⁹ Bastos, *Sinos de Corneville: opereta original em 1 acto*, (Lisbon: Liv. Economica, 1879).

²⁰⁰ For a manuscript from this period with a version of the text and many staging indications see Henri Meillac, Ludovic Halévy and Jacques Offenbach, *A Perichole: opera burlesca em 3 actos e 4 quadros*. Shelfmark PTBN: COD. 11735, National Library of Portugal.

(by Franz von Suppé in 1884),²⁰¹ *O moleiro d'Alcalá* (*Le meunier d'Alcala*, by Justin Clérice, in 1887 – according to several sources, the world première of that operetta was given in the Teatro da Trindade on April 11 that year),²⁰² and *Vinte e oito dias de Clarinha* (*Les 28 jours de Clairette*, by Victor Roger in 1894). In this sequence it is possible not only to witness the relevance of the French theatrical market, but also the staging of a Viennese operetta, *Bocaccio*, which was included in Sousa Bastos' survey of the most successful theatrical shows performed in Lisbon.²⁰³

Zarzuela performances also featured in the programming of the Teatro da Trindade and became an important genre in Lisbon's entertainment market. Despite episodic *zarzuela* performances in its original Spanish form since the middle of the nineteenth century, the paradigm for the presentation of that genre in Lisbon changed towards the last third of that century. For example, Francisco Palha's commercial strategy for the Teatro da Trindade was to present both operetta and *zarzuela* in Portuguese. The *zarzuelas* staged in that theatre during the period of this thesis include: *Amar sem conhecer* (*Amar sin conocer*, by Gatzambide and Guarnieri in 1871),²⁰⁴ *Amazonas do Tormes* (*Las amazonas del Tormes*, by José Rogel and translated by Passos Valente in 1872),²⁰⁵ *Os dragões d'El Rei* (*Os dragões d'el Rey*, by José Rogel in 1880),²⁰⁶ *Segredo d'uma dama* (*El secreto de una dama*, by Barbieri in 1873), and *O ultimo figurino* (*O último figurino*, by José Rogel in 1880).²⁰⁷

Closely associated with the activity of the Teatro da Trindade from its opening until 1873 was the Italian composer Ângelo Frondoni (1812–91), immigrated in

²⁰¹ Garrido, *Bocaccio: opera comica em tres actos, accommodada á scena portugueza* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1884).

²⁰² For example, n.a., *American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events* (NY: D. Appleton and Company, 1888), 523. For the Portuguese version of the libretto see Garrido, *O moleiro d'Alcalá: opera comica em 3 actos e 4 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.).

²⁰³ Bastos, *Diccionario do theatro portuguez* (Lisbon: Imp. Libânio da Silva, 1908) 295–305. About von Suppé's work and the Viennese operetta see Traubner, *Operetta: A Theatrical History*, 98–142. For an interesting discussion on the cultural role played by operetta in Vienna and Budapest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries see Péter Hanák, *The Garden and the Workshop: Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 135–147.

²⁰⁴ Aristides Abranches, *Amar sem conhecer: zarzuela em 3 actos* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.).

²⁰⁵ Bastos, *op. cit.*, 295.

²⁰⁶ Francisco Flores García and Alexandre Dumas, *Mapa-mundi: juguete cómico en un acto y cuatro cuadros* (Madrid: Estab. tip. de M.P. Montoya, 1883). For a manuscript Portuguese version see Francisco Palha and Eduardo Garrido, *Os dragões d'el-rei: opera comica em 3 actos*. Shelfmark PTBN: COD. 11891, National Library of Portugal.

²⁰⁷ Mariano Barranco, *Marron glacé: juguete en un acto y en prosa* (Madrid: Impr. de C. Rodríguez, 1883), back cover.

Portugal since 1838 and extremely active in the theatrical circuit.²⁰⁸ Having worked previously in several of Lisbon's theatres and being mostly associated with the presentation of Italian repertoire, Frondoni was hired by Francisco Palha as a musical director for the Teatro da Trindade. At this time, the task of a musical director was varied and included conducting the performances, composing, and coaching the actors/singers. For example, in the years he worked in that theatre, Frondoni composed music for plays such as *Gata Borralheira*,²⁰⁹ *Rosa de sete folhas*,²¹⁰ and *Três rocas de cristal*.²¹¹ Furthermore, Vieira states that Frondoni possessed the ability to maximise the vocal potential of "singers with no voice" (the lack of professional training of singers was frequent in most of the operetta and *revista* companies, such as the one based in the Teatro da Trindade)²¹² through writing for their specific apparatus and adapting the scores of other composers for the performance in that venue.²¹³

Adapting vocal scores for specific performances was common practice at this time and operettas "were written for commercial ventures as income-producing entities."²¹⁴ This means that operettas had to meet the expectations of the market, so both text and music were adapted and changed in order to suit them, displaying the plasticity of that genre. Some of the adaptations to specific cultural markets were, in fact, significant re-workings of the original version through parody, such as the case of *Orfeu na roça*, premièred in the theatre Fénix Dramática, Rio de Janeiro, in 1868 (the same year when regular presentations of the Portuguese versions of Offenbach's operettas started in Lisbon). This parody (authored by the actor and playwright Francisco Correa Vasques, 1839-1893) of the parody of the Orpheus myth (and its musical relations) composed by Offenbach was one of the most successful shows in Brazil at the time.²¹⁵ Nevertheless, this flexibility evidenced by operetta puts the genre in a space of the market for cultural goods that works under a different system of values

²⁰⁸ Ernesto Vieira, *Diccionario biographico de musicos portuguezes: historia e bibliografia da musica em Portugal*, vol.1 (Lisbon: Lambertini, 1900), 433–438.

²⁰⁹ For the text see Joaquim Augusto d'Oliveira, *A gata borralheira: mágica em 3 actos e 16 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.).

²¹⁰ For a piano version of some extracts from the music of this play see Ângelo Frondoni, *A rosa de sete folhas* (Lisbon: Lence & Viuva Canongia, 1870), extant in the National Library of Portugal.

²¹¹ For the text see Aristides Abranches, *As três rocas de cristal* (Lisbon: Carvalho, [1874]).

²¹² For a critique of the issue of untrained singers in the Teatro da Trindade and its impact in the performed repertoire see Ortigão and Queirós, *As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes*, (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1872), 50–51.

²¹³ Vieira, *op. cit.*, vol.1, 436.

²¹⁴ Traubner, *Operetta: A Theatrical History*, x.

²¹⁵ Silvia Cristina Martins de Souza, "Um Offenbach tropical: Francisco Correa Vasques e o teatro musicado no Rio de Janeiro da segunda metade do século XIX", *História e Perspectivas*, 34/January–June (2006), 225–259.

than the one associated with a self-referent work of art (with its theatrical paradigm being Wagner's musical dramas). Thus, it is possible to witness a shift in the operatic spectacle from entertainment to art, while genres such as the operetta and the *revista*, with their plasticity and ephemerality, occupied its place in this segment of the market.²¹⁶

Creating and Staging Operetta in Portugal

The creation of Portuguese operettas with “national characteristics” is addressed by Eça de Queirós in his work about the national theatre, arguing that the Teatro da Trindade should be “the representative and creator of the national comic opera.”²¹⁷ Despite the frequent demand to create a national theatre and a national opera, the definition of “national” is a complex issue. On the one hand, most of the theatrical genres performed in Lisbon's theatres were associated with imported models, such as opera, the historical drama, the operetta, and the *revista*. Conversely, limiting the issue of the national to the production of Portuguese authors and composers can be misleading. For example, the staging of operas by Portuguese composers in the Real Teatro de S. Carlos was frequently presented in association with the idea of nationalism. Nevertheless, these operas partake the conventions of the transnational entertainment market and some of its foremost composers, such as Augusto Machado, had a cosmopolitan education.

A complicated mechanism associated with the term “national” is the usage of the Portuguese language. In a theatrical market that relied heavily on imported conventions and in translations, the direct association between the creation of works in Portuguese and the promotion of nationalism is also complex. Another feature associated with the promotion of the “national” was the creation of an opera company constituted solely by Portuguese singers in the Teatro da Trindade. Despite its activity lasting only a few months in the season of 1908/1909, this company performed operas and operettas, some of them in Portuguese.²¹⁸ In this set of performances, the Portuguese version of *Serrana*

²¹⁶ John Storey, “Inventing opera as art in nineteenth-century Manchester”, *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 9/4 (2006), 435–456.

²¹⁷ Ortigão and Queirós, *As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes*, (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1872), 58.

²¹⁸ Tomaz Ribas, *O Teatro da Trindade: 125 anos de vida* (Oporto: Lello & Irmão, 1993), 37.

premièred, an opera that came to be frequently staged, a fact that may also be associated to its relatively simple performance requirements.²¹⁹

Despite this complex context, Luiz Francisco Rebello has traced a tendency to create operettas with “national characteristics” as early as 1864.²²⁰ Nevertheless, the scope of the production of operettas by Portuguese playwrights and composers was varied and heterogeneous.²²¹ The accumulation of roles by people played an important role in the musical theatre production system. During this period, some of the most prolific composers of operettas for Lisbon’s stages worked steadily for other musical institutions, such as the Real Conservatório de Lisboa or the Real Teatro de S. Carlos. For example, Augusto Machado held a teaching position in the Conservatório (and was its director from 1901 to 1910) and worked as répétiteur in the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, an institution in which he occupied administrative positions on several occasions.²²² Other distinguished composers for the theatre during this period were also members of the orchestra of the S. Carlos, like Rio de Carvalho or Tomás del Negro.²²³ In this sense, the composers mentioned above fall into the category of “integrated professionals” proposed by Howard Becker in his analysis of the “art worlds”:

Integrated professionals have the technical abilities, social skills, and conceptual apparatus necessary to make it easy to make art. Because they know, understand, and habitually use the conventions on which their world runs, they fit easily into all its standard activities.²²⁴

The thematic, narrative and musical heterogeneity of the operettas makes the idea of an articulated programme for the institution of a national operetta (or even of nationalising a foreign genre) highly problematic. Nevertheless, a larger cultural trend concerning the creation of a symbolic nation was emerging and musical theatre played a key role in that

²¹⁹ Raimundo, “Para uma leitura dramática e estilística de *Serrana* de Alfredo Keil”, *Revista portuguesa de musicologia* 10 (2000), 227–274.

²²⁰ Rebello, *O teatro naturalista e neo-romântico (1870–1910)* (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1978), 87–89.

²²¹ For an overview of the operetta in Portugal see Luiz Francisco Rebello, “Opereta”, in Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), *Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX*, vol. 3 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2010), 935–938.

²²² Benevides, *op. cit.*, 325. Luísa Cymbron, “Machado, Augusto”, *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (5 November 2009).

²²³ *O Occidente*, n° 1040, 20th November 1907, 255 and Leonor Losa, “Joaquim Tomás del Negro”, in Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), *Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX*, vol. 3 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2010), 904.

²²⁴ Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 229. I would like to thank Gonçalo Oliveira for the profitable discussions on Becker’s work and its application to the *revista*.

process. Conversely, the use of the Portuguese language and of characters or plots that were part of a shared memory can be interpreted as commercial strategies to maximise profit.

The production of Augusto Machado is symptomatic of these tendencies. For example, he set to music the Portuguese translation of the librettos for *O desgelo* or *A leitora da infanta* (both premièred in the Teatro da Trindade in 1875 and 1893, respectively). Machado also produced operettas that were associated with Portuguese subjects, such as *Maria da Fonte* (an historico-mythical nineteenth century popular heroine for some sectors of the Portuguese liberalism), premièred in the Teatro da Trindade in 1879.²²⁵ Furthermore, he set to music a libretto by Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, an author then associated with a historicist recovery of Portugal's past. The plot for that operetta, *Tiçãõ negro* (premièred in the Teatro da Avenida in 1902), was inspired in motives by the Portuguese playwright Gil Vicente (1465–1537), one of the founding figures of Portuguese theatre, and can be seen as a way of presenting Portuguese historical symbols and promoting “national” culture in a pleasurable context of entertainment. In February 1902, the periodical *Brasil-Portugal* dedicated three of its pages to that operetta: one containing a very positive review referring to the librettist, to the composer, to the impresario (António de Sousa Bastos, whose activity will be discussed in more detail) and to the performers, one containing the photographs of several scenes of the operetta, and one containing a sheet music extract of the work, for voice and piano.²²⁶

Tiçãõ Negro also epitomises one of the major methodological problems regarding the study of this repertoire: the nature of its sources. For this specific operetta, it is possible to find the manuscript score,²²⁷ the vocal reduction,²²⁸ several arrangements of some of its extracts for voice and piano,²²⁹ and the sung *coplas*

²²⁵ Augusto Machado, *Maria da Fonte: Comédia em três actos*, 1878. Shelfmark PTBN: A.M. 318, National Library of Portugal.

²²⁶ *Brasil-Portugal*, n° 73, 1st February 1902, 391–393.

²²⁷ Augusto Machado and Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, *Tiçãõ Negro: orchestra*, 1902. Shelfmark PTBN: A.M. 171, National Library of Portugal.

²²⁸ Machado and Mendonça, *Tiçãõ negro: farça lyrica em três actos sobre motivos de Gil Vicente* (Lisbon: Neuparth & Carneiro, n.d.). Shelfmark PTBN: A.M. 348 A., National Library of Portugal.

²²⁹ Machado and Mendonça, *Tiçãõ negro: farça lyrica em três actos sobre motivos de Gil Vicente* (Lisbon: Neuparth & Carneiro, [1902–1910]), N° 15 [Alvorada, Ensalada]. Shelfmark PTBN: A.M. 383 A., National Library of Portugal; Machado and Mendonça, *Tiçãõ negro: farça lyrica em três actos sobre motivos de Gil Vicente* (Lisbon: Neuparth & Carneiro, [1902–1910]) [Coplas, Dueto]. Shelfmark PTBN: A.M. 287 A., National Library of Portugal.

(*couplets*).²³⁰ Despite this apparent profuseness of sources, the spoken sections are missing, making impossible its full reconstruction. This sort of problem is inherent to the study of several ephemeral genres of the entertainment market. This is the case for operetta and, even more, for the *revista* (that was first conceived as an annual review and comment on recently past events). In these genres, most of the surviving sources (apart from some specific collections, such as Augusto Machado's) are printed materials associated with the shows, especially the *coplas* and the sheet music of several extracts. Therefore, condensed into three pages of the periodical, are several of the products associated with the Portuguese theatrical circuit of that time: press review, photographic iconography, and notated music.

It is possible to discern several narrative tropes (that sometimes intermingled and overlapped with each other) in the production of operettas in Portugal during the period of this thesis. Some historic/literary plots were stories about key figures of Portuguese literature. This is the case of both *Tição negro* and *O poeta Bocage*. The latter portrayed the life of the poet Manuel Maria Barbosa du Bocage (1765–1805) with music by Filipe Duarte (1855–1928) and was premièred in the Teatro da Rua dos Condes on October 22nd 1902.²³¹ An interesting example of the intersection of the historical and the popular is *Maria da Fonte*, by Augusto Machado, because its main character was presented as a symbol of the popular revolt of 1846 (which started as a protest against a new set of legislation enforced by the government led by António Bernardo da Costa Cabral, 1803–89), a key event for Portuguese liberalism.²³²

Several operettas of the time emphasised the “popular.” In this case, the staging of popular characters, both rural and urban, were essential for the plot, such as in several *zarzuelas* from the same period, a process associated with the aestheticisation of the vernacular.²³³ One of these examples is the operetta *Intrigas no bairro* (by Luís de Araújo, 1833–1908, and Eugénio Monteiro de Almeida, 1826–98), premièred in the Teatro da Rua dos Condes on October 24th 1864.²³⁴ Although its première falls outside the chronological boundaries of this thesis, the operetta *A Severa* (premièred in January

²³⁰ Machado and Mendonça, *Tição negro: farça lyrica em três actos sobre motivos de Gil Vicente* (Lisbon: Typ. Anuario Commercial, 1907).

²³¹ Eduardo Fernandes, *O poeta Bocage: opereta em 3 actos* (Lisbon: Impr. Lucas, 1902).

²³² About this revolt see Câmara Municipal da Póvoa de Lanhoso (ed.), *História da coragem feita com o coração – Actas do congresso “Maria da Fonte – 150 anos – 1846/1996”* (Póvoa do Lanhoso: Câmara Municipal da Póvoa de Lanhoso, 1996).

²³³ Lucy D. Harney, “Zarzuela and the pastoral”, *MLN*, 123/2 (2008), 252–273.

²³⁴ Rebello, *O teatro naturalista e neo-romântico (1870–1910)*, 87–88 and Luís de Araújo, *Intrigas no bairro: paródia às óperas cómicas* (Lisbon: Livr. Económica de Domingos Fernandes, 1864).

1909 in the Teatro do Príncipe Real) can be an interesting case for understanding this dynamic. This operetta was composed by Filipe Duarte and its libretto was an adaptation, made by André Brun, of the Júlio Dantas' drama *A Severa*, discussed in the previous chapter. The presentation of the same story in several forms (novel, drama and operetta) in Lisbon's market for cultural goods during the first decade of the twentieth century reinforced the circulation of the myth of *A Severa* through entertainment.

Finally, a pervasive feature in the production of operettas in Portuguese is the comical critique of current matters and social habits. For example, the plot of Alfredo Keil's operetta *Suzanna* (presented in the Teatro da Trindade in 1883) revolves around a romantic couple and the girl's tutor.²³⁵ Despite Keil's later effort of associating himself with the construction of a national music, this operetta was set in Alsace (the homeland of the composer's mother) in 1815, a fact that highlights the cosmopolitan tendencies of some operettas. Another interesting example of a comedy of manners was the operetta *O brasileiro Pancrácio*, libretto by Sá de Albergaria (1850–1921) and music by Freitas Gazul. This operetta was performed in the Teatro da Trindade in 1893 and depicted the return of a Portuguese who enriched whilst emigrated in Brazil, a recurrent stereotype in the Portuguese culture of the time, frequently portrayed as someone whose cultural capital did not accompany the growth of his financial capital.²³⁶

The theatrical exchange between Portugal and Brazil was very intense during this period, evidenced by the circulation of operetta and the *revista* companies in those territories. For example, several companies circulated in the Luso-Brazilian cultural space and their tours were dependent on the activity of local impresarios.²³⁷ Furthermore, various agents (such as actors/actresses or technicians) who worked (and some of them had risen to fame) in Portugal, like the Spanish-born actress Pepa Ruiz (1859-1925), migrated to Brazil where they further developed their career.²³⁸ Conversely, several Brazilian plays and operettas were staged in Lisbon during this

²³⁵ For a review of this operetta see *O Occidente*, n° 148, 1st February 1883, 30.

²³⁶ Maria da Conceição Meireles Pereira, "O brasileiro no teatro musicado português – duas operetas paradigmáticas", *População e sociedade*, 14–15/2 (2007), 163–179. The wealthy Brazilian (whether Portuguese emigrant or native Brazilian) was a theatrical trope at the time and Offenbach included that character in *La vie parisienne*. For a graphic depiction of that character in the 1866 première of that operetta by Draner see Jules Draner, *La vie parisienne, opéra-bouffe de Meilhac, Halévy et Offenbach: portraits des acteurs en costumes par Draner*, 1866. Shelfmark 4-O ICO THE-78 (159(1–7)), National Library of France [<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6402197x.item.fl1>]. For a printed edition of the libretto see Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy, *La Vie parisienne, pièce en 5 actes, par MM. Henri Meilhac et Ludovic Halévy, musique de M. Offenbach*, (Paris: Librairie illustrée, 1875).

²³⁷ Bastos, *Diccionario do teatro portuguez* (Lisbon: Imp. Libânio da Silva, 1908), 41.

²³⁸ Fernando Antonio Mencarelli, *A voz e a partitura: teatro musical, indústria e diversidade cultural no Rio de Janeiro (1868–1908)*, Ph.D. thesis (Unicamp, 2003), 33–35 and 194–195.

period, such as *Capital federal* (written by the playwright Arthur Azevedo, 1855–1908 with most of the music composed by Nicolino Milano, 1876–1962). After its success in Brazil, this operetta was premièred in the Teatro da Trindade in 1903.²³⁹ This work was based on the *revista O Tribofe* and caricatured several stereotypes of Rio de Janeiro’s *fin-de-siècle* society, focusing on a family move from the interior of the state of Minas Gerais to the federal capital of the then recently instituted Brazilian Republic.²⁴⁰ The music incorporates songs and dances associated with vernacular repertoires (such as the Brazilian *lundu* and *maxixe*), a trait that might point to an adaptation of the cosmopolitan universe of the operetta to local markets.²⁴¹ The tendency of incorporating vernacular local typologies in these narratives was frequent (at least in Portugal, Brazil or Spain) and can be seen as a fundamental feature of “national” genres during this period.

This discussion of Portuguese operetta would not be completed without examining the collaboration between the writers Gervásio Lobato and D. João da Câmara with the composer Cyriaco de Cardoso (1846–1900).²⁴² This collaborative practice was frequent in operetta production at the time:

Operetta librettists frequently worked in teams, or even trios, as did many *vaudevillistes* in nineteenth-century France. If nothing else, several authors writing together would assuredly get the text written more quickly, in time for the composer to set it and for the manager to present it. In the highly competitive pre-radio and television era, speed was desirable.²⁴³

This trio produced operettas from 1891 until 1894, which were performed in several theatres in Portugal and in Brazil. The first of these works was *O burro do Sr. Alcaide*, premièred in the Teatro da Avenida in 1891.²⁴⁴ At the time, several periodicals presented

²³⁹ Pereira, *op. cit.*, 166. On Arthur Azevedo’s comedies see Larissa de Oliveira Neves, *As comédias de Artur Azevedo – em busca da história*, Ph.D. thesis (Unicamp, 2006).

²⁴⁰ Arthur de Azevedo, *A capital federal: opereta de costumes populares brasileiros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.). For a study of the dichotomy between the country and the metropolis see Cássio Santos Melo, “São Paulo futuro: o caipira na projeção de uma metrópole”, *Histórica: Revista on line do Arquivo Público de São Paulo*, 36/2009 (June), <http://www.historica.arquivoestado.sp.gov.br/materias/anteriores/edicao36/materia05/> (12 January 2010).

²⁴¹ A. A. Bispo, “Luso-brasileirismo, ítalo-brasileiros e mecanismos performativos: representações teatrais e revistas: Nicolino Milano”, *Revista Brasil-Europa* 107/3 (2007), <http://www.revista.brasil-europa.eu/107/Nicolino-Milano.htm> (12 November 2009).

²⁴² Rebello, *op. cit.*, 88.

²⁴³ Traubner, *op. cit.*, xiii.

²⁴⁴ *O Occidente*, nº 1045, 10th January 1908, 6. Gervásio Lobato and D. João da Câmara, *O burro do senhor alcaide* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, 1904).

it as a “fully national work” and as a “truly Portuguese operetta.”²⁴⁵ This work was set in several places near Lisbon in the late eighteenth century and featured several popular characters, such as the *saloia* (woman from the rural outskirts of Lisbon), the servant or the fisherman. The magazine *O Occidente* published that *O burro do Sr. Alcaide* was made by Portuguese on Portuguese motifs with Portuguese music, stating that it did more to promote patriotism than the speeches of politicians.²⁴⁶ Nevertheless, in this article, *O burro do Sr. Alcaide* was presented as a “kind of Portuguese zarzuela”, which may indicate the closeness of that work to the Spanish local repertoire than to the French cosmopolitan canon.²⁴⁷ According to Sousa Bastos’ previously discussed definition of *zarzuela*, the inclusion of what could be perceived as national repertoires in this operetta may explain this association. Furthermore, Vieira states that this play was distant from the “offenbachian obscenities” which were frequently performed in Lisbon’s theatres at the time.²⁴⁸ For example, a sheet music edition of “popular songs” from the operetta was published in Lisbon, which can reinforce this argument.²⁴⁹ Despite the ephemerality associated with this segment of the entertainment market, *O burro do Sr. Alcaide* was performed during a significant period, reprised for several times in different theatres, and frequently mentioned in periodicals such as *O António Maria*.²⁵⁰

This collaboration produced stage works such as: *O valete de copas*, *O solar dos Barrigas*, *Cóco*, *Reineta & Facada* (later reformulated as *Bibi & C.ª*),²⁵¹ and *O testamento da velha*.²⁵² *O solar dos Barrigas* (premiered in September 4, 1892 at the Teatro da Rua dos Condes) was described by *O António Maria* as a graceful work for which Cyriaco de Cardoso composed “fresh, popular, joyful” music.²⁵³ To reinforce that, sometimes, satirists associated operettas with Portuguese institutions it is interesting that the title of *O solar dos Barrigas* (roughly translated by The Manor of the

²⁴⁵ *O Occidente*, n° 458, 11th September 1891, 203 and *O António Maria*, 28th August 1891, 208, respectively.

²⁴⁶ *O Occidente*, n° 458, 11th September 1891, 203–204, 206.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 206.

²⁴⁸ Vieira, *op. cit.* vol.1, 422.

²⁴⁹ Cyriaco de Cardoso, Gervásio Lobato, and D. João da Câmara, *O burro do Sr. Alcaide: ópera cómica: canções populares* (Lisbon: Lith. R. das Flores, n.d.).

²⁵⁰ For example, this operetta was performed in the opening of the Éden Teatro in 1914, more than twenty years after its première.

²⁵¹ According to Vieira, this play was unsuccessful in Lisbon, a factor that led to its reformulation. Vieira, *op. cit.*, vol.1, 423. For a review of the première of this play that reinforces Vieira’s opinion see *A semana de Lisboa*, n° 15, 9th April 1893, 119.

²⁵² Rebello, *op. cit.*, 88 and *O Occidente*, n° 1045, 10th January 1908, 6. For a graphic representation and a negative review of the work see *O micróbio*, n° 7, 18th August 1894, 49.

²⁵³ *O António Maria*, 10th September 1891, 611–612.

Bellies) was used to describe the Chambers of the Portuguese Parliament, especially after the elections of 1895.²⁵⁴ This operetta featured groups of the popular characters of the *saloia* and the servant, in a similar way as used in *O burro do Sr. Alcaide*.²⁵⁵ Nevertheless, and despite the association of its authors with the creation of a Portuguese operetta, a number of *O solar dos barrigas* consisted in a burlesque romantic duet in mock Italian, which can be read as a satirical commentary on Italian operatic conventions and their depiction of romantic pairs.²⁵⁶

In another play, *O valete de copas*, D. João da Câmara, Gervásio Lobato and Cyriaco de Cardoso approach a theatrical genre that was cultivated in Portugal since the last years of the eighteenth century: the *mágica*.²⁵⁷ According to Sousa Bastos, the *mágica* was a play that integrated the supernatural in its plot, thus relying on the illusionist apparatus and disregarding several principles of veracity in its narrative.²⁵⁸ Nevertheless, this genre (cultivated by authors such as Joaquim Augusto de Oliveira, 1827–1904, or the previously mentioned Eduardo Garrido) and the *comédia com música* (a comedy with some musical numbers) were successful in both Portugal and Brazil at the time, constituting a significant part of the programming of several theatres.²⁵⁹ However, the writer Eça de Queirós portrayed the *mágica* as “the fireworks of idiocy”, a genre that would not fit his perspective of the theatre as a civilising mechanism.²⁶⁰

One of the factors that probably influenced the commercial success of the previously referred operettas was the music composed by Cyriaco de Cardoso (who, according to Vieira, composed exclusively “light music”).²⁶¹ Like most of the Portuguese operetta composers (Augusto Machado or Rio de Carvalho), Cardoso was deeply involved in the theatrical life of Porto, Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro. Born in Porto, Cardoso gained prominence in the city’s musical circuit as a performer, conductor and composer. After directing the orchestra of the Teatro de São João (Porto’s most important theatre), Cardoso created and managed an operetta company in the Teatro

²⁵⁴ See, for example, *O António Maria*, 7th March 1896, 148.

²⁵⁵ D. João da Câmara and Gervásio Lobato, *O solar dos Barrigas* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.), 3, 12.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 15–16.

²⁵⁷ In order to see a graphic depiction of several aspects of this play see *O António Maria*, 30th April 1892, 448.

²⁵⁸ Bastos, *Diccionario do teatro portuguez*, 89.

²⁵⁹ Vanda Freire, “Óperas e mágicas em teatros e salões do Rio de Janeiro e de Lisboa”, in *Anais do XV Encontro Anual da ANPPOM* (Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, 2005), 232–241.

²⁶⁰ Ortigão and Queirós, *As farpas: Crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes*, (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1872), 62.

²⁶¹ Vieira, *op. cit.*, vol.1, 420–424.

Baquet until the tragic events of 1888 (on March 20 around 120 people were killed in a fire that destroyed the theatre) and directed an operatic company in the Teatro de D. Afonso until 1891.²⁶² In the same year, Cardoso moved to Lisbon and premièred *O burro do Sr. Alcaide*, a work that enhanced his popularity in the city's theatrical market. Furthermore, during the theatrical season breaks, Cardoso travelled regularly to Brazil where he presented his works, a fact that confirms the frequent circulation of theatrical companies and composers between both countries.

Apart from the production of works, a key issue for the study of the musical theatre in Lisbon is the staging process. The magazine *Ilustração portuguesa* published, in 1908, a two-issue reportage by André Brun profusely illustrated with Joshua Benoliel's photographs, named *O teatro por dentro* (The theatre from the inside).²⁶³ In these articles about the staging process of a musical play, it is possible to understand the collaborative and complex process associated with the performance of musical plays in Lisbon at this time, surfacing what Howard Becker terms the "art world." For Becker, "art worlds consist of all people whose activities are necessary to the production of the characteristic works which that world, and perhaps others as well, define as art."²⁶⁴ Despite the prevalence of a polar discourse regarding art and entertainment in which commercial musical theatre falls in the category of entertainment, I will apply Becker's theory of the art worlds to this object. In this process, Becker includes the theatre in his work and argues that: "members of art worlds coordinate the activities by which work is produced by referring to a body of conventional understandings embodied in common practice and in frequently used artifacts."²⁶⁵ Furthermore, "the same people often cooperate repeatedly, even routinely, in similar ways to produce similar works, so that we can think of an art world as an established network of cooperative links among participants."²⁶⁶ Setting aside the value judgement that confers (or not) a cultural product its artistic status, these quotations illustrate the co-operative process of staging a musical play in Lisbon's theatres, described by Brun and Benoliel in their articles.

In the first sections of the article, Brun describes acting as a strenuous task and a serious activity, detaching it from its association with the bohemian lifestyle of some

²⁶² Vieira, *op. cit.*, vol.1, 420–424 and Bastos, *op. cit.*, 321.

²⁶³ André Brun, "O teatro por dentro", *Ilustração portuguesa*, n° 141, 2nd November 1908, 20–28 and n° 142, 9th November 1908, 4–9.

²⁶⁴ Becker, *Art Worlds*, 34.

²⁶⁵ Becker, *op. cit.*, 34.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 34–35.

actors and actresses. Further along, Brun (himself starting what would be a playwright career) remarks that the spectator only has access to the final stage of the intricate process of staging a musical play and that he will use the operetta company of the Teatro Avenida as a case-study for his article and also as the source for Benoliel's photographs. The journalist argues that the work of staging a musical play begins with the author writing the text. Afterwards, the rehearsals start with sit-down readings, progressing to blocking rehearsals and then to walk-through rehearsals. The *maestro* or *ensaiador de música* enters the picture after the performers have memorised the text. The maestro then coaches the soloists individually and the chorus collectively. After everyone's musical part is learned, the ensemble rehearsals start, first only with piano accompaniment and then with the orchestra. Afterwards, only rehearsals with sets and props and the dress rehearsal stand between the company and the première. Brun also describes the nervous playwright behind the scenes and the performers' small tweaks on their costumes or props when the play is first running. He then characterises the audience, where both the official critics (who always publish favourable reviews) and the unofficial critics (who always have a negative opinion that they express in the *botequim* – watering-hole) sit. Benoliel's photographs complement the reportage with the visual depiction of elements that were superficially dealt with by Brun, such as the dressing of the actresses.²⁶⁷

In the second part of the article, Brun describes the backstage, frequented by people such as authors, scenographers, journalists, and visitors and admirers. That space starts to get busy at half past seven (of the night), when the workers help the performers getting dressed in their dressing room. The actors/actresses, chorus girls and extras arrive and begin dressing and putting on the make-up. At the same time, the technical staff corrects small problems and the orchestra tunes its instruments. After the last call, the *borlistas* (people who wanted free tickets) run to the ticket box, to see if they can get in and the performance starts. Then, Brun describes the backstage bustle during the presentation, with the sudden costume changes or the stage technicians' ongoing activity. After the play is finished, the stage is cleaned, the performers leave their dressing rooms, and the theatre is closed for the day. The reportage ends with the journalist's satirical take on badmouthing, an activity that he portrays as dear to the

²⁶⁷ Brun, *op. cit.*, 2nd November 1908, 20–28.

Portuguese people, and dearer to the Portuguese actors/actresses, whose backstage intrigues are also part of the process of staging a play.²⁶⁸

The *Revista* and the Promotion of “The Nation”: An Archive on Popular Modernity

The main distinction between spectacles such as with opera, operetta, and *zarzuela* and the *revista* was the absence of a narrative plot in the latter. The *revista* is “a topical, satirical show consisting of a series of scenes and episodes, usually having a central theme but not a dramatic plot, with spoken verse and prose, sketches, songs, dances, ballet and speciality acts.”²⁶⁹ This division in sketches (*quadros*), the presence of a *compère* (an always-on-stage character that comments on and links the sketches together, being, sometimes, the only trace of continuity in this genre) and the stance in which events are depicted point to the *revista* as an epic structure.²⁷⁰ This epic structure and the prevalence of allegorical and personified characters situates the *revista* in a distinct framework than the one of the naturalist theatre that was being simultaneously performed in Lisbon.

To analyse the physical and symbolic space occupied by the *revista* in Lisbon’s market for cultural goods, it is useful to discuss the coexistence of naturalist paradigms and non-realistic genres in the city’s theatres. From the 1870s onwards, plays by Ibsen or Strindberg were staged by both local and foreign companies.²⁷¹ After the performances, in 1903, of a company run by André Antoine (1858–1943) in Lisbon, two companies inspired by the Théâtre Libre experience were formed: the Teatro Livre (a direct translation from the French designation) and the Teatro Moderno (Modern Theatre, a product of a dissidence within the Teatro Livre).²⁷² Like most of the theatrical enterprises in Lisbon at the time, their activity spanned only a few seasons. Nevertheless, the steady presence of naturalist theatre (by the playwrights mentioned above, but also by Portuguese authors such as Raúl Brandão, 1867–1930) paired with

²⁶⁸ Brun, *op. cit.*, 9th November 1908, 4–9.

²⁶⁹ Andrew Lamb, *et al.*, “Revue”, *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (5 November 2009). For an overview of the genre in Portugal during this period see Vítor Pavão dos Santos, *A revista à portuguesa* (Lisbon: O Jornal, 1978), 11–27.

²⁷⁰ Rebello, *História do teatro de revista em Portugal*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 1984), 25. Nevertheless Rebello states that a few revistas had a plot, but they were rare. See Rebello, *ibid.*

²⁷¹ Rebello, *O teatro naturalista e neo-romântico (1870–1910)*, 41–42.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 75–79. For a compilation of theatrical reviews of the 1903/1904 season (including the performances of foreign companies see Joaquim Madureira, *Impressões de teatro* (Lisbon: Ferreira & Oliveira, L.d^a, Editores, 1905).

the historicist trends previously mentioned comes to place the *revista* in a very specific space of the entertainment market in the last decades of the nineteenth century.²⁷³

Moreover, the staging of operas associated with *verismo* and Wagner's music dramas serves to emphasise the prominence of the naturalist paradigms in the cultural market of the time. Although Wagner's works were not directly associated with the naturalistic trend in the theatrical panorama, they relied heavily on illusionist stage apparatuses in order to deliver its content in a realistic way, raising technical issues when performed in an Italian horseshoe-shaped theatre, such as the Real Teatro de S. Carlos. "The occultation of production by means of the outward appearance of the product – that is the formal law governing the works of Richard Wagner."²⁷⁴ By starting a chapter entitled "Phantasmagoria" with this sentence, Adorno not only manages to associate himself with Marx and Benjamin, but also to situate Wagner's production in the realm of the commodity-form.²⁷⁵

Conversely, the success of genres such as the *mágica* or the *revista* evidences the heterogeneity of Lisbon's theatrical activity, complicating any sort of polar structure involving naturalism on one side and allegorical or fantastic on the other. Nevertheless, I will argue in this chapter that the fragmentary form of the *revista* was not only a symptom of modernity, but also one the major strengths of the genre. Its plasticity allowed the genre to rapidly incorporate the present (in terms of situations, characters, music, choreography and visual presentation), an essential trait for a spectacle that was initially based on ephemerality and relied upon current satire to be commercially successful. This plasticity was a key feature in the dominant role played by that genre in the Portuguese entertainment market from the last decades of the nineteenth century until the 1960s.

The *revista* is a genre imported from France in the middle of the nineteenth century and, initially, commented on specific occurrences and topical issues of the previous year.²⁷⁶ According to Rebello, the first *revista* (*Lisboa em 1850*) was

²⁷³ The sporadic performance of plays associated with Symbolism in Lisbon in the beginning of the twentieth century is likewise relevant to understand the integration of a transnational theatrical repertoire in Portugal during this period.

²⁷⁴ Theodor W. Adorno, *In Search of Wagner* (London/NY: Verso, 2009), 74. See also Karin Bauer, "Adorno's Wagner: History and the potential of the artwork". *Cultural Critique*, 60/1 (2005), 68–91.

²⁷⁵ This problematises the image of the "true artist" that Wagner promoted of himself in his theoretical works, criticising the "fashion-mongers and mode-purveyors." See Richard Wagner, *The Art-Work of the Future*, and *Other Works* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993) 48, 119.

²⁷⁶ For a short overview of this genre in Portugal see Luiz Francisco Rebello, "Teatro de revista", in Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), *Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX*, vol. 4 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2010), 1248–1253.

performed in Lisbon in the Teatro do Ginásio on January 11th 1851 and its authors were Francisco Palha (the same who, afterwards, directed both the Teatro da Rua dos Condes and the Teatro da Trindade) and Latino Coelho (1825–91, one of the most distinguished Portuguese intellectuals of the second half of the nineteenth century, at the time a young military officer).²⁷⁷ During this period, the Teatro do Ginásio and its company were the foremost institutions for the performance of *revista* during the 1850s, presenting shows such as: *O festejo dum noivado* (in 1852), *Fossilismo e progresso* (in 1855) or *Os melhoramentos materiais* (in 1860).²⁷⁸ Nevertheless, spaces such as the Teatro da Rua dos Condes, the Teatro das Variedades, or the Teatro de D. Fernando began to stage *revistas* at this time.²⁷⁹

According to Sousa Bastos, one of the most relevant strategies employed in this yearly review/revue was the personification of “even the most abstract things.”²⁸⁰ In this sense, the creation or inclusion of allegorical and stereotypical characters formed the basis of the sketches that constituted the *revista*. This dramatic resource points to the metonymic and allegoric role characters play in the genre, which can be read as a composite and fragmentary presentation of actuality. Nevertheless, the process of personification or inclusion of allegories or stereotypical characters in the *revista* was not homogeneous and incorporated a set of different fields. On this issue, “the revue theater was to serve the new order as an important proving ground where the composite image of the New Japan [Portugal] could be crafted, displayed, and naturalized.”²⁸¹

This “composite image” of Portuguese (mostly) urban society included, absorbed and metabolised everyday life, translating it into a specific imaginary in which several of its tropes were recurrently revisited by the playwrights. This process created a set of conventions that were frequently presented in Lisbon’s theatres at the time. Some of these characters could be events (such as the Strike),²⁸² feelings (such as Envy),²⁸³

²⁷⁷ Rebello, *História do teatro de revista em Portugal*, vol. 1, 55–56.

²⁷⁸ Rebello, *op. cit.*, 231. For the text of *Fossilismo e progresso* see Manuel Roussado, *Fossilismo e progresso: revista* (Lisbon: Typographia Rua da Condessa n°3, 1856).

²⁷⁹ For example, the *Revista do anno de 1859* premièred on 2nd January 1860 in the Teatro da Rua dos Condes. See Pedro Carlos d’Alcantara Chaves, *Revista do anno de 1859: scena com pretenções a comica e adubada com alguma musica original* (Lisbon: Viuva Marques & Silva, [1860]).

²⁸⁰ Bastos, *Diccionario do teatro portuguez*, 128.

²⁸¹ Jennifer Robertson, *Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 116.

²⁸² Camanho Garcia and Aires Pereira da Costa, *P’rá frente: revista em 3 actos e 12 quadros* (Lisbon: Impr. Lucas, 1907), 10.

²⁸³ Eduardo Schwabach, *O reino da bolha: revista de costumes e acontecimentos em 3 actos e 12 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.), 7.

laws (such as the Press Law of 1907),²⁸⁴ newspapers (such as *O mundo*),²⁸⁵ music genres (such as fado),²⁸⁶ cities and areas (such as Lisbon and the provinces)²⁸⁷ and so-called popular characters (such as paperboys or *fadistas*, for example).²⁸⁸ The process of personification in the *revista* also relied on the theatrical activity of the time. For example, the *revista Formigas e formigueiros* included a sketch in which the *couplet*, the scenery, and the *revista* were personified.²⁸⁹ Furthermore, the inclusion of characters created and disseminated through other media, such as Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro's character Zé Povinho (the personification the Portuguese "people", first presented to the Portuguese audience in the newspaper *A lanterna mágica* in 1875) was another trope frequently included in the imaginary of the *revista*, as well as Classic mythology and the depiction of exotic places.²⁹⁰

According to Rebello, the start of the career of Sousa Bastos as playwright and entrepreneur in 1870 marked a significant transformation in the *revista* that extended until the end of the nineteenth century. During this period, Bastos created and presented several *revistas* throughout theatres in Portugal and in Brazil, developing a business and a production model that would prevail for a long period.²⁹¹ The aesthetic and economic transformation of the *revista* undertaken by Bastos included the promotion of several actors/singers, who eventually became icons of the musical theatre of the time (such as Pepa Ruiz and Palmira Bastos) and incorporated the work of visual artists such as Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro, in order to create a profitable entertainment product.²⁹² Starting in *Coisas e loisas de 1869*, his frequently successful activity as both playwright and entrepreneur in both sides of the Atlantic spanned until his death. Bastos wrote *revistas* such as: *Tim tim por tim tim* (a play that, according to Fialho d'Almeida had a

²⁸⁴ Garcia and Costa, *op.cit.*, 11. About the Press Law of 1907, see the previous chapter of this thesis.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 13–14.

²⁸⁷ Rebello, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 175–176.

²⁸⁸ Machado Correia and Acácio Antunes, *O anno em três dias: revista phantastica*, (Lisbon: Instituto Geral das artes graphics, 1904), 19–20 and 33–34.

²⁸⁹ Schwalbach, *Formigas e formigueiros: revista de costumes e acontecimentos em 3 actos e 9 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.), 5–6.

²⁹⁰ Schwalbach, *O reino da bolha: revista de costumes e acontecimentos em 3 actos e 12 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.), 2; Rebello, *op. cit.*, 34–35 and Bastos, *Tim tim por tim tim: revista phantástica e de costumes em 1 prólogo, 3 actos e 12 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.), 1–3. For a photograph of the character Saturn in the *revista Na ponta da unha!* (premiered in the Teatro Condes in 1901) see *Brasil-Portugal*, nº 73, 1st February 1902, 399.

²⁹¹ About the *revista* in Brazil during this period see Roberto Ruiz, *O teatro de revista no Brasil: do início à I Guerra Mundial* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Cultura, Instituto Nacional de Artes Cênicas, 1988).

²⁹² Rebello, *op.cit.*, 75.

tremendous success, 1889),²⁹³ *Tam-Tam* (1891), *Fim de século* (1891),²⁹⁴ *Sal e Pimenta* (1894),²⁹⁵ *Em pratos limpos* (1897),²⁹⁶ and *Talvez te escreva!...* (1901).²⁹⁷

In 1890, the Minister of Justice, Lopo Vaz, issued a law that aimed to restrict the freedom of press and interdicted personal caricature in the media (in which theatre was included).²⁹⁸ This law was published on 7th April 1890, following the turmoil of the British Ultimatum and, according to authors such as Fialho d'Almeida, imposed various constraints for the authors of *revista*.²⁹⁹ The publishing of this law coincided with the middle of Basto's period of dominance in the *revista*, in which authors like António de Meneses and Francisco Jacobetty were being successfully performed in Lisbon's theatres. Almeida's highlighting the new constraints points to the dominance of the burlesque caricature of individuals as a key element in the early *revistas*. Furthermore, Madureira stated that the constraints imposed by this new legislation made the authors of the genre to increase its reliance on "obscenities" or in spectacular stage apparatuses.³⁰⁰ Despite this restriction, the *revista* continued to include political satire in its sketches (which, on several occasions, mentioned or portrayed specific individuals indirectly).³⁰¹ Rebello points to the re-encoding of the genre following that law, privileging the critique of current matters and social habits, the so-called *revista de costumes*.³⁰²

Nevertheless, the comment on the ephemeral remained an important feature of the *revista*. For example, a sketch about the limitations of the freedom of the press stated in the Press Law of 11 April 1907 was included in the *revista P'rá frente* (premiered in the Teatro Avenida on that same year). In this sketch, four personified newspapers (*O mundo*, *A vanguarda*, *O paiz* and *A lucta*) complained about that law.³⁰³

²⁹³ Fialho d'Almeida, *Actores e autores* (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1925), 85.

²⁹⁴ *O António Maria*, n° 342, 26th February 1892, 389.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, n° 402, 17th September 1894, 79. Bastos, *Sal e pimenta: revista phantastica em 3 actos e 11 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.). For a graphic depiction of that *revista* see *O micróbio*, n° 4, 28th July 1894, 25.

²⁹⁶ Bastos, *Em pratos limpos: revista do anno de 1896* (Lisbon: Costa Sanches, 1897).

²⁹⁷ Rebello, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 235. Bastos, *Talvez te escreva!...: revista em 3 actos e 12 quadros* (Lisbon: n.p., n.d.). About Bastos' entrepreneurial activity in Brazil see Fernando Antonio Mencarelli. *A voz e a partitura: teatro musical, indústria e diversidade cultural no Rio de Janeiro (1868–1908)*, PhD thesis (Unicamp, 2003), 132–137.

²⁹⁸ Rebello, *O teatro naturalista e neo-romântico (1870–1910)*, 94. The first issue of the satirical periodical *Pontos nos ii* after the issue of that press law was entirely dedicated to its denounce. See *Pontos nos ii*, n° 250, 10th April 1890.

²⁹⁹ d'Almeida, *op. cit.*, 81.

³⁰⁰ Madureira. *Impressões de teatro*, 359.

³⁰¹ Rebello, *op. cit.*, 94.

³⁰² *Ibid.*

³⁰³ Garcia and Costa, *P'rá frente: revista em 3 actos e 12 quadros* (Lisbon: Impr. Lucas, 1907), 11.

In the same *revista*, a character named *Boato* (Rumour) satirically mentioned the possibility of a republican revolution and alluded to Zé Bacoco (the nickname of José Luciano de Castro, head of the Progressive party and several times Prime Minister of Portugal).³⁰⁴ This referenced a specific person (albeit not directly, but in a way the audience could easily identify), evidencing the complex relation between printed legislation and its enforcing in the theatrical market of this period.³⁰⁵ Earlier on, the *revista* *Beijos de burro* (text by Eduardo Fernandes, 1870–1945, and Cruz Moreira, 1862–1930, and music by Manuel Benjamim, 1850–1933) premièred in the Teatro do Rato in 1903 and included the Couplets do Zé Bacoco (Zé Bacoco’s Couplets), a number that also alluded to the nickname of José Luciano de Castro.³⁰⁶

In the last third of the nineteenth century, the *revista* had developed from a seasonal critical commentary of the events occurred in the past year to a genre that was presented throughout the year in Lisbon’s theatres. For example, the *revista* of 1884 *O micróbio* (text by Francisco Jacobetty and music by Rio de Carvalho) had over two hundred representations in the Teatro Chalet da Rua dos Condes and some of its most successful songs were published as sheet music.³⁰⁷ Another of the most successful *revistas* was *Tim tim por tim tim*, written by Sousa Bastos and set to music by Plácido Stichini, premièred in the Teatro da Rua dos Condes in 1889.³⁰⁸ In order for the play to remain actual (an essential trait of a genre that concentrated on ephemeral actualities), it was frequently subjected to modification, pointing to a complex relation between ephemerality and fixedness that surfaced in this period.³⁰⁹ For instance, the periodical *Pontos nos ii* stated that, in a reprise of *Tim tim por tim tim* in the Teatro da Avenida in 1890, a entirely new act was devised.³¹⁰

Concerning political satire, it is important to mention the *revista* *Viagem à roda da Parvónia* (premièred in the Teatro do Ginásio in 1879).³¹¹ Written by the republicans

³⁰⁴ For a coeval biography of Luciano de Castro written by the same Ressano Garcia who was responsible for Lisbon’s urban planning at the time see *A semana de Lisboa*, n° 16, 16th April 1893, 121–123.

³⁰⁵ Garcia and Costa, *op. cit.*, 7–8.

³⁰⁶ Eduardo Fernandes and Cruz Moreira, *Beijos de burro* (Lisbon: Typ da ”Semana Illustrada”, 1904), 9. For a review of the *revista* see Joaquim Madureira, *op. cit.*, 358–359.

³⁰⁷ Rebello, *História do teatro de revista em Portugal*, vol. 1, 175.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 95. For an account of the several reprises from its premièred until 1898 see Bastos, *Carteira do artista: apontamentos para a historia do teatro portuguez e brasileiro*, 115. There is a Brazilian sheet music edition of one of its numbers, transcribed for voice and piano by the previously mentioned composer Nicolino Milano: *O mugunza: Lundu bahiano, entercalado na revista ”Tim tim por tim tim”* (Rio de Janeiro: Arthur Napoleão e C.^a, n.d.).

³⁰⁹ Rebello, *op. cit.*, 96.

³¹⁰ *Pontos nos iis*, n° 251, 17th April 1890, 128.

³¹¹ Guerra Junqueiro and Guilherme de Azevedo, *Viagem à roda da Parvónia: relatorio em 4 actos e 6 quadros* (Lisbon: Off. Typ. da Empreza Litteraria de Lisboa, 1879).

Guilherme de Azevedo and Guerra Junqueiro, using the pseudonym Gil Vaz, this *revista* was described by Fialho d’Almeida as the “most literary and coherent of the Portuguese *revistas*” but also as a political article and not a theatrical play, a fact that helps us understand its interdiction after the première.³¹² Nevertheless, it should be noted that the full interdiction of a play was an extreme occurrence at the time and, despite the interdiction of performances, the text of the *revista* was published during the same year.³¹³ Notwithstanding this specific event being associated with republican authors, political satire was not a monopoly of republicans at this time, but a pervasive trait of the *revista* in general and a part of the actualities commented in that theatrical genre. Furthermore, the circulation of ideas of political change (by the ways of reform or overthrowing the system) was frequent in the last years of the Constitutional Monarchy.³¹⁴

Being a site for presenting actuality, the *revista* promoted several generations of actors, playwrights and composers throughout its history. Starting from the last years of the nineteenth century, the theatrical panorama was changing and new writers and composers were integrated in the entertainment market of the time. Several people who had risen to prominence were the playwright Eduardo Schwalbach whose early *revistas* (starting in 1896) were seen as ways of “transcending the immediate circumstantialism” through the process of emphasising allegory.³¹⁵ This attempt to avoid immediacy can be related both to overcoming censorship and to the reshaping of the *revista* as a more perennial genre in Lisbon’s theatres. Premiered from 1896 until 1900 and presenting themselves as *revistas de costumes*, Schwalbach’s plays had a great impact on Lisbon’s entertainment market. These *revistas* were: *Retalhos de Lisboa* (music composed and co-ordinated by Freitas Gazul and Tomás Del Negro),³¹⁶ *O reino da bolha* (music by the same Gazul and Del Negro),³¹⁷ *Formigas e formigueiros* (by Gazul and Filipe

³¹² d’Almeida, *op. cit.*, 72–73.

³¹³ Rebello, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 80–81 and Junqueiro and Azevedo, *op. cit.*

³¹⁴ See the previous chapter of this thesis and Rui Ramos, *D. Carlos (1863–1908)* (Lisbon: Circulo de Leitores, 2006).

³¹⁵ Rebello, *op. cit.*, 121–122.

³¹⁶ Eduardo Schwalbach, *Retalhos de Lisboa: revista de costumes e acontecimentos* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.).

³¹⁷ Eduardo Schwalbach, *O reino da bolha: revista de costumes e acontecimentos em 3 actos e 12 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.) and *O António Maria*, n° 447, 20th May 1897, 4.

Duarte),³¹⁸ *Agulhas e alfinetes* (music by Filipe Duarte),³¹⁹ and *O barril do lixo* (music by Filipe Duarte).³²⁰ During this part of its history, the texts of the *revistas* were not perceived as literary works by several authors, such as Fialho d'Almeida or even Sousa Bastos.³²¹ Nevertheless, in his memoirs, the actor Augusto Rosa stated that Schwalbach was able to connect heterogeneous elements in order to produce an apparently homogeneous narrative (a quality vital in writing for the theatre, but especially for the *revista*, due to its heterogeneity).³²²

The first works of a new generation of playwrights, like Luís Galhardo or André Brun, premiered in the first decade of the twentieth century. Despite the circuit of composing for the theatre remaining virtually unaltered, the death of prominent composers such as Cyriaco de Cardoso and the start of the career of composers such as Luiz Filgueiras (1862–1929) transformed Lisbon's theatrical market. The new generation of authors and composers were to become extremely important in adapting the *revista* to suit the new demands of the Portuguese Republic (established on October 5th 1910).³²³ The promotion of the Republic as the Nation and the incorporation of musical typologies encoded in the 1910s came to be general trends associated with the production of the *revista* at the time.

Structural and Narrative Aspects of the *Revista*

The analysis of the modes of presentation in the *revista* reveals a specific narrative strategy of the genre. The internal structure of the *quadros* relies on allegorical and mostly polar depiction of characters, a fundamental mechanism for representing several binarisms associated with Portuguese everyday life. In the *revista*, gender played a key role. Unlike the Japanese Takarazuka revue, performed by companies solely constituted by male actors (which implied that feminine roles had to be played by cross-dressing

³¹⁸ Eduardo Schwalbach, *Formigas e formigueiros: revista de costumes e acontecimentos em 3 actos e 9 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.) and *O António Maria*, n° 469, 14th April 1898, 6.

³¹⁹ Eduardo Schwalbach, *Agulhas e alfinetes: revista do anno de 1898 em 3 actos e 12 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.).

³²⁰ Eduardo Schwalbach, *O barril do lixo: revista de costumes e acontecimentos* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.).

³²¹ d'Almeida, *op. cit.*, 68–69 and Bastos, *Diccionario do theatro portuguez*, 128.

³²² Augusto Rosa, *Recordações da scena e de fóra da scena* (Lisbon: Livraria Ferreira, 1915), 314.

³²³ Rebello, *op. cit.*, 137.

men), the *revista* companies employed both men and women.³²⁴ Nevertheless, the *revista* frequently included cross-dressing characters used in heterogeneous registers. For example, in Eduardo's Schwalbach *revista Retalhos de Lisboa e Porto* (performed in Porto in 1897), a male actor played a burlesque caricature of Sarah Bernhardt.³²⁵ This example is interesting because it works as a parody that emphasised the inversion of roles, because Sarah Bernhardt was known for her performances of cross-dressing parts. Furthermore, in a version of *Tim tim por tim tim* performed in Brazil (this *revista* was frequently reprised in several theatres in Portugal and in Brazil), the actress Pepa Ruiz performed eighteen roles, some of them cross-dressed.³²⁶ Another feature associated with gender in the *revista* was the exposure of the female body in a way some authors described as pornographic, due to the reduced costumes, choreographic settings and *double entendre* dialogues associated with the genre.³²⁷

The narrative structure of the *revista* sketches tends to privilege personifications of characters that stand in a polar opposition, such the Rich and the Poor or the Pretty Girl and the Ugly Girl.³²⁸ For example, a case of a polarity associated with music occurs in the sketch of *Tim tim por tim tim* that personifies the Portuguese Song and the Brazilian Song, each one with its particularities and colloquialisms.³²⁹ Furthermore, it must be noted that *Tim tim por tim tim* was also performed in Brazil, in a period when the productions of Sousa Bastos were frequently staged on both sides of the Atlantic. Hence, these personifications would be understood by the audiences of both countries. This mechanism was used in a sketch dealing with music and politics, included in Eduardo Schwalbach's *revista O barril do lixo* (presented in the Teatro Condes in 1900). In this *quadro*, there are two characters: the *Hino da Carta* (the national anthem of the time) and *A Portuguesa*. and the author, then already inspector of the Conservatório Real de Lisboa (a job accessed only through royal appointment),

³²⁴ Jennifer Robertson, "Theatrical resistance, theatres of restraint: The Takarazuka revue and the 'State Theatre' movement in Japan", *Anthropological Quarterly*, 64/4 (1991), 165–177.

³²⁵ Rebello, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 80–81.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 96–97 and d'Almeida, *op. cit.*, 84–85.

³²⁷ Rebello, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 34, Bastos, *Diccionario do teatro portuguez*, 128; d'Almeida, *op. cit.*, 92 and the review of the *revista Favas contadas* (text by Câmara Lima and music by Filipe Duarte, première in the Teatro Avenida in 1907) published in *Ilustração portuguesa*, n° 48, 21st January 1907, 90–93.

³²⁸ Eduardo Schwalbach, *Retalhos de Lisboa: revista de costumes e acontecimentos* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.), 5 and Rebello, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 217. In the last case, the author of the *revista Garotice & C.^a* (première in 1908), Artur Arriegas (mentioned in the previous chapter of this thesis), personifies the Monarchy as the Ugly Girl and the Republic as the Pretty Girl, displaying the sometimes political character of this polar structures.

³²⁹ Bastos, *Tim tim por tim tim: revista phantástica e de costumes em 1 prólogo, 3 actos e 12 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.), 11–12.

associates the *Hino da Carta* with stately events (such as gala receptions, parades or even bullfights) and *A Portuguesa* with the Portuguese people, performed by Bordalo Pinheiro's Zé Povinho.³³⁰ This split between the official anthem and a march that was associated with the "people" was presented by one of the most successful playwrights at the time (and whose career was developing in the institutions of the monarchy), a fact that points to the symbolic significance of *A Portuguesa* in the political field during this period.

In other cases, a parallel is drawn between the personified characters, which complicates the interpretation of the sketches as a binary system based solely on opposition. For example, in *O anno em três dias: revista phantastica*, premièred in the Teatro do Príncipe Real in 1904, Correia and Antunes draw a parallel between the Portuguese *fadista* with his guitar and the Brazilian *capanga* with his *violão*.³³¹ This traces the importance of the marginal segments of urban life in modern cities at the time, especially when it comes to the incorporation of the vernacular in a transnational market of entertainment. Furthermore, it displays the relevance of the transatlantic relationship between Portuguese-speaking theatrical scenes.

The Music of the *Revista*: Sources, Orchestras, and Repertoire

Music played a key role in the constitutive heterogeneity of the *revista* and, such as its texts, can be read as a symptom of modernity. As stated earlier, the segmentation of the *revista* in closed numbers favours a composite and fragmentary narrative of actuality. Moreover, music plays an important role in the discontinuous narrative of the *revista* and enhances a spectacle whose aim was to be both entertaining for the audience and profitable for the company.

The study of theatrical genres whose communicative strategy relied on the commentary on actualities (such as the *revista*) raises methodological obstacles for the musicologist. Due to the stabilisation of the operatic repertoire discussed above and the transfer of some ephemeral traits to genres such as the operetta and the *revista*, and given the utilitarian perspective concerning the materials (which would probably not be

³³⁰ Eduardo Schwalbach, *O barril do lixo: revista de costumes e acontecimentos* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.) 6–7.

³³¹ Machado Correia and Acácio Antunes, *O anno em três dias: revista phantastica*, (Lisbon: Instituto Geral das artes graphicas, 1904), 19–20 and 33–34.

used more than one season), very few complete scores of *revistas* of this time have survived. Furthermore, it would be problematic to assume the ones that did as representative of the genre. Despite this, I will use an example extant in the National Library of Portugal in order to display some features of this spectacle. The full manuscript score of the *Revista do anno de 1879* (text by Sousa Bastos set to music by Júlio Soares, 1846–88) contains forty-one *quadros* divided in three acts.³³² It is scored for a small orchestra and includes a plan of the several numbers in which some parts of the text are included. This manuscript is an autograph of the composer, which can be particularly useful for understanding the process by which music was composed for the *revista*. For example, the score can be interpreted as a work in process, due to its successive changes and cuts, inherent in the staging of a piece in a dynamic segment of the entertainment market.

There are several important issues pertaining to this *revista* in particular. First, its composer was not one of the most prominent associated with the genre, but a skilled double bass player in several theatrical orchestras in Lisbon (an integrated professional, according to Becker's terminology).³³³ Second, it was authored Sousa Bastos in the period of his dominance in Lisbon's theatrical scene and before the imposition on the theatre of several legal constraints. Third, its particularities notwithstanding, it includes elements that were used throughout the history of the genre, namely choreographic typologies such as the march and the waltz and stock characters such as policemen. Finally, the *revista* works as a commentator on actuality and this example has a sketch located in Lisbon where the railways and Progress are depicted, a then-current matter while the new urbanisation plans for the city were being implemented.

As mentioned earlier, the music of the *revista* was generally written for a small orchestra. At this time and according to Sousa Bastos, the dimensions of the instrumental group playing in the theatre varied according to the type of spectacle and the dimensions of the theatre.³³⁴ Therefore, there were significant differences between the orchestra of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos (oriented for operatic performances) and the groups working on small theatres, such as the Teatro da Alegria, (mostly dedicated to the performances of spoken drama). Nevertheless, the information on the constitution

³³² António de Sousa Bastos and Júlio Soares, *Revista do anno de 1879, 1880*. Shelfmark PTBN: M.M. 1071, National Library of Portugal.

³³³ Vieira, *op. cit.*, vol.2, 330–331.

³³⁴ Bastos, *Diccionario do teatro portuguez*, 102.

of most of the theatrical orchestras is scarce and not very reliable. For example, one of the most valuable sources for this are the records of the Associação Música Vinte e Quatro de Junho, an institution created as a union mostly destined to frame the activity of professional musicians.³³⁵ These records display exclusively the activities in which its members were involved, naturally excluding activities outside its realm.

Furthermore, there is data that suggests the hiring of musicians not belonging to that association by small Lisbon theatres.³³⁶

An interesting study on the possible constitution of theatrical orchestras in 1890 was presented by Rui Leitão, which relates Sousa Bastos's view on the subject with the material records of orchestral activity in Lisbon's theatres during that year.³³⁷ For example, Bastos states that "comedy theatres" (dedicated to the spoken repertoire) could discard the orchestra altogether (such as the Teatro de D. Maria II) or keep a sextet.³³⁸ According to Leitão, that was the case with the Teatro da Rua dos Condes and the Teatro do Príncipe Real, whose instrumental group varied around that number.³³⁹ When it comes to presenting operetta and *zarzuela*, Bastos recommends an orchestra of at least twenty musicians, more or less the same number who were working in the Teatro da Trindade in the 1890 season.³⁴⁰ For the presentation of that repertoire, the orchestra of the Real Coliseu de Lisboa integrated around forty musicians, mostly linked to the orchestra of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos (whose season had already finished when these plays were performed in the Coliseu), a fact that emphasises the relevance of that theatre as a supplier of skilled musicians for other activities.³⁴¹ About the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, Bastos states that an orchestra for a lyric theatre should have around eighty elements and Leitão accounts for a stable formation of around sixty instrumentalists in that venue.³⁴² Despite the record of a small number of musicians associated with theatres where the *revista* was performed, the scarcity of reliable sources and the frequent mobility of musicians around several theatres in Lisbon may point to a flexible model associated with the entertainment segment of the theatrical market. The organisation of the commercial theatrical business favoured the recruitment of

³³⁵ Vieira, *op. cit.*, vol.1, 339–346.

³³⁶ Rui Leitão, *A ambiência musical e sonora da cidade de Lisboa no ano de 1890*, Master's thesis (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2006), 55–56.

³³⁷ Leitão, *op. cit.*, 49–62.

³³⁸ Bastos, *op. cit.*, 102.

³³⁹ Leitão, *op. cit.*, 53–55.

³⁴⁰ Bastos, *op. cit.*, 102 and Leitão, *op. cit.*, 52–53.

³⁴¹ Leitão, *op. cit.*, 60–61.

³⁴² Bastos, *op. cit.*, 102 and Rui Leitão, *op. cit.*, 52–53.

musicians according to the financial resources available and the repertoire programmed for a specific season, a tendency that also evidences the volatility of the unsubsidised theatrical activity in Lisbon.³⁴³

The discontinuous nature of the *revista* allows for a heterogeneous plethora of musical material drawn from multiple sources to be included. Furthermore, its division in self-contained sketches (connected by a thin thread woven by the character of the *compère*) and the varied set locations where those sketches take place favour the usage of musical materials associated with a wide array of contexts, making the play a textual and musical mosaic. In this process, numbers called “fado” were presented alongside with genres associated with the transnational entertainment market. By including both local and transnational elements, music played a key role by adding layers to the spectacle’s narrative and contributed to broaden the genre’s appeal to the audience.

Some complex issues regarding transnational and local repertoires surface in this process, presenting the *revista* as a repository of the popular music of the time. On the one hand, several authors associate the commercial success of the genre with the inclusion of songs termed “fado” in their *quadros*. Sousa Bastos presents fado as a “popular song and narrative [...] that much pleases when introduced in popular plays, mainly revistas.”³⁴⁴ Nery also discusses the incorporation of fado in Lisbon’s entertainment industry during the transition of the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries, then sung by actors and actresses in the commercial theatrical milieu, who became the first recording artists of that genre.³⁴⁵

The incorporation of fado into the *revista* can be related with the creation of the fields of the “popular” and of the “national.” The *revista O tutti-li-mundi* (premiered in the Teatro Condes in 1881) contained a song named *O fado do Zé Povinho* (Zé Povinho’s fado), in which the character created by Bordalo Pinheiro to embody the popular strata of the Portuguese people is associated with a piece that was named fado.³⁴⁶ On another occurrence, the edition of the *coplas* for the *revista Na ponta da unha!* (text by Alfredo Mesquita and Câmara Lima, music by Dias Costa, premiered in the Teatro Condes in 1901) contains the *Fado da Severa* and the *Fado da Rosa*

³⁴³ Leitão, *op. cit.*, 57.

³⁴⁴ Bastos, *op. cit.*, 63. This insistence by the author on the term “popular” is an element to notice.

³⁴⁵ Rui Vieira Nery, *Para uma história do Fado* (Lisbon: Público/Corda Seca, 2004), 23–27 and 37–40.

³⁴⁶ António de Sousa de Meneses, *O tutti-li-mundi: revista do ano de 1880* (Lisbon: Imp. Cruz, 1881) and Francisco Alvarenga, *O fado do Zé Povinho: cantado pelo actor Marcelino Franco no Tutti himundi, revista do anno de 1880* (Lisbon: Lence & Viuva Canongia - Lith. R. das Flores, 1881).

Enjeitada.³⁴⁷ Despite the association of only one of these characters, Severa, with the mythological history of fado, both of them were presented to Lisbon’s theatrical audience that year. Additionally, both of these plays aimed to present the “popular” through the aestheticisation of the vernacular: Júlio Dantas’ *A Severa* and D. João da Câmara’s *A Rosa Enjeitada* (a “populist *feuilleton*” premièred in the Teatro do Príncipe Real in 1901).³⁴⁸ Therefore, in that *quadro* of the *revista Na ponta da unha!* that did not focus on fado or on the “popular”, but on Lisbon’s theatrical activity, it is possible to extract several layers: the *revista*’s comment on actuality (by the inclusion of characters belonging to recently performed plays), the role of the vernacular song in the symbolic universe of the genre, and the almost self-referential relevance of theatrical activity in providing textual content to the *revista*.³⁴⁹

The *revista P’rá frente* (text by Camanho Garcia and Aires Pereira da Costa, music by Tomás del Negro and Carlos Calderón) contained several interesting elements about *fado*. For example, at the beginning of the play, the Portuguese guitar was presented as a “poor and disgraced” instrument depending exclusively on one song genre, *fado*.³⁵⁰ Further into the play, there is a scene in which three characters personify three types of *fado*, the Velho Fado, the Fado Rigoroso and the Fado Liró. First, the Velho Fado (Old Fado) sings a four-line stanza, in which both distichs are repeated, a convention until now associated with some so-called traditional *fados*.³⁵¹ Second, the Fado Rigoroso (Rigorous Fado that, according to Alberto Pimentel was the same as the Fado Corrido, believed to be one of the oldest *fados* in the repertoire),³⁵² is presented by referring to the stylisation of the phonetics of Lisbon’s *fadistas* at the time, and mentioning the knife fights associated with those marginal individuals.³⁵³ Finally, the Fado Liró (freely translated as Elegant Fado – “liró” was slang at this time for elegant or smart), is presented as a “more elegant” type associated with upper social strata

³⁴⁷ Alfredo Mesquita and Dias Costa, *Na ponta da unha!: revista em 3 actos e 12 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.), 11. Although both periodicals and Rebello’s *História do teatro de revista em Portugal* state the authors of the text were Alfredo Mesquita and Câmara Lima, this edition only refers to one of them.

³⁴⁸ Rebello, *O teatro naturalista e neo-romântico (1870–1910)*, 65.

³⁴⁹ For a photograph in costume of the actresses who performed the characters of Severa and Rosa Enjeitada see *Brasil-Portugal*, nº 73, 1st February 1902, 399.

³⁵⁰ Camanho Garcia and Aires Pereira da Costa, *P’rá frente: revista em 3 actos e 12 quadros* (Lisbon: Impr. Lucas, 1907), 3.

³⁵¹ Garcia and Costa, *op. cit.*, 13.

³⁵² Alberto Pimentel, *A triste canção do sul: subsídios para a história do fado* (Lisbon: Livraria Central, 1904), 281.

³⁵³ Garcia and Costa, *op. cit.*, 13–14.

(especially the aristocracy).³⁵⁴ This *quadro* is interesting because it indicates different patterns of consumption associated with several types of fado and its content is consistent with the several sources that point to the appropriation (as well as aestheticisation) of the genre to suit audiences other than marginal characters of Lisbon's popular neighbourhoods. In this sense, fado was associated by the authors of the *revista* both with popular segments of society and with Lisbon's aristocracy. Conversely, the *revista* was a theatrical genre frequented by a wide range of people who constituted a heterogeneous segment of the entertainment market and a privileged, yet contested, site for the manufacture, presentation and naturalisation of the "popular." Therefore, the performance of fado, then associated with both extremes of the social spectrum, in spaces that presented popular forms of entertainment displays the ubiquity of its consumption in a city such as Lisbon.

Furthermore, a song named *Fado Liró* was included in one of the most successful *revistas* of its time, *A.B.C.*³⁵⁵ The music was composed by the same Del Negro and Calderón, who set to music a significant number of *revistas* at the time, and Rebello emphasises that the structure and content of that *revista* articulated standard conventions of the genre with the several traits associated with the promotion of patriotism.³⁵⁶ In *A.B.C.*, *Fado Liró* is sung by soloists and chorus and the association of what was displayed as a type of fado with the aristocracy is promoted through its depiction as some sort of "high-life slang."³⁵⁷ More or less at the same time, the Brazilian composer Nicolino Milano went to Lisbon and was working in the Teatro Avenida (the same that staged *A.B.C.*), and wrote what came to be his most successful song, *Fado Liró*.³⁵⁸ Nevertheless (and despite Bispo's statement that Milano's fado was included in *A.B.C.*), both these songs had different lyrics and, as I was not able to find the sheet music of the first, will not present Milano's fado as the song included in Del Negro and Calderón's *revista*. What is interesting about this circulation of meanings and titles is the prevalence of fado as the metonymic symbol for some urban songs that were

³⁵⁴ Garcia and Costa, *op. cit.*, 14.

³⁵⁵ Acácio de Paiva and Ernesto Rodrigues, *A.B.C.: Revista em 3 actos e 12 quadros* (Lisbon: Impr. Lucas, 1908). About its success, it was re-staged in the Teatro Avenida in 1915. See *Ilustração portuguesa*, n° 476, 5th April 1915, 34.

³⁵⁶ Rebello, *História do teatro de revista em Portugal*, vol. 1, 145.

³⁵⁷ Paiva and Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, 9–10.

³⁵⁸ A. A. Bispo, "Luso-brasileirismo, italo-brasileiros e mecanismos performativos: representações teatrais e revistas: Nicolino Milano", *Revista Brasil-Europa* 107/3 (2007). <http://www.revista.brasil-europa.eu/107/Nicolino-Milano.htm> (12 November 2009).

in the process of being legitimised and promoted through their incorporation into the entertainment market of that time.

Despite the direct association some authors establish between the pervasiveness of fado in the patterns of cultural consumption of a significant segment of the population with the promotion of Portugal as nation, the analysis of the role of music in several *revistas* may help us to better frame this issue. If, as I stated earlier, the incorporation of fados is a key issue in the narrative structure of the *revista* during this period, the inclusion of other musical elements is not less important in its promotion of modernity as a commodity. For example, the *Revista do anno de 1879*, apart from the march and waltz, also includes sections named Tango (in the entry of the Black characters from the Portuguese colonies) and Gallop (simulating the sound of the train) in its manuscript.³⁵⁹

Furthermore, Francisco Jacobetty's *revista Vistorias do Diabo* (staged in the Chalet da Rua dos Condes) includes a textual section to be sung with the music of Angel Rubio's zarzuela *La salsa de Aniceta*.³⁶⁰ To give more examples, the *revista Na ponta da unha!* featured, alongside with the *Fado da Severa* and the *Fado da Rosa Enjeitada*, the *Habanera da Cocotte*, and *A.B.C.*, a *revista* that contained *quadros* promoting patriotism includes a number named *La Masseurse*, that features text in French.³⁶¹ Moreover, an interesting occurrence was depicted in André Brun's articles I have already analysed, Benoliel's photograph of a group of dancers practising a "cakewalk."³⁶² This reference to a black American choreographic genre that, according to Hitchcock and Norton, was introduced in Europe in 1903, is quite surprising.³⁶³ Nevertheless, a transnational market for commodified "modern" music (in its live,

³⁵⁹ António de Sousa Bastos and Júlio Soares, *Revista do anno de 1879, 1880* [shelfmark PTBN: M.M. 1071].

³⁶⁰ Francisco Jacobetty, *Coplas das vistorias...do Diabo* (Lisbon: Eduardo Roza, 1884), 4. This was not a standard procedure in the *revistas* I analysed. Nevertheless, Jacobetty's knowledge of the Spanish repertoire of the time can be attested by his adaptation of Federico Chueca and Joaquín Valverde's *revista La Gran Via*. See Rebello, *História do teatro de revista em Portugal*, vol. 1, 84 and Francisco Jacobetty, *A grande avenida: parodia á zarzuela "La Gran Via"* (Lisbon: Liv. Economica de Napoleao da Victoria, n.d.).

³⁶¹ Paiva and Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, 15.

³⁶² Brun, "O teatro por dentro", *Ilustração portuguesa*, nº 141, 2nd November 1908, 20.

³⁶³ H. Wiley Hitchcock and Pauline Norton, "Cakewalk", *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (5 December 2009). The performances by John Philip de Sousa's band at the 1900 Exposition Universelle (in which they played ragtime) and the featuring of the cakewalk in the shows presented in Paris' *Nouveau Cirque* can be seen again as the incorporation of the vernacular Other (in this case, the black American) in the symbolic universe of the popular entertainment market. See Jody Blake, *Le Tumulte Noir: Modernist Art and Popular Entertainment in Jazz-Age Paris, 1900–1930* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1999), 15.

printed, and recorded forms) probably facilitated this encounter.³⁶⁴ In this case, Benoliel's photograph also reveals the relevance of choreographic elements in the musical theatre, a feature that, due to the lack of sources (textual, iconographic, and filmographic) will not be dealt with detail in this thesis. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in the *revista*, the final numbers of the acts (the so-called apotheosis) were usually the places for the display of the spectacularity of the means involved in that production, in which set, costumes, lighting, music, dance and a great number of characters crowded the stage, in order to create a scene of great impact and dazzling effect.³⁶⁵

The *Revista* as a Privileged Place for Representing the Symbolic Nation: Multivocality and Modernity on Stage

The structure and content of the *revista* can be related to several theories of nationalism and modernity. This section aims to articulate the variety of the data presented in this chapter and prepare the following chapter of the thesis, in which I will deal with the goods associated with the entertainment market, such as sheet music, gramophone records, phonograph cylinders, player piano rolls, *coplas*, and postcards.

In order to understand the incorporation of both local and transnational typologies in the *revista*, I will start by using Žižek's translation of the four moments of Hegelian dialectics in the shape of a Greimasian square, as it was adjusted by Middleton to the matter of the "national" and the "global."³⁶⁶ In this perspective, Middleton points to the possibility of the movable place the "national" can occupy in this semiotic square as both "non-local" and "not-global" (although they stand as contraries in that Greimasian framework).³⁶⁷ On the one hand, this leads to a definition through negation of the concept of "national." On the other, it may favour the constitution of the "national" as a space that combines both of these characteristics which, in Žižek's square occupy the places of the "possible" and of the "contingent." In that case, in the

³⁶⁴ Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The 19th-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris and Vienna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 44.

³⁶⁵ Bastos, *Diccionario do teatro portuguez*, 14–15.

³⁶⁶ Slavoj Žižek, *For They Know Not What They Do* (London/NY: Verso, 2008), 136 and Richard Middleton, "Afterword", in Ian Biddle and Vanessa Knights (eds), *Music, National Identity and the Politics of Location* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 195. Although the terms in which this theorisation is made are embedded in several phenomena associated with what is called "globalisation" in contemporary societies, I will attempt to adjust it to a different period, retaining the specificity of the cultural markets of this context.

³⁶⁷ Middleton, *op. cit.*, 195.

dialectical process, the emergence of the “national” can be seen either as “possible” or “contingent” or a space of intersection between both those terms.

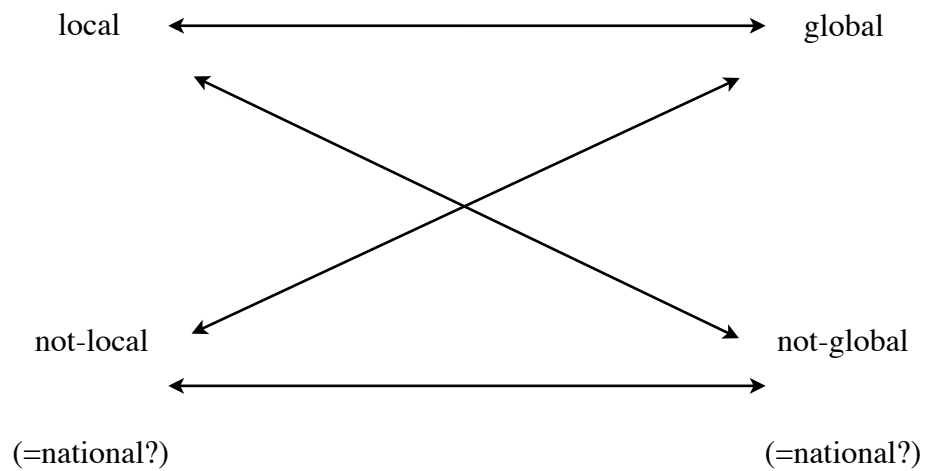


Figure 1 Local/global as a Greimasian Square³⁶⁸

Furthermore, Middleton elaborates another square in which the term “global” is positioned as the contrary of the term “traditional” and “local” as the contrary of “modern,” thus making “traditional” the contradiction of “modern” and “local” the contradiction of “global.”³⁶⁹ By doing this, Middleton shifts the relation between “local” and “global” from contraries to contradictories and includes the concepts of “tradition” and “modernity.”

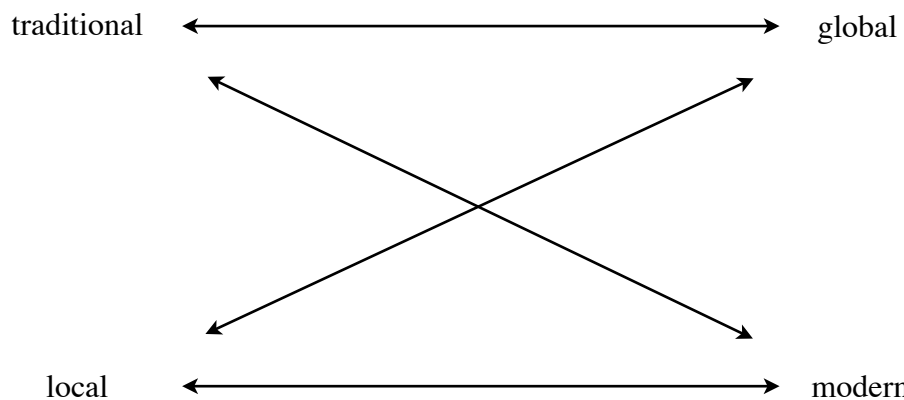


Figure 2 A second elaboration of the local/global as a Greimasian square³⁷⁰

³⁶⁸ Middleton, *op. cit.*, 195..

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

The introduction of these concepts becomes crucial when dealing with the incorporation of repertoires in the *revista*. On the one hand, it displays the problematic of locating the “national” in a local/global polar system, making way for the positioning of the “national” as a space complementary to those terms. Conversely, it poses an interesting question about the *revista*: despite incorporating both local (or, sometimes, promoted as “national”) and transnational repertoires, all of these repertoires were considered “modern” at the time, therefore my categorising of the *revista* as an archive, or even better, a repository of popular modernity. With this proposition, one question arises: which space does the “national” occupy in this last square? I would argue that the “national” does not occupy a fixed and determined space in that framework, nevertheless it is a logic inherent to that dialectical process, a logic that might have, sometimes, appeared in the foreground or in the background according to the constraints of the “contingent” position (that, in that square, corresponds to the term “modern”). In that context, both the concepts of the “national” and the “traditional” exist (and are encoded and re-encoded) through their relation with modernity. Nevertheless, Fredric Jameson argues that

the operational validity of semiotic analysis, and in particular of the Greimassian semiotic rectangle, derives, as was suggested there, not from its adequacy to nature or being, nor even from its capacity to map all forms of thinking or language, but rather from its vocation specifically to model ideological closure and to articulate the workings of binary oppositions, here the privileged form of what we have called the antinomy.³⁷¹

On this issue, Middleton remarks:

although both Jameson and Žižek, in their different ways, translate the device of the ‘semiotic square’ into a form capable of representing dialectical movement (into ‘squared totalization’ one might say), there remains, of course, a danger with all such structuralist models that they pull thought towards synchronic closure: there is no visible ‘outside’.³⁷²

In his analysis, Middleton favours an interpretation that allows interchangeability, such as Lacan’s theory of the four fundamental modes of discourse, which accounts for a

³⁷¹ Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (London/NY: Routledge, 2008), 68.

³⁷² Middleton, *op.cit.*, 195–196.

permutability of the terms associated with them (the Master-Signifier, the System of Knowledge, the barred Subject, and the *object petit a*).³⁷³

Taking psychoanalytical perspectives into account when analysing the theatrical activity can lead to interesting outcomes. The distinction Lacan delineates between pleasure and *jouissance* can be profitable for the study of the entertainment market. According to Chiesa's view of Lacan: "*jouissance* is 'pleasure in pain'. More specifically, this is *always* equivalent to the *jouissance* of *object petit a*, which is a remainder of the Real which tears holes in the symbolic structure."³⁷⁴ Furthermore, Sharpe states that, for Žižek (who draws from Lacan), "*Jouissance* is excessive, transgressive and (above all) *sexualised* enjoyment."³⁷⁵ Therefore, *jouissance* is located beyond Freud's pleasure principle, due to its inherently masochistic status. For Lacan, "the function of the pleasure principle is, in effect, to lead the subject from signifier to signifier, by generating as many signifiers as are required to maintain at as low a level as possible the tension that regulates the whole functioning of the psychic apparatus."³⁷⁶ Consequently, the pleasure principle works within the symbolic order, "the collection of codes and distinctions embodied in language and culture."³⁷⁷ Furthermore, "it is pleasure that sets the limits on *jouissance*, pleasure as that which binds incoherent life together."³⁷⁸ It is thus possible to draw a parallel between the idea of pleasure as a path from signifier to signifier and the intrinsically heterogeneous nature of the *revista* (itself a discontinuous path between signifiers). In this sense, I associate pleasure and not *jouissance* with this process, because I believe this process is contained and delimited within the symbolic order, thus creating a space that, although seemingly and fleetingly liberated (which can relate to Victor Turner's concept of *communitas*),³⁷⁹ contributed to the maintenance of the homeostasis of the system. To support my argument, the *revista A.B.C.* defined the *revista* as "the relief of the Zé Povinho, the greatest freedom that is allowed to him."³⁸⁰ This statement not only emphasises the role of the *revista* as an

³⁷³ Middleton, *op.cit.*, 199–202.

³⁷⁴ Lorenzo Chiesa, "Lacan with Artaud: *fouis-sens, jouis-sens, jouis-sans*", in Slavoj Žižek (ed.), *Lacan: the silent partners*, (London/NY: Verso, 2006), 353.

³⁷⁵ Matthew Sharpe, *Slavoj Žižek: A little piece of the Real* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 64. See also Jacques Lacan, *The Ethics of Psychoanalysis* (London/NY: Routledge, 1992), 191–204.

³⁷⁶ Jacques Lacan, *op.cit.*, 119.

³⁷⁷ Lewis A. Kirshner, "Rethinking desire: The *objet petit a* in Lacanian theory", *Journal of the American Psychoanalytical Association*, 53/1 (2005), 86.

³⁷⁸ Jacques Lacan, *Écrits: A selection* (London/NY: Routledge, 2001), 244.

³⁷⁹ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter, 1997), 132.

³⁸⁰ Rebello, *História do teatro de revista em Portugal*, vol. 1, 145.

entertainment for the “people”, but also its almost liberating character, that, although circumscribed, pointed to the boundaries of the social conventions (the symbolic order) acting during that period.

The works of Victor Turner and Richard Schechner are of great importance here. For example, Turner points out that

every major socioeconomic formation has its dominant form of cultural-aesthetic ‘mirror’ in which it achieves a certain degree of self-reflexivity. Nonindustrial societies tend to stress context-sensitive ritual; industrial pre-electronic societies tend to stress theater which assigns meanings to macroprocesses – economic, political or generalized familial problems – but remained insensitive to localized, particularized contexts.³⁸¹

This is quite clear when dealing with the role of the *revista* as a commentator on actuality, thus indicating the role the theatre played on the process of self-reflection enacted in Portuguese society.

In his discussion of ritual, an elaboration of Van Gennep’s threefold segmentation of that process (separation, margin or *limen*, and re-aggregation), Turner distinguished between liminal and liminoid phenomena.³⁸² For Turner, liminality is associated with events of a compulsory nature within a society (such as rites of initiation, for example) and is a state in which the actors are “neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremony.”³⁸³ “Liminoid phenomena, on the other hand, flourish in societies of more complex structure, where, in Henry Maine’s terms, ‘contract has replaced status’ as the major social bond, where people voluntarily enter into relationships instead of being born into them.”³⁸⁴ On modern societies, Turner argues that both types of phenomena (liminal and liminoid) co-exist and that “the *liminoid* is more like a commodity – indeed, often *is* a commodity, which one selects and pays for – than the *liminal*, which elicits loyalty and is bound up with one’s membership or desired

³⁸¹ Victor Turner, “Are there universals of performance in myth, ritual, and drama?”, in Richard Schechner and Willa Apel, *By Means of Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 8.

³⁸² Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter, 1997) and Victor Turner, “Frame, flow and reflection: Ritual and drama as public liminality”, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 6/4 (1979), 465–499.

³⁸³ Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, 95.

³⁸⁴ Turner, “Frame, flow and reflection: Ritual and drama as public liminality”, 492.

membership in some highly corporate group.”³⁸⁵ Therefore, Turner associates the voluntary experience of theatregoing with the liminoid state.

However, Turner classifies satire (the most prevalent aspect of the *revista*) as *pseudo-liminal* because, although it has a critical stance, “its criterion of judgement is usually the normative structural frame of officially promulgated values.”³⁸⁶

Consequently, instead of inverting the *status quo* (such as in the liminal phases), satire subverts it, but from the standpoint of, and maintaining, the official system of values.³⁸⁷

It is precisely because of the prominence of subversion instead of inversion that I associate Lacan’s concept of pleasure and not his idea of *jouissance* with the *revista*.

Therefore, the prevalence of the pleasure principle as a boundary between the Symbolic and the Real is precisely what allows the subversiveness of satire in the *revista* to maintain the homeostasis of the system, instead of the transgressive and disruptive action of *jouissance*. This reinforces the prevalence of the Symbolic (even with the workings of different, even competing, sets of symbols in that symbolic order), thus preventing the fall into the unruly realm of *jouissance*. For example, this prevalence can be observed when analysing the exposure of the female body in the *revista*, in which the reduced costumes, the choreographic settings, and the double entendre dialogues can be interpreted as devices that displayed and, yet, contained the physical sensuousness associated with the female body within the accepted boundaries of the time.

Nevertheless, pleasure, promoted not only as an escape for the audience, but also as a factor associated with the loosening of social conventions (therefore associated with the liminoid state Turner associated with the theatrical performance), could act as a facilitator for the composite image of the modern nation to be naturalised and internalised. Consequently, the depiction of patriotism, and modernity in the entertainment segment of the cultural market of the time can be interpreted as a process of commodifying the symbolic nation and making its consumption pleasurable for the public. Conversely, and although I believe that pleasure overpowers *jouissance* in the narrative of the *revista*, the latter plays an important role in the encoding of symbols associated with the nation.

³⁸⁵ Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*, (NY: PAJ Publications, 1982), 55.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 40–41.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

Moreover, Turner's theorisation of the symbolic can be useful in order to understand the process of personification and allegory associated with the *revista*. For him, symbols

exhibit the properties of *condensation, unification of disparate referents, and polarization of meaning*. A single symbol, in fact, represents many things at the same time: it is multivocal, not univocal. Its referents are not all of the same logical order but are drawn from many domains of social experience and ethical evaluation.³⁸⁸

Furthermore, "symbols are multi-vocal, manipulable, and ambiguous precisely because they are *initially located* in systems, classified or arranged in a regular, orderly form."³⁸⁹ Consequently, the personifications and allegories in the *revista* could not only be manipulated (encoded and re-encoded), but also interpreted and decoded in multiple ways. For example, the recurrence of some characters throughout the history of the genre points precisely to the plasticity associated with their manipulation. Writing about the Brazilian *revista* of the late nineteenth century, Mencarelli associated the genre with "one of the first attempts in the process of constitution of mass culture" due to the wide spectra of its audience, relating this dissemination with the polysemic and open-ended structure of the *revista*, that allowed for different readings of relevant topics in the then-current actuality to be displayed.³⁹⁰ I will go further and argue that the inherently polysemic character of the *revista* promoted the widening of its audience (making it a profitable business enterprise) and the presentation of a symbolic order to which traces of the modern nation were embedded. If imagined communities (such as the nation) create a symbolic dynamic that binds culture, memory and place, *jouissance* (which is located in the pre-Symbolic Real) plays a key role in the translation of the Real into the Symbolic, to use Lacanian terminology.³⁹¹ In constructing and presenting a nation (a process that also took place in the theatre), the selection of national symbols had to be twofold: they must be efficient for the "people" to attach to them through a kernel of enjoyment and they must be open enough to contain ambiguity and to be continuously

³⁸⁸ Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, 52.

³⁸⁹ Victor Turner, "Symbolic studies", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 4 (1975), 146.

³⁹⁰ Fernando Antonio Mencarelli, *A cena aberta: a interpretação de "O Bilontra" no teatro de revista de Arthur Azevedo*, Master's thesis (Unicamp, 1996), 24.

³⁹¹ Yannis Stavrakakis and Nikos Chrysoloras, "'(I can't get no) enjoyment': Lacanian theory and the analysis of nationalism", *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society*, 11/2 (2006), 151.

re-encoded in order to achieve that efficiency.³⁹² Furthermore, Stavrakakis and Chrysoloras state the importance of a personal investment in the process of identification and construction of collective identities, to which *jouissance* plays a major role as the affective kernel of that identification.³⁹³ In the *revista*, pleasure plays a dominant role in the process of organising a chain of signifiers (contained in the symbolic order), and *jouissance* is pivotal in encoding effective (and affective) symbols. Like Middleton, Stavrakakis and Chrysoloras argue against the reduction of identity (in which nationality takes part) to its discursive form, due to insufficiency of that form for accounting for phenomena that escape both the attachment to a specific symbolic order and the historicity of that identity.³⁹⁴

To conclude, I will return to Benjamin and Lacis' view of Naples, by stating that the symbolic multivocality of the *revista* presents that genre as an artefact that preserves "the scope to become a theater of new, unforeseen constellations" and in which "the stamp of the definitive is avoided."³⁹⁵

³⁹² Slavoj Žižek, *For They Know Not What They Do* (London/NY: Verso, 2008) and Stuart Hall, "Encoding/decoding" in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (ed.), *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972–79* (London: Hutchinson, 1980), 128–138.

³⁹³ Stavrakakis and Chrysoloras, *op. cit.*, 144–163.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 146–150.

³⁹⁵ Benjamin and Lacis, "Naples", 166.

Chapter 3. Programmes, Postcards, *Coplas* and Sheet Music in Lisbon's Entertainment Market

Introduction

The last part of the previous chapter addressed the complex interaction between local and transnational repertoires in Lisbon's theatrical market of the time and their relation with topics such as modernity and nationality. This chapter will examine the circulation of cultural goods in Portugal, and study several commodities associated with this process (such as programmes, postcards, *coplas*, and sheet music). Moreover, the commodification of texts, images, and sounds, illustrates an ongoing trend in the transnational entertainment market of the time. For Scott, there is a direct relationship between the diffusion of some repertoires and their commodification:

The waltz, black minstrelsy, music hall, and French cabaret took almost no time to cross national boundaries once an organized means of dissemination was in place. The reason is straightforward: this music became available in a commodity form designed for exchange, and it was never so circumscribed by the local as to confuse or be unintelligible to a wider audience.¹

Furthermore, this work traces the existence of an articulated system of entertainment in Portugal, in which theatrical music occupied a prominent place. In this sense, the theatre was a focal point for the creation and presentation of songs and dances that were then made available in various forms (such as sheet music or sound recordings) through several agents, revealing a complex and dynamic market in which several spheres and spaces of everyday life intersected.

Domestic Space, Gender, and the Piano

The role played by domesticity, associated with activities such as collecting, together with the reproduction of repertoires in the form of sheet music during late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Portugal, was crucial for the development of the entertainment market. The association of musical repertoires with the privileged

¹ Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The 19th-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris and Vienna* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), 44.

instrument for its reproduction, the piano, occupied a prominent place in the sociability of various social segments of the population, in which qualities such as gender and class were played out.

In the Portuguese dictionary published by Cândido de Figueiredo in 1899 some of the definitions for the term “domestic” are: “relative to the home, to the intimate life of the family; related with the running of the home; familial.”² In these definitions, Figueiredo associates domesticity with space (the home), family, and intimacy. This connection places the idea of domesticity within a transnational panorama of cultural practices in which the rationalisation of living space and time played a key role in everyday life. Thus, Figueiredo’s proposed definition for the term “domestic” in the Portuguese language resonates with a much wider cultural framework. This transnational circulation of cultural practices occupies an important place in this thesis, especially its association with the tensions between local and global contexts discussed in the previous chapter. However, the study of local cultural practices poses important methodological questions regarding the translatability of concepts. Furthermore, the international bibliography on these issues has tended to concentrate on Anglophone and Francophone contexts. On the one hand, the establishment of a specific network of people, spaces, practices and commodities and its association with the home is a trend that can be discussed in the wider context of private space in Western modernity. Conversely, the application of analytical frameworks associated with Victorian and Edwardian England to the Portuguese situation proves to be extremely problematic. Nevertheless, the Portuguese case can be discussed by relating a selective appropriation of various cultural aspects associated with a cosmopolitan space (especially epitomised by Paris) with specific local elements. Moreover, several striking parallels between Portugal and other European and American countries reinforce the assumption that a transnational space for the circulation of cultural artefacts was being developed on a large scale throughout the nineteenth century.

Figueiredo’s condensation of space, people and social bonds in his definition of the domestic proves to be quite fruitful when discussing the circulation of commodities associated both with the theatre and with music in Portugal. During the period of this thesis, the vast majority of the sheet music business was concentrated on the piano, a

² Cândido de Figueiredo, *Nôvo dictionário da língua portuguesa*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Livraria Tavares Cardoso & Irmão, 1899), 461.

privileged instrument in the domestic musical practices of several segments of Lisbon's society, namely the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy. The piano became a household good in Portugal during the nineteenth century, as evidenced by the regular publishing in several periodicals from the 1840s onwards of advertisements for stores that sold pianos and printed music and for furniture auctions which frequently included pianos. According to Ward, this object had "established itself as a mark of prosperity and cultural sophistication in middle-class homes everywhere in the Western world [...] and it remained the most diffused household status symbol until well into the twentieth century."³ In this process, the piano can be perceived as a marker of status that fuses both economic capital and cultural capital (to borrow Bourdieu's terminology).⁴ If, on the one hand, its acquisition implied a significant monetary investment, on the other hand, the learning process associated with its practice of this instrument implied a remarkable investment of time. Therefore, learning to play the piano was only available to people who possessed a considerable amount of time to invest in leisure activities, itself a distinctive status marker of the economically privileged segments of society.

The concept of cultural capital advanced by Bourdieu provides a useful analytical tool for the study of domestic musical practices. For him,

Most of the properties of cultural capital can be deduced from the fact that, in its fundamental state, it is linked to the body and presupposes embodiment. The accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of what is called culture, cultivation, *Bildung*, presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, which, insofar as it implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor. Like the acquisition of a muscular physique or a suntan, it cannot be done at second hand (so that all effects of delegation are ruled out).⁵

Therefore, the investment of time necessary for obtaining proficiency in playing the piano can be interpreted as a strategy of embodiment of cultural capital. Moreover, the inclusion of these strategies in a general context of cultivation points to the pervasiveness of a concept of culture that was associated with the creation of bourgeois social space from the Enlightenment onwards. Bourdieu stresses that the accumulation

³ Peter Ward, *A History of Domestic Space: Privacy and the Canadian Home* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999), 64.

⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, "The forms of capital", in Mark Granovetter and Richard Swedberg (eds), *The Sociology of Economic Life* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2001), 50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 48.

of embodied cultural capital cannot be made through delegation, emphasising the role of the individual in its acquisition. Therefore, the process of cultivation implies and values a personal effort, a symptom of a cultural shift occurring at the time. For instance, during the *ancien régime*, the maintenance of a skilled orchestra (such as the Portuguese Orquestra da Real Câmara – Royal Chamber Orchestra, an ensemble established in Lisbon in the eighteenth century) was perceived as a marker of prestige for the court.⁶ In this case, patrons applied economic capital to maximise their prestige (or social capital, to use Bourdieu's terminology), a maximisation that was obtained through delegation (*i. e.* paid musicians to be entertained and entertain their circles of sociability). However, public concerts and domestic music making were a symptom of a significant transformation in the value systems from the nineteenth century onwards. On the one hand, instrumental ensembles could be sponsored by voluntary societies and perform in public venues such as concert halls, a trend that reduced the dependence of several musical practices on individual patrons. Conversely, domestic musical practice valued acquired personal skills for several social segments of Lisbon's population. To reinforce the personal cost in the processes of embodiment of cultural capital, Bourdieu states:

The work of acquisition is work on oneself (self-improvement), an effort that presupposes a personal cost (*on paie de sa personne*, as we say in French), an investment, above all of time, but also of that socially constituted form of libido, *libido sciendi*, with all the privation, renunciation, and sacrifice that it may entail.⁷

In the same article, Bourdieu points to the important role played by domesticity in the transmission of cultural capital.⁸

The association between the transmission of cultural capital and gender in Britain's domestic sphere of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (and, consequently, the possibility of applying Bourdieu's theory to these contexts) are the chief concern of an article by Gunn, in which Gunn stressed the role of middle-class women in this

⁶ For more information on this orchestra see Joseph Scherpereel, *A orquestra e os instrumentistas da Real Câmara de Lisboa de 1764 a 1834: documentos inéditos* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985).

⁷ Bourdieu, *op. cit.*, 48.

⁸ *Ibid.*

process.⁹ First, the task of rearing children was perceived as a woman's responsibility, which gives her a major role in the formation of the subsequent generation.¹⁰ This stresses the importance of informal learning in domestic contexts, and can be analysed as a process for the internalisation of a specific *habitus* by children (to use a concept drawn from Bourdieu's theory). Second, various signals that marked the socio-cultural status of the entire household, in which the proficiency in music was included, were expected to be embodied by middle class women.¹¹ Finally, "women had a critical part in transmitting cultural competence by embodying it in their own person, their dress, deportment and behaviour."¹²

Moreover, Gunn associates women with specific strategies for social distinction in these contexts, arguing that "women, especially married women, represented embodied cultural capital; they were arbiter and proof of distinction (or of its vulgar other)."¹³ In his discussion of the British case he relates specific forms of home-centred consumerism (in which domestic musical practices are included) with suburbanisation. However, this encountered no parallel in Portugal between 1865 and 1908. Nevertheless, it may be related to the rationalisation of urban space associated with Lisbon's planning paradigm at the time, a process addressed in the previous chapter of this thesis.¹⁴ Then, the privileged role women played in this recent home centred consumerism cannot be understated, especially when it comes to the embodiment and transmission of cultural capital. The association of the domestic space with the feminine can be associated with the circulation of the so-called "separate spheres doctrine" during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to this formula, "adult males should dominate a family's relationship to the outside or public world while adult women properly should take direction of the domestic world."¹⁵ Moreover, "a woman's sphere of influence was the home, that her life ought to be one of quiet fulfilment of her

⁹ Simon Gunn, "Translating Bourdieu: cultural capital and the English middle class in historical perspective", *The British Journal of Sociology*, 56/1 (2005), 55. See also Elizabeth Langland, *Nobody's Angels: Middle-Class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).

¹⁰ Gunn, *ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹⁵ Woodruff Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600–1800* (London/NY: Routledge, 2002), 175.

duties, out of the public eye. Women were not to sully themselves with the dirty work of the masculine sphere, the public arena.”¹⁶

The Portuguese case is not an exception to this global trend in sociability patterns, although it maintains several particularities associated with a pervasive porosity between spaces. The trend of limiting women from various social strata to the physical boundaries of the home (and its extension, the garden) as well as to specific domestic roles is omnipresent in Lisbon’s society of the time, and documented in several textual and iconographic sources (such as newspaper articles, novels, and paintings).¹⁷ Moreover, several authors associate the performance of domestic tasks with qualities related with the feminine (sensitivity, frailty, and susceptibility, for instance) thus placing the woman in a complementary, yet backstage role to the one played by the “head of the family.”¹⁸ Nevertheless, the domestic role of aristocratic and bourgeois wives did not include chores such as cooking and cleaning, activities that were performed by hired servants. This is quite clear in Eça de Queirós’ novel *O primo Basílio*, in which the servant Juliana blackmails her mistress Luísa, by threatening to disclose to Luísa’s husband the adulterous nature of her relationship with Basílio, into performing her housework tasks.¹⁹

In a text published in the 1872 issue of *As farpas*, Eça de Queirós states that a wealthy marriage is the best path to secure the financial stability and, consequently, the material welfare of Portuguese bourgeois women.²⁰ Therefore, the social function of the women drawn from the Portuguese aristocracy and bourgeoisie (that, according to Queirós were “excluded, through habits or laws, from politics, industry, commerce, and literature”) would be circumscribed to the institution of the family.²¹ It is not by chance that the subtitle of his novel *O primo Basílio*, that narrates the sociability rituals of the lower segments of Lisbon’s bourgeoisie and in an adulterous relationship, is *episódio doméstico* (domestic episode). Moreover, Queirós argues that, in the cultural and educational climate of the time, the woman (especially the woman drawn from the

¹⁶ Julia Eklund Koza, “Music and the feminine sphere: Images of women as musicians in ‘Godey’s Lady’s Book’, 1830–1877”, *The Musical Quarterly*, 75/2 (1991), 108.

¹⁷ Maria de Fátima Outeirinho, “A mulher: educação e leituras francesas na crónica de Ramalho Ortigão”, *Intercâmbio*, (1992), 148–161.

¹⁸ Outeirinho, *op. cit.* For a discussion about the operating duality between front stage and backstage in social interaction see Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1990).

¹⁹ Eça de Queirós, *O primo Basílio, episódio doméstico* (Porto/Braga: Livraria Chardron, 1878), 422–424.

²⁰ Ramalho Ortigão and Eça de Queirós, *As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes*, (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1872) 79–82.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 67.

privileged segments of society) was “confined to the world of feeling.”²² In his work, he portrays the (predominantly) bourgeois woman as being primarily associated with the realm of sensation (epitomised by activities such as reading dramas and novels and attending the theatre) and not with the field of rationality, a cultural trope that was circulating in several European and American contexts.

The satirical content of *As farpas*, sometimes based on caricatured exaggerations of stereotypes has to be contextualised in order to understand the circulation of this type of argument about gender. Nevertheless, both Queirós and Ortigão wrote a significant number of texts in which these views are embedded. Furthermore, the segmentation mentioned above of space and activities and its association with specific genders was not a construction that was exclusive to male writers. For instance, in some of her works, Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho propounds the idea that the role of women was to be an “honest companion” to the man, promoting his happiness and the happiness of their children, “voluntarily serving her husband,” the person who holds the authority within the household.²³ Moreover, these views were disseminated and reinforced through several periodicals of the time that were primarily directed to a female audience, the intended readership of several works by Vaz de Carvalho.²⁴ To place this discussion in a wider context, both Ortigão and Vaz de Carvalho refer to texts by Jules Michelet on these topics, evidencing the complexity associated with the ideas about gender and reinforcing the assumption that a dialectic of local and cosmopolitan contexts was operating at the time.²⁵

To add another layer to this subject, authors such as Vickery have criticised this apparently strict spatial and cultural segmentation for its exaggeration, arguing that this was not a reflection of concrete realities but a projection of an idealised society.²⁶ Moreover, this separation between masculine activities outside and female domesticity inside is problematic when dealing with living space, a matter addressed by Picker in his study of the soundscapes of the Victorian period.²⁷ When discussing street noise in London, he states that a significant number of middle-class professionals “divided their

²² Ortigão and Queirós, *op. cit.*, 86.

²³ Outeirinho, *op. cit.*, 151.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Amanda Vickery, “Golden age to separate spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English women’s history”, *Historical Journal*, 36 (1993), 383–414.

²⁷ John M. Picker, *Victorian Soundscapes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

time between increasingly distinct arenas of home and office.”²⁸ Moreover, Picker discussed the status of workers such as writers or artists who had to work at home. In these cases, they “lacked a separate, official workplace that affirmed their vocational status.”²⁹ Thus, domestic space was not an exclusively feminine realm, and rooms associated with masculine activities, such as the study, played an important role in this economy of work, leisure and gender.

This duality surfaces very clearly in a passage of the novel *O primo Basílio* discussed above, when, during a gathering at the house of Jorge and Luísa, Jorge takes Sebastião to his study (“a small room with a tall glass-fronted bookshelf”), in order to have a private conversation.³⁰ The narrator then describes a pile of *Diários do Governo* (the official publication of the Portuguese government of the time) in the room, a presence that might indicate its status as a workplace for Jorge, a mining engineer. Nevertheless, Luísa also had access to the study, which complicates this binary differentiation between masculine and feminine domestic spaces. It was in the study that Luísa wrote the letter to her cousin Basílio containing elements that were eventually to prove the adulterous nature of their relationship and which was seized by the servant Juliana and used to blackmail Luísa.³¹ Another work in which the study occupies an important place is *Os Maias* (by the same Eça de Queirós). In this novel, Afonso da Maia (the grandfather of Carlos da Maia, the protagonist), a rich proprietor, spends most of his time in the study, a space that, along with the billiard room, is a privileged setting for male sociability, where men play cards, drink and talk.³²

If domesticity is presented as a mostly feminine realm and the piano played a key role in domestic music making, a link between the piano and the feminine can be traced. This did not go unnoticed in Portuguese literature. On one occasion, the writer Fialho d’Almeida satirically remarked that several women entered photographic studios in order to be portrayed at the piano “with the eyes facing the sky, like yielded Saint Cecílias.”³³ In his discussion concerning the domestic space in Canada, Ward states:

²⁸ Picker, *op. cit.*, 52–53.

²⁹ Picker, “The soundproof study: Victorian professionals, work space, and urban noise”, *Victorian Studies*, 42/3 (2000), 428.

³⁰ Eça de Queirós, *O primo Basílio, episódio doméstico* (Porto/Braga: Livraria Chardron, 1878), 57–64.

³¹ Queirós, *op. cit.*, 233–255.

³² Eça de Queirós, *Os Maias: episódio da vida romântica* (Porto: Livraria Chardron/Casa Editora Luga & Genelioux Successores, 1888).

³³ Fialho d’Almeida, *Pasquinadas (jornal d’um vagabundo)* (Porto: Livraria Chardron, Lello & Irmão, 1904), 22–23.

The piano was pre-eminently a woman's instrument. Nineteenth-century notions of middle-class femininity highly valued musical ability and held skilled piano playing supreme cultural accomplishment, along with a fine singing voice. But even indifferent capacity was valued as a sign of female gentility and cultivation. In an age when families made their own music women held a central place in home and community entertainment, very often as pianists.³⁴

Several musicologists have also associated the piano with female musical practice. For instance, one of the aims of Richard Leppert's article "Sexual identity, death, and the family piano", was to address the mechanisms associated with the piano as "an object to be looked at beyond being heard or played upon" as well as the processes through which gender was embedded in this specific way of seeing.³⁵ Moreover, Leppert's study focused on "the instrument's extramusical function within the home as the visual-sonoric simulacrum of family, wife, and mother."³⁶ When discussing the morphological changes in keyboard instruments and describing a 1801 model of a pianoforte, Leppert states that

The cupboard design marks the piano as middle class – prestigious as a grand yet modest, even a bit severe. It also marks the piano as feminine: the objects it might properly hold, apart from printed music or smaller instruments, are bric-a-brac. The move toward practicality and the feminization of the domestic piano quickly concatenated in the eyes of manufacturers. Thus small pianos, early in the nineteenth century, were made to double as sewing tables.³⁷

The doubling of the piano as a sewing table posits itself as an interesting case for the discussion of the instrument and its relation with class, gender and space. This object concentrated two activities that were part of the embodiment of cultural capital by bourgeois women in domestic spaces, playing the piano and sewing. Nevertheless, in an earlier publication Leppert notes that, although the doubling of the piano as a sewing table can be interpreted as the epitome of the association between the piano and the bourgeois woman, this process was more nuanced and complex.³⁸ For him, the integration and promotion of the piano in the strategies of distinction of the bourgeois sectors of the population carried its association with a specific set of values, especially

³⁴ Ward, *op. cit.*, 65.

³⁵ Richard Leppert, "Sexual identity, death, and the family piano", *19th-Century Music*, 16/2 (1992), 105.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Leppert, *op. cit.*, 115.

³⁸ Richard Leppert, "The female at music: praxis, representation and the problematic of identity", in Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 147–175.

the necessity of frugality.³⁹ Thus, the double role of the piano/sewing table can be interpreted as condensation, in the same artefact, of the binarism between leisure (in which music played a key role) and work (which was the source of the accumulation of economic capital).⁴⁰

According to Leppert, “ideologically, the pairing was brilliant in its self-confirmation of the association of the instrument with women and women with domesticity.”⁴¹ Although Leppert concentrates his analysis on a period in which the morphology of the instrument was changing in order to suit several needs or promote specific systems of values, his views can be adjusted to suit other epochs. For instance, during the period covered by this thesis the morphology of the piano was already established. Nevertheless, the association between the piano, domesticity, and the feminine, can be transferred to the realm of the repertoire for this instrument. Moreover, this move does not imply a radical and simplistic shift from a morphological analysis to a repertoire-based discussion because the association of a specific set of repertoires with femininity was already in place in the period studied by Leppert. Accordingly, the simultaneity of organological and compositional features in the association between gender, class, space and music points to a process in which instrument manufacturers, composers, and publishing houses articulated their agency and contributed to the reinforcement of social stereotypes.

As stated earlier, a significant amount of work on the segmentation of musical genres according to gender has been predominantly developed in Anglo-American contexts. Nevertheless, various traits of this discussion appear to be present, in several degrees, in the coeval Portuguese context. For Scott, a simultaneous articulation between nineteenth-century social theory, the rise of scientific approaches to gender and sexuality, and the circulation of discourses based on an aesthetic dichotomy between the sublime and the beautiful promoted the circumscription of the work of women composers to a set of musical works. In this sense, “certain musical styles were considered unsuitable or even unnatural for women composers.”⁴² Moreover, various constraints to the career development of female composers, such as a framework that imposed on them specific pressures on social, economic and educational levels, played

³⁹ Richard Leppert, “The female at music”, 156.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Derek B. Scott, “The sexual politics of Victorian musical aesthetics”, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 119/1 (1994), 91.

a key role in the association of particular musical traits with gender.⁴³ Furthermore, the presence of masculine/feminine qualities in music, its hierarchical distribution and its supposedly biological foundation also affected male composers, especially when their work was placed in comparative terms “with the less elevated output of women.”⁴⁴ Additionally, this discussion of gender roles and abilities was circulating throughout Western culture at the time, as the previous discussion of Queirós’ formulation of the woman as being “confined to the world of feeling” illustrates.⁴⁵

According to Scott, the polarity between the sublime and the beautiful enclosed a binary logic male/female which was supported by the psychiatry of the time.⁴⁶ Consequently, aesthetic theories based on a bifurcation between the sublime and the beautiful and its associated qualities (already postulated in Kant’s *The Critique of Judgement*) had a specific impact on music. The category of the sublime was “typified by qualities such as the awesome, solemn, pathetic, colossal, lofty and majestic” and the category of the beautiful was “typified by qualities of the graceful, charming, delicate, playful and pretty,” a dichotomy that associated the masculine with the former traits and the feminine with the latter.⁴⁷ Consequently, one of the aims of this ideological division between the sublime and the beautiful was the exclusion of women from several compositional practices (which, according to the circulating theories, were seen as untrue to female nature), therefore equating the category of the sublime with a masculine space.⁴⁸

This was not exclusive to Britain at the time. The transformation of the professional music circuit in the United States of America with the integration of female composers and performers, and their growing autonomy from the stereotype of the “piano girl” were discussed by Judith Tick.⁴⁹ In this article, she presents a similar segmentation to the one presented by Scott, in which the female is associated with the musical qualities of lyricism and melodiousness and with genres such as songs and piano pieces (“smaller forms”).⁵⁰ One interesting, yet exceptional occurrence in the

⁴³ Scott, *op. cit.*, 91.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Ortigão and Queirós, *op. cit.*, 86.

⁴⁶ Scott, *op. cit.*, 99.

⁴⁷ Scott, *op. cit.*, 99.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Judith Tick, “Passed away is the piano girl: Changes in American musical life, 1870–1900”, in Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 325–348.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 337.

Portuguese musical scene was the Lisbon's performance of the opera *Haydée*, composed by Felicia Lacombe Casella. Although this example precedes the period covered by this thesis for more than a decade, it stands as a case in which one theatrical work of a female composer/performer was presented to a Portuguese audience in a public space. According to Vieira, Felicia Lacombe Casella was born in France and was the sister of the pianist/composer Louis Lacombe (1818–84).⁵¹ She had studied singing and piano in the Paris Conservatoire before going to Portugal with her husband and co-performer, the cellist Cesare Casella.⁵² This initial framing by Vieira places Felicia Casella in a system of kinship with male musicians, a recurrent strategy in the legitimation of the work of female musicians through which the stereotypes associated with gender surfaced. Although the couple had an international career, characteristic of the rise of the virtuoso performer during the first half of the nineteenth century, they lived in Portugal (in Porto, Lisbon, or Azores) in the years that surrounded the composition of *Haydée*.⁵³

The work (inspired in Dumas' novel *The Count of Monte Cristo* and with a Portuguese libretto) premièred in the Teatro de S. Sebastião (in S. Miguel, Azores) in 1852 and its orchestra mainly consisted on amateur musicians from the local bands, conducted by Cesare Casella.⁵⁴ The following year, *Haydée* was staged in the Teatro de D. Maria II, perceived as the national theatre, with the composer performing the leading female role. This is atypical in four different ways: an opera written by a female composer, a composer performing her own theatrical work, a libretto in Portuguese, and an opera performed in the Teatro de D. Maria II (that was then almost exclusively dedicated to drama).

This last fact can be related with the fact that *Haydée* was performed in Portuguese, such as the other plays presented in this theatre. Moreover, the Real Teatro de S. Carlos offered mostly opera in Italian by established composers. However, the work was dedicated to the King D. Fernando, which may have contributed to the presentation of this opera in one of the city's major theatres and not in a less prestigious venue. Lisbon's performance of *Haydée* was the object of a *feuilleton* about famous

⁵¹ Ernesto Vieira, *Diccionario biographico de musicos portugueses: historia e bibliografia da musica em Portugal*, vol.1 (Lisbon: Lambertini, 1900), 238–239.

⁵² Vieira, *op. cit.*, 238–239.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ João Silva, O diário “A Revolução de Setembro” (1840–1857): Música, poder e construção social de realidade em Portugal nos meados do século XIX, Master's thesis (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2007), 152–153.

women artists by Lopes de Mendonça and published in the newspaper *A Revolução de Setembro*.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, despite the author's high praise of Felicia Lacombe Casella the text concentrated on French female writers whom Mendonça admired. The National Library of Portugal holds, apart from the printed version of *Haydée's* libretto, one piano piece and one song composed by Felicia Lacombe Casella, genres that were far more consonant than opera with the association of the female with domestic and "light" music.

Although Scott and Tick discuss the role of gender in composition, it is possible to shift this emphasis to the realm of performance and associate a significant segment of female musical practices with a patriarchal discourse that associates femininity with "light music" (or "trivial music" to borrow Dalhaus' problematic categorisation), a stereotype that was part of the music publishing business of the time.⁵⁶ These topics surface in several Portuguese novels of this time, namely *O primo Basílio* and *Os Maias*, by Eça de Queirós and *Amanhã!*, by Abel Botelho. In *O primo Basílio*, several references to the piano are made, most of which associated with feminine characters. For example, the female protagonist, Luísa, is depicted accompanying herself on the piano (placed in the parlour or family room) while singing a poem of Soares dos Passos (a writer associated with late-Romanticism), the finale of *La traviata*, and the *Fado do Vimioso*.⁵⁷ This can be useful to understand the heterogeneity of repertoires that were associated with the domestic music practices of the time and that constituted the core of the music publishing business. In this case, operatic reductions, fado and what can be designated by parlour songs were an important part of domestic repertoires.⁵⁸

On the one hand, the cases mentioned above are vocal pieces, which reinforces a argument made earlier in which singing and piano skills were part of the accumulation of cultural capital expected for a woman belonging to the economically privileged sectors of society. These abilities could facilitate the establishment and development of social relations, such as an advantageous marriage (an aspect that resonates with the analysis of the condition of the Portuguese woman by Eça de Queirós). Therefore,

⁵⁵ *A Revolução de Setembro*, n° 3366, 25th June 1853, 1–2.

⁵⁶ On Dalhaus' discussion of the problematic concept of "trivial music" see Carl Dalhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 311–319.

⁵⁷ Queirós, *O primo Basílio, episódio doméstico*, 19.

⁵⁸ About parlour songs in the British context see Derek B. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

Young middle-class women often took special pains to develop their keyboard skills because prospective suitors commonly regarded a musical education as especially attractive in a wife. For this reason the piano could play an important part in a woman's courtship strategies, to say nothing of those of parents anxious to advance their daughters' marital interest.⁵⁹

The repertoire associated with Luísa throughout the novel is varied, but it points to the feminine realm. She and her friend Leopoldina are depicted singing and playing Italian songs, waltzes, operatic reductions (including operetta), and fados, all of which fitted the category of "light music."⁶⁰ This can be related to its association with a melodious sensuousness (thus viewed as emotional immediacy), situating these repertoires at the opposite pole from a system of values that emphasises "masculine" and "intellectual" characteristics of music, such as structural complexity and the emphasis on harmony and counterpoint.⁶¹ To reinforce this argument, the narrator witnesses Thécla Badarzewska's piece *La prière d'une vierge* performed in a piano near Luísa's house, by a small girl in a "vagrant Sunday sentimentalism."⁶²

The association of young females from privileged social strata with the piano is also presented by Abel Botelho in his novel *Amanhã!*. In a passage of the novel, Botelho places Adriana, the "patrician daughter of the owners of the house" (and of the factory, an important setting of the book), playing the piano.⁶³ However, taking piano lessons was not an exclusive activity for young females. For example, a 1883 painting by Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro portrays his then-young nephew, Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro (who would become a famous visual artist of his time, collaborating regularly with his father, Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro) struggling with a difficult passage whilst practising the piano.⁶⁴

Returning to *O primo Basílio*, the uses of music by the character Sebastião had manifested a precocious inclination for music that encouraged his mother to hire him a piano teacher.⁶⁵ When asked about Sebastião's musical prowess in an informal

⁵⁹ Ward, *op. cit.*, 65. See also Craig H. Roell, *The Piano in America, 1890–1940* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 25–26.

⁶⁰ Queirós, *op. cit.*, 60–63, for example.

⁶¹ Tick, *op. cit.*, 337.

⁶² Queirós, *op. cit.*, 34.

⁶³ Abel Botelho, *Amanhã!* (Porto: Livraria Chardron, 1902), 81–87. On this issue see Ruth A. Solie, "Girling' at the parlor piano", in *Music in Other Words Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 85–117.

⁶⁴ See Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro, *Trecho difícil*, 1885. Inventory number CMAG: 928, Casa-Museu Dr. Anastácio Gonçalves (Lisbon).

⁶⁵ Queirós, *op. cit.*, 152.

gathering, the Conselheiro Acácio (another character of the book) compares him with Thalberg or Liszt.⁶⁶ Although this comparison may seem exaggerated, it places Sebastião in the realm of the male virtuoso, clearly distinguishing him from Luísa or Leopoldina. Nevertheless, he is depicted playing a Chopin nocturne, a composer associated by Tick with the feminine realm.⁶⁷ On the one hand, this indicates that a straightforward segmentation of repertoires according to gender is a complex and elusive issue. On the other, this points to the importance of Chopin's work in salon sociability (the context in which Sebastião performs this piece) as well as in piano didactics of the time. Moreover, in a period when the Portuguese music publishing business was dominated by opera and operetta reductions and parlour songs, Chopin's nocturnes may be situated a more elevated place in the hierarchical value system incorporated and promoted by some sectors of the local society.

In Queirós' novel *Os Maias*, the character Cruges is framed within a distinct symbolic universe. Carvalho presents Cruges as a character inspired by Augusto Machado and Jaime Batalha Reis (both of whom belonged to the same sociability group in which Queirós circulated), drawing his appreciation for German composers from the latter.⁶⁸ In *Os Maias* Cruges states his admiration for composers such as Beethoven, Mozart and Wagner, associated with what may be considered the masculine realm.⁶⁹ Furthermore, he performs Mendelssohn, Chopin, and, most notably, Beethoven's *Pathétique* sonata.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, this should not be directly associated with gender (although gender is embedded in this discourse). In *Os Maias*, Cruges is a maestro, composer, and pianist, therefore, a music professional who contrasts with the spectrum of dilettantes of Queirós' novels. In this context, the character may play the role of the male performer and composer who admires the technical proficiency of Austro-German composers. Moreover, the composers this character admires were associated with "masculine" and "intellectual" qualities, reflecting a specific hierarchy of taste and its implications on matters such as technique and gender. Nevertheless, Cruges is presented

⁶⁶ Queirós, *op.cit.*, 137.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 65 and Tick, *op. cit.*, 337.

⁶⁸ Mário Vieira de Carvalho, *Eça de Queirós e Offenbach* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 1999), 95–100. See also Batalha Reis' articles on Wagner previously discussed in this work and published in *O Occidente*, n° 151, 1st March 1883, 50–51; n° 152, 11th March 1883, 59; n° 153, 21st March 1883, 67 and n° 156, 21st April 1883, 94.

⁶⁹ Eça de Queirós, *Os Maias: Episódios da vida romântica* (Porto: Livraria Chardron/Casa Editora Lugan & Genelioux Successores, 1888), 90 [the page numbers are from the digital edition of the National Library of Portugal, <http://purl.pt/23/2/>].

⁷⁰ Queirós, *Os Maias*, 246.

as the “serious” (male) musician who operates in a different realm from the amateur practitioners (mainly associated with “light music” styles and genres and thus, with the feminine space), although sharing some sociability circuits and spaces with them.

In conclusion, it is possible to argue that a number of commodities were predominantly associated with everyday domestic and, therefore, feminine activities. Nevertheless, the direct association between these commodities and gender proves to be elusive and complex. Furthermore, significant transformations introduced by both social and theatrical changes reframed these practices. For instance, the affluence of the lower strata of the bourgeoisie and of some sector of what could be considered the white collar proletariat played a key role in the expansion of the market for pianos and related activities, perceived as markers of social status. Moreover, the inclusion of repertoire associated with spectacles that Rebello correlates with the popular segments of the population (such as the operetta and the *revista*) can evidence the expansion of an entertainment market in which the place for music is changing.

The Theatre and some of its Associated Products: Librettos, Programmes, Posters, and Postcards

The trade in goods such as *coplas* or sheet music promoted the consumption of theatrical repertoires in domestic spaces and their associated contexts of sociability. In this sense, the circulation of repertoires through several media promoted the ubiquitous presence of theatrical music in everyday life. Furthermore, this brings to the foreground the complex interaction of continuity and change in these repertoires. In this context, although the same musical piece was performed in several environments, it had to be accommodated to its intended context, audience, and medium. This emerges clearly when dealing with piano works based on theatrical melodies or when analysing the way phonography (especially in the period of the acoustic recording) introduced significant changes into the sonic materials themselves.

Some of the products associated with the theatrical activity that had a significant circulation inside and outside the theatre were the libretto (for the operettas) and the *coplas* (for the *revista*). These booklets existed in several formats with varying degrees of completeness, and remain one of the most important sources for the study of the

theatrical repertoires of the time. Of particular importance are the collections of librettos held in the National Library of Portugal and in the National Theatre Museum.

In most cases, the librettos and *coplas* are small-sized booklets in which the text of the operetta or the *revista* is reproduced. In some cases, printed librettos and *coplas* contain the full text of the play while, in others, the spoken parts may be suppressed (partially or in their entirety) and include only the sung elements of the spectacle. In some cases, the front cover of the libretto contains relevant information. Besides identifying the work and acknowledging its authors (composers and librettists), it indicates its translators/adaptors. Moreover, it may include the theatre (or theatres, usually when dealing with editions other than the first) in which each play had been performed and the date of its première.⁷¹

Unlike the *revista*, the frequent publication of operetta librettos started simultaneously with the regular presentation of this type of spectacle in Lisbon's theatres. As stated in the previous chapter, three of Offenbach's operettas premiered in Lisbon in 1868 (*As georgianas*, *Barba-azul* and *A Grã-duquesa de Gérolstein*) and their librettos were released at the same time. Indeed, Eduardo Garrido's translation of Offenbach's *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* was printed at least four times by two different publishers during the years of 1868 and 1869.⁷² Although it is not possible to determine the total number of published books, the reprinting of this libretto clearly displays the importance of Offenbach's operettas in Portugal in the late 1860s. Furthermore, the librettos of the two other operettas were also published in 1868, which evidences the synchronic circulation of related commodities (in this case, the plays and their librettos) in the market for cultural goods.⁷³ Nevertheless, this synchronicity is not synonymous with ephemerality. In a significant number of cases, the first editions of operetta librettos were associated with theatrical performances. Nevertheless, the collected data points to a relatively stable body of librettos being recurrently printed. This may constitute evidence of the cultural role librettos played as collectables for its

⁷¹ See, for example, the cover of Eduardo Fernandes, *O poeta Bocage: opereta em 3 actos* (Lisbon: Impr. Lucas, 1902).

⁷² Eduardo Garrido, *A Grã-duquesa de Gérolstein: ópera burlesca em três actos e quatro quadros* (Lisbon: Typographia Universal de Thomaz Quintino Antunes, 1868); Eduardo Garrido, *A Grã-duquesa de Gérolstein: ópera burlesca em três actos e quatro quadros* (Lisbon: Typographia Universal de Thomaz Quintino Antunes, 1869); and Eduardo Garrido, *A Grã-duquesa de Gérolstein: ópera burlesca em três actos e quatro quadros* (Lisbon: P. Plantier, 1869). This last libretto states it is a second edition.

⁷³ Eduardo Garrido, *As georgianas: ópera burlesca em três actos* (Lisbon: Typographia Universal de Thomaz Quintino Antunes, 1868) and Francisco Palha, *Barba azul: ópera burlesca em 3 actos e 4 quadros*, (Lisbon: Typographia Franco Portuguesa, 1868).

intended consumers. For example, Eduardo Garrido's *Os sinos de Corneville* (translation of *Les cloches de Corneville*) was reprinted several times from 1879 to the beginnings of the twentieth century. Although these examples were drawn from French operettas, this practice was not exclusive to translations of foreign repertoire. For instance, the libretto of the operetta *O burro do senhor alcaide* (by Gervásio Lobato, D. João da Câmara, and Cyriaco de Cardoso), premièred in 1891, was published at least six times until 1904.⁷⁴

Moving from operetta librettos to the *coplas of revista* one must address several particularities of the genre. As stated in the previous chapter of this thesis, operettas presented a plot with music, which places their printed text in a homologous position to that occupied by the opera libretto. This means that, in their several revivals, operettas usually used the same text. For example, the revival of *Os sinos de Corneville* performed in the Teatro Ginásio in 1900 by the Nicolau da Silva Group used the same translation by Garrido that was performed in the play's première in 1877 and was subsequently and frequently reprinted, as stated above.⁷⁵ The *revista*, especially in its early years (when its performances were very chronologically circumscribed and the genre was mainly based on commentaries to the events from the past year), was based on ephemerality. Consequently, printing the text of a play that was staged for a relatively short period (when compared with an operetta) and which would not be revived would not be a very appealing business opportunity for publishers. Therefore, it is not unexpected to find that the frequent publication of the texts of the *revistas* started with the development of the genre as a year-round entertainment in the 1880s.⁷⁶

Due to the circumstantial character of the *revista* and the plasticity of the genre, these plays were frequently subject to modification throughout their performance history. The revival in 1890 of the *revista Tim tim por tim tim* in the Teatro da Avenida, for which, according to a periodical, an entire new act was specifically devised, serves as a useful example.⁷⁷ Therefore, the market of commodities associated with a changing repertoire had to be able not only to deal with these modifications, but also to maximise profit in these circumstances. For example, when *Tim tim por tim tim* (premièred in the

⁷⁴ Gervásio Lobato and D. João da Câmara, *O burro do senhor alcaide* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, 1904).

⁷⁵ Eduardo Garrido, *Os sinos de Corneville: opera-comica em 3 actos e 4 quadros*. Shelfmark PTBN: COD. 12136, National Library of Portugal.

⁷⁶ See Luiz Francisco Rebello, *História do teatro de revista em Portugal*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 1984), 85.

⁷⁷ *Pontos nos iis*, n° 251, 17th April 1890, 128.

Teatro da Rua dos Condes in 1889 and whose *coplas* were published that year),⁷⁸ was revived in the season 1898/1899, an “expanded” edition of the *coplas* was printed.⁷⁹ To reinforce the importance of theatrical texts to some publishing houses, the Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, established in Lisbon in 1890, published its collection of “*coplas* of several comic operas.” This collection contained librettos and *coplas* of operettas, vaudevilles, *mágicas*, *revistas*, a body of texts that constitutes a fundamental source for the study of theatrical activities in Portugal during the late nineteenth- and the early-twentieth-century.

Another product of extreme relevance for the study of theatrical activity is the programme. If the libretto or the *coplas* stand out as sources for the plots of theatrical plays, the programme stands as an essential publication to know the people involved in the production and performance of a specific work. The ephemerality of theatrical materials, especially those associated with perishable spectacles such as operettas and *revistas*, has already been discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis. If ephemerality was a key feature in some theatrical enterprises and repertoires, the programme, associated with a very specific set of performances, is its epitome. To reinforce this statement, unlike printed librettos, not many theatrical programmes of the period covered by this thesis have survived. Nevertheless, from this small sample, it is possible to discuss a few traits in this type of material. For instance, the programme for the *revista Beijos de burro* (premiered in the Teatro Chalet do Rato in 1903) included the names of the characters and the actors/actresses who played them as well as the title of the sketches.⁸⁰ In other cases, such as the first performances of the operetta *O solar dos barrigas*, given at the Teatro da Rua dos Condes in 1892, the programme contained its technical and artistic personnel.⁸¹

According to Sousa Bastos, apart from identifying the personnel involved in a specific production, the programme also played a role in advertising the shows.⁸² He

⁷⁸ António de Sousa Bastos, *Tim tim por tim tim: revista do anno de 1888* (Lisbon: Typographia de Alfredo da Costa Braga, 1889).

⁷⁹ António de Sousa Bastos, *Tim tim por tim tim de 1898* (Lisbon: Libânio & Cunha, 1898).

⁸⁰ *Beijos de burro* [programme], Lisbon (Teatro Chalet do Rato), [1903]. Shelfmark MNT: 17092, National Theatre Museum (Lisbon). This was also the case of the program for the *revista Raios X*, performed in the Teatro da Trindade in 1904–1905. See *Raios X* [programme], Lisbon, (Teatro da Trindade), [1904/1905]. Shelfmark MNT: 112557, National Theatre Museum (Lisbon). For several photographs of this *revista* see *Brasil-Portugal*, n° 145, 1st February 1905, 13–14, 16.

⁸¹ *O solar dos barrigas* [programme], Lisbon (Teatro da Rua dos Condes), 1892. Shelfmark MNT: 29871, National Theatre Museum (Lisbon).

⁸² António de Sousa Bastos, *Diccionario do theatro portuguez* (Lisbon: Imp. Libânio da Silva, 1908), 116–117.

states the inefficiency of this medium in terms of advertisement, attributing it to an inadequate distribution on the several streets and establishments.⁸³ Nevertheless, in an unsubsidised segment of the theatrical market in which the popularity of specific actors/actresses played a key role in attracting audiences, the programme (which identified these agents) may have played a significant role as a part of a wider advertising plan devised by the impresarios. This strategy also included the publication of advertisements in the periodicals of the time, aiming to maximise the intended audience for the performances.

In the last third of the nineteenth century the development of halftone printing and of photography facilitated substantial modifications in the representational systems of the time. Although the first chapter of this thesis was mainly focused on the impact these technologies had in the realm of periodicals, this shift had much wider repercussions. Furthermore, this was fundamental for the circulation of two advertising products associated with the theatre: the poster and the postcard.

For Sousa Bastos, theatrical posters (which also carried the identification of some of the agents involved in the performance) were the privileged medium for announcing theatrical shows throughout Portugal.⁸⁴ Furthermore, he relates the transformations of this medium with the iconographic shift mentioned above. If posters started to be “small and simple,” at the time when Sousa Bastos was writing his work (1908) they were mainly “huge, printed in colours and illustrated with scenes of the plays.”⁸⁵ Regarding their dissemination, the writer states that, in Lisbon and Porto, they were distributed by special agencies contracted by the theatrical enterprises.⁸⁶ Although not many of these posters have survived (probably due to their functional and ephemeral status), it is possible to infer that they played an important role in advertising theatrical shows in public spaces and that they simultaneously reflected and were a reflex of the iconographic shift.⁸⁷

One poster of this period is for the 1902 performances of *Tição negro* in the Teatro Avenida and is held in the National Theatre Museum.⁸⁸ The plot of this “lyrical

⁸³ Sousa Bastos, *op. cit.*, 116–117.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ For an analysis of the role the poster played in the promotion of André Antoine’s Théâtre Libre in Paris see Sally Charnow, “Commercial culture and modernist theatre in fin-de-siècle Paris: André Antoine and the Théâtre Libre”, *Radical History Review*, 77 (2000), 60–90.

⁸⁸ *Tição negro* [poster], Lisbon, Teatro Avenida, [1902]. Shelfmark MNT: 18062, National Theatre Museum (Lisbon).

farce” drew upon elements associated with the Portuguese playwright Gil Vicente (1465–1537) in a period when historicist and naturalistic trends played an important role in the theatrical market. Consequently, the poster reflected this trend and catered for the advertising needs of a theatrical production of the time. Containing the same information one would expect to find in a programme (such as an actors/actresses list with the characters they performed, and an enumeration of the musical numbers and of the technical staff), the poster was printed in much larger dimensions.⁸⁹ *Tiçãõ negro*’s poster emulated both graphically and rhetorically the aesthetics of the period in which the play is set, presenting an illustrated strip decorated with late medieval motives and Portuguese language borrowed from Gil Vicente’s plays.⁹⁰

Photographic reproduction technologies were crucial for the development of the illustrated postcard, a product also used in advertising the theatrical activity of the time. According to Danet, the origin of this artefact can be traced back to the processes of urbanisation, industrialisation (in which the developments in printing technologies are included), and the spread of literacy during the nineteenth century.⁹¹ Emerging in the last third of the nineteenth century, the postcard started to be incorporated in the communicative routine of several people, an issue to which advertisers were aware as early as 1878.⁹² The standardisation of the dimensions of the product and the development of its layout, especially the “divided back” (which allowed for an image to occupy the entirety of one of the sides of the object) in the first decade of the twentieth century, were key events for development of the illustrated face of the postcard, “a sign of the rise of the culture of the image.”⁹³

Furthermore, postcard writing (such as letter writing) was considered a feminine activity, a characteristic that reinforced “the association of the feminine with the trivial, the picturesque, the ephemeral.”⁹⁴ Conversely, the status of the postcard as a collectable pointed to its connections with the (mostly) masculine activity of collecting. “If [...]

⁸⁹ *Tiçãõ negro* [poster], Lisbon, Teatro Avenida, [1902]. Shelfmark MNT: 18062, National Theatre Museum (Lisbon)..

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Brenda Darnet, *Cyberpl@y: Communicating Online* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2001), 161. For several examples of Portuguese postcards from this period see Sousa Figueiredo, *Ilustradores portugueses no bilhete postal (1894–1910)* (Lisbon: Arte Mágica Editores, 2003).

⁹² Rosamond B. Vaule, *As We Were: American Photographic Postcards, 1905–1930* (Boston, MA: David R Godine, 2004), 47–52. For a study of the interconnected communication networks in the nineteenth-century USA see David M. Henkin, *The Postal Age: The Emergence of Modern Communications in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2007).

⁹³ Vaule, *ibid.* and Naomi Schor, “Collecting Paris”, in John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, *The Cultures of Collecting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 263.

⁹⁴ Schor, *op. cit.*, 262.

collection is generally theorized as a masculine activity, the postcard constitutes an interesting exception to these laws of gendering: it is the very example of the feminine collectable.⁹⁵

Not unlike posters, few postcards of this time are preserved and available in accessible institutions and, possibly, a significant number of them has been circulating in the hands of private collectors. Nevertheless, advertisements to postcard sellers were published in the Portuguese press.⁹⁶ Moreover, the depiction of theatrical activities in postcards was a current practice in several territories since at least the beginning of the twentieth century.⁹⁷ As in other countries, there were mainly two types of theatrical postcard: either portraying the actor/actress in costume or depicting a scene of a theatrical play. For example, in the first decade of the twentieth century several postcards were published that depicted the play *Vénus* (a Portuguese adaptation of Oscar Blumenthal's and Ernst Pasqué's German play *Frau Venus* made by Acácio Antunes with music by Augusto Machado), premièred in the Teatro de D. Amélia in 1905.⁹⁸ Some of these postcards present collective scenes of this play whilst in the others the actress/singer Palmira Bastos is portrayed using several stage costumes.⁹⁹ Furthermore, the National Library of Portugal holds a postcard that depicts a scene belonging to the second act of the operetta *Tiçãõ negro* that parallels the strategies of representation mentioned above.¹⁰⁰

In the case of the *revista*, the National Theatre Museum holds a set of coloured postcards from *O anno em três dias* in which several female performers in costume are individually portrayed.¹⁰¹ What is interesting about theatrical postcards is that they share the same strategy of representation with the periodicals when printing theatrical photographs. For instance, the issue of *O Occidente* that included the review of *Vénus*

⁹⁵ Schor, *op. cit.*, 262.

⁹⁶ *O Occidente*, n° 941, 20th February 1905, 40.

⁹⁷ See, for example, the series of Sarah Bernhardt's postcards published in Paris by the Éditions Cinos in 1898, the theatrical postcards published in London by J. Beagles & Co in the beginning of the twentieth century, or David Elliott's theatrical postcard collection, held in the National Library of Australia.

⁹⁸ For the review of the play see *O Occidente*, n° 973, 10th January 1906, 2–3. For the libretto see Acácio Antunes, *Venus: peça fantástica em 3 actos e 15 quadros baseada na peça de Pasqué e Blumenthal* (Lisbon: Imp. Libânio da Silva, 1905).

⁹⁹ See *Venus* [postcards], [1906]. Shelfmarks PTBN: P.I. 63 P., PTBN: P.I. 64 P., PTBN: P.I. 65 P., PTBN: P.I. 66 P., National Library of Portugal and J. Fernandes, *Vénus: Americanas*, Lisbon, Pap. Typ de Paulo Guedes e Saraiva, [1906]. Shelfmark PTBN: P.I. 5755 P., National Library of Portugal.

¹⁰⁰ *Tiçãõ negro* [postcard], Lisbon: Union Postale Universelle, [1902]. Shelfmark PTBN: A.M./C.3//6, National Library of Portugal.

¹⁰¹ *O anno em três dias* [postcards]. Shelfmarks MNT: 32135, MNT: 32179, MNT: 32271, and MNT: 32388, National Theatre Museum (Lisbon).

also published a set of stage photographs that share similarities with some of the printed postcards.¹⁰² In this sense, the conventions induced by photography in its early stage were reproduced in several different products, such as newspapers and postcards, contributing to disseminate not only the medium but also the aesthetic and ideological models embedded in it. Moreover, because the musical theatre was integrated in the broader theatrical field it shared the same conventions of representation.

Theatrical Repertoires and Sheet Music

As in several countries, the establishment and expansion of a market for sheet music in Portugal took place during the nineteenth century and was concentrated on the urban centres of Lisbon, Porto and Coimbra. Furthermore, printed music played a key role for the sociability routines of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie in a period when the only possibility of reproducing repertoires involved musical literacy and domestic music making. This social spectrum was broadened towards the end of the nineteenth century, when some of the lower strata of the bourgeoisie had the possibility to purchase pianos and to finance piano lessons.¹⁰³ The music printing business in Portugal dates from the Renaissance but, due to the dissemination of both printing technologies and instruments (especially the piano) it began to be restructured in the middle of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the business of music publishing flourished well until the middle of the twentieth century, although the panorama was significantly altered with the progressive establishment and growth of a market for mechanical music.¹⁰⁴

As Losa and I have stated in a previous publication, by the middle of the nineteenth century the activity of several commercial spaces that promoted the creation of a market for printed music. These stores were inspired in the Parisian *magasins de musique* and concentrated on commodities associated with domestic music making,

¹⁰² *O Occidente*, nº 973, 10th January 1906, 5. Regarding the issue of the strategies of representation, see also *Brasil-Portugal*, nº 73, 1st February 1902, 399, where two *revista* actresses are portrayed in costume.

¹⁰³ See, for example, José Rodrigues Miguéis, *A escola da paráiso* (Lisbon: Estúdios Cor, 1960). Although the novel was first published in 1960, its narrative is set in Lisbon in the last years of the Monarchy and the first years of the Republic. Furthermore, the book deals with the everyday life of the lower strata of Lisbon's bourgeoisie as perceived by children and carries a strong autobiographical component of Miguéis (born in 1901).

¹⁰⁴ See Leonor Losa and João Silva, "Edição de música. 1. Geral", in Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), *Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2010), 391–392.

especially pianos and sheet music.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, several of these spaces were established by descendants of European immigrants in Portugal, such as Eduardo Neuparth (who founded the Armazém de Música e Instrumentos de Eduardo Neuparth) or João Baptista Sasseti (founder of Sasseti e Comp.^a). The simultaneous commerce of printed music and of the media for its reproduction (the musical instruments) in the same space may indicate a business functioning in a pre-industrial organisation model. At the time, the development of the industrial processes of printing and of instrument-making allowed a symbiotic articulation between the resultant commodities, thus enhancing the possibilities of success of the business.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, the industrial production of these items reduced production costs and time, allowing a broadening of the scope of its intended consumers. On a related matter, the rising number of periodicals expanded the space and the publications in which to advertise these products.¹⁰⁷

In some cases, music companies not only sold imported sheet music but were themselves publishers, a dynamic that can be observed in several countries during the nineteenth century. In Lisbon, we can include in this profile companies such as the Armazém de Música e Instrumentos de Eduardo Neuparth or Sasseti e Comp.^a, as well as the Armazem de musica, piannos, instrumentos e lythografia de J. I. Canongia & Comp.^a, the Armazém de Muzica de João Cyriaco Lence, Salão Mozart, or Armazem de Muzicas e Pianos Lambertini & Irmão, the Armazem de Musicas e pianos de Matta Júnior, for example. These commercial designations changed through time and reflected the transformations of the companies. For instance, in 1849 Lence and Canongia started a business association that lasted for several years (even after Canongia's death) and underwent several name changes.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the relation between stores and publishers was not exclusive and these commercial spaces also traded in music printed by other publishers. This tendency can be traced through the analysis of the dealers's stamps in several publications. Conversely, evidence points to several enterprises that were not publishers but commercialised both musical instruments and sheet music.

¹⁰⁵ Losa and Silva, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁶ For an overview on the technological development of music printing see Scott. *op. cit.*, 24–25. About piano making and industrialisation see Paul Théberge, *Any sound you can imagine: Making music/consuming technology* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1997), 24–28.

¹⁰⁷ The advertisement sections of several publications were key to trace the several businesses and products traded in Lisbon during the period covered by this thesis.

¹⁰⁸ Ernesto Vieira, *Diccionario biographico de musicos portugueses: Historia e bibliografia da musica em Portugal*, vol.2 (Lisbon: Lambertini, 1900), 26–27.

Nonetheless, a significant volume of the printed music business was concentrated in the publishers mentioned above, who also published didactic music books, such as the sight-reading manual by Freitas Gazul.¹⁰⁹ In other cases, such as the Casa Suéca de Adolpho Engestrom, the trade of sheet music, pianos and organs was mixed with the commerce of goods such as sugar, coffee, wines and liquor.¹¹⁰

Although this may indicate a degree of specialisation of the printing industry that relates to the technical specificity of music printing, I must point out that other publishers, such as the Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, published sheet music (mostly associated with theatrical repertoires), although on a much smaller scale.¹¹¹ In those days, it was quite frequent for sheet music to advertise similar products from the catalogue of its publisher. In less frequent occurrences, the printed music advertised related products by other publishers, which evidences a symbiosis between different institutions and commodities in the entertainment market of the time. For instance, the sheet music of the “Duetto das vaidosas,” a song integrated in the Eduardo Schwalbach’s *revista Agulhas e alfinetes*, and published by Neuparth advertised the *coplas* of the same *revista*, published by the Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco.¹¹² Thus, the *coplas* and the sheet music were perceived as complementary products and not as competing commodities, and each product could benefit from the commercial success of the other.

Despite the prominent role that printed music started to play, print was not the only means of circulation of repertoires before the advent of phonography. For example, the activity of copying music by hand was still important in the transitional period of the middle of the nineteenth century when cheap printing processes were not yet disseminated in Portugal. Furthermore, musicians worked as copyists for several institutions (music stores included), a fact that can be attested by the quantity of hand-copied scores that have survived until today. From the heterogeneous universe of these manuscripts it is possible to detect a complex dynamic associated with hand-copied music. From manuscripts whose calligraphy resembles the printed product to very rudimentary reproductions, the approaches used indicate a varied universe of copyists,

¹⁰⁹ Freitas Gazul, *Novo curso da aula de rudimentos [do] Conservatorio Real de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Neuparth & Comp.^a, n.d.).

¹¹⁰ Augusto Massano, *et al.*, *O Elvense: Numero brinde aos senhores assignantes em 1894* (Elvas: Typographia d’O Elvense, 1894), 44.

¹¹¹ See, for example, *Fado Roldão*, a song of the play José João, première in 1896 and published by the Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco. This song was reprinted, at least, six times.

¹¹² Eduardo Schwalbach and Filipe Duarte, *Duetto das Vaidosas* (Lisbon: Neuparth e C.^a, n.d.).

processes and objectives. In this sense, copyists played a role in the circulation of repertoires during the period covered by this thesis, especially its segment associated with domestic practice. Moreover, copying can be used to understand the way repertoires were selected, appropriated and organised by amateur musicians to suit their specific needs.

An important characteristic of the music publishing business in Portugal is the accumulation of roles played by agents. In many cases, publishers were active musicians and teachers who had a direct knowledge of Lisbon's entertainment market, a feature that places them in the Beckerian frame of the "integrated professionals." For instance, Augusto Neuparth played in several orchestras and taught at the Lisbon's Conservatoire while Joaquim Ignacio Canongia Júnior was son of a professional clarinetist and worked both as a music copyist and as a prompt in the Real Theatro de S. Carlos before establishing his publishing business.¹¹³ A comparable case occurred in Brazil during the same period, which may not only indicate the similarities between Portugal and its former colony but also be a symptom of a transnational process concerning the commodification of music. The pianist Arthur Napoleão, born in Porto, after touring around the world as a virtuoso, moved to Brazil in 1868 and established his store of musical instruments and publishing company in Rio de Janeiro the following year (initially named Narciso & Arthur Napoleão).¹¹⁴

The sheet music business was heterogeneous, ranging from local to imported goods mainly associated with what was perceived as a fashionable and renewable repertoire. This was intended to facilitate a quick turnover and relied on strategies of planned obsolescence of the contents (i. e., the published music), to borrow Attali's terms.¹¹⁵ Therefore, "fashion" and "modernity" were key terms in the advertising strategies of the music dealers, in which the idea of novelty played a key role. By employing this strategy the stores widened the scope of their business and promoted a continuously changing set of similar commodities, assuring a steady sales volume. This

¹¹³ Vieira, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 121–127 and vol. 1, 203–204.

¹¹⁴ For an academic study of Napoleão's career see Marcelo Cazarré, *Um virtuose do além-mar em terras de Santa Cruz: a obra pianística de Arthur Napoleão (1843–1925)*, Ph.D. thesis (Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 2006). For a catalogue of his establishment published in 1871 see Imperial Estabelecimento de Pianos e Músicas de Narciso e Artur Napoleão, *Catalogo das musicas impressas no Imperial Estabelecimento de pianos e musicas de Narciso e Artur Napoleão* (Rio de Janeiro: Imp. Nacional, 1871).

¹¹⁵ Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 68. On the same page Attali's states "the characteristics of success would be dictated by the economy." However, this formulation seems to be an excessively simplistic, if not exceedingly determinist, analysis of the mechanisms of the music market.

allowed for the renewal of repertoires and, therefore, the renovation of the music catalogues. Nevertheless, in this process several degrees of ephemerality and permanence can be discerned. For example, the recurrence of performances of a particular opera could induce publishers to publish works associated with them (such as adaptation of its main arias and themes for solo piano) during a significant amount of time.

Most of the published repertoire was previously presented to the audiences through other media, especially the theatre. This places the Portuguese market for printed music in a transnational process associated with the commodification of music, in which a profitable set of works that shared several characteristics (such as their main contexts of production) was frequently published. Consequently, it is possible to relate the publishing of specific repertoires with Lisbon's theatrical scene. Moreover, the changing market for theatrical performances constituted itself as the primary repertoire source for the music printing business in Portugal well into the middle of the twentieth century. Therefore, several products (such as librettos, *coplas*, sheet music or phonograms) had a very close relationship with the theatrical activity. Furthermore, this link is reinforced by the fact that several music publishers had developed ties with the theatrical business, working as performers or copyists.

Despite the musical theatre being a privileged supplier of contents for this market, several musical numbers drawn from spoken plays were also published. For example, Lence & Viúva Canongia published a piano reduction of a musical number from the play *O marido mata a mulher?* – translated by Carlos Borges.¹¹⁶ This points to the importance of choreographic typologies in adapting theatrical music to domestic contexts. In this case, the printing of a theatrical piece as a polka (an information stated in the subtitle of the publication) evidences the circulation of theatrical repertoires in several forms.

If the publishing of music was symbiotically associated with the theatre, changes in the operatic repertoire of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos were reflected in the sheet music business. Therefore, the frequent publishing of several works associated with French opera from the 1860s onwards can be interpreted as a reflection of the programming of this theatre. Starting in this decade, a significant number of pieces from

¹¹⁶ Carlos Augusto Pereira Bramão, *O marido mata a mulher? Polka da comedia do mesmo titulo para piano* (Lisbon: Lence & Viúva Canongia, 1872). For the text of the play see Carlos Borges, *O marido mata a mulher?: drama n'um acto* (Lisbon: Typographia de "Ensino livre", 1872).

Gounod's operas (especially *Faust*) were published. These pieces fell into two major categories: adaptations for voice and piano of arias from the opera, and solo piano works (such as fantasias) based on operatic melodies. One good example of this latter form is a set of fantasias for piano inspired in the lyric theatre composed by Joaquim de Almeida (d. 1874) and published as his opus 11.¹¹⁷ According to Vieira, Almeida arranged a large number of operatic pieces for piano, published by both Lence & Canongia and Sasseti.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, Vieira states that Almeida's arrangements were well received amongst pianists who were "not very demanding in artistic nor original features."¹¹⁹ This is illustrative of this segment of the publishing market (aimed to amateur performers) and relates with the problematic association between these repertoires and the musicographic discourse of the time.

Although an almost causal relation between theatrical performance and printed music seems to be operating, one specific occurrence associated with Gounod's *Faust* complicates this analysis. The National Library of Portugal holds the sheet music of two of *Faust's* arias arranged for voice and piano in their Italian translation: "Parlatele d'amor" (corresponding to *Faites-lui mes aveux*) and "O ciel! quanti gioielli!" (corresponding to *O Dieu! que de bijoux*).¹²⁰ One of the greatest problems when trying to articulate several products of Lisbon's theatrical market is the lack of dating of some items, especially sheet music and recordings. In this case, these publications have 1859 (the year in which the first version of this opera premiered in Paris) as a proposed publishing date. Nevertheless, this opera was only premiered in the Real Teatro the S. Carlos in 1865 (and, due to its success, was performed for thirty-six times that season), a fact that raises two distinct possibilities.¹²¹ The first possibility is that these publications were made later than the proposed date and around the time the opera premiered in Lisbon. This can be supported by the fact that Sasseti published the pieces with Italian lyrics, the language in which the opera was performed. Moreover, it must be stated that *Faust's* international success started after the 1862 performance of the revised version of that opera.¹²² The second possibility is that these arias were

¹¹⁷ Joaquim d'Almeida, *Fausto de Gounod* (Lisbon: Lence & Viúva Canongia, [1873]).

¹¹⁸ Vieira, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 19–20.

¹¹⁹ Vieira, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 19–20.

¹²⁰ *Fausto: musica di Carlo Gounod* (Lisbon: Sasseti, [1859]), shelfmarks M.P. 1302//2 V. and M.P. 1302//1 V., respectively.

¹²¹ Mário Moreau, *O teatro de S. Carlos: dois séculos de história*, Vol. 1 (Lisbon: Hugin Editores, 1999), 89.

¹²² Steven Huebner, "Gounod, Charles-François", *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (10 July 2010).

already incorporated into a transnational sheet music repertoire and were published in Lisbon before the opera's première, revealing a far more complex relation between the theatre and the publishers than one of direct causality.

If one of the most prevalent trends in the editing policy of Sassetti's publishing house (and of other publishers) was the printing of successful pieces associated with Lisbon's theatrical market, the prominent role played by operetta was reflected in a significant number of publications.¹²³ Nonetheless, some works inspired in Offenbach's operettas were published in Lisbon before the late 1860s, a period when this repertoire began its regular performances in Lisbon. One of these cases is Philippe Musard's (1792–1859) *La couturière*, a waltz based on Offenbach's melodies, published by Sassetti in the late 1850s (according to the proposed date in the National Library of Portugal's catalogue).¹²⁴ However, and as expected, the 1868 premières of *A Grã-duquesa de Gérolstein*, *As georgianas*, and *Barba-azul* originated interest among publishers and possibly created a significant publishing momentum. This tendency was not limited to Lisbon, and several pieces inspired by Offenbach's *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* were published in Coimbra and Porto during the 1860s and 1870s (according to the dates proposed by the National Library of Portugal).¹²⁵ Moreover, the sheet music collection held in the National Library of Portugal and some advertisements in periodicals indicate that the local printed music market also relied on imported goods (especially from France and Brazil).

In this complementary relationship between the theatrical market and music publishing, the performance of operettas by Portuguese composers was reflected in the publication of works related to this repertoire. However, if the presentation of these operettas began in the 1860s, the sheet music held in the National Library of Portugal collection refer to later pieces. For example, there are no musical editions from the first operettas composed by Augusto Machado in the 1860s and 1870s, although this institution holds the composer's personal collection, a body of sources which points to Machado's interest in documenting his own career. This unavailability may indicate that the publishing of these musical pieces started later in the century. As an example, a

¹²³ Luiz de Freitas Branco, *Comemoração do centenário da "Casa Sassetti"* (Lisbon: Sassetti & C.ª, 1948).

¹²⁴ Philippe Musard, *La couturière: valse sur des motifs d'Offenbach* (Lisbon: Sassetti, [1855–60]).

¹²⁵ See *Les grands succès de l'opéra: collection choisie de morceaux célèbres des opéras anciens et modernes: couplets des lettres dans La Grande Duchesse de Gerolstein pour piano* (Porto: C A Villa Nova, n.d.) or F. S. L. Macedo, *Morceau sur l'opéra La Grande Duchesse de Gérolstein de J. Offenbach* (Coimbra: Litografia de Macedo e Filho, n.d.).

significant number of reductions of several numbers of the operetta *O solar dos Barrigas* (premièred in 1892), were published.¹²⁶ Although these are not accurately dated (the National Library of Portugal situates one of them between 1892 and 1894) they point to the success of this operetta at the time, a fact that can be reinforced by its several revivals. The sheet music of a number of *O burro do Sr. Alcaide*, an operetta by the same authors, was printed in the Lithographia da Rua das Flores, whilst Neuparth published several extracts of Augusto Machado's *Tição negro*.¹²⁷ All of these cases consisted in reductions of some vocal numbers of the operettas for voice and piano.

Nevertheless, some piano pieces that drew on this repertoire were published at the time, such as a fantasia based on motives from Alfredo Keil's operetta *Suzanna* (premièred in 1883).¹²⁸ Moreover, the analysis of some cases can prove to be very productive in understanding the relationship between stage and domestic space. For instance, Sasseti published a piano arrangement of Offenbach's *Orphée aux enfers* made by Johann Strauss II.¹²⁹ On the same note, von Suppé's *Boccaccio* (an operetta that was considered by Sousa Bastos as one of the most successful plays performed in Portugal) was arranged by the same Johann Strauss and published in Porto by Costa Mesquita.¹³⁰ What is interesting in both examples is the choreographic component of the arrangements. If, on the one hand, choreographic contexts are embedded in operetta staging, on the other hand the presentation of piano pieces in a dance typology (the quadrille) by one of Europe's leading composers in dance music of the time (who was also attempting to establish his career in the Viennese operetta) points to the superimposition of two distinct entertainment forms, both of them integrated in what Scott designates as "the nineteenth-century popular music revolution."¹³¹ In this

¹²⁶ Ciriaco Cardoso, Gervásio Lobato and D. João da Câmara, *O solar dos Barrigas: opera comica: Duetto e trovas populares* (n.p.: n.p., [c.1892–1894]). The National Theatre Museum holds the numbers "Valsa" (n.p.: n.p., n.d., shelfmark MNT: 36969), "Carta" (n.p.: n.p., n.d., MNT: 36970), "Coplas dos foguetes" (n.p.: n.p., n.d., shelfmark MNT: 36971), "Duetto dos P.P." (n.p.: n.p., n.d., MNT: 36972), and "Coro das velhas" (n.p.: n.p., n.d., MNT: 36973).

¹²⁷ Ciriaco de Cardoso, Gervásio Lobato, and D. João da Câmara, *O burro do Sr. Alcaide: ópera cómica: canções populares* (Lisbon: Lith. R. das Flores, n.d.); Augusto Machado and Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, *Tição negro: farça lyrica em três actos sobre motivos de Gil Vicente* (Lisbon: Neuparth & Carneiro, [1902–1910]), Nº 15 [Alvorada, Ensalada]. Shelfmark PTBN: A.M. 383 A., National Library of Portugal; Machado and Mendonça, *Tição negro: farça lyrica em três actos sobre motivos de Gil Vicente* (Lisbon: Neuparth & Carneiro, [1902–1910]) [Coplas, Duetto]. Shelfmark PTBN: A.M. 287 A., National Library of Portugal.

¹²⁸ Guilherme Ribeiro, *Suzanna: opera comica num acto: fantasia brilhante* (Lisbon: Augusto Neuparth, [1883]).

¹²⁹ Johann Strauss, *Orphée aux enfers: quadrille-cancan sur l'opera de J. Offenbach: pour piano* (Lisbon: Sasseti, n.d.).

¹³⁰ Johann Strauss, *Boccaccio: quadrilha para piano: Opera comique de F. Suppé* (Porto: Costa Mesquita, [1882]).

¹³¹ Scott, *op. cit.*, 38–57.

context, sheet music that was mainly intended for amateur musical practice merged the theatrical stage (in which operettas were performed) and the dance hall (associated with social dances) in the domestic space, evidencing the relation between repertoires and contexts.

As in the case of the operetta, the publishing of sung sections of the *revistas* gained prominence in the music printing business during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Unlike the operetta, whose publications included an important segment of instrumental works inspired in their motives (such as the fantasia or the *potpourri*), the publications related to the *revista* consisted of a few piano reductions and, especially, of songs. Nevertheless, Costa Mesquita published, in Porto, a quadrille based on the main motives of the *revista Etcoetera e tal* (premièred in 1882 in the *Recreios Whittoyne*).¹³²

A significant amount of music drawn from the universe of the *revista* was printed in Portugal and, in a comparable way as the show in the live entertainment market, occupied a dominant position in the music publishing business by the turn of the century. Several editions of the *O micróbio* include “music from the most applauded *coplas* of the *revista*.”¹³³ Therefore, it appears that a direct connection between the stage success of several specific numbers and their publishing subsists, which may indicate the contiguity between the theatrical and the publishing business at the time. Although it was not possible to date them accurately, sheet music from *revistas* performed between 1865 and 1908, such as *O tutti-li-mundi*, *Pontos nos ii*, *Sal e pimenta*, *Retalhos de Lisboa*, or *O anno em três dias*, were published.¹³⁴

Apart from songs integrated in theatrical narratives such as the operetta or the *revista*, loose songs were composed and performed on Lisbon’s stages. This type was mainly designated as *cançoneta* and, according to Sousa Bastos, was a genre imported

¹³² Francisco Alves Rente, *Quadrilha sobre os principais motivos da revista do anno Etc e tal* (Porto: Costa Mesquita, n.d.)

¹³³ See, for example, Francisco Jacobetty and Rio de Carvalho, *O micróbio: revista de 1884 de F. Jacobety: músicas das coplas mais applaudidas: tal qual a família...pegue-lhe...pegue-lhe* (Lisbon: Lith. R. das Flores, n.d.) and Francisco Jacobetty and Rio de Carvalho, *O micróbio: revista de 1884 de F. Jacobety: músicas das coplas mais applaudidas: tenho um cavaquinho... tra la la...: redução para piano forte* (Lisbon: Lith. R. das Flores, n.d.).

¹³⁴ Francisco Alvarenga, *O fado do Zé Povinho: cantado pelo actor Marcelino Franco no Tutti himundi, revista do anno de 1880* (Lisbon: Lence & Viuva Canongia – Lith. R. das Flores, 1881); Rio de Carvalho, Júlio Rocha, and Baptista Machado, *O Tournure é cousa boa: para piano* (Lisbon: Lith. R. das Flores, n.d.); Rio de Carvalho, Júlio Rocha, and Baptista Machado, *Fado alfacinha: para piano* (Lisbon: Lith. R. das Flores, n.d.); Freitas Gazul, *Sal e pimenta: revista de Sousa Bastos* (Lisbon: Lith. R. das Flores, 1894); *Retalhos de Lisboa: revista do anno de 1895: O amanhã fado cantado pelo actor Queiroz* (Lisbon: Lith. R. das Flores, n.d.); Filipe Duarte, Acácio Antunes, and Machado Correia, *O anno em 3 dias: coplas da lavadeira* (Lisbon: Neuparth & Carneiro, 1904).

from France which consisted of “small scenes for one character divided in *coplas* intersected with spoken sections.”¹³⁵ This form has not yet been discussed because it was presented in the intervals of the main play. Nevertheless, Sousa Bastos points out that some of the *cançonetas* had been successful amongst Lisbon’s audiences. According to Leitão, the advertisement of the performances of *cançonetas* was possibly associated with the promoting of the main plays themselves, in which the musical number was an extra and attractive feature of the show.¹³⁶ For Dias, the *cançoneta* played a political role in France before 1789 and was later integrated in the context of the café-concert by losing its political stance and becoming voluptuous.¹³⁷ Concerning the Portuguese *cançoneta*, he states that it was a hybrid development of “difficult graft” in the local reality and that the *revista* (which adopted and promoted it) was unable to popularise the genre.¹³⁸ This points to the plasticity of the *revista* whose closed numbers facilitated the incorporation of the theatrical *cançoneta* in its narratives. Although not many textual and printed musical examples of *cançoneta* have survived, there is substantial evidence to contradict Dias’s statement. For example, a significant set of recordings were made under the designation *cançoneta*, which points to its relevance for the recording industry of the time.

The 1908 catalogue of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone included a large number of *cançonetas* by Baptista Diniz (1859–1913), a theatrical author responsible for *revistas* such as *O século XIV*, *À procura do badalo*, *Zás traz*, and *Da Parreirinha ao Limoeiro*.¹³⁹ Furthermore, the texts of several *cançonetas* were published, a practice that can be considered homologous to the printing of the libretto or of the *coplas*.¹⁴⁰ To add another interpretative layer in this discussion, the term *cançoneta* had several meanings at the time. Although Bastos and Dias present the *cançoneta* as a theatrical song, the term literally means “little song” and was also used to designate several musical pieces that, to my present knowledge, were not presented in

¹³⁵ Sousa Bastos, *op. cit.*, 32–33.

¹³⁶ Rui Leitão, *A ambiência musical e sonora da cidade de Lisboa no ano de 1890*, Master’s thesis (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2006), 41–42.

¹³⁷ Carlos Malheiro Dias, *Cartas de Lisboa: terceira série (1905–1906)* (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1907), 223–225.

¹³⁸ Dias, *op. cit.*, 223–225.

¹³⁹ Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *Novo catalogo de discos portugueses* (Lisbon: n.p., 1908), 2–5. For Diniz’s biographical data see António de Sousa Bastos, *Diccionario do theatro portuguez*, 295 and *Carteira do artista; apontamentos para a historia do theatro portuguez e brasileiro* (Lisbon: Antiga casa Bertrand, José Bastos, 1899), 418. See also *O António Maria*, 27th May 1893, 90.

¹⁴⁰ See, for example, António de Sousa Bastos, *José Liborio: cançoneta dialogada* (Lisbon: Liv. Economica de Bastos & Irmão, 1872) or Acácio Antunes, *Tudo attenuado: cançoneta* (Lisbon: Arnaldo Bordalo, 1894).

theatres. This type of *cançonetas* was possibly intended for domestic musical practice, in a similar fashion of the Victorian drawing-room ballad repertoire, for example.¹⁴¹

The Materiality of Sheet Music

According to Elliker, the usage of the expression “sheet music” can be traced in the United States of America from the 1830s and its wider circulation initiated in the 1850s.¹⁴² He states that, due to the proliferation of printed texts of broadsides and ballads that had musical aims, the development of the expression “sheet music” is associated with the distinction between publications that included musical notation and materials exclusively containing printed words.¹⁴³ Moreover, Elliker relates this designation to aesthetic value judgements:

songs, arias, choruses, and instrumental pieces exhibiting the tendencies of musical legitimacy, sophistication, formalism, development, and substance – whether European or American – comprise ‘musical works.’ Conversely, songs that are unimportant, unsophisticated, formless, hackneyed, and short-American vernacular songs published as separate entities for quick sale-comprise ‘sheet music.’¹⁴⁴

This situates the taxonomical issue pertaining to printed music in the wider discussion of the rift between art and entertainment in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, Elliker states that this hypothesis would not endure towards the end of the nineteenth century, a period in which examples of both poles of the repertoire (“European art songs” and “American vernacular songs”) were widely represented in the sheet music catalogues of the publishers.¹⁴⁵ This shifts the definition of sheet music through repertoire towards its material description. Elliker proposes a definition in which “sheet music consists of musical notation printed on sheets of paper that remain intentionally unattached and unbound at the time of sale.”¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ According to Picker, “Victoria’s reign had been marked by an increasing volume and an increasing awareness of sound – from the shriek and roar of the railway to the jarring commotion of urban streets, and from the restrained tinkling of the drawing-room to the hushed property of the middle-class parlour.” See John M. Picker. *Victorian Soundscapes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 111.

¹⁴² Calvin Elliker, “Toward a definition of sheet music”, *Notes*, Second Series, 55/4 (1999), 839–840.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 838.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 847.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 848–849.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 857.

In Portugal, the most frequent term, *músicas* (musics), was generically used to name a heterogeneous range of publications that contained printed music notation regardless of genre and editorial format (although the expression *folhas de música* – the direct translation of “sheet music” – is sometimes employed). As in the printed music market of several countries, most of the surviving Portuguese examples of music publications can be considered sheet music due to their editorial format, consisting mainly of one or two small pieces. According to Elliker,

The document presenting a single short work employed the simplest format. It was usually produced as a single folio, but, if the extent of the work demanded it, a half-sheet or even a second folio could be inserted. In the case of an inserted half-sheet, fastening was unnecessary, while in the case of an inserted second folio, though fastening was feasible, it was typically neither required nor used.¹⁴⁷

Despite the fact that these publications were sold in an unbound format, several of them might have been grouped and bound in compilations by their buyers which may indicate a tendency to organise the musical materials according to the owners’s criteria, thus creating a personal or familiar informal archive.

Covers are of relevance to understanding representational and advertisement strategies as well as its relation with other spheres of the market for cultural goods, namely the theatre. As stated earlier in this thesis, the spread of printing and reproduction technologies associated with illustration and photographs that started in the middle of the nineteenth century contributed to a iconographic shift in several cultural spheres. Products such as newspapers and magazines, postcards, posters, and sheet music covers were a clear symptom of this change, that gave prominence to the commodity-in-display.

Sheet music covers contain important information about the repertoire itself, publishers, and sellers. A significant part of sheet music front covers included an evocative illustration of the thematic of the song. In cases in which the pieces were drawn from dramatic spectacles, the covers tended to represent scenes of the play. As an example, the cover of the pieces extracted from the operetta *Tiçãõ negro* depicted a scene of the play that included two characters.¹⁴⁸ Several sheet music editions associated with the theatrical market shared this direct strategy of representation. The

¹⁴⁷ Elliker, *op. cit.*, 849.

¹⁴⁸ Augusto Machado and Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, *Tiçãõ negro: farça lyrica em 3 actos sobre motivos de Gil Vicente* (Lisbon: Neuparth & Carneiro, n.d.), shelfmark PTBN: A.M. 348 A. of the National Library of Portugal.

cases of “Fado Roldão” (which presents a singer/guitarist in front of a tragic setting and was published by the Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco), and of “O fado do Zé Povinho” published by Lence & Viuva Canongia (which depicts the popular character of Zé Povinho) support this statement.¹⁴⁹ In cases where several pieces were extracted from the same play the same front cover illustration was used, although with minor alterations. A common practice was to print a list of all the numbers printed by the publisher on the cover and underline the title of the respective piece on the list. With this system, the same printing plate could be used for several products. For example, the sheet music of several numbers from the operetta *O solar dos Barrigas* used this practice.¹⁵⁰

In several examples associated with theatrical repertoire the front covers also included an engraving or photography of the actor/actress who popularised it, or a sentence identifying them. Moreover, the cover of these publications mentioned the title of the play and the theatre where it had been performed. This was the case for both “Fado Roldão” and “O fado do Zé Povinho.” The inclusion of the image of the performer as an advertisement strategy, in a similar way as the casts (especially the most prominent actors/actresses) were key to attracting Lisbon’s audience to a specific theatre, points to the development of an incipient star system at the time, reinforced through the publishing of related iconography in the press, in postcards, and in sheet music covers. The back covers of sheet music were also used with advertising purposes, usually comprising a list of similar or related works produced by the same publisher (which can be highly useful as a source to grasp the sort of repertoires that were printed at the time).

In other cases the front covers did not reflect this association. As an example, Cervantes de Haro’s cover for the “Fado Liró” (drawn from the *revista A.B.C.*) depicted characters with Portuguese regional costumes.¹⁵¹ This can be explained by the inclusion of this number in a collection that consisted in several Portuguese pieces for voice and

¹⁴⁹ *Fado Roldão: cantado na peça José João no Theatro do Principe Real* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.). Unfortunately, it was not possible to find the plot of the play.

Francisco Alvarenga, *O fado do Zé Povinho: cantado pelo actor Marcelino Franco no Tutti himundi, revista do anno de 1880* (Lisbon: Lence & Viuva Canongia – Lith. R. das Flores, 1881).

¹⁵⁰ Ciriaco Cardoso, Gervásio Lobato, and D. João da Câmara, *O solar dos Barrigas: opera comica: Duetto e trovas populares* (n.p.: n.p., [c.1892–1894]); “Valsa” (n.p.: n.p., n.d., shelfmark MNT: 36969); “Carta” (n.p.: n.p., n.d., MNT: 36970); “Coplas dos foguetes” (n.p.: n.p., n.d., shelfmark MNT: 36971); “Duetto dos P.P.” (n.p.: n.p., n.d., PTMNT: 36972), and “Coro das velhas” (n.p.: n.p., n.d., MNT: 36973).

¹⁵¹ *Fado liró* (Lisbon: Neuparth & Carneiro, n.d.), shelfmark PTBN: C.N. 1669 A. of the National Library of Portugal.

piano, a set that shared the cover illustration in several numbers. Therefore, the regional costumes stood as the iconographic representation of Portugal, as the graphic reinforcement of the idea of nationality.¹⁵²

The conventions associated with sheet music were fundamental for the rapid circulation of repertoires. This section will examine these formulas by studying two songs published at the time, a theatrical *cançoneta* and the march *A Portuguesa*. According to its front cover information, *Meios de transporte* (text by Morais Pinto and music by Rio de Carvalho) was performed in Lisbon and Porto's theatres by the actresses Lucinda do Carmo and Emília Eduarda, respectively.¹⁵³ Unlike many of the sheet music of the time its cover is not illustrated and the song does not comply with the most typical format of sheet music due to the length of its text. This can be explained by the fact that theatrical *cançonetas* consisted of small scenes to be performed in the main play's intervals. Therefore, their narrative form facilitates the expansion of the text in order to present a coherent story to the audience. *Meios de transporte* (translated as "Modes of Transport") comically depicts a series of scenes in which a female character interacts with various masculine characters when taking several means of transport (the train, the carriage, the horse and the boat), sometimes exploring *double entendres* of a sexual nature. The poetic form can be analysed as a general introduction (consisting of four four-line stanzas) followed by four episodes individually devoted to each of the means of transport (also as four four-line stanzas). Due to the length of the text, only the introductory episode is included in the score. The lyrics of the other sections are published in groups of four stanzas (divided in two groups of two) per page after the score, a common practice when publishing vocal strophic repertoires.¹⁵⁴ Between the two groups of stanzas mentioned above, all pages include a coloured illustration allusive to the content of the text, drawn by Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro or Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro. This tendency to incorporate the work of prominent visual artists of the time in the graphic display of Portuguese sheet music will be prolonged well into the twentieth century, a characteristic that is paralleled in several countries.

¹⁵² For a coeval discussion regarding the role of sheet music in the representation strategies of American music publishers see Daniel H. Foster, "Sheet music iconography and music in the history of transatlantic minstrelsy", *Modern Language Quarterly*, 70/1(2009), 147–161 and Henry B. Wonham, "I want a real coon": Mark Twain and late-nineteenth-century ethnic caricature", *American Literature*, 72/1(2000), 117–152.

¹⁵³ Rio de Carvalho and Alfredo de Moraes Pinto, *Meios de transporte: cançoneta original* (Lisbon: Liv. Económica de F. Napoleão de Victoria, 1887).

¹⁵⁴ Carvalho and Pinto, *op. cit.*, 8–15.

The musical structure of the piece is an AB strophic form preceded by an eight-bar piano introduction. Both the section A and the section B consist of two four-verse stanzas. In this piece, the piano part is essential to emphasise the contrast between the sections. In section A (in 6/8 time), the piano is assigned to a strict rhythmic and harmonic supporting role that alternates single low notes in the left hand with chords on the right hand.¹⁵⁵ In the B section (in 2/4 time), the right hand of the piano tends to double the melody and, in some points, add ornamental passages whilst the left hand keeps its role of maintaining the harmonic structure of the piece by mostly alternating single low notes with chords.¹⁵⁶ The overall score consists of a three-stave system, one of the most frequent formats of the time, in which the superior stave corresponds to the voice part and the lower two to the piano part. In a sizeable number of cases, especially when the right hand of the piano duplicates the vocal melody, songs for voice and piano were published in a two-staves system. This later format allows for the music to be performed both as a song and as a solo piano piece, a practice that is clearly not one associated with the *cançoneta Meios de transporte*. In cases in which the piano part tends to include ornamental passages that are simultaneous or overlap the vocal melody (such as *Meios de transporte*), a three-stave system proves to be more practical.

As stated earlier in this chapter, a significant part of the sheet music market was associated with theatrical repertoires and consisted in arrangements for voice and piano or for solo piano of pieces performed in this setting. Therefore, Vieira's statement that the arrangements made by Joaquim d'Almeida were well received amongst pianists who were "not very demanding in artistic nor original features" has to be placed in its proper context.¹⁵⁷ In a market where sheet music was mainly used to domestically reproduce repertoires presented through other media (such as the theatre), the originality of the arrangements may not be the best criterion to evaluate them. On the one hand, the printed music market relied on amateur music making, and the publications had to cater for a public with diverse levels of musical skills. On the other hand, amateur musicians were looking for repertoires they were already familiar with and were able to recognise. Therefore, sheet music could not exclude consumers based on technical proficiency nor on unfamiliarity, placing d'Almeida's "artistic undemanding" and "unoriginal features"

¹⁵⁵ Carvalho and Pinto, *op. cit.*, 5.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 6–7.

¹⁵⁷ Vieira, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 19–20.

as strengths that facilitated the success of his arrangements in the market for sheet music of the time.

The sheet music of *A Portuguesa* shares several characteristics with *Meios de transporte* but it also displays significant differences.¹⁵⁸ The cover contains exclusively the title of the march set as a white and blue background, the colours of the flag of the Portuguese monarchy. It also includes the stamps of Neuparth & C.^a and a stamp stating it was a free edition, which may place it as part of the set of the scores of *A Portuguesa* distributed free of charge immediately after the British Ultimatum of 1890.¹⁵⁹ To reinforce this possibility, the score appears to be a cheap non-illustrated edition, a trait that may point to an aim of free distribution.

The score consists of a three-stave system in which the upper staff is assigned to the voice and the lower two staves are assigned to the piano. As in the *cançoneta*, this march begins with a piano introduction (in this case with the length of four bars). However, *A Portuguesa* has a refrain that, in the analysed score, is written as a three-part choir in the upper staff, assigned to the voice. In this publication, the verse section of the march was a monophonic (and possibly soloist) section that contrasted with the choral refrain. Throughout the piece, the right hand of the pianist performs chords while doubling the voice at the same time and the left hand consists of octaves and chords. Furthermore, the verticality of the accompaniment points reinforces the march texture of the work. As in *Meios de transporte*, only a part of the text was included in the score. In the case of *A Portuguesa*, the score includes the first verse and the refrain, and the text of the two remaining verse-chorus structures is published immediately after the score in a two-column format.

Although both musical examples address distinct universes of production and presentation, their commodification as sheet music shared various features. In order to become available to most of the domestic amateur performers – and thus a profitable business – the repertoires had to be adapted and metabolised (graphically, instrumentally, and texturally) according to a transnational set of tendencies and conventions of translating music into a type of commodity form, the sheet music.

¹⁵⁸ The consulted edition for this thesis is Alfredo Keil and Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, *A Portuguesa: marcha* (Lisbon: Neuparth & C.^a, n.d.), shelfmark PTBN: C.I.C. 78 A. held in the National Library of Portugal.

¹⁵⁹ For an overview of the role played by this march see Mónica Martins, Lina Santos, and Catarina Latino, “Hino Nacional”, in Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), *Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Circulo de Leitores, 2010), 617–618 and Teixeira Leite, *Como nasceu A Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Terra Livre, 1978).

Chapter 4. Mechanical instruments, Phonography and the Reshaping of the Music Market

Starting in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the incorporation in everyday life of several media associated with music and sound recording and reproduction introduced significant changes in Lisbon's market for cultural goods. The heterogeneity of these media and their complex interaction with fluid, yet established entertainment circuits will be the focus of this chapter. Technological novelties, such as the player piano, the phonograph, and the gramophone, were incorporated in the domestic space and in the sociability routines of several groups. Furthermore, the trade of these goods followed distinct business models and implementation strategies.

For Picker, the Victorian era is associated with the transformation of what was considered by the Romantics as a sublime experience “into a quantifiable and marketable object or thing, a sonic commodity, in the form of a printed work, a performance, or, ultimately, an audio recording.”¹ Therefore, the commodification of music through several media was connected with industrial and scientific developments (such as the dissemination of image and sound reproducing technologies) that were progressively integrated in the *habitus* of several groups and articulated with a wider social and cultural panorama. Moreover, the incorporation of the innovations discussed above in the market for cultural goods combined novelty with established business models, resulting in a complex dynamic between the old and the new, the transnational and the national, between sound and music.

These novelties fall into two main categories: mechanical instruments and phonography, each of the strands requiring a specific analytical framework. This chapter will address several issues associated with various mechanical instruments and their integration in the *habitus* of several sectors of the population. According to Ord-Hume,

Mechanical instruments are those instruments that produce their sounds automatically from a pre-programmed mechanical source and are operated either without human participation (by clockwork, water, wind or electricity) or with

¹ John Picker, *Victorian Soundscapes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 10.

musically unskilled human aid (such as by turning a handle or pumping bellows to provide air for pressure, or exhausters for suction).²

Moreover, he states that these devices had their heyday between 1890 and the early 1930s.³ In domestic contexts, the predominant mechanical instrument is the player piano, a device that, according to Taylor, played a key role to the commodification of music at this time.⁴ The inclusion of this instrument in the domestic musical practices of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can provide valuable information on the process through which “a broad transformation of the ways that music was made and experienced, helping to constitute it as a commodity in the sense we know it in today’s market.”⁵ Although the history of the player piano can be traced back to the late eighteenth-century, the basis of its mechanism was mainly developed in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth.⁶ Despite the scarcity of the available data on the Portuguese market it is possible to infer that such devices (and their respective rolls) were commercialised in Lisbon by the already established businesses that concentrated their trade on musical instruments (especially pianos) and printed music, such as Neuparth & Carneiro. This can be explained by the fact that the player piano mechanism could easily be fitted to an existing technology present in several Portuguese households: the piano.⁷ Therefore, the player piano was perceived as an addition to the traditional piano. Hence, stores that traded pianos and printed music expanded their offer in a period when sound recording and reproduction technologies (sometimes presented as the direct competitors of the player piano) were also emerging.

Conversely, phonography follows a different model from the one associated with the player piano, merging the transnational and the local in a variety of degrees. This heterogeneity is associated with the coexistence of several business models for the same set of commodities. For instance, in the first decade of the twentieth century the main

² Arthur W.J.G. Ord-Hume, “Mechanical instruments”, in John Shepherd, *et al.*, *Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World*, vol. 2 (Performance and production) (London/NY: Continuum, 2003), 323.

³ Ord-Hume, “Mechanical instrument”, *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (21 July 2010).

⁴ Timothy D. Taylor, “The commodification of music at the dawn of the era of ‘mechanical music’”, *Ethnomusicology*, 51/2 (2007), 281–305. For a 1911 overview on player pianos see Alfred Dolge, *Pianos and their Makers* (Covina, CA: Covina Publishing Company, 1911), 131–162.

⁵ Taylor, *op. cit.*, 283.

⁶ Ord-Hume, “Player Piano”, *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (21 July 2010).

⁷ Taylor, *op.cit.*, 285.

European recording companies (such as the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, associated with British-based The Gramophone Company, or the French-based Pathé)⁸ established stores in Portugal that traded exclusively on their own products.⁹ In the case of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, this process was accompanied by a significant investment in advertising in periodicals.¹⁰ In other recording companies (such as Beka, Dacapo, Parlophone, Homokord, and Odeon, that began to integrate the German group Lindström from 1908 onwards) the business model was significantly different.¹¹ According to Losa and Belchior, the implementation of these companies consisted in using previously established traders as local agents and their commercial venues as selling points.¹² Although the profile of the sellers was varied, they traded predominantly in goods then perceived as technological innovations, such as bicycles, sewing machines, and optical equipment.¹³

This division between stores that traded commodities traditionally associated with the mid-nineteenth-century bourgeois entertainment, such as pianos and printed music (and that later incorporated mechanical instruments that were related to this realm, such as the player piano), and spaces that commercialised phonograms (as an exclusive product or amongst other goods) indicates how phonography was received in Portugal in the early twentieth-century and interpreted as a technological novelty epitomising modernity. This segmentation lasted for a significant period and, according to Losa, it was only in the 1920s that recorded sound was integrated in the stocks of establishments that also traded in instruments and printed music.¹⁴

Mechanical Instruments, Data Storage, and Musical Repertoires

The role mechanical instruments played in the circulation and reproduction of music is important to the expansion of the entertainment market. In his comparison between the

⁸ Geoffrey Jones, “The Gramophone Company: An Anglo-American multinational, 1898–1931”, *The Business History Review*, 59/1 (1985), 83.

⁹ Leonor Losa, “Indústria fonográfica”, in Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), *Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2010), 633–634.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 633.

¹² Leonor Losa and Susana Belchior, “The Introduction of phonogram market in Portugal: Lindström labels and local traders (1879–1925)”, in Pekka Gronow and Christiane Hofer (eds), *The Lindström Project: Contributions to the history of the record industry: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schallplattenindustrie*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Gesellschaft für Historische Tonträger, 2010), 7.

¹³ Losa and Belchior, *ibid.*

¹⁴ Losa, *op. cit.*, 633.

piano player and the phonograph (two coeval innovations), Taylor argues that the former, a “seemingly less sophisticated technology provides a better site to address the question of the commodification of music.”¹⁵ This perspective is shared with Suisman, to whom “even more than the piano and the phonograph, it is the player-piano that best symbolizes the close relation between music machines and industrial manufacturing – and not just by homology.”¹⁶ Taylor’s main argument relates to the penetration of the player piano in American households and its rapid incorporation in everyday life, contrary to the slow integration of phonography as a form of domestic entertainment:

For one thing, since the original player piano was a machine that attached to a piano, it had an easier time of becoming part everyday life since as many as half of all American homes already contained pianos by the mid-1920s. The phonograph, on the other hand, was slow to catch on; there was some debate about its usage, even whether or not it should be used for music; and its poor fidelity prevented it from becoming popular until well into the twentieth century.¹⁷

Therefore, the positioning of the player piano as a device that could be attached to an already existing household good, the piano (the privileged instrument for domestic musical practices at the time) and its univocal function are key points in Taylor’s analysis. Moreover, he situates the player piano as a transition between an age of piano-based domestic music making and an age of the primacy of phonography. Consequently, elements such as the embodiment of cultural capital associated with piano practice were transformed with the advent of mechanisation. Nevertheless, the attachment of the player piano mechanism did not annul the possibilities of “regular” piano playing, and the instrument to be performed by using both processes.

According to Suisman, the transformation of human agency in music making from a position of direct performer to a role of machine operator points to a relocation of the expertise involved in that process to the inside of the mechanisms of the player-piano and of the phonograph.¹⁸ This position can be associated with the notion of delegation proposed by Latour that designates a transfer of responsibilities and

¹⁵ Taylor, *op.cit.*, 284.

¹⁶ David Suisman, “Sound, knowledge, and the ‘immanence of human failure’”, *Social Text* 102, 28/1 (2010), 19.

¹⁷ Taylor, *op.cit.*, 284–285.

¹⁸ Suisman, “Sound, knowledge, and the ‘immanence of human failure’”, *Social Text* 102, 28/1 (2010), 22.

competencies from one actant to another. According to Verbeek, most of the examples of this situation presented by Latour involve delegation from human to non-human agents in a way that limits the role of non-human agents to executing tasks assigned to them by human agents.¹⁹ However, Verbeek criticises the notion that the mediating role of artifacts is an intrinsic property, thus favouring a position in which a “technologically mediated intentionality” can be perceived as a “mode of the intentional relation between humans and the world.”²⁰

According to Jonson, early player pianos “consisted of what looked like a small cabinet which was wheeled up to the pianoforte, and from the back of which felt-covered hammers projected, which were adjusted to the keyboard.”²¹ By this account, the earliest type of these mechanisms was an external feature that was attached to a traditional piano. Jonson also argued that the next improvement was “the placing of the mechanism inside upright pianofortes, which had the great advantage that the pianoforte could then be used as an ordinary pianoforte and played by hand.”²² Within this framework, manufacturers devised strategies for the mechanism to be integrated in the instrument itself, maintaining the aesthetic appearance of the piano as a furniture item. By preserving its morphology through the incorporation of the player piano mechanism in the instrument’s traditional form, the piano retained its status both as a musical instrument and as a piece of bourgeois furniture.²³ Thus, the new strain of player pianos articulated the traditional role assigned to the piano and its late-Classical and Romantic heritage with the “modern” tendencies associated with the domestic reproduction of music through an automated mechanism.

The scarcity of data concerning player pianos in Portugal can pose a serious obstacle. Nevertheless, several sources point to the introduction of the player piano in this country in the first decade of the twentieth century. Therefore, a thesis with the chronological limit in 1908 can only analyse the first stage of the implementation of this technology. Conversely, the introduction of phonography was a coeval process that, due to the availability of sources can be studied in more detail. Furthermore, most of the

¹⁹ Peter-Paul Verbeek, *What Things Do: Philosophical Reflections on Technology, Agency, and Design* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2005), 169. See also Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

²⁰ Peter-Paul Verbeek, *op. cit.*, 169.

²¹ G. C. Ashton Jonson, “Mechanical piano-players”, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 42/1 (1915), 17.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Theodor W. Adorno, “The curves of the needle”, *October*, 55 (1990), 51.

repertoire contained in the few Portuguese player piano rolls that are accessible and available, as well as references to their recording, belong to a later period (such as rolls with fados composed and performed by António Menano). This may point to a growing importance of the player piano in the 1910s and 1920s, a trend that was paralleled in several countries (although within slightly different chronological boundaries). Nevertheless, several surviving, yet undated rolls contain musical pieces, such as the march *A Portuguesa*. Furthermore, the box of some rolls include the information that Abel Ferreira da Silva, a merchant established in Porto, was the sole manufacturer of player piano rolls in Portugal during their unspecified date of production. Although the production of these rolls may fall outside of the chronological limits of this thesis, this may nonetheless indicate the permanence and the significance of several musical pieces at the time, which was reflected in the mechanical music market.

One of the few references to player pianos is the application for the registration of the trademarks “Aeolian” and “Pianola” by The Aeolian Company, published in *Boletim da propriedade industrial*.²⁴ This *Boletim* was published in 1903, and contained applications filed during the year of 1901, three years after the first commercial use of the Pianola trademark.²⁵ The company was based in Meriden, Connecticut and was represented in Portugal by G. J. C. Henriques.²⁶ Nevertheless, later advertisements to the Pianola indicate that the brand was represented in the 1910s and 1920s by Salão Mozart.²⁷ In 1925, a notice was published in the newspaper *Domingo ilustrado* in which it was stated that the name “Pianola” was registered by the Aeolian Company, Ltd., and its exclusive agent was the Salão Mozart.²⁸ This evidences that the designation Pianola was being used by other dealers to advertise their player piano mechanisms, a pervasive tendency in which this brand name came to stand for all of these devices. For example, in 1915 Jonson stated:

Now what exactly is the Pianola? The word itself is really the trade name for the particular make of mechanical piano-player manufactured by the Aeolian Company, of New York, and the allied Company called the Orchestrelle Company, of 135, New Bond Street, London. Now I do not know whether these

²⁴ Portugal. Ministério das Obras Públicas Comércio e Industria, *Boletim da propriedade industrial*, 2ª série – 18º anno (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1903), 6th July 1901, 148.

²⁵ *Ibid.* and “History of the pianola – piano players”, *The Pianola Institute* (2008), http://www.pianola.org/history/history_pianoplayers.cfm (2 August 2010).

²⁶ *Boletim da propriedade industrial*, *ibid.*

²⁷ *A capital*, n° 1233, 6th January 1914, 3 and *O Domingo ilustrado*, n° 2, 25th January 1925, 11.

²⁸ *O Domingo ilustrado*, n° 2, 25th January 1925, 11.

two companies take it as a compliment or consider it a nuisance, but the general public and the Press have adopted the term ‘Pianola’ as a generic term for all mechanical piano-player devices.²⁹

Another interesting occurrence involving The Aeolian Company was the inclusion of pieces with titles in Portuguese in the January 1911 issue of the *Bulletin of New Music for the Pianola Pianola-Piano, Orchestrelle and Aeolian Grand*.³⁰ However, although all of the pieces of the “Foreign and special music” section bear titles in Portuguese, data points to their Brazilian origin, situating them both outside the chronological and geographical scopes of this thesis.³¹

A 1905 article about the demonstration of a player piano mechanism in Lisbon published in *O Ocidente* was mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis.³² This event was promoted by the music dealers Neuparth & Carneiro and took place in the *Portugal* room of the Sociedade de Geografia. The player piano mechanism presented in this session was a 73-note Phonola (although the actual range of the mechanism was 72 notes) built by the German manufacturer Ludwig Hupfeld AG. According to Dolge, the Phonola was launched in 1902 and was based on a pneumatic mechanism for the reproduction of music rolls.³³ The account published in *O Ocidente* described the Phonola as a device similar to a harmonium (relating the pneumatic system operating in both instruments, in which a bellow is activated by foot pedals) and explained the process through which the Phonola’s own hammers struck the keys of the piano.³⁴ Furthermore, the photographs of the Phonola included in the article show that this device was an external mechanism that could be easily fitted to any piano, a quality that is corroborated in the text.

This article is clearly part of the advertising strategy for the Phonola carried by Neuparth & Carneiro. Instead of publishing an advertisement in the specific section of the magazine, the dealers were able to include a review of their product in the main pages of the magazine. This is evident in the article itself that, aside from stating that the publication’s representative was invited by Neuparth & Carneiro (the exclusive

²⁹ Jonson, *op. cit.*, 16.

³⁰ The Aeolian Company, *Bulletin of New Music for the Pianola Pianola-Piano, Orchestrelle and Aeolian Grand* (NY: The Aeolian Company, 1911).

³¹ *Bulletin of New Music for the Pianola Pianola-Piano, Orchestrelle and Aeolian Grand*, 14.

³² M.O., “O Phonola”, *O Occidente*, n° 942, 28th February 1905, 46.

³³ Alfred Dolge, *Pianos and their Makers* (Covina, CA: Covina Publishing Company, 1911), 155 and Rayner E. Lotz, “Hupfeld”, *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (10 August 2010).

³⁴ M. O., *op. cit.*, 46.

agent of the Phonola in Portugal), reproduced several tropes associated with the promotion of this type of commodity. The journalist mentions that one of the reasons that could contribute to a wide dissemination of the Phonola was that its mechanism did not require the “long and fastidious practice” (thus the investment of time in the embodiment of cultural capital) associated with the piano, a strategic move addressed by Taylor.³⁵ Conversely, the text makes a clear point that the reproduction of rolls with the Phonola was not a self-sufficient and fully automated process, requiring human intervention for the control of its several expressive devices.³⁶ Therefore, although the Phonola was a mechanical instrument, it involved a specific technical proficiency and the embodiment of certain gestures in order to reproduce musical pieces. For Jonson,

The Pianola has a technique of its own. It is perfectly true that an absolute beginner having been shown how to use the levers can play an elaborate and difficult piece of music with a certain amount of effect, but to get a really artistic and musicianly rendering of a piece, you require to be a trained musician and to have thoroughly mastered the technique of the instrument.³⁷

Thus, although one of the advertising strengths of mechanical instruments for domestic usage was the possibility of flawlessly reproducing a vast number of difficult pieces without the “long and fastidious practice”, the result of the performance (its “artistic results”) depended on the degree of virtuosity the user employed to control their mechanisms.³⁸

As in other mechanical instruments that resorted to pneumatic mechanisms, the music was stored in a paper roll containing the performance instructions in the form of a sequential set of holes. Moreover, the mass production of music rolls that contained previously popularised tunes (through theatrical presentation, sheet music edition or sound recording) was symbiotically articulated with the trade of player piano mechanisms. The activities of creating and mass reproducing player piano rolls bears interesting similarities with the process of sound recording and dissemination. In this operation, a master roll (or cylinder or disc) had to be initially produced and, in another stage, replicated through an industrial process. Before the dissemination of technologies that allowed for the direct perforation onto the master rolls, such as piano keyboard-

³⁵ M. O., *op.cit.*, 46 and Taylor, *op. cit.*, 286.

³⁶ M. O., *ibid.*

³⁷ Jonson, *op. cit.*, 19.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

operated punching machines, the preparation of master rolls was a manual process. The musical editor traced and punched the master roll based on the published sheet music edition of a particular piece (a process that displays the interconnection between several forms of commodified music at the time) and then produced its fair copies.³⁹ These copies were known as stencils and were then replicated by automatic punching machines. Despite the development of several innovations that facilitated the automated production of music rolls, this manual process was not entirely abandoned.

Furthermore, the developments associated with this process served two very distinct aims. On the one hand, the development of the piano keyboard-operated punching machine facilitated the mass production of music rolls.⁴⁰ On the other hand, the invention of the reproducing piano (a “development of the ordinary player piano which, with special reproducing music rolls, can re-enact the original touch and expression of the recording pianist”) can be interpreted as a music recording device.⁴¹

The development of the reproducing piano during the first decade of the twentieth century took place in Germany through the action of the firms M. Welte & Söhne and Ludwig Hupfeld AG. These companies developed the Welte-Mignon (in 1904) and the Masterspiel DEA (marketed in 1907), respectively. In the following decade, the American manufacturers The Aeolian Company and The American Piano Company introduced in the market their own reproducing piano devices. The manufacturers of the Welt-Mignon and the DEA relied on several famous pianists and composers to record the so-called hand-played rolls. Therefore, with the development of this new technology (which allowed for a more sensitive capture and reproduction of elements such as tempo and dynamics) to recreate a performance by a famous pianist in a domestic entertainment context. The recording process of both the Welte-Mignon and the DEA was not made by directly punching holes in the master roll. Instead, the pianist’s performance was initially recorded with a system that traced ink on a music roll and the corresponding holes were subsequently punched by using the manual process described above.⁴² Even before having developed the DEA, Hupfeld had

³⁹ See “History of the pianola – music roll manufacture”, *The Pianola Institute* (2008), http://www.pianola.org/history/history_rolls.cfm (2 August 2010).

⁴⁰ See, for example, United States Patent Office, “Perforated device for music-rolls”, patent n° 778.835, 18th February 1902.

⁴¹ Frank W. Holland and Arthur W.J.G. Ord-Hume, “Reproducing piano: 1. History and technical development”, *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (10 August 2010) and Dolge, *op. cit.*, 57–58.

⁴² See “The reproducing piano – Welte-Mignon”, *The Pianola Institute* (2008), http://www.pianola.org/reproducing/reproducing_welte.cfm (2 August 2010).

already experimented with recorded piano rolls towards the end of 1905. Moreover, its *Künstlermusikrollen* (Artists' Music Rolls) were readily available for both the Phonola and the Phonoliszt (“an expression piano powered by an electric suction pump, with three levels of automatic dynamics, and variable speed crescendos between the levels”), which might indicate a interpenetration between the market for player piano rolls and other forms of musical commodities, like recorded sound.⁴³

Several interesting points raised by mechanical instruments are associated with both the process of encoding of information and with the storage medium itself. The player piano rolls are a sequential and digital set of instructions for the instrument to play a specific piece of music. Sequential because the notation perforated in the continuous roll has a direct correspondence with the musical piece itself (the instructions are interpreted in strict order as the roll moves) and digital due to its use of mutually exclusive and discontinuous values (on or off, in the case of the mechanisms mentioned above). According to Benson, the information recorded in a sheet of paper is binary because there are only two possible, discontinuous, and exclusive conditions: “the surface of the paper in any given area is either solid or not.”⁴⁴ This situates the music roll for the player piano in the realm of the digital storage media. Furthermore, the use of this system, in which the medium surface stores a binary code, is also present in Charles Babbage’s planned (although never built) Analytical Engine, a nineteenth-century calculating machine in which the input of data would be made by using punched cards.

To reinforce the association between the player piano and the history of early computing, both Percy Ludgate in the 1910s and Vandevar Bush in the 1930s attempted to project machines in which the digital data would be stored in perforated paper tape, a similar medium to the one used by player pianos.⁴⁵ However, there is an important distinction between the player piano and these machines: the former used a ready-made unchangeable routine that was perforated in a specific roll while the latter were intended to perform multiple and programmable operations. Therefore, the music roll acted as a sequential read-only memory (because, under normal circumstances, the recorded

⁴³ See “The reproducing piano – Hupfeld DEA”, The Pianola Institute (2008), http://www.pianola.org/reproducing/reproducing_dea.cfm (2 August 2010).

⁴⁴ Richard Benson, *The Printed Picture* (NY: Museum of Modern Art, 2008), 274.

⁴⁵ Brian Randell, “From Analytical Engine to electronic digital computer: The contributions of Ludgate, Torres, and Bush”, *Annals of the History of Computing*, 4/4 (1982), 327–341.

information could not be altered) and the player piano as a reproducing device for a specific routine.

The first chapter of this thesis includes an analysis of Barthes' thought on the dichotomy between digital and analogue realms when discussing the place of the photographic image in the periodical press. This discussion can be transposed to the field of recorded music. According to Barthes:

From the object to its image there is of course a reduction – in proportion, perspective, colour – but at no time is this reduction a *transformation* (in the mathematical sense of the term). In order to move from the reality to its photograph it is in no way necessary to divide up this reality into units and to constitute these units as signs, substantially different from the object they communicate; there is no necessity to set up a relay, that is to say a code, between the object and its image. Certainly the image is not the reality but at least it is its perfect *analogon* and it is exactly this analogical perfection which, to common sense, defines the photograph. Thus can be seen the special status of the photographic image: *it is a message without a code*; from which proposition an important corollary must immediately be drawn: the photographic message is a continuous message.⁴⁶

Moreover, he depicts language as a digital code that translates reality into a system of signification.⁴⁷ For Barthes, the main distinction between analogue and digital realms is the presence or absence of an operative code of signification (and mediation) between reality and its representation. Therefore, it is possible to produce an analogy of photography and phonography (cultural processes that experienced parallel developments towards the end of the nineteenth century), moving the focus of Barthes' assumptions from the visual sphere to the auditory realm. If he considers photography as a visual analogue of reality, phonography can be interpreted as an auditory analogue of reality. Conversely, the digital code of the mechanisms of the player piano can be considered as homologous to language. This code constitutes a mediated system of signification that represents notes and dynamics instructing the mechanism to perform gestures that will produce sound.

In their analysis of early analogue sound recording, Rothenbuhler and Peters state that the process of phonographic recording involves the inscription of the music's "acoustic being in time," thus stressing the existing break between the music's

⁴⁶ Roland Barthes, "The photographic message", in Roland Barthes, *Image-Music-Text* (NY: Hill and Wang, 1978), 17.

⁴⁷ Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the image", in Barthes, *op. cit.*, 41.

materiality (the sound waves themselves) and previous storage media in which a communication code was present (such as the conventions associated with written music notation).⁴⁸ Therefore, “phonography captures not the code but the act, not the script but the voice, not the score but the performance.”⁴⁹ This theoretical stance bears striking parallels with Barthes’ theory of photography. By using the analytical framework discussed above, it is thus possible to situate the complexities of the early recording of music within the wider context of the main historiographical narratives concerning sound. According to Suisman,

If both the player-piano and phonograph were forms of inscription, they diverged in what they inscribed – and this divergence illuminates the complementary ways the two technologies contributed to the underlying constitution of modern society. The phonograph inscribed and conveyed sound-in-time – that is, sound as the ephemeral vibrations in the air produced by a specific instance of musical labor (or other sound-making activity). The player-piano, by contrast, represented a system of sound-in-knowledge – that is, information and instructions on how to make music. It inscribed and conveyed how to perform, over and over, the labor required to produce certain predetermined sounds.⁵⁰

On the one hand, *sound* recording history from 1877 onwards can be interpreted, although in a simplistic manner, as a sequential (and almost teleological) transition from analogue to digital technologies. However, due to the overlapping of both analogue and digital music storage media during a significant part of the twentieth century, the narrative pertaining to recorded *music* can only be multilayered and complex. This surfaces clearly when analysing the coexistence of the so-called hand-played piano rolls with cylinders and flat records. Moreover, it complicates the placement of the player piano mechanisms solely as an intermediate stage in a binary distinction between the age of domestic amateur music making (still related to the embodiment of vocal and instrumental technique) and the age of phonographic reproduction (associated by

⁴⁸ Eric W. Rothenbuhler and John Durham Peters, “Defining phonography: An experiment in theory”, *The Musical Quarterly*, 81/2 (1997), 243.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Suisman, “Sound, knowledge, and the ‘immanence of human failure’”, *Social Text* 102, 28/1 (2010), 23–24.

Adorno with “an atomised and passive form of musical experience”).⁵¹ In addition, the coexisting music storage technologies (whether analogue or digital) retained a relevance in the market for domestic entertainment and were symbiotically articulated with each other and with other music commodities. Returning to Suisman, the technologies associated with the mechanical reproduction of sound and music (materialised in the player piano and in the phonograph) encapsulated two contrasting, yet complementary aspects that were connected with the process of modernity.⁵² On the one hand, he associates the player-piano with the rationalisation of culture, labor, and knowledge by displaying a progressive trend towards “quantification, mechanization, automation, and digitization.”⁵³ Conversely, the phonograph marked and contributed to the reorganisation of the sensory perception of both space and time, a process that encapsulated a metaphysical transfiguration of human experience under the sign of modernity.⁵⁴

Mechanical Instruments in the Streets of Lisbon

Apart from domestic usage, the sound of mechanical instruments was part of the auditory landscape of the time. As stated earlier, the dissemination of mechanical instruments and their incorporation in domestic music making starting in the last two decades of the nineteenth century is symptomatic of a cultural shift. This transition is associated by Sterne with technological innovation, the development of audible techniques, and the growing incorporation of mass produced goods in the household.⁵⁵ However, the sonic presence of mechanical instruments in the streets can be traced back to a remote past. For example, the sound of the church tower’s self-playing chiming clock was integrated into the European auditory landscapes from the fourteenth century onwards. This instrument consisted of a set of bells that were periodically struck in a specific order through a mechanic automated device. Initially, the mechanism consisted

⁵¹ Max Paddison, “The critique criticised: Adorno and popular music”, *Popular Music*, 2 (1982), 206. However, several authors have critiqued this view, pointing out that this “passivity” is actively constructed by the subject. See Emilie Gomart and Antoine Hennion, “A sociology of attachment: music amateurs, drug users”, *The Sociological Review*, 46/S (1998), 220–247 and Tia DeNora, *After Adorno: Rethinking Music Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 91–93.

⁵² Suisman, *op. cit.*, 24.

⁵³ Suisman, *op. cit.*, 24.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Duke University Press: Durham, NC/London, 2003).

of several pinned wheels that, in specific points of their rotation, activated levers connected to hammers that would then strike the bells. This means that entire wheels had to be replaced in order for the clock's tune to change.⁵⁶ In the sixteenth century this system was progressively substituted by a sole cylinder (instead of a set of several wheels) with removable pins, thus facilitating the reprogramming of the clocks' tunes.⁵⁷ With this device, it became possible to easily change the melodies that periodically intertwined with the town's auditory landscape and adjust them to aesthetic and cultural changes.

As a city with many churches, the sound of church bells was a ubiquitous presence in Lisbon's auditory landscape. In his study of church bells in the nineteenth-century French countryside, Corbin points to several ways in which bells were used to impart "a rhythm to the ordinary functions of the community", acting as an "auditory synchronizer" of everyday life.⁵⁸ Church bells were used to summon the community for the religious services, to punctuate religious and secular festivities, to mark the passage of chronological time, and to ring for alarm. Moreover, "a subtle auditory rhetoric was developed" and integrated into the everyday life of a city like Lisbon.⁵⁹ To address the usage of bells in this place, this thesis will refer to Maria Rattazzi's book *Portugal de relance* ("Portugal at a glance"), a set of satirical letters narrating her stay in Portugal.⁶⁰ Originally written in French (bearing the title *Le Portugal a vol d'oiseau*), the book was translated in Portuguese and published in Lisbon around 1880.⁶¹ Furthermore, this book raised polemics and instigated the publication of various works that critiqued and disavowed her statements.⁶² Despite its satirical and exaggerated vein (in which a deeply ethnocentric perspective surfaces) and Rattazzi's poor documentation of the Portuguese situation of the time (a critique that permeates the several works that attempted to reply to Rattazzi's publication), some of the firsthand data of this account may be useful when dealing with the tolls and peals of the bells in Lisbon.

⁵⁶ Teun Koetsier, "On the prehistory of programmable machines: musical automata, looms, calculators", *Mechanism and Machine Theory*, 36 (2001), 592.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside* (London: Papermac, 1999), xi.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ See Rui Leitão, *A ambiência musical e sonora da cidade de Lisboa no ano de 1890*, Master's thesis (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2006), 127–128.

⁶¹ Maria Rattazzi, *Portugal de relance* (Lisbon: Livraria Zeferino, 1881).

⁶² See, for example, Camilo Castelo Branco, *A senhora Rattazzi* (Porto/Braga: Livraria internacional de Ernesto Chardron, Editor, 1880), Urbano de Castro, *A princesa na berlinda: Rattazzi a vol d'oiseau, com a biographia de sua Alteza* (Lisbon: Typographia Portugueza, 1880) and Monteiro Ramalho, *As ratices da Rattazzi: o pello nacional* (Porto: Typ. do Jornal da Manhã, 1880).

In her book, Rattazzi mentions the ubiquity of churches in Lisbon and, consequently, of the sound of their bells. Moreover, she expresses the view that Portugal, apart from Belgium, held the primacy of the carillon over the other Catholic countries.⁶³ Rattazzi then associates bell ringing with several religious solemnities (such as christenings, funerals, and other celebrations) and with the sounding of fire alarms.⁶⁴ Apart from the standard tolls and peals, she emphasises the variety of melodies played by Lisbon's church bells, that included the national anthem, several operetta arias (drawn from Offenbach's *Orphée aux enfers* and of Lecocq's *La fille de Madame Angot*), and urban songs.⁶⁵ Moreover, Rattazzi stresses the heterogeneity of the campanarian repertoires of the time, in which "the voluptuous rhythm of waltzes and the spicy sauciness of the cancons were fraternally allied with the *Oremus*, the *Alleluia*, and the *Amen*."⁶⁶

Another ubiquitous presence that used the principle of the rotating cylinder as a music storage medium was the mechanical organ (also called barrel organ). Organologically, these instruments possessed the type of pneumatic apparatus of the pipe organ (a set of pipes fed with air pumped by a bellow). However, instead of being played via a keyboard, the tunes were stored (or programmed) in a cylinder by attaching pins and staples. The pins and staples activated valves, that allowed for the air to pass through specific pipes at certain times, played the pre-programmed tune. Moreover, the rotating cylinder was set to motion by using a hand crank and was able to carry several tunes that could be selected by the organ grinder. Although containing an automated device, some of these instruments could be played either manually or automatically. Similarly to the player piano and to the chiming church clock, there were only two possible, discontinuous, and exclusive states for the mechanism that allowed for the air to flow into the pipes to be (on or off). The cylinder stored the encoded set of instructions to perform a particular piece (and not the sound itself), situating the barrel organ in the realm of the binary and digital music technologies of the time.

In his study of Victorian England, Picker discusses street music in London and

⁶³ Rattazzi, *op. cit.*, 28.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 28–29.

⁶⁵ Rattazzi, *op. cit.*, 28–29. According to the Brazilian writer Machado de Assis, theatrical tunes played by church bells were also part of the Brazilian urban auditory landscape of the time, as one of his chronicles for the *Gazeta de notícias* (published in Rio de Janeiro, 3rd July 1892) illustrates. See Machado de Assis, *Obra completa*, vol. 3 (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Aguilar, 1994), 101.

⁶⁶ Rattazzi, *op. cit.*, 29. "O rythmo voluptuoso das walsas e a desenvoltura picante dos cancons alliam-se fraternalmente aos Oremus, ao Alleluia e ao Amen."

how it was perceived by several social groups (especially professional middle classes that worked in their home) as a form of nuisance.⁶⁷ Street musicians were frequently portrayed as an invasive disturbance of foreign origin, a trope depicted by artists like John Leech in the coeval periodicals (such as *Punch*).⁶⁸ In this sense, the stereotype of the Savoyard organ grinders in Victorian England (that, in some cases, could be “British performers, masquerading under exotic disguises and titles in order to increase their attraction”)⁶⁹ stood for the embodiment of a sonic nuisance “distinctly alien to London.”⁷⁰ Moreover, “the foreign street musician was also an easy target during moral panics over crime and disorder.”⁷¹ According to Picker, the movement against street noise in the Victorian period had several sectors of the professional middle class as its main campaigners. However, the street musicians’ heterogeneous repertoire “echoed middle-class tastes from the highbrow to the low,” consisting mainly of arrangements of songs and operatic pieces, religious works, and of several choreographic typologies.⁷²

In Portugal, several references to street musicians were made during the period of this thesis. In 1890 the music periodical *Amphion* published an article that presented the sound of the barrel organ as a scourge that afflicted the city of Lisbon, sharing some semantic similarities with some of the Victorian discourse on street music.⁷³ Bearing in mind that *Amphion* was a prominent and influent musical (and theatrical) periodical, dedicated to the promotion of the Western musical canon, the publication of an article condemning street music is not surprising.⁷⁴ On a different occasion, the magazine *O Ocidente* published a small article on itinerant musicians in which it is stated that groups of wandering musicians were frequently seen in Portuguese towns and villages.⁷⁵ According to the article, these groups of buskers consisted mainly of a singer and a guitarist or a fiddler and predominantly performed songs drawn from the successful comic operas of the time and their *double entendre coplas*, a view reinforced by Pimentel in his book *Vida de Lisboa*.⁷⁶ Thus, it is possible to argue that street

⁶⁷ Picker, *Victorian Soundscapes*, 46–52 and 65–76.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁶⁹ Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840–1914: A Social History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 74.

⁷⁰ Picker, *op. cit.*, 47.

⁷¹ Russell, *ibid.*

⁷² Picker, *op. cit.*, 63. See also Richard Middleton, “Popular music of the lower classes”, in Nicholas Temperley (ed.), *The Romantic Age, 1800–1914* (London: Athlone Press, 1981), 63–81.

⁷³ Leitão, *op. cit.*, 178.

⁷⁴ Teresa Cascudo, “A década da invenção de Portugal na música erudita (1890–1899)”, *Revista portuguesa de musicologia*, 10 (2000), 188.

⁷⁵ *O Ocidente*, nº 645, 25th November 1896, 258–259.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* and Alberto Pimentel, *Vida de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Parceria António Maria Pereira, 1900), 51–52.

musicians played an important role in the dissemination of theatrical repertoires from urban to rural areas, thus extending (both geographically and socially) their audience. Moreover, the unidentified writer mentions the stereotype of the blind wandering busker and refers to the work developed by the coeval folklorists and ethnologists.⁷⁷

In the novel *O primo Basílio* Eça de Queirós creates an urban scene in which a black-bearded organ grinder performs “Casta diva” (an aria from Bellini’s opera *Norma*) on his barrel organ, attracting the people that lived in the vicinities to their windows.⁷⁸ The barrel organ appears two more times in this novel: breaking the silence of a Sunday evening with the sound of Bellini’s *Norma* and Donizetti’s *Lucia di Lammermoor*, and performing the finale of *La traviata*.⁷⁹ The organ grinder playing *La Traviata* also appears in the episode depicting the sociability then associated with horse racing included in Queirós’ novel *Os Maias*.⁸⁰ In this novel, the waltz from Lecocq’s operetta *La fille de Madame Angot* is performed both by the barrel organ as well as by the wind and percussion band that was playing at the horse track, indicating the circulation of pieces from the music theatre in several spaces and circuits.⁸¹ By connecting Maria Rattazzi’s book *Portugal de relance* with *Os Maias* it is possible to understand the importance of the operetta in the auditory landscapes of Lisbon’s streets during the last decades of the nineteenth century. For instance, music drawn from *La fille de Madame Angot* was adapted and performed by church bells, by a barrel organ and by a wind and percussion band.

As stated in the first chapter of this thesis, the creation of several *bandas* (ensembles of wind and percussion instruments) introduced changes in the sociability circuits of several groups and reshaped the city’s auditory landscape.⁸² The constitution of the ensembles varied, but they generally included flutes, reed instruments, brass instruments and percussion. Furthermore, some of them were affiliated with military or police institutions (such as the Banda da Guarda Municipal de Lisboa or the Banda dos

⁷⁷ *O Occidente*, nº 645, 25th November 1896, 258–259.

⁷⁸ Eça de Queirós, *O primo Basílio, episódio doméstico* (Porto/Braga: Livraria Chardron, 1878), 34–36. For a set of illustrations of several street entertainments of the time (in which the organ grinder is included) see António de Sousa Bastos, *Lisboa Velha: sessenta anos de recordações, 1850 a 1910* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1947), 47–58.

⁷⁹ Queirós, *op. cit.*, 112 and 220.

⁸⁰ Queirós, *Os Maias: episódios da vida romântica* (Porto: Livraria Chardron/Casa Editora Luga & Genelioux Successores, 1888), 128 [the page numbers belong to the digital edition of the National Library of Portugal, <http://purl.pt/23/2/>].

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 131 and 144.

⁸² See Maria Filomena Mónica, “O dia em que Cesário Verde morreu”, *Prelo – Revista da Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda*, 12 (1986).

Marinheiros da Armada), while others were associated with voluntary societies (some of them connected to the workers's movement). The *bandas* usually performed on Sundays and bank holidays in theatre halls, balls, gatherings promoted by several societies, political rallies, and public gardens (such as the Jardim da Estrela, the Praça D. Fernando and the Avenida da Liberdade) in which a new type of urban furniture, the gazebo, was integrated.⁸³ These ensembles performed a heterogeneous repertoire that included marches, waltzes, polkas, anthems, and arrangements of classical pieces, such as opera overtures.⁸⁴ The impact of this movement in the city's music life cannot be overstated due to their frequent presence in the public spaces and gatherings.

In the May 1871 issue of *As farpas* Queirós satirically stated that, during the peak of Offenbach's popularity in Lisbon, the church bells and all the barrel organs played his music and that the Elevation of the Host was made to the sound of the Général Boum's couplets (from the operetta *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein*).⁸⁵ Bearing in mind that a significant part of the market for printed music and for sound recordings was based on theatrical music, this points to a porosity between stage, street and domestic space in Lisbon. In this context, a common repertoire that was arranged to maximise its impact in distinct contexts of performance simultaneously unifies and segments several of the city's spaces, displaying a complex relation between continuity and discontinuity and between space and sound. Moreover, the involuntary exposure of the inhabitants of Lisbon to the omnipresent sounds of church bells and of the barrel organ, as well as the cries of the pedlars, can help to situate the resulting sonic realm in what Kassabian designates as "ubiquitous musics", "the musics that are always there, beyond our control, slipping under our thresholds of consciousness," a sort of soundtrack of everyday life during this time.⁸⁶

⁸³ Leitão, *op. cit.*, 130–135.

⁸⁴ For example, João Rodrigues Cordeiro arranged pieces of several operettas (such as *La fille de Madame Angot* and *Barba Azul*) for wind and percussion band. See João Rodrigues Cordeiro, *Mosaico: extrahido da Opera Comica La Fille de Madame Angot*. Shelfmark PTBN: C.N. 523, National Library of Portugal and João Rodrigues Cordeiro, *Barba Azul: 1.º Acto (completo) da Opera Buffa*. Shelfmark PTBN: C.N. 530, National Library of Portugal.

⁸⁵ Ramalho Ortigão and Eça de Queirós, *As farpas: crónica mensal da politica, das letras e dos costumes* (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1871), 34.

⁸⁶ Anahid Kassabian, "Popular", in Bruce Horner and Thomas Swiss (eds), *Key Terms in Popular Music and Culture*, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1999), 117. About the cries of the pedlars in Lisbon see Irkan [Fialho d'Almeida], "Os pregões", *Pontos nos ii*, 3rd July 1890, 211, 214 and Júlio de Castilho, *Lisboa antiga* (Lisbon: Antiga casa Bertrand, José Bastos, 1904) 184–233.

The Introduction of Phonography in Portugal

This chapter has primarily dealt with the processes of commodifying music in a broad sense. However, the development and dissemination of sound recording and reproducing technologies has introduced transformations in these processes, namely the commodification of sound itself.⁸⁷ Furthermore, “for most people under the sway of the phonograph, music could become both entertainment and part of the background noise of everyday life.”⁸⁸ Returning to Barthes’ discussion of the binary relation analogue/digital, the development of sound recording technologies can be framed as the attempt to capture the acoustic *analogon* to reality. Moreover, for Rothenbuhler and Peters, “because analog recording is an indexical trace of a phenomenon, the analog storage medium will contain whatever information is allowed by the physics of the situation.”⁸⁹ Positioning the acoustic sound recording as an analogue of reality can also be placed in a wider strife for scientific objectivism that took place during the late nineteenth- and the early-twentieth century.⁹⁰

The novel type of stored information is important when it comes to the study of phonography. For authors such as Kittler, technological developments played a key role in the reshaping of discourse networks, “the network of technologies and institutions that allow a given culture to select, store, and process relevant data,” between 1800 and 1900.⁹¹ In his discussion of several technological innovations developed in the last third of the nineteenth century stated, Kittler stated:

Machines take over functions of the central nervous system, and no longer, as in times past, merely those of muscles. And with this differentiation – and not with steam engines and railroads – a clear division occurs between matter and information, the real and the symbolic.⁹²

⁸⁷ Picker, *Victorian Soundscapes*, 117. For an overview of phonography during the period of mechanical recording see Michael Chanan, *Repeated Takes: A Short History of Recording and its Effects on Music* (London/NY: Verso, 1995), 1–36.

⁸⁸ Rothenbuhler and Peters, *op. cit.*, 244.

⁸⁹ Rothenbuhler and Peters, *op. cit.*, 252.

⁹⁰ Erika Brady, *A Spiral Way: How the Phonograph Changed Ethnography* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1999), 86.

⁹¹ Friedrich A. Kittler, *Discourse Networks, 1800/1900*, (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 369.

⁹² Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 16. The direct association between specific technologies and Lacanian terms in Kittler’s work is very problematic. Nevertheless, the association of sound recording with the real was a trope during the first years of recorded sound, crystallised in notions such as fidelity or authenticity.

In this approach, the phonograph performed the functions of the central nervous system by recording and storing information. Therefore, as Hogg argues, phonography can be framed as a prosthetic form of memory.⁹³

Furthermore, the relationship between memory and technology is addressed by Burton in his work on Bergson's theory of memory.⁹⁴ For Burton, comparisons between technological processes that involve the impression and deletion of traces on a substrate and the functioning of human memory have been especially pervasive in Western culture.⁹⁵ Within this framework, a direct analogy between the process through which a phonograph inscribes and stores information on a cylinder and the working of human memory can be made. Moreover, the cultural assumption that external recording technologies can be used to supplement, expand, and enhance human memory is based on the idea that these technological apparatuses work in similar and, at least compatible ways with the mechanisms of the human mind.⁹⁶ This trope that presented phonography as a technology of memory was also circulating in Portugal in the beginning of the twentieth century. For instance, the journalist Pinto de Carvalho associated phonography with memory in his *História do fado*, published in 1903. When describing the repertoire of the singer Cesária (from the Alcântara district of Lisbon) Carvalho stated that "in her memory, as in a phonograph, she stored hundreds of verses."⁹⁷

In addition, a significant point in the study of phonography is the nature of the new storage media and the identification of their content with a supposedly unmediated (thus objective or scientific) reality. This is a symptom of a shift from a Romantic perspective of music fruition as a sublime experience to a position in which music had been converted to "a quantifiable and marketable object or thing, a sonic commodity."⁹⁸ Several authors, like Picker, Hogg, and Weidman discussed and developed this tendency. For Hogg, the rise of objectivity and experimentation in the Victorian period is associated with an intensification of what Lacan designated by the ego's era.⁹⁹ In this process, the use of technology for collecting data was purported to guarantee an intended objectivity as a consequence of the reduction of human intervention (equated

⁹³ Bennett Hogg, *The cultural imagination of the phonographic voice, 1877–1940*, Ph.D. thesis (Newcastle University, 2008), 143–147.

⁹⁴ James Burton, "Bergson's non-archival theory of memory", *Memory Studies*, 1/3 (2008), 321–339.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 322.

⁹⁶ Burton, *op. cit.*, 322.

⁹⁷ Pinto de Carvalho, *História do fado* (Lisbon: Empreza da História de Portugal, 1903), 175.

⁹⁸ Picker, *op. cit.*, 10.

⁹⁹ Hogg, *op. cit.*, 200–201.

with subjectivity).¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, technological apparatuses were perceived to gather quantifiable and empirical data (perceived as facts), functioning as prostheses that extended the capacities of its users.¹⁰¹ By relating the rise of an ideology of objectivity with Kittler's discussion of technologies that perform the functions of the central nervous system, Weidman argues:

At issue was not simply that new technologies expanded the possibilities of storage, but that what was stored by these new technologies was thought of as fundamentally different from what was stored by writing in the nineteenth century; this new stored material came to be experienced as the 'real.'¹⁰²

Moreover, in discussing the complex relation between oral tradition and the introduction of sound recording and reproducing technologies in Karnatic music, Weidman makes an important statement on the relation between the status of the phonographic object and the processes of musical transmission.¹⁰³ She associates phonography with a "new kind of real in which the purity of hearing alone was distilled," a mechanism that tended to limit the auditory process to sound itself and to relegate gestural postures or inaudible elements to the background.¹⁰⁴ Consequently, phonography cannot be perceived as a reduction without transformation (to use Barthes' terminology) of the musical event, which adds a new layer of complexity to the analogy between photography and phonography discussed above.

The processes that shaped this technology into media and facilitated its incorporation into everyday life played a key role in the market for recorded sound. Sterne maintains that the introduction of phonographic technologies was a part of a more complex process through which the establishment of a network based upon these new devices interacted and transformed the cultural frameworks associated with hearing.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, he developed a theory on phonography that was centred on the human ear and on the auditory process:

¹⁰⁰ Hogg, *op. cit.*, 201.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* On the ego's era see Teresa Brennan, *History after Lacan* (London/NY: Routledge, 1993), 26–74.

¹⁰² Amanda Weidman, "Guru and gramophone: Fantasies of fidelity and modern technologies of the Real", *Public Culture*, 15/3 (2003), 462.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 464.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction*, 84.

The key element, the defining function, in these early versions of sound reproduction technologies is the diaphragm – a simple mechanical principle, a principle that connects ear to machine through analogy, imitation, or thumbscrews. This construct of the ear as a function that can be abstracted from the human body, transposed across social contexts, produced, proliferated and mutated through technique and technology, suggests that the ear (and specifically the diaphragm) does not simply come to be a representation of sound reproduction in this period; the ear – its tympanic character – becomes the diagram of sonic reproducibility. The ear, as a mechanism, becomes a way of organizing a whole set of sounds and sonic functions; it is an informal principle by which a practice is organized.¹⁰⁶

Accordingly, the development of what Sterne designates by “audile techniques” predates the dissemination of sound recording and was especially associated by him with two professional fields (situated as middle class activities): medicine and telegraphy. “Medicine and telegraphy were two fields where techniques of listening provided professional ethos and prestige” and “both the stethoscope and the telegraphic ‘sounder’ were technologies that crystallized already-extant techniques of listening.”¹⁰⁷ Moreover, classifying as tympanic several sound reproducing technologies “is to understand them as all functionally related, as sharing a set of common operational and philosophical principles, and, most important, as embodiments and intensifications of tendencies that were already existent elsewhere in the culture.”¹⁰⁸

Benevides’ article about Edison’s phonograph published in *O Ocidente* appears to be the first Portuguese account of sound recording technologies.¹⁰⁹ This text was published shortly after the granting of Edison’s initial patent for the phonograph (filed on December 24, 1877 and issued on February 19, 1878) and was part of a regular column that presented technological novelties.¹¹⁰ Novelty was the initial operative realm for Edison’s first phonograph during the late 1870s, categorised by DeGraaf as a “curiosity of little practical value.”¹¹¹ Moreover, the discontinuous process of the development of this invention may have contributed to its slow dissemination. According to Taylor, one feature that delayed the incorporation of the phonograph in

¹⁰⁶ Sterne, “A machine to hear for them: On the very possibility of sound’s reproduction”, *Cultural Studies*, 15/2 (2001), 284–285.

¹⁰⁷ Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction*, 98.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 34

¹⁰⁹ Francisco da Fonseca Benevides, “Phonographo fallante de Edison”, *O Occidente*, n° 8, 15th April 1878, 64.

¹¹⁰ United States Patent Office, “Improvement in phonograph or speaking machines”, patent n° 200.521, February 1878.

¹¹¹ Leonard DeGraaf, “Confronting the mass market: Thomas Edison and the entertainment phonograph”, *Business and Economic History*, 24/1 (1995), 88.

everyday life was the debate about the multiple applications of this invention.¹¹² During its history, the phonograph “was used with varying success as an office dictating machine, a scientific instrument, a toy and a coin-slot amusement machine, but in the mid-1890s success was still around the corner.”¹¹³

Returning to the piece from *O Occidente*, Edison’s phonograph is described as a device that records and reproduces sound. However, in one of the images included in the article a man appears to be speaking into the phonograph and the caption of the other printed image states that the phonograph was being used “for the reproduction of words.”¹¹⁴ This presents the phonograph as an office dictating machine, a possibility raised by Edison’s focus on recording voice in his first patent and the subsequent establishment of the Edison Speaking Phonograph Company in 1878.¹¹⁵ Therefore, the article captures a specific moment in the development of this mechanism, when “the phonograph appeared before a need for its function had been identified. While numerous uses were projected, none were realized.”¹¹⁶

Nonetheless, from the late 1880s onwards several transformations were essential for the creation of a market for phonographs and recordings, such as the development of improved versions of Edison’s phonograph and the establishment of the Edison Phonograph Company for its manufacture.¹¹⁷ Despite the prominence given to Edison in several sound recording histories, other inventors contributed to develop the phonograph during its early period. An important contribution to sound recording was given by Charles Sumner Tainter while collaborating with Alexander Bell: the invention of the Graphophone, a device that recorded sound into a cylinder covered with a wax-like substance (Edison’s phonograph used a tinfoil cylinder instead), a medium that

¹¹² Taylor, “The commodification of music at the dawn of the era of ‘mechanical music’”, 285.

¹¹³ Pekka Gronow, “The record industry: growth of a mass medium”, *Popular Music*, 3 (1983), 54.

¹¹⁴ Benevides, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁵ United States Patent Office, “Improvement in phonograph or speaking machines”, patent n° 200.521, February 1878 and Walter L. Welch and Leah Brodbeck Stensel Burt, *From Tinfoil to Stereo: The Acoustic Years of the Recording Industry, 1877–1929* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1995), 19.

¹¹⁶ Emily Thompson, “Machines, music, and the quest for fidelity: Marketing the Edison phonograph in America, 1877–1925”, *The Musical Quarterly*, 79/1 (1995), 137.

¹¹⁷ See United States Patent Office, “Phonograph”, patent n° 386.974, 31st July 1888 and Welch and Burt, *op. cit.*, 25–26. For coeval accounts of Edison’s Improved Phonograph and Perfected Phonograph see “Edison’s new phonograph”, *Scientific American*, 29th October 1887, 273; “Edison’s improved phonograph”, *Scientific American*, 19th November 1887, 328; Thomas A. Edison, “The perfected phonograph”, *The North American Review*, 146/379 (1888), 641–650, and *The Illustrated London News*, n° 2569, 14th July 1888.

“allowed for sharper, better defined recording.”¹¹⁸ Furthermore, Gianni Bettini built a device that could be attached to several models of phonographs, consisting in a flexible diaphragm attached to the stylus by four radial spurs, which improved the sound fidelity of the recording.¹¹⁹

For authors such as DeGraaf, the rapid development of a large-scale market for goods associated with recorded sound can be perceived as a process that merged technological innovation and the development of commercial strategies directed towards the marketing of pre-recorded music (foregrounding the intended role of the phonograph as a conveyor of entertainment in relation to its use as an office tool):

By the late 1890s Edison had designed a simpler, spring-driven phonograph; developed procedures for manufacturing pre-recorded musical cylinders on a large scale; and organized a new firm, the National Phonograph Company, to market these machines and records. The lower cost of these machines, combined with an improving economy enabled the National company and its principle cylinder competitor, the Columbia Phonograph Company to dramatically increase sales.¹²⁰

This shows the complex mechanisms through which, over a period of thirty years, a “curiosity of little practical value” was transformed in an object perceived as the epitome of modernity, reshaping the role music played in everyday life. For Thompson, in the short period between 1896 (the year that Edison’s device was offered for sale to the public, and 1900), the phonograph was integrated in modern domestic life, becoming a familiar household item.¹²¹ Moreover, she points to the idea that the phonograph was not only perceived as a part of modern domesticity but also as a good that played a key role in defining that same modernity, “by being put to use in ways that distinctly changed the prevailing culture of music in the home.”¹²² To maximise the dissemination of the phonograph, and for its incorporation in the everyday sociability

¹¹⁸ Roland Gelatt, *The Fabulous Phonograph 1877–1977* (Cassell: London, NY, 1977), 35. For information regarding the development of the Bell-Tainter Graphophone see Leslie J. Newville, “Development of the phonograph at Alexander Graham Bell’s Volta Laboratory”, *United States National Museum Bulletin*, 218 (1959), 69–79 and United States Patent Office, “Apparatus for recording and reproducing sounds”, patent n° 341.288, 4th May 1886.

¹¹⁹ Welch and Burt, *op. cit.*, 61–71. In April 1889 Bettini filed patents for both a method and an apparatus for recording and reproducing sound. See United States Patent Office, “Method of recording and reproducing Sounds”, patent n° 409.003, 11th April 1889 and United States Patent Office, “Apparatus for the record and reproduction of Sounds”, patent n° 409.004, 13th April 1889.

¹²⁰ DeGraaf, *op. cit.*, 89.

¹²¹ Thompson, *op. cit.*, 138.

¹²² *Ibid.*

routines to be efficient, several alterations had to be made. Consequently, this implied the redefinition of the machine in visual, cultural and acoustical terms, an operation that was undertaken by manufacturers, advertisers and consumers.¹²³ In sum, “the phonograph could not just reproduce the sounds of musical instruments; it had to become an instrument itself.”¹²⁴

In the Portuguese case, a market for sound recording and reproduction technologies (as well as for its associated commodities) was established from the last years of the nineteenth century onwards through the action of both local entrepreneurs and international companies. The activity of people such as Francisco Santos Diniz and Joaquim Duarte Ferreira can be seen as symptomatic of the development of phonography as a “potential area for economic investment.”¹²⁵ Between 1898 and 1902, Santos Diniz was granted two patents, one for his brand Audiophone (“intended for phonographic equipment”), and one for an improvement on the gramophone, traded exclusively in his store and designated by *O Gigante*.¹²⁶ Ferreira filed a patent to manufacture and record both discs and cylinders that, due to a complaint from a company that traded in wax cylinders (Pinto & Meirelles, in Porto), was not granted.¹²⁷ This refusal created a dependence of the Portuguese phonographic enterprises on foreign production facilities that would last for the following 50 years.¹²⁸

Moreover, the registration of several labels and brands (such as Ideal, registered by Artur Barbedo and the composer Carlos Calderón, and Simplex) during the first decade of the twentieth century points to the expansion of a yet incipient market for phonography.¹²⁹ According to Losa and Belchior, a network of local agents played an important part in the implementation of a market for phonographic goods in Portugal. They note that “a local economic sector was also developing relatively independently of the owners of these labels” and point to a segment within the Portuguese record market in which several local dealers were prominent, an interesting occurrence given the fact that the country lacked both a record factory and recording technologies.¹³⁰ This is remarkable when dealing with a business that, according to Gronow, was devised on an

¹²³ Thompson, *op. cit.*, 140.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ Losa and Belchior, *op. cit.*, 7

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

international scale from its inception and in which the leading recording companies established worldwide networks for the production and distribution of phonograms through the building of factories and the creation of subsidiary companies and agencies.¹³¹ He states that, in the early days of recorded sound,

The leading companies owed a considerable part of their success to technological innovation. They were not just record companies, they had to produce complete systems of recording technology. For the consumer, they offered both recordings and the equipment to play them on (and a critical observer of the cabinet phonographs of the 1910s might say that records were a sideline to help the sale of furniture). For the industry itself they had to develop recording equipment, mastering processes and presses. It is not surprising that initially there were several competing systems of recording technology.¹³²

This points to an oligopolistic model of organisation of the leading recording industries, based in a strategy of vertical integration, in which the “control of the total production flow from raw materials to wholesale sales” was key in reducing competition.¹³³ Moreover, the competing business models embraced by the several recording companies were deeply associated with technological and legal constraints. Some of these limitations included the holding of patents and licenses for the several steps of the production processes of phonographic goods (such as phonographs, gramophones, cylinders, and flat records). Furthermore, the variety of these processes and commodities during the first decades of phonography also had a deep impact on the recording policy of the companies. According to Steffen, “the success that any company was having could be mitigated by the music industry’s lack of exclusive repertoire as well as its lack of technological standardization.”¹³⁴ In this sense, the attention given by the recording companies to repertoires that were previously mediated through other channels (thus, familiar to the public) and the parallel lack of exclusive repertoire are prominent characteristics of the music markets of the time.

The overlapping of artists and repertoires in the catalogues of the recording companies is quite significant. The companies mostly drew upon and recorded

¹³¹ Pekka Gronow, “The record industry: growth of a mass medium”, *Popular Music*, 3 (1983), 56.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 55.

¹³³ Richard A. Peterson and David G. Berger, “Cycles in symbol production: The case of popular music”, in Simon Frith and Andrew Goodwin, *On Record: Rock, Pop, and the Written Word* (London/NY: Routledge, 1990), 119.

¹³⁴ David J. Steffen, *From Edison To Marconi: The First Thirty Years Of Recorded Music* (Jefferson, NC/ London: McFarland, 2005), 4.

repertoires that had already been presented in other media (and not specifically devised for the recording event). Furthermore, the fact that a significant part of these repertoires was associated with a specific performer contributed to the creation and development of recording companies' catalogues in the early twentieth century. When addressing the strategy of recording companies in Scandinavia, Gronow and Englung state

Professional popular singers came from the legitimate stage, from variety theatres, revues and cabarets, or made their living by performing in restaurants. A common characteristic was that they were actors rather than singers: clear diction and strong stage personality were more important than a trained singing voice.¹³⁵

The use of theatrical performers with untrained singing voices has been addressed in the second chapter of this thesis. Nevertheless, recording famous performers associated with the popular theatre was as a transnational tendency in the commercial strategy of the early recording companies. In the Portuguese case, theatrical performers like Palmira Bastos, Delfina Victor or Jorge Roldão frequently recorded for several companies during the first decade of the twentieth century.

Relating this with the lack of technological standardisation, a relatively small pool of performers was transversally represented in the catalogues of the several companies. For example, Avelino Baptista's recordings of various fados were included in the 1906 catalogues of both the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone and of Phonographos Pathé, two competing recording companies.¹³⁶ One of the reasons for this overlap is the lack of technological standardisation mentioned above. Because of several competing (and, sometimes, incompatible) technologies for the reproduction of sound and since the leading companies worked within a framework of vertical integration, recordings had to be released in several formats. Therefore, the commercialisation of the same musical pieces in cylinders, vertical-cut flat records and lateral-cut flat records by the same company or by different companies was a strategy to cater for the owners of the specific equipment that was manufactured by the companies themselves. Moreover, in many cases the release of the same repertoire recorded by the

¹³⁵ Pekka Gronow and Bjorn Englung, "Inventing recorded music: The recorded repertoire in Scandinavia 1899–1925". *Popular Music*, 26/2 (2007), 291.

¹³⁶ Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *Catalogo das ultimas placas feitas pela Companhia Franceza do Gramophone* (Lisbon: n.p., 1906), 2 and Phonographos Pathé, *Novo catalogo e repertorio portuguez* (Porto: n.p., 1906), 17 [facsimile edition provided by Phonogalerie].

same performer in different formats did not involve direct competition between companies due to the incompatibility of the several technologies involved (to use an extreme example, a disc could not be reproduced in a phonograph).¹³⁷ Consequently, the symbiotic relationship between sound reproducing equipment and the contents of the storage media was key in the rapid expansion of the phonographic industry.

Another key feature in the creation of a market for phonographic products in Portugal is a marketing strategy for promoting these goods to the economically privileged social groups. This statement can be attested by the frequent inclusion of the recording companies' advertisements in periodicals that predominantly targeted these segments of the Portuguese society, such as *O Ocidente* or *Ilustração portuguesa*. A 1905 issue of *Ilustração Portuguesa* included an advertisement in which the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone advertised its “gramophone for the people or popular gramophone.”¹³⁸ Nevertheless, this equipment cost 12\$000. According to Valente, between 1905 and 1907 the daily net pay of an average welder working in the canned fish industry (at the time, considered a skilled worker) was situated between 1\$000 and 1\$500.¹³⁹ Therefore, it is safe to assume that, in the beginning of the twentieth century, phonographic products were financially inaccessible to the majority of the Portuguese population.

The Establishment of Pathé in Portugal

Some of the main European recording companies were established in Portugal in the first decade of the twentieth century. One of these companies was the French-based Compagnie Générale de Phonographes, Cinématographes et Appareils de Précision, owned by the brothers Charles and Émile Pathé. This company was created in 1900 through the merger of two companies: the Compagnie Générale de Cinématographes, Phonographes et Pellicules (owned by the Pathé brothers and trading on both phonographic and filmographic products) and the Manufacture Française d'Appareils de Précision (founded by René Bünzli and Pierre Victour Continsouza and concentrated on

¹³⁷ Losa and Belchior, *op. cit.*, 9.

¹³⁸ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, n° 99, 25th September 1905, I.

¹³⁹ Vasco Pulido Valente, “Os conserveiros de Setúbal (1887–1901)”, *Análise social*, 17/67–68 (1981), 664.

film). The company rose to a quasi-monopolist position in the French market of the time, a fact that might help to contextualise Pathé's establishment in Portugal.¹⁴⁰

Despite the scarcity of sources for studying this company's action in Portugal (to my knowledge, the only available sources are a Portuguese catalogue published in June 1906 and several flat records), this section will strive to frame Pathé's role during the first years of the twentieth century. The exact date of the Pathé's establishment in Portugal is presently unknown but, in 1906, it was already operating in Portugal and owned a store in Porto and an office in Lisbon. These facilities traded in both phonographs and gramophones (as well as in parts for these machines and a few accessories) and on cylinders (both blank and with pre-recorded music) and flat discs.¹⁴¹ Moreover, the company ran a wax cylinder recording room in its Porto premises.¹⁴²

A characteristic of the business models of the early recording companies was their use of patented technology. At the time, the control of several patents and licenses influenced the implementation of the recording companies in their targeted markets. Furthermore, it conditioned both the machines that could be traded by a specific company (phonographs and/or gramophones) as well as its storage medium (cylinders and/or discs). There were several competing technologies and media for the storage of sound, the most significant being the phonograph cylinder and the gramophone disc. Therefore, the establishment of the disc as the industry's standard can be interpreted as a symptom of a cultural transformation.

One of the most important distinctions between cylinders and discs is their process of production and replication, frequently evoked when analysing the decline of the former as a commodity aimed for a mass market.¹⁴³ In the case of the early cylinder recordings, multiple master copies were produced by repeating the performance of a given piece on one or several phonographs.¹⁴⁴ Subsequently, the recorded cylinder was duplicated onto a blank cylinder by using a pantographic technique. This process allowed for 25 to 100 good copies of this specific recording to be made (in spite of a considerable loss of quality), an insufficient number to supply an expanding mass

¹⁴⁰ Gelatt, *op. cit.*, 177.

¹⁴¹ Phonographos Pathé, *Novo catalogo e repertorio portuguez* (Porto: n.p., 1906).

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ About this issue see Burt and Welch, *op. cit.*, 111–126.

¹⁴⁴ Burt and Welch, *op. cit.*, 82 and William Howland Kenney, *Recorded Music in American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory, 1890–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 42. For a description of the cylinder moulding process see David Morton, *Sound Recording: The Life Story of a Technology* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2004), 27–28.

market.¹⁴⁵ During the first years of the twentieth century the invention and dissemination of moulding processes allowed for the master record to be more easily replicated.¹⁴⁶ With the advent of moulding (a process in which the recorded wax cylinder was plated in order to create a mould) as the standard procedure for duplicating cylinders, it became possible to produce a much larger number of good copies of a cylinder from a single recording.¹⁴⁷

Compared with the recording of a master cylinder, creating a master recording on a flat disc was far more complicated and could not be performed in domestic contexts. To quote Sterne, “gramophone records were easier to mass produce but much harder for people to make in their own homes.”¹⁴⁸ However, the flat disc offered the possibility of mass producing records from a very early stage, as a result of an easier replicating process that was suited for industrial production. After the recording of a piece onto a master disc that could be made exclusively of metal or of metal covered with a workable substance (such as wax, as Emile Berliner stated in one of his patents), an acid wash converted the semipermanent grooves made by the recording stylus into permanent imprints, thus creating a master disc.¹⁴⁹ Afterwards, several positive and negative copies of the master disc were made through electroplating until a *stamper* (a metal disc that was a negative copy of the master) was obtained. The *stamper* could then be fitted into a press and was used to replicate the recording in a pliable substrate (such as shellac).¹⁵⁰ This process allowed for both the preservation of the master disc and for a large number of quality copies to be produced. Thompson addresses this by stating that the mass production of disc records was based on an easy and fast process of stamping from master dies unlike the complex moulding process used for the duplication of hollow cylinders by using a master mould.¹⁵¹

The case of Pathé proves to be interesting when analysing the relation between storage media, patents, and companies. The company began its phonographic trade with machines similar to the Graphophone’s “Eagle” model and its respective cylinders,

¹⁴⁵ Morton. *op. cit.*, 27.

¹⁴⁶ Kenney, *ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ Morton. *op. cit.*, 28.

¹⁴⁸ Sterne, *op. cit.*, 203–204.

¹⁴⁹ United States Patent Office, “Process of producing records of sound”, patent n° 382.790, 15th May 1888 and United States Patent Office, “Sound-record and method to make same”, patent n° 542.623, 29th October 1895.

¹⁵⁰ Matthias Worgull, *Hot Embossing: Theory and Technology of Microreplication* (Oxford: William Andrew, 2009), 3–8 and Steffen, *op. cit.*, 48–51.

¹⁵¹ Thompson, *op. cit.*, 142.

expanding its offer to gramophones and discs around 1905/1906.¹⁵² Therefore, the 1906 catalogue might be Pathé's first Portuguese publication to include both cylinders and discs. When analysing this company's recording process, Burt and Welch state that Pathé-Frères was operating in Europe under Edison licenses and, therefore, used Edison-related devices for all its European recordings.¹⁵³ In this process, the company used large-diameter cylinders to produce the master records and, subsequently, transcribed them onto smaller-diameter cylinders that were commercialised to the public in three different sizes.¹⁵⁴

The practice of recording masters on cylinders persisted after the company's venture into the market segment for discs. In this operation the contents of the master cylinder were transferred to a disc through the use of a pantographic technique similar to the one used when duplicating cylinders.¹⁵⁵ The procedure was quite direct because, in Pathé's case, both cylinders and discs were vertically cut (their grooves were of constant width and variable depth), which can be related both to the company's functioning under Edison's licenses and in order to avoid juridical complications of patent infractions. Consequently, there was a strong distinction between the discs produced by Pathé and their competitors. For instance, Pathé records were vertically cut, centre-start, and revolved between 90 and 100 rpm, contrasting with companies such as The Gramophone Company that offered discs that were laterally cut, outside-start and revolved at approximately 70 rpm.¹⁵⁶

The material configuration of both cylinders and discs may also have contributed to their commercial success. Until the development and mass marketing of hard plastic cylinders (started in 1906 by the Indestructible Phonographic Record Company), the frailty of this medium was a significant detriment for its use.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, it posed difficulties for their preservation, a fact that can be supported by the small number of these objects that have survived in Portugal. Storage is also an issue when it comes to the competition between cylinders and discs. Due to their shape and frailty, cylinders could not be effectively stacked. Therefore, manufacturers developed storage cabinets specifically for these objects. For example, the 1906 Portuguese Pathé catalogue

¹⁵² Amitabha Ghosh, "Pre-commercial era of sound recording in India", *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 34/1 (1999), 54.

¹⁵³ Burt and Welch, *op. cit.*, 79.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Ghosh, *op. cit.*, 54.

¹⁵⁶ Burt and Welch, *op. cit.*, 142 and Phonographos Pathé, *op. cit.*, 3.

¹⁵⁷ Sterne, *op. cit.*, 299–301.

advertises a cabinet that could store up to 64 large cylinders, presenting its “spinning library” as a part of living-room furniture.¹⁵⁸ Conversely, discs were sturdier and could be stacked and stored in bulk, something that may have facilitated their establishment as collectables during the beginning of the twentieth century (in the same way as postcards or stamps).¹⁵⁹ On record collecting and its relation with modern life, Adorno stated in 1934

records are possessed like photographs; the nineteenth century had good reasons for coming up with phonograph record albums alongside photographic and postage-stamp albums, all of them herbaria of artificial life that are present in the smallest space and ready to conjure up every recollection that would otherwise be mercilessly shredded between the haste and humdrum of private life.¹⁶⁰

Nevertheless, analysis based solely on technological features falls short in explaining the prevalence of the flat disc over the phonographic cylinder. A recurrent argument was that the phonograph’s multiple uses and its possibility of both recording and reproducing sound complicated its introduction in the recorded music mass market when compared with the gramophone’s univocal functionality of reproducing recorded sound. However, “the manufacturers of cylinder talking machines considered their machines’ capability to record anywhere a great sales advantage over the new disc talking machines; the disc machines could not provide such capability.”¹⁶¹

Picker argues that the framing of the phonograph as a device that, contrary to the gramophone (which would become dominant in the beginning of the twentieth century), could be used for home recording, promoted an “active engagement from Victorians, who could readily make their own amateur records at home rather than purchase them.”¹⁶² Therefore, for the the gramophone to become the privileged conveyor of recorded music in a household, a significant cultural shift had to be performed. On the one hand, Victorian domesticity favoured specific ways of informal archiving (such as family albums or home sound recordings) and had the parlour as a space in which the “formal presentation and the maintenance of family identity” occupied centre stage.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ Phonographos Pathé, *op. cit.*, 11.

¹⁵⁹ Thompson, *op. cit.* 142.

¹⁶⁰ Theodor W. Adorno, “The form of the phonograph record”, *October*, 55 (1990), 58.

¹⁶¹ Burt and Welch, *op. cit.*, 81.

¹⁶² Picker, *op. cit.*, 112.

¹⁶³ Sterne, *op. cit.*, 204.

Conversely, in the early twentieth century, the living room progressively replaced the parlour, reflecting a cultural shift in domestic living space.¹⁶⁴ Thus, a room “considerably more informal in decor and arrangement” that “admitted more and more mass produced goods” substituted the parlour, a space “largely populated with hand-crafted goods and family-specific cultural productions.”¹⁶⁵ Moreover,

The middle-class consumer culture that would provide the cultural, economic, and affective basis or building collections of recordings and extensive listening to prerecorded music was only just emerging as these machines became available.¹⁶⁶

The first pages of Pathé’s Portuguese catalogue advertise the company and its Portuguese facilities (store, recording room and workshop) and present some of the traded goods, like phonographs and gramophones, cylinders of different dimensions, a cylinder storage cabinet, and accessories such as horns or diaphragms.¹⁶⁷ Next, the catalogue includes the recorded repertoire arranged by performer. Most of the artist sections include a photograph of the performer and reproduce a hand-written note by him/her (or in the case of a group, by its conductor) in which the fidelity of the Pathé machines is complimented and promoted. In these notes, the actress/singer Palmira Bastos draws an interesting parallel between phonography and photography, comparing the recordings made by a Pathé phonograph to a “photograph of the voice.”¹⁶⁸

This type of comparison can be analysed from different perspectives. On the one hand, it has to be framed as a promotional text for a company that is attempting to situate the fidelity of the sound recording on the same level as the fidelity of the photograph that, at this time, was far more developed than phonography. On the other, it depicts two technologies that, as seen earlier, were presented as guarantors of objectivity (or as neutral conveyors of reality). Therefore, the stance by which the phonograph would capture the “real” and inscribe it into the cylinder was essential in promoting this commodity. Furthermore, a discourse on fidelity that, for Sterne, is a marker of a “kind of faith in reproductibility,” can be found throughout the early history of phonography.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ Sterne, *op. cit.*, 204.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ Phonographos Pathé, *op. cit.*, 1–12.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁶⁹ Sterne, *op. cit.*, 274.

As Sterne argues, there was an encouragement for listeners to discern the distinct “sonic signatures” of the available machinery and technologies as their familiarity with the variety of sound reproduction devices grew.¹⁷⁰ The impossibility of achieving a gold standard for the recordings promoted an advertising framework in which “*the best available or the preferable* became a stand-in for *the true*.”¹⁷¹ The development of audile techniques amongst the listeners implied they acquired skills that allowed them to discern between “sounds ‘of’ and sounds ‘by’ the network,” and their association with a polarity between interior and exterior sounds that were present in sound reproduction.¹⁷² Therefore, the presentation of sound reproduction technologies as a “vanishing mediator” between the recorded repertoire and its listeners (and which had to be repressed) was frequently used to promote the idea of sound fidelity at the time.¹⁷³ One point that emanates from the discussion pertaining to sound fidelity is reproducibility itself and the relation between the “original” and the “copy.” Sterne argues that the correspondence between live music and recorded music worked mostly in the realm of imagination and a correspondence between them had to be articulated in order to convince the listeners.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, in phonography

the sound event is created for the explicit purpose of its reproduction. Therefore, we can no longer argue that copies are debased versions of a more authentic original copy that exists either outside or prior to the process of reproduction. Both copy and original are products of the process of reproducibility.¹⁷⁵

In this sense, the narrative that draws a direct path from original to copy through a process of technological mediation must be problematised because the creation of a binary between original and copy itself is only admissible due to the very possibility of sound reproduction.

The repertoire recorded by Pathé was varied and deeply associated with the activity of the artists in the Portuguese entertainment market. Moreover, according to the catalogue, phonographic recordings were produced in three distinct formats: as discs

¹⁷⁰ Sterne, *op. cit.*, 275.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 283.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* On the concept of the “vanishing mediator” see Fredric Jameson, “The vanishing mediator; or, Max Weber as storyteller”, in Fredric Jameson, *The Ideologies of Theory: The Syntax of History* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 3–34 and Slavoj Žižek, *The Indivisible Remainder: On Schelling and Related Matters* (London/NY: Verso, 2007).

¹⁷⁴ Sterne, *op. cit.*, 284.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 241.

and as two sizes of cylinders. For example, Palmira Bastos, a prominent actress/singer of operetta and *revista*, recorded predominantly songs drawn from a variety of plays, such as Offenbach's *La Périchole* and *Barba-azul*, Audran's *La poupée*, Clérice's *O moleiro d'Alcalá*, and Cyriaco de Cardoso's *O solar dos Barrigas* as well as songs from the *revista* *Tim tim por tim tim*.¹⁷⁶ According to several sources, a significant part of this repertoire (if not all) had already been performed by Palmira Bastos in Portuguese and Brazilian stages before their recording.¹⁷⁷ This reinforces the hypothesis in which recording companies hired famed theatrical performers to sing or recite pieces that were already part of their repertoire and were associated to them by the audiences of the time. Furthermore, several people linked with the theatre, such as the actors/singers Jorge Roldão (who was also a musician and composed several songs), Silva Carvalho, and Humberto Amaral were included in Pathé's catalogue. Roldão recorded mostly fados and the repertoire of the other two actors consisted mainly of *cançonetas*.¹⁷⁸

Avelino Baptista (a prominent performer of fado associated with the early Coimbra tradition – although, at the time a clear segmentation of the Lisbon and Coimbra styles was not yet in place) recorded mainly fados and “popular songs” as well as a piece from the operetta *Os sinos de Corneville*.¹⁷⁹ Eduardo Barreiros' recorded repertoire consisted mainly of operetta pieces, fados and “popular songs”, whilst the *cançoneta* was the most represented genre in Duarte Silva's section of the catalogue.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, fados and “popular songs” occupied a dominant place in the recordings by people like Isabel Costa or Cristina Tapa.¹⁸¹ Besides solo songs, Pathé recorded a significant number of duets and a few chorus numbers, most of them extracted from operettas and *revistas* such as *Retalhos de Lisboa*, or *O brasileiro Pancrácio*.¹⁸² In addition, the company's catalogue included several monologues written and recited by Pedro Bandeira.¹⁸³ When relating the Pathé recordings advertised in their 1906 publication with the entertainment market, it is possible to infer that the heterogeneity

¹⁷⁶ Phonographos Pathé, *op. cit.*, 15.

¹⁷⁷ António de Sousa Bastos, *Carteira do artista; apontamentos para a historia do teatro portuguez e brasileiro* (Lisbon: Antiga casa Bertrand, José Bastos, 1899), 205–206 and Eudinyr Fraga, “Teatro brasileiro no fim do século XIX”, *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 35/2 (1998), 14–15.

¹⁷⁸ Phonographos Pathé, *op. cit.*, 39, 41, 43.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁸⁰ Phonographos Pathé, *op. cit.*, 23–24, 29.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 21, 35.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 21, 47.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 49.

of the theatrical panorama, especially its operetta and *revista* segment, is partly reflected in the phonographic offer.

However, not all the repertoire recorded by Pathé was associated with theatrical activity. For example, the famous fado singer and guitarist Reinaldo Varela recorded several fados with Portuguese guitar accompaniment and also a few guitar solos.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, Rafaela Fons registered a number of Spanish and Latin American songs and Pathé's catalogue also included several instrumental pieces for solo piano, Portuguese guitar and guitar, and for mandolin and piano.¹⁸⁵ Another important formation for recorded instrumental music was the *banda* (the wind and percussion ensemble previously mentioned in this chapter). For instance, an ensemble formed by several musicians of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, the Band of the Municipal Guard of Porto, and the Band of the Real Oficina de S. José (a religious institution devoted to the care and education of young men, orphans or not, whose family could not support) recorded several anthems and marches, as well as rhapsodies and adaptations of other choreographic typologies (such as polkas or waltzes).¹⁸⁶ This attention given to the recording of *bandas* may be associated with the fact that wind (especially brass) and percussion instruments were relatively easier to capture than string instruments (although Pathé, as well as other companies, released several recordings of string instruments in a solo context or accompanying singers), a characteristic that may have contributed to the proliferation of this type of recordings.¹⁸⁷ However and shifting the emphasis from technology to other cultural practices, this strategy can also be framed as both a reflection and a promotion of the *banda* in Portugal and elsewhere, a growing tendency in this period.¹⁸⁸

Although most of the recorded repertoire had been previously mediated in other forms (such as in live performances or in sheet music editions), phonography introduced a novel form of relation between the listener and the music, a connection that encapsulates a specific form of privacy and of property. In this process, the commodification of sound and of sound reproduction technologies (and their exchange, which presupposes private property) can be associated with the construction and

¹⁸⁴ Phonographos Pathé, *op. cit.*, 47, 54.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 53–54, 61.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 51, 57–58.

¹⁸⁷ Steffen, *op. cit.*, 106.

¹⁸⁸ See, for example, the recording sheet of the march *Le drapeau de la liberté* by the Musique de la Garde Republicaine, Paris, January 1904. Serial number 2454, extant both in the EMI Archive and in the British Library.

development of an acoustic space that relied on aspects such as privacy and individuality.¹⁸⁹

The Companhia Franceza do Gramophone in Portugal

If the multinational business model for Pathé relied on both phonographs and gramophones (and, consequently, on cylinders and discs), The Gramophone Company traded exclusively on gramophones and discs. The creation of this company was a complex operation that spanned from 1897 to 1900 and involved both American and British agents.¹⁹⁰ In this process, The Gramophone Company secured the control of the British and European patents associated with the gramophone and its related commodities, held by Emile Berliner and Eldridge Johnson.¹⁹¹

Initially developed by Emile Berliner as a hand-operated device, the gramophone was improved with a spring motor patented by Eldridge Johnson, an upgrade that facilitated its introduction in a mass market that was beginning to be created.¹⁹² As a result of this process, “in the first years of the century, the Gramophone Company had a virtual monopoly on the record market in Europe, thanks to its initial control of Berliner’s sound recording patents.”¹⁹³ Furthermore, the installation of a record pressing plant in Hannover (ran by Emile Berliner’s brother, Joseph) in 1898 reduced the dependence of The Gramophone Company on imported American records.¹⁹⁴ From that year on, the company assembled gramophones, manufactured disc records, and marketed the finished products, a fact that points to a model of vertical integration.¹⁹⁵ Useful data on the early recording of gramophone discs can be seen in the constraints imposed on its recording medium by a Bell-Tainter patent that covered the use of wax as a recording substance.¹⁹⁶ In order not to infract this patent, Gramophone’s

¹⁸⁹ Sterne, *op. cit.*, 138.

¹⁹⁰ Peter Martland, A business history of the Gramophone Company Ltd: 1897–1918, Ph.D. thesis (Cambridge University, 1992), 66.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 71.

¹⁹² United States Patent Office, “Gramophone”, patent n° 564.586, 28th July 1896 (This letter states that the English patent for the gramophone was granted on 8th November 1887), United States Patent Office, “Spring-motor”, patent n° 689.884, 31st December 1901. See also Martland, *op. cit.*, 48.

¹⁹³ Gronow and Englung, *op. cit.*, 285.

¹⁹⁴ Geoffrey Jones, “The Gramophone Company: An Anglo-American multinational, 1898–1931”, *The Business History Review*, 59/1 (1985), 80.

¹⁹⁵ Martland, *op. cit.* 84.

¹⁹⁶ United States Patent Office, “Recording and reproducing sounds”, patent n° 341.287, 4th May 1886.

early master discs were first etched in zinc, as one of Berliner's patents specifies.¹⁹⁷ However, with the expiry of the Bell-Tainter patent in 1900, the company became able to record their masters in wax, a process that improved the sound quality of the final product.¹⁹⁸

In terms of their implementation, The Gramophone Company secured its dominant role as a multinational venture by creating several subsidiary companies and marketing branches in various locations (such as Germany, Italy, France, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Australia, for example) and establishing a network of local agents.¹⁹⁹ According to Gronow and Englund, these people might have been responsible for the selection of the artists and repertoires to be recorded.²⁰⁰ The Compagnie Française du Gramophone (French Gramophone Company) was created in this context. In 1898, The Gramophone Company had opened a salesroom in Paris and, in the following year, Alfred Clark (an American and former associate of Edison) developed a partnership with this company. Initially, Clark established a selling agency in Paris, known as the Compagnie Française du Gramophone, and, as a manager and partial owner of this company, became responsible for recording artists and repertoires from the territories supervised by the Compagnie.²⁰¹ Returning to Gronow and Englund

Gramophone now had a European monopoly on an attractive new product: recorded music. The obvious course would have been to rely on economies of scale, produce a limited number of records, press them in large numbers and market them globally. After all, this is what multinational record companies strive to do today. Gramophone chose a completely different business strategy. They would market the same talking machines globally, but offer customers recordings performed by local artists.²⁰²

When analysing The Gramophone Company's business model, Gronow and Englund emphasise its reliance on content, a characteristic that permeates the entire history of the phonographic industry.²⁰³ Therefore, the commercial success of producing gramophones

¹⁹⁷ United States Patent Office, "Sound-record and method of making same", patent n° 548.623,, 29th October 1895.

¹⁹⁸ Welch and Burt, *op. cit.*, 109; Ogilvie Mitchell, *The Talking Machine Industry* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Ltd, [1922]), 38; and Morton, *op. cit.* 38.

¹⁹⁹ Martland, *op. cit.*, 95, 110 and Gronow and Englung, *ibid.*

²⁰⁰ Gronow and Englung, *ibid.*

²⁰¹ Jones, *op. cit.*, 83.

²⁰² Gronow and Englung, *op. cit.*, 282.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 300.

depended greatly on the contents of the records, thus situating the recording industry in the realm of the culture industries and not in the field of domestic appliances.

As a result of the regional division of the European record market, Portugal was included in the sphere of action of the Compagnie Française du Gramophone. According to Vernon, the earliest known recordings made in Portugal for The Gramophone Company took place in Porto in the autumn of 1900 as part of a recording expedition led by William Sinkler Darby, an American technical engineer trained by Emile Berliner who was working for this company.²⁰⁴ Vernon states that these recordings consisted of 67 flat, 7-inch single sided records.²⁰⁵ According to Losa, the progressive establishment of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone (French Gramophone Company) in Portugal was initiated in late 1903.²⁰⁶ This implementation relied on several local agents, among whom Santos Diniz, a dealer that occupied a prominent place in the Portuguese phonographic market, trading in discs produced by The Gramophone Company and by the German-based company Odeon.²⁰⁷ Later on, the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone established in Lisbon a store that traded exclusively in its own goods.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, Santos Diniz filed several patents concerning phonography and owned a store in the Praça dos Restauradores where he traded in phonographic equipment, a space that remained active until its liquidation in 1907.²⁰⁸ A Portuguese pioneer and early enthusiast of phonography was Francisco dos Santos Diniz's son, Alberto, who died in 1903 at the age of 25 and, according to his obituary, was responsible for the introduction of the gramophone in Portugal and for several technical improvements for the machine.²⁰⁹ It is interesting that this text, published in *O Occidente*, mentions of a ritual of remembrance performed by Alberto Diniz's mother that consisted in listening to the voice of her dead son captured on the phonographic cylinders.²¹⁰ This is one of the tropes associated with early phonography that was also presented in the Portuguese press: the possibility of preserving voices of

²⁰⁴ Paul Vernon, *A History of the Portuguese Fado* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 59; Gronow and Englung, *op. cit.*, 282; and Martland, *op. cit.*, 85.

²⁰⁵ Vernon, *ibid.*

²⁰⁶ Leonor Losa, "Indústria fonográfica", in Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), *Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2010), 633 and Losa and Belchior, *op. cit.*, 7.

²⁰⁷ See *Diário de notícias*, 10th May 1907.

²⁰⁸ *O Occidente*, n° 865, 10th January 1903, 8; n° 886, 19th August 1903, 176; and n° 936, 30th December 1904, 290. *Diário de notícias*, 10th May 1907.

²⁰⁹ *O Occidente.*, n° 878, 20th May 1903, 111–112.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 112.

the dead. This use for the phonograph was circulating in America as early as November 1877 and was publicly presented in a letter published in *Scientific American* written by Edward H. Johnson (then an associate of Thomas Edison).²¹¹ Moreover, the Victorian trope of phonographically archiving the voices of the dead is also present in Barraud's painting *His Master's Voice*, that was acquired in 1899 by The Gramophone Company and later became the company's icon.²¹² However, the idea of permanently archiving sound in the early period of phonography has to be placed in its context as an intended (as well as desired) possibility and not as an established reality. According to Sterne, the possibilities of storing and archiving that sound recording allowed ("its potential to preserve sound indefinitely into the future") were present in the discourse of both users and publicists from an early stage of the commercialisation of these technologies.²¹³ Nevertheless, this perspective contrasted with the early practice of sound recording. For instance, "the first recordings were essentially unplayable after they were removed from the machine" and "later wax cylinder recordings and even metal or shellac disks were often treated by their makers as ephemera."²¹⁴

As part of their implementation strategy in Portugal, the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone developed a lasting and aggressive advertising campaign in several periodicals that started in 1904. In a set of graphically appealing page-long adverts, the Companhia promoted its exclusive commercial space in Lisbon and its several agents in Lisbon, Porto and Braga as well as recording artists, repertoire and machines.²¹⁵ Among these agents were Santos Diniz and Carlos Calderón (in Lisbon) and Artur Barbedo (in Porto). Given the relevance of local agents in selecting the artists and repertoires to be recorded and the role music theatre played in the company's output, it is possible to posit that an integrated professional in the theatrical realm, such as Calderón, might have been involved in the development of their Portuguese catalogue. However, this is a speculative conjecture, due to the current lack of data to support it. According to Martland, the recording engineers were also key agents in the development of the

²¹¹ Welch and Burt, *op. cit.*, 9.

²¹² Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 69 and Martland, *op. cit.*, 88–89.

²¹³ Sterne, *op. cit.*, 288.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ Losa and Belchior, *op. cit.*, 7. See, for example, *Ilustração portuguesa*, n° 59, 19th December 1904, II.

catalogues of the companies since their knowledge of the technical process enabled them to select the voices that were better suited for recording purposes.²¹⁶

At the time, phonographic products were primarily marketed to economically privileged segments and affluent groups of Portuguese society. For this process to be efficient, the advertisement strategy of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone relied on the presentation of the gramophone and of gramophone discs as markers of social prestige. Thus, in the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century phonographic products were placed in a similar position in a system of representation to the one occupied by the piano during the earlier parts of the nineteenth century. Apart from the “popular gramophone” mentioned above, a significant number of advertisements associated phonography with cultural markers in which an idea of status and distinction was embedded. For example, most of the repertoire promoted in these advertisements belonged to the company’s transnational catalogue (such as discs performed by Caruso, for instance) and consisted mainly of recordings that belonged to Gramophone’s more prestigious labels, such as Monarch or Concert.²¹⁷ Furthermore, an advertisement published in the last issue of *Ilustração Portuguesa* before the Christmas of 1905 states that the best gift would be a gramophone, a “chic and elegant present” and mentions the “luxury gramophones” available in the company’s Lisbon store.²¹⁸

According to Martland, Gramophone’s advertisement strategies for gramophones and discs relied on promoting them as high quality goods, whilst in fact their business strategy was to produce cheap records for a volume market.²¹⁹ Nevertheless, this points to an efficient marketing strategy in which the symbolic value of phonographic goods was embedded in the commodities’ exchange value. On the implementation of The Gramophone Company in Britain, Martland states that its record dealerships were mainly concentrated in prestigious piano dealers (who also traded in sheet music) that occupied premises in the areas of the towns frequented by potential costumers.²²⁰ This strategic placement of their products can be read as a way of capitalising on the retailers’ respectability (or accumulated symbolic capital) for the trade of commodities related with their pre-established business. Moreover, according to these dealers,

²¹⁶ Martland, *Since Records Began: EMI, the First 100 Years* (London: Batsford, 1997), 25–27.

²¹⁷ *Ilustração portuguesa*, n° 87, 3rd July 1905, II.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, n° 111, 18th December 1905, I.

²¹⁹ Martland, *A business history of the Gramophone Company Ltd: 1897–1918*, 230.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 231.

recordings helped to promote the sales of the sheet music they also commercialised.²²¹ Nevertheless, in the Portuguese case, this process developed in a different way. As previously stated, the introduction and commercialisation of piano players followed a model contrary to the action of the large recording companies that relied on their own exclusive commercial spaces established in the commercial districts of Lisbon and Porto, spaces that were frequented by their potential costumers. Moreover, the piano and sheet music dealers had already been concentrated in the same districts, thus indicating that a specific spatial *habitus* was incorporated in the sociability routines of several sectors of the Portuguese urban population.

To study the repertoire of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone I have consulted the company's advertisements in periodicals as well as its Portuguese catalogues between 1905 and 1908. However, there is currently a gap of reliable information on local repertoires from the period between Darby's recording expedition and the *Suplemento ao catalogo de discos portuguezes* (Supplement to the Catalogue of Portuguese Records), published in November 1905. Nevertheless, Alfred Clark (from the French Gramophone Company) stated, in a letter written on May 5th 1904 to The Gramophone & Typewriter Ltd (the designation of The Gramophone Company between 1900 and 1907)²²²

Our experience shows that of the discs sold in Portugal about two-fifths are Italian, two-fifths Spanish, and one-fifth Portuguese.²²³

This statement, which can be interpreted as a generalisation, confirms the existence of a Portuguese repertoire. Moreover, one of the company's advertisement published in *Ilustração portuguesa* contributes to support Clark's statement.²²⁴ This included information on several "freshly arrived records" – like sheet music publishers, recording companies promoted their goods focusing on novelty – most of them consisting on imported music from the company's transnational repertoires mixed with a few local recordings.²²⁵

²²¹ Martland, *op. cit.*, 256.

²²² About this designation see Pekka Gronow and Ilpo Saunio, *An International History of the Recording Industry* (Cassell: London/NY, 2000), 10.

²²³ Correspondence between Alfred Clark, Compagnie Française du Gramophone, and the Gramophone & Typewriter's offices in London, 5th May 1904. I would like to thank Susana Belchior for this reference.

²²⁴ *Ilustração portuguesa*, nº 87, 3rd July 1905, II.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

One of the most significant segments of the advertised repertoire consisted of Italian opera arias sung by Enrico Caruso, Mattia Battistini, or Luisa Bresonier (belonging either to the Monarch Red Label or to the Concert Red Label, the prestigious segment of the company's offer).²²⁶ Following this repertoire, the a prominent segment of recordings belonged to instrumental pieces performed by French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese military bands for the company's Concert Black label, a set of discs that contribute to support Clark's previously quoted statement. In the advertisement mentioned above, the band from the French Garde Républicaine recorded several pieces in dance styles, such as a polka (*Triplette*) and a waltz (*Louis XV*) whilst the Milanese Banda Municipale performed an Italian *Marcia Reale* (Royal March).²²⁷ Moreover, the repertoire of Spanish bands such as the Banda de los Ingenieros or the Banda de Alabarderos included instrumental arrangements of *zarzuela* (such as *El baile de Luis Alonso*) and the piece *Corrida de toros* (Bullfight).²²⁸ As for the Portuguese band of the Guarda Municipal de Lisboa (Municipal Guard of Lisbon), the ensemble recorded works by Portuguese composers in choreographic textures (such as the waltz, the gavotte, or the mazurka).²²⁹ According to the company's catalogue of the following year, the same band recorded several Portuguese anthems and marches (such as the *Hino da Carta*, the *Hino da Restauração*, or *A Portuguesa*), as well as the Brazilian national anthem.²³⁰ Furthermore, the band's repertoire was varied and, in the catalogue mentioned above, the same performers recorded arrangements of a number of the operetta *A capital federal* and of the *revista Nicles!...* (by Eduardo Schwalbach and Filipe Duarte, premièred in 1901).²³¹

In the repertoire advertised by *Ilustração Portuguesa*, popular songs constituted a minor segment, which may indicate the emphasis given to prestige in the promotion of phonographic goods. Nonetheless, the publication included the Neapolitan songs *Funiculi, funicula* and *L'Altalena* (both performed by Vittorio Fantone), a *cançoneta* by

²²⁶ *Ilustração portuguesa*, n° 87, 3rd July 1905, II.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, n° 87, 3rd July 1905, II. On *El baile de Luis Alonso* see Ramón Barce, "El sainete lírico (1880–1915)", in Emilio Casares and Celsa Alonso González, *La música española en el siglo XIX* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1995), 228.

²²⁹ *Ilustração portuguesa*, *ibid.*

²³⁰ Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *Catalogo das ultimas placas feitas pela Companhia Franceza do Gramophone* (Lisbon: n.p., 1906), 3.

²³¹ *Ibid.*

the actor/singer Jaime Silva (*Menino de Santo António*) and an “eccentric *cançoneta*” performed by Carlos Nunes (*O cigano e o urso*).²³²

However, one of the company’s advertisements to the “popular gramophone” adds a new layer of complexity to this narrative. In this publication, concentrated exclusively on the “popular gramophone” (comparing its price with other gramophone models), the repertoire was exclusively local and was totally coincident with the *Suplemento ao catalogo de discos portugueses*.²³³ This points to a parallel and segmented promotion strategy carried by the Companhia that attempted to maximise the impact of the advertising campaigns by addressing the taste markers of different social strata. In the beginning of the twentieth century, advertisements emphasising the most prestigious recordings of the company’s international catalogue coexisted with publications promoting cheaper machines and local repertoire.

By relating the contents of the advertisement with the company’s later Portuguese catalogues it is possible to infer that the main trends associated with the selection of repertoires might have had already been in place in previous years. As discussed earlier, the recorded repertoires of this period consisted predominantly on previously mediated pieces, especially songs designated as fado, *cançoneta*, *canção popular* (popular song), songs, spoken sections, or instrumental arrangements of pieces drawn from *revistas* and operettas, instrumental works performed by wind bands (such as marches and anthems), and comical (“eccentric”) monologue or dialogue sketches.²³⁴ Losa and Belchior duly noted that these categories correspond in an almost direct way to the segments presented by Gronow and Englund in their article (“Singing actors, Singing comedians, Choirs and vocal ensembles, Spoken word, Wind bands, Solo instruments, Miscellaneous, Revue artists, comedians, declamation”), which indicates a transnational policy developed by the early recording companies.²³⁵

The Companhia Franceza do Gramophone’s recordings were organised by labels and by physical dimension of the medium (that constrained its run time). By solely using the information printed in its catalogues from 1905 to 1907, the company divided its repertoire corresponding a label to a specific size of the records: 12-inch Monarch

²³² *Ilustração portuguesa*, n° 87, 3rd July 1905, II. On *L’Altalena* see Enrico Careri and Pasquale Scialò (eds), *Studi sulla canzone napoletana classica* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2008), 148. For a short biography of Jaime Silva see António de Sousa Bastos, *Diccionario do teatro portuguez* (Lisbon: Imp. Libânio da Silva, 1908), 273.

²³³ *Ilustração portuguesa*, n° 106, 13th November 1905, III.

²³⁴ Losa and Belchior, *op. cit.*, 9–10.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 9–11 and Gronow and Englung, *op. cit.*, 288–293.

records, 10-inch Concert records, and 7-inch “small plate” records.²³⁶ Nevertheless, the 1907 catalogue included a section exclusively dedicated to the Zonophone label.²³⁷ As mentioned earlier, the company’s advertisements made reference to several label colours (such as Monarch Red and Concert Black), a type of information that began to be included in the 1908 catalogue of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone. In this publication the company offered 12-inch Monarch records (with red, pink, green, and buff labels), 10-inch Concert records (only specifying its red and pink labels for “artistic recordings”), and 10-inch Zonophone records.²³⁸ Moreover, the catalogue does not include the reference to 7-inch records anymore and this separation by label was reflected in the pricing of the discs. The Monarch labels price spanned from 2\$000 to 7 \$500 (a considerable amount by the period’s standards), whereas the Concert labels cost between 1\$400 and 2\$000. Zonophone records were priced at 1\$200, the cheapest of the catalogue, a feature that is related to the history of the company. Initially, the International Zonophone Company was owned by Frank Seaman and manufactured and traded the same goods as The Gramophone Company.²³⁹ However, in the summer of 1903 the former was bought by the latter and became its budget label.²⁴⁰

A major technological innovation that would reshape the recording industry was developed in the beginning of the twentieth century and was reflected on the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone’s catalogues from 1907 onwards: the mass production of double-sided discs. In 1904, the German-based Odeon recording company presented its first double-sided records in a Leipzig fair and this novelty soon became the industry’s standard.²⁴¹ Until that date, the repertoire was recorded either on a cylinder or in a single-sided disc, thus corresponding a single work. Thereafter, the same medium was able to contain two recorded selections, which may have had an impact on the advertisement based in emphasising novelty.²⁴² Moreover, it may have altered the ratio use value/exchange value in a favourable way for the consumer.

²³⁶ Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *Suplemento ao catalogo de discos portugueses* (Lisbon: n.p., 1905); Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *Catalogo das ultimas placas feitas pela Companhia Franceza do Gramophone* (Lisbon: n.p., 1906); Compagnie Française du Gramophone, *Repertoire portuguais: Disques “Gramophone” & disques “Zonophone” double-face* (n.p.: n.p., 1907).

²³⁷ Compagnie Française du Gramophone, *op. cit.*

²³⁸ Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *Novo catalogo de discos portugueses* (Lisbon: n.p., 1908). In the catalogue, there is no reference to the colour of the label of several Monarch records. Because the catalogue specifies label colours in all other Monarch sections, it is possible to infer that the unspecified recordings belong to the Monarch Black label.

²³⁹ Welch and Burt, *op. cit.*, 100–101.

²⁴⁰ Gronow and Englung, *op. cit.*, 285.

²⁴¹ Worgull, *op. cit.*, 4–5.

²⁴² See, for example, *Ilustração portuguesa*, nº 111, 18th December 1905, I.

Although the advertisements promoted double-sided records by the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone since 1905, the first known Portuguese catalogue to include them was published in 1907, which may indicate that the first double-sided records commercialised by the company were imported. Nevertheless, the 1907 catalogue included both single-sided and double-sided records, in which the latter belonged to the Zonophone label.

One of the most valuable sources for the study of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone's Portuguese venture is its 1908 local catalogue. This publication is the most complete of its type available and includes repertoire from the previous years' catalogues. Moreover, it states that 1908 was a fruitful year for recording in which a "truly typical and original repertoire" was selected, including several Portuguese regional musics and fados accompanied with Portuguese guitar (that was presented as a marker of its authenticity).²⁴³ The publication further states that new singers (apart from the "ones who are used to sing in every talking machines") were taken to Paris to record the new selections, pointing to an expansion not only of the repertoire but also of the recording artists.²⁴⁴ Nevertheless, according to Alan Kelly's listings available in the CHARM website, some of these songs were recorded in Lisbon, thus contradicting the publisher's statement, a fact that points to use of the reference to Paris as part of the advertisement strategy by the Companhia.²⁴⁵ The 1908 catalogue appears divided in two main categories: local and imported repertoires. The former was then subdivided into new recordings and reissues whilst the latter mixed criteria such as performers, media types, and labels. Moreover, the Portuguese section of the catalogue (in the parts that advertised both new recordings and reissues) appears to be inconsistently segmented by genre, label or artist.

The publication begins with a section containing songs and *cançonetas*, stating that they had been written specifically for the gramophone by authors like Baptista Diniz (whose production of *cançonetas* has already been discussed in the previous chapter).²⁴⁶ Moreover, the same section included songs designated as fado or waltz and consisted of solo songs (sometimes with a chorus) and duets. The next sections of the

²⁴³ Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *Novo catalogo de discos portugueses* (Lisbon: n.p., 1908), 1.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ For example, the song *O trevo* (catalogue number 62040), mentioned in Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *op. cit.*, 9. See Carlos Machado, "O trevo" (78 rpm, Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, 2-62040). The other side of the disc contains a duet drawn from *A Perichole* (catalogue number 64252).

²⁴⁶ Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *op. cit.*, 2-5.

catalogue contain the “repertoire of fados” of the company, initiated with a set of recordings promoted as the “truly typical fado solely accompanied with the Portuguese guitar,” a symptom a discourse of authenticity associated with this genre from a very early stage.²⁴⁷

As Nery has stated, a significant number of early fados were recorded with piano accompaniment, a feature that, according to Losa, might be associated with the use of a sheet music edition (in its voice and piano form) in the recording session.²⁴⁸ Therefore, this practice may indicate the circulation of musical commodities in which a product of sound recording was based in the sheet music edition. Moreover, as Losa has argued, this can also be associated with the technological limitations associated with the acoustic recordings of the time, in which the piano was selected over the Portuguese guitar for its better ability to project sound, making it an easier instrument to record.²⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the section consisting of the “truly typical fado” included a *cançoneta* and a “popular song” (although in discs of which the other side contained a song designated as fado), an occurrence that reinforces the complexities associated with the naming of musical genres.²⁵⁰

The following section of the catalogue is dedicated to discs that, on one side, contained soloist pieces for the Portuguese guitar (named fado or waltz) and, on the other, songs designated as fado.²⁵¹ The publication then proceeds with its “repertoire of fados,” a section that contains several selections named fados as well as Portuguese urban and rural regional songs (selected in their “absolutely typical fashion”) from places such as Minho, Alentejo, or Coimbra.²⁵² Some of these songs had previously been available in their printed form because they integrated the most important work on ethnology and song collection of the time, the *Cancioneiro de músicas populares* (by César das Neves and Gualdino de Campos). However, this section also included *cançonetas*, operetta extracts and a Neapolitan song (*Oh Maria oh Maria!*), displaying a

²⁴⁷ Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *op. cit.*, 5–6. An interesting occurrence in this catalogue is the presence of Alfredo Mântua both as an accompanist on guitar and as a composer, a symptom of the accumulation of roles in the Portuguese musical scene of the time.

²⁴⁸ Rui Vieira Nery, *Para uma história do Fado* (Lisbon: Público/Corda Seca, 2004), 138–140 and Leonor Losa, “Nós humanizámos a indústria”: reconfiguração de produção fonográfica e musical em Portugal na década de 60, Master’s thesis (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2009), 36–37.

²⁴⁹ Leonor Losa, personal communication, 4th July 2010.

²⁵⁰ Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *op. cit.*, 5–6.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 6–7.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 7–10.

heterogeneous panorama that contributes to support the theory that the term fado was many times used as a generic synonym for song.²⁵³

Until this point, the catalogue consists exclusively on 10-inch double-face Concert label records. The following section includes a small number of Portuguese Monarch 12-inch double-sided records, in which a Portuguese version of the Neapolitan song *Torna Maggio* is included as well as several theatrical selections.²⁵⁴ The recordings of operatic arias and a duet by Portuguese performers, namely the *Desgarrada* of Alfredo Keil's *Serrana*, and Puccini's "Mi chiamano Mimi" (drawn from *La bohème*) and "Vissi d'arte" (drawn from *Tosca*) stand out, although the production of local recordings with operatic repertoire remained a minor practice at the time.²⁵⁵ The company mentioned that these discs were recorded with a large orchestra, which might indicate their prestigious status in the company's local catalogue.²⁵⁶

In the consulted catalogues published by Pathé and the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone it is clearly stated when a selection was recorded with an orchestral accompaniment, a device that was probably used to distinguish them from the records accompanied by piano reductions (arguably the most frequent at the time). However, recording an orchestra in the period of early phonography raised complex issues. According to Suisman, musical works suffered significant transformations in their process of commodification. In this sense, phonographic recordings were subjected to a process of transformation (by substituting instruments that did not record well, such as cello and double-basses with tubas and trombones) that worked in a parallel way to the mechanisms associated with the arrangement of theatrical songs for the keyboard.²⁵⁷ Moreover,

The scaled-down orchestra backing the singer stood in unconventional positions crowded around the recording horn. Every connection in the process was mechanical – from the vibrating column of air in the horn, to the vibrating

²⁵³ Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *op. cit.*, 7–10. It is admissible that *Oh Maria oh Maria!* is the song *Maria Mari*, written in 1899 by Eduardo di Capua and Vincenzo Russo. See Carlos Machado, "Oh Maria oh Maria!" (78 rpm, Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, 2–62045). Moreover, the same section of the catalogue includes a song intitled *Giripiti Giripitá*, that might be a parody of *Funiculi, funicula*. See Carlos Machado, "Giripiti Giripitá" (78 rpm, Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, 2–62042).

²⁵⁴ Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *op. cit.*, 10–11.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ Suisman, *op. cit.*, 23. Nevertheless, Martland argues that the variety of musical instruments and the spectrum of frequencies captured by mechanical recording was wider than some authors claimed it to be. See Peter Martland, *Since Records Began: EMI, the First 100 Years*, 14.

diaphragm in the recording arm, to the grooves carved in wax by a vibrating needle, to the playback needle later vibrating in the same grooves, to the vibrating column of air emerging from the morning glory horn.²⁵⁸

According to Suisman and Brown, the acoustic recording of an orchestra implied a transformation of the means involved, such as in adapting an orchestral piece to a sheet music marketable edition. This changed the music and maximised its potential for specifically intended aims. Therefore, Adorno's statement in which phonography only allowed to store and record music "that was already in existence before the phonograph record and is not significantly altered by it" is highly problematic when dealing with these early recordings.²⁵⁹

Returning to the discussion of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone's 1908 catalogue, the publication proceeds with a set of 10-inch Concert label instrumental recordings of dances (such as polkas, mazurkas, marches, waltzes), anthems and rhapsodies performed by the band of the Guarda Municipal de Lisboa.²⁶⁰ The following section concentrates mainly on spoken records (the "eccentric and monologue" category) and precedes a segment of reissues (both in the Concert and in the Zonophone labels).²⁶¹ When double-sided discs became widely available, several record companies initiated the reissue of former single-sided records in the latest format. Therefore, a significant part of repertoire advertised in the company's 1908 catalogue had already been included in previous publications as single-sided recordings.²⁶² This indicates a commercial strategy that attempts to maximise the profit generated by the company's repertoire that focused on recording novelties (from theatrical plays, for instance) and on reissuing older recordings. These reissues included performers like Avelino Baptista, Duarte Silva, Manassés de Lacerda, Reinaldo Varela, César Nunes, Almeida Cruz, or Eduardo Barreiros, Jaime Silva, and Júlia Mendes. Moreover, several double-sided discs

²⁵⁸ Lee B. Brown, "Phonography, rock records, and the ontology of recorded music", *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 58/4 (2000), 362.

²⁵⁹ Theodor W. Adorno, "The form of the phonograph record", *October*, 55 (1990), 57.

²⁶⁰ Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *op. cit.*, 11–12.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 12–13.

²⁶² Compagnie Française du Gramophone, *Repertoire portuguais: Disques "Gramophone" & disques "Zonophone" double-face* (n.p.: n.p., 1907) and Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *op. cit.* For example, Avelino Baptista's *Dá-me um beijo* and *Fado de Pedrouços* were included in the 1907 catalogue as 10-inch single-sided records and were both released as a part of a double-sided record of the same dimension the following year, maintaining their catalogue numbers. See Avelino Baptista,, *Dá-me um beijo* (78 rpm, Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, G 62915), Baptista, *Fado de Pedrouços* (78 rpm, Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, G 62910), and Baptista, *Dá-me um beijo/ Fado de Pedrouços* (78 rpm, Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, 62915/62910).

belonging to the 1907 Compagnie Française du Gramophone catalogue were included in the following year's edition.²⁶³

The section of the Portuguese 1908 catalogue that consists of imported repertoires begins with a section that consists of 10-inch Concert Label records by several European bands and orchestras, such as the band of the Garde Républicaine, the Orchestre Bosc du Bal Tabarin (from a Parisian entertainment venue bearing the same name), the Band of the Coldstream Guards, or the orchestra of Milan's Scala (performing instrumental operatic pieces).²⁶⁴ Baroque to Romantic chamber music occupies the next section of the catalogue, divided according to the constitution of the ensemble (trio, quartet, quintet) followed by Jan Kubelik's and Pablo Sarasate's recordings of soloist repertoires.²⁶⁵ The catalogue then enumerates several 12-inch Monarch discs with band and orchestral selections, some of them including soloist passages, leading to a section of "artistic recordings" (10-inch Concert discs), mainly containing operatic arias, duets, quartets, and choruses.²⁶⁶ These artistic recordings also included instrumental pieces, such as *La Marseillaise* or the Russian National anthem, as well as contradances and Bach-Gounod's *Ave Maria*.²⁶⁷ Several solo piano pieces were subsequently advertised, both in the Concert and in the Monarch labels, followed by operatic extracts belonging to the latter series.²⁶⁸

The catalogue finishes with several subsections of operatic selections performed by famous singers and recorded in single-sided discs.²⁶⁹ This section includes both Monarch and Concert labels, the former bearing red and pink labels and the latter printed with red, pink, green and buff labels. Moreover, the price for these single-sided records was higher than for the double-sided records contained in the catalogue (and proportional to the number of soloists involved). This points to a strategy of directing these recordings to a high-end market, traditionally associated with the consumption of operatic spectacles (or with enough economic capital to buy these records as a strategy of social distinction). Therefore, the association of a segment of the operatic repertoire with forms of entertainment that, to a certain extent, reflected a particular type of

²⁶³ Such as Guarda Municipal de Lisboa, *Beatriz/Hymno dos fenianos* (78 rpm, Zonophone, 50096/50098).

²⁶⁴ Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *op. cit.*, 19–22.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 24–27.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 24–27.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 27–28.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 28–32.

cultural capital (its “high-art” segment) played a key role in the marketing strategy for these recordings.

In analysing Victor’s Red Seal recordings, Suisman states that the conspicuous and systematic differentiation of these records through their distinct packaging and pricing can be interpreted as the company’s strategy to enhance the symbolic meaning (or symbolic capital, to use Bourdieu’s terminology) of these commodities.²⁷⁰ Furthermore, the printing of a separate catalogue for Red Label records and their distinctive label colour contributed to support the claim made by the companies (The Gramophone Company and Victor) and their dealers that these goods were qualitatively distinct from other commercial recordings.²⁷¹ Consequently, the medium reflected and incorporated a promotion strategy that relied on the symbolic capital of these recordings as a form of market segmentation. In this case, each single sided disc was promoted as containing a “single and singular music performance”, thus aiming to create a surrogate aura in the age of the mechanical reproduction of the work of art.²⁷² In Suisman’s analysis

The illusion that a single disc represented a single self-contained work was logical enough and easy to maintain when records were pressed with music on only one side, as was the case until 1908. Notably, however, even after double-sided records became the industry standard, Victor continued to press Red Seal records – and only Red Seal – in their single-sided form until 1923, for no other reason than to present each as a singular work of art. Taken to its logical extreme, this aim even implied a kind of counter-narrative to consumer society itself – an illusion of uniqueness based on mass-produced intimacy.²⁷³

This clearly echoes Adorno’s notion of pseudo-individuation stated in his essay “On popular music”, although repositioning it in a realm in which recorded opera occupied a dominant position. This is related with the process of transforming music (whether art music or popular music) into a commodity, in this case, a sound recording.²⁷⁴ Moreover, the mentioning of the American Victor company and The Gramophone Company in the same category points to strong transatlantic commercial relations between these major

²⁷⁰ David Suisman, *Selling Sounds: The Commercial Revolution in American Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 111.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*

²⁷² Suisman, *op. cit.*, 111.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁴ Theodor W. Adorno, “On popular music”, in Richard Leppert (ed.) *Essays on Music: Theodor W. Adorno* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 437–470.

companies, that formalised their relationship and divided the world market between them in an agreement signed in June 1907.²⁷⁵

The Companhia Franceza do Gramophone's implementation in Portugal initially consisted in the trading of its products through several local agents, rapidly moving to the establishment of an exclusive commercial space to sell its products. Moreover, this move was accompanied by an intense advertising campaign that promoted the commodities (gramophones, accessories, and discs) as well as the recorded repertoire. This repertoire comprises works developed in several major areas, namely the local catalogue and the imported (or cosmopolitan) recordings, displaying both the transnational role of The Gramophone Company as well as its dependence on local repertoires to generate profit. These recordings predominantly consisted of repertoire that had been presented in other contexts, and were segmented according to their intended audience, playing an important role in the company's implementation strategy in Portugal as well as in other markets.

Local Entrepreneurs in the Portuguese Phonographic Market: Castelo Branco and Simplex

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Sociedade Fabricante de Discos – Disco Simplex C. B., a recording company that created a catalogue containing a significant number of discs, was established in Lisbon.²⁷⁶ This entrepreneurial effort was driven by the local businessman José Castelo Branco and began as a store in the Rua de Santo Antão. This commercial venue originally imported Dutch bicycles, goods the company advertised regularly in the coeval periodicals. At the time, bicycles were being introduced in several countries as a fashionable and modern commodity, a process that parallels the creation of a market for phonographic products.²⁷⁷ In 1905, Simplex started to advertise, along with bicycles, records and talking machines. This evidences an expansion of the company's business to other commodities/technologies.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁵ Frank Hoffman, *Encyclopedia of Recorded Sound* (London/NY: Routledge, 2004), 901.

²⁷⁶ A pioneering study of this company was published by Losa and Belchior: "The Introduction of phonogram market in Portugal: Lindström labels and local traders (1879–1925)", in Pekka Gronow and Christiane Hofer (eds), *The Lindström Project: Contributions to the history of the record industry: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schallplattenindustrie*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Gesellschaft für Historische Tonträger, 2010), 7–11.

²⁷⁷ G. B. Norcliffe, *The Ride to Modernity: The Bicycle in Canada, 1869–1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

²⁷⁸ See *Ilustração portuguesa*, 2nd series, n° 38, 12th November 1906; n°113, 20th April 1908.

According to a photograph taken by Joshua Benoliel at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Simplex store traded in phonographic products (the poster mentioned double-face records) from its own catalogue and from the German-based Odeon label.²⁷⁹ This widens the geographic spectrum of the discussion of the international recording companies active in Portugal that, up to this point, were based either in France (such as Pathé) or in Britain (such as The Gramophone Company, whose pressing plant was situated in Hannover – although the construction of a new facility in Hayes started in 1907). Losa and Belchior emphasise the role German labels played in this period by stating that “during the first decades of the 20th century, the activities of German labels was the engine that made possible the establishment of a market of phonograms in Portugal.”²⁸⁰ Moreover, they attribute this to “the lack of investment on the part of international companies and the poor system of agencing and distribution of phonograms” in this country during this period.²⁸¹

When surveying the coeval periodicals it is possible to date Simplex’s advertisement of phonograms and talking machines at 1905; in August of the following year, the *Boletim da propriedade industrial* (mentioned above) included the company’s registration for a record brand.²⁸² According to the surviving discs, Simplex’s output mirrors the offer of the other recording companies in Portugal, concentrating on theatrical songs (mainly extracted from the *revista*) performed by people like Duarte Silva, Eduardo Barreiros, Isabel Costa, Júlia Mendes, or Reinaldo Varela.²⁸³ This reinforces that the recording industry in Portugal relied on a small number of artists that recorded regularly and whose contracts did not contemplate exclusivity (in either artist or repertoire). Losa and Belchior further noted the Portuguese agents’ dependence on imported goods and technicians, which motivated a symbiotic relation between local traders and foreign companies. Therefore, as a result of the absence of recording equipment and engineers in Portugal (a fact that prevented local record publishers from producing their own catalogue), a mutually beneficial relationship between foreign companies and small Portuguese record publishers was established.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁹ See the Municipal Archive of Lisbon, shelfmark PT/AMLSB/AF/JBN/000985.

²⁸⁰ Losa and Belchior, *op. cit.*, 10.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 8. The brand was registered not by Castello Branco, but by the German Charles Timm and its logo was a bicycle, just as the one printed in the advertisement. See Ministério das Obras Públicas, Comercio e Industria. Repartição da Industria, *Boletim da propriedade industrial*, August 1906, 316.

²⁸³ Losa and Belchior, *op. cit.*, 10.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

Due to this dependence, José Castelo Branco had to rely in foreign companies to record and release the repertoire of Simplex. This resulted in what Losa and Belchior designated by a “mixed series” of recordings. In this context, companies such as Beka, Odeon, or Homophon used specific prefixes to identify Portuguese recordings in their catalogues.²⁸⁵ Conversely, catalogue or matrix numbers of a few Portuguese labels conformed to the numerical series of the transnational companies’ catalogues.²⁸⁶ This meant that Portuguese recordings were made available by both local store labels and by international companies.²⁸⁷ Losa and Belchior give the example of a 1905 group of Simplex and Homophon records that bear a correspondence between the numbers stamped in the mirror of the disc, pointing to their recording by an Homophon engineer (identified by Gronow as Hermann Eisner, then manager/owner and technical director of the company) in a single expedition that took place in May 1905.²⁸⁸ Moreover, both the Simplex and Homophon phonograms recorded in 1905 started by an announcement (a common practice at the time, advertising the company/retailer and identifying the recording) saying “Disco Simplex,” a fact that indicates the intention of releasing these recordings by the former company.²⁸⁹ Furthermore, this occurrence and the fact that the recordings were made by the same technician reinforces the hypothesis that the discs released by both companies were manufactured in the same pressing plant.²⁹⁰

Therefore, Simplex records followed a different business model than the transnational recording companies (such as Pathé or The Gramophone Company), creating a partnership with foreign companies in order to record and publish their discs. Furthermore, the Portuguese market paralleled other peripheral markets with regard to the relation between local and multinational companies. In this context, the growth of a recording market relied on the activity of a small number of local entrepreneurs that established a close relationship with German-based companies, mainly associated with the Carl Lindström group.²⁹¹ This international dynamic, in which commercial interests were shared and negotiated between local and foreign companies, was the strategy adopted by these agents, revealing a close relationship between them, that markedly

²⁸⁵ Losa and Belchior, *op. cit.*, 8.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 8–10.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 10. About Carl Lindström see Peter Wicke, “Carl Lindström AG”, in John Shepherd, *et al.*, *Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World*, vol. 1 (Media, Industry and Society) (London/NY: Continuum, 2003), 698–699.

differs from the “more distant and imposing” position adopted by both French and English companies.²⁹²

Conclusion

In the last two chapters this thesis strove to display the circulation of commodities in the Portuguese entertainment market, portraying it as a process in which technology, class, and gender are embedded. At the time, several goods were marketed as a complement to each other, pointing to the presence of an articulated entertainment system in which the same theatrical show (itself a cultural good) generated a set of associated commodities. These products extended the scope of the musical theatre to the city’s streets as well as to domestic spaces, incorporating its repertoire in various contexts of everyday life.

The process of commodification of music was essential for the dissemination of this repertoire either in its libretto, sheet music or sound recording formats. In addition, theatrical performances generated goods (such as posters or postcards) that were associated with the direct advertisement strategies of the their entrepreneurs. Another matter addressed in this chapter was the introduction of mechanical music and its implications in the Portuguese market in its two main forms, mechanical instruments and phonography. At the time, the possibility of music reproduction, promoted as an embodiment of modernity, helped to reconfigure domestic space and time around new technologies, such as the player piano or the gramophone. This addition allowed for a redistribution of cultural capital in the emergent networks. The dialectic of the local and the global plays a fundamental role in the Portuguese phonographic market. For example, multinational companies recorded (and relied) on local repertoires to maximise their profit and local agents relied on international companies to supply them with goods and technicians to create their own catalogue.

An important issue in the commodification of music is its contribution to the permanence of the mostly ephemeral repertoire extracted from operettas and *revistas*. Moreover, the commodification of music allowed for consumers to reduce their dependence on live theatrical performances. Nevertheless, most of the musical numbers released as sheet music and/or phonographic records (as well as player piano rolls) were extracted from successful productions that were reprised in Lisbon’s theatres, existing

²⁹² Losa and Belchior, *op. cit.*, 10.

an almost causal relation between theatrical performance and publication. Nevertheless, this causal relation has to be reframed with the arrival of phonography. For instance, the song “Fado novo do Avelino”, a number of the *revista Beijos de burro* (premiered in the Teatro Chalet do Rato in 1903), was recorded and released by the American Victor company in 1918 by Manuel Carvalho.²⁹³ Although having been recorded in Camden, New Jersey, the record was part of the company’s “Imported and overseas” category and may have been destined to Portuguese-speaking immigrant communities in the United States.²⁹⁴ This points to a growing autonomy of the recorded repertoire in relation to its live performances, and introduces a new level in the relation between theatrical presentation and publication, an argument reinforced by policy of reissues carried by the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone mentioned above.

²⁹³ Manuel Carvalho, *Fado novo do Avelino* (78 rpm, Victor, 7217-B, 1918). See the Encyclopedic Discography of Victor Recordings, http://victor.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/object/detail/45306/Victor_72117 (20 September 2010).

²⁹⁴ For a discussion on this issue see Pekka Gronow and Ilpo Saunio, *An International History of the Recording Industry* (Cassell: London/NY, 2000), 46–47.

Chapter 5. Studying the Nation: Folklorisation and Music Collecting in Portugal

Introduction

This chapter examines the development of a network of scientific approaches and disciplines that contributed to the representations of Portugal as a nation-state. From the last third of the nineteenth century onwards the establishment of a broad field of studies whose object was the Portuguese nation, such as geography, geology, archaeology, ethnology, philology, and folklore studies. These heterogeneous fields played a key role in establishing what was promoted as a concept of the Portuguese nation that was solidly grounded in scientific data.

The interaction between Portuguese agents and a transnational scientific field is crucial in understanding the shift from a Romantic notion of the nation, associated with the Herderian field of literary traditions, towards a “scientific” view that gave prominence to ethnicity or geography. A consequence of this shift that occupied an important place in late nineteenth-century discourse was the return of a theory that places the roots of the Portuguese nation in the tribe of the Lusitani (portrayed either as Celtic or pre-Celtic Indo-Europeans). This perspective contradicts the view presented by Alexandre Herculano in the first half of the nineteenth century through which Portugal was a product of the “political action of the medieval aristocracy.”¹ According to Herculano, Portugal was constituted as a nation in the twelfth century by gaining independence from León and Castile through the action of the local nobility. Tracing back the origin of Portugal to a pre-Roman period relied on the data produced by archaeology, a recent discipline at the time. These competing perspectives concerning Portugal provide a valuable insight into the mechanisms involved in the constitution of the historical past as an organised realm, “assembled and arranged into sets of evidence and data which are mediated by the organisation of their presentation as texts, images or artefacts.”²

¹ José Manuel Sobral, “Race and space in the interpretation of Portugal: The North-South division and representations of Portuguese national identity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries”, in Sharon R. Roseman and Shawn S. Parkhurst (eds), *Recasting Culture and Space in Iberian Contexts* (NY: SUNY Press, 2008), 209 and João Leal, *Etnografias portuguesas (1870–1970): cultura popular e identidade nacional* (Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 2000), 63–82.

² Michael Pickering, *History, Experience and Cultural Studies* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd.), 6.

The institution of anthropology as an academic discipline in Portugal and the creation of museological sites presenting archaeological and ethnological collections evidence the scientific transformations of the time. Moreover, a complex relation between an ethnology predominantly directed towards collecting data from the rural areas of Portugal and the imperial background of the Portuguese nation surfaces. This thesis problematises George Stocking's proposed distinction between nation-building anthropologies ("the study of the internal peasant others who composed the nation") and empire-building anthropologies ("the study of more distant others, either overseas or farther back in European history"), a schema imported by Leal and adapted to the Portuguese context.³ Furthermore, the construction and naturalisation of the colonial Other as well as its incorporation in the coeval public discourse was a strategic move for the promotion of the imagery of the Portuguese Empire.

According to Branco and Castelo-Branco, folklorisation is "the process of construction and institutionalisation of performative practices, perceived as traditional, and constituted by fragments drawn from popular culture, mainly from rural areas."⁴ The fragmentary nature of this process points to the prominent role ethnographers played in the construction of the popular (or in the "nationalisation of the people") through the "selective appropriation" of elements, a tendency that can be framed as a civic task associated with the new forms of bourgeois thought that emerged in the last third of the nineteenth century.⁵ The reliance of folklorisation on an essentialist dichotomy between rural and urban contexts, a construction that embodies a particular perspective on the nation and its popular culture, is reflected in several sources of the time.

This chapter strives to expand the scope of my thesis, thus far predominantly focused on products of the urban theatrical market, through the analysis of the integration of materials associated with a ruralist notion of popular culture in the coeval market for cultural goods. Moreover, this thesis will discuss folklorist perspectives from a musicological perspective. In this process, the circulation of traditional repertoires as sheet music and as sound recordings might have facilitated the establishment and

³ George W. Stocking, Jr., "Afterword: A view from the center", *Ethnos*, 47/1-2 (1982), 172 and Leal, *op. cit.*, 27-29.

⁴ Jorge Freitas Branco and Salwa Castelo-Branco (eds), *Vozes do povo: a folclorização em Portugal* (Oeiras: Celta Editora, 2003), 1.

⁵ Jorge Freitas Branco, "A fluidez dos limites: Discurso etnográfico e movimento folclórico em Portugal", *Etnográfica*, 3/1 (1999), 27.

consolidation of a symbolically efficient idea of nationhood through leisure activities. This promoted the internalisation of various features of a heterogeneous Portugal by several sectors of the population. This move stands as both a consequence of and as a complement to the effort of grounding the Portuguese nation on scientific knowledge.

Popular Traditions and Textual Analysis: The First Scientific Efforts of Portuguese Ethnology

According to Jorge Dias' groundbreaking work on the history of Portuguese ethnology, the first generation of Portuguese researchers embodied what he designated by its philological-positivist period.⁶ These ethnologists constituted a research field that, albeit being conscious of their dilettantism, drew from distinct approaches and methodologies that were then circulating in Europe to systematise the study of popular culture.⁷ At the time, the paradigm of positivist science interacted with the historicist Romantic ideals of nationalism established in the earlier part of the nineteenth century.⁸ Furthermore, the presentation of the nation as a "scientific fact" was influential in establishing competing narratives about the origins of Portugal, a process that paralleled the scientific developments in other countries.⁹ In this process, positivist thinkers played a key role in the establishment of a discourse in which the populations of modern states were presented to the idea of belonging to one shared background, contributing to the naturalisation of the nation-state as a form of social bond.¹⁰ Moreover, the folklorist movement was associated with ideas such as civic culture and patriotism in the Portuguese liberal state.

The foremost researchers in this field were Teófilo Braga (1843–1924), Adolfo Coelho (1847–1919), Consiglieri Pedroso (1851–1910), and Leite de Vasconcelos (1858–1941).¹¹ Braga was a scholar who worked mainly on literary and historical subjects (such as the history of Portuguese literature and theatre) and developed a

⁶ Jorge Dias, "Bosquejo histórico da etnografia portuguesa", *Revista Portuguesa de Filologia*, 2 (1952), 1.

⁷ Branco, *op. cit.*, 26, João Leal, *Antropologia em Portugal: mestres, percursos e transições* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2006), 11, and João de Pina Cabral, "A antropologia em Portugal hoje", in Pina Cabral, *Os contextos da antropologia*, (Lisbon: Difel, 1991), 23–26.

⁸ Rui Ramos, "A ciência do povo e as origens do estado cultural", in Branco and Castelo-Branco (eds), *Vozes do povo: a folclorização em Portugal* (Oeiras: Celta Editora, 2003), 26–27. On this issue see Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital: 1848–1875* (London: Abacus, 2004), 294–323.

⁹ Ramos, *ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

political career as a republican. Moreover, Braga, despite his affiliation with a Romantic perspective in an earlier stage of his academic career, was a key thinker in the dissemination of positivist ideas in Portugal. For instance, he edited, with the doctor and psychiatrist Júlio de Matos (1856–1922), the journal *O positivismo: revista de filosofia* (published in Porto between 1878 and 1884). Adolfo Coelho (like Braga), was associated with the *Geração de 70*, having delivered one of the public lectures of the Democratic Conferences held in the Casino Lisbonense before their interdiction, and his work was mainly concentrated in pedagogy, linguistics, and ethnology. Pedroso developed his research predominantly in the fields of oral literature and popular mythology and pursued a career as a republican politician. Vasconcelos, despite his training in the natural sciences and in medicine, concentrated his research efforts in philology, ethnology, and archaeology. This constellation of individuals drew on distinct epistemological frameworks to study specific traits of vernacular culture. Apart from a general positivist framework and a shared reference to comparative mythology, several of these authors (likes Teófilo Braga or Adolfo Coelho) were primordially influenced by pre-evolutionist diffusionist trends, mainly associated with the theories of Theodor Benfey (1809–81) or François Lenormant (1837–83), while some works of researchers like Pedroso and Coelho draw from evolutionist paradigms.¹²

Moreover, the employment of several methodologies (and, consequently, of their epistemological assumptions) by various researchers reinforces the idea of heterogeneity in the constitution of ethnology as a scientific field. For instance, the work of Teófilo Braga was chiefly based on bibliographic studies and on secondary sources, whereas Leite de Vasconcelos collected his data directly from the rural populations, positioning this contact as the kernel of his ethnographic research.¹³ Therefore, the scarcity of direct contact between most of the scholars with the performers of popular culture was key in presenting “the people” as an empty signifier that occupied an important space in the ideological apparatus of the scientific field.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the constitution of “the people” as an empty signifier was precisely what held the several elements of the symbolic network of ethnology in place.

According to Leal, the dominant ethnological perspective during the 1870s and 1880s was associated with the construction and promotion of Portuguese popular

¹² João Leal, *Etnografias portuguesas (1870–1970)*, 42–43.

¹³ Ramos, *op. cit.*, 28 and Leal, *Antropologia em Portugal: mestres, percursos e transições*, 103.

¹⁴ Leal, *op. cit.*, 102 and Ernesto Laclau, *On Populist Reason*, (London/NY:Verso, 2007), 171.

culture as a unified and homogeneous entity, revealing a strong concern with the national level.¹⁵ By the end of the nineteenth century and with the rise of ethnographic methodologies, this stance was progressively substituted by a perspective that favoured internal diversity, and shifted its emphasis from the national to the regional and local levels.¹⁶

However, despite the epistemological and methodological heterogeneity associated with the work of the scholars mentioned above, these scholars tended to share several characteristics. During the 1870s and 1880s a textual approach to the idea of popular culture supported the almost exclusive interest on popular literature (consisting on the analysis of popular poetry, especially balladry and songs lyrics, as well as folk tales) and on popular traditions (such as beliefs, cyclical festivities or rites of passage).¹⁷ This resonates with the philological work that was being undertaken in other countries and is permeated by a comparative approach to mythology.

In this area, several collections of Portuguese folk tales were published as books or in periodicals from the late 1870s onwards. In 1879 Coelho published his *Contos populares portugueses*, a symbolic marker for the study of Portuguese popular culture.¹⁸ In 1882, Pedroso's collection was published, in English translation, by The Folk-Lore Society, pointing to a transnational interest on this subject matter.¹⁹ Moreover, one of the vice-presidents of the institution at the time was Edward Burnett Tylor, a pioneer of evolutionist anthropology.²⁰ In the following year, Braga published in Porto his two-volume collection of folk tales. Leite de Vasconcelos' noteworthy folk tale collection, despite being one of the richest works in this field, was published posthumously.²¹ Moreover, Leite de Vasconcelos published an article in his *Revista Lusitana* on popular songs that examined their lyrics, addressing form and vocabulary and their "spontaneity" and "simplicity."²² The presentation of popular songs as a "rich

¹⁵ Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870–1970)*, 55 and Leal, *Antropologia em Portugal: mestres, percursos e transições*, 114.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870–1970)*, 41. See Teófilo Braga, *Cancioneiro e romanceiro geral português* (Porto: Typographia Lusitana, 1867).

¹⁸ Adolfo Coelho, *Contos populares portugueses* (Lisbon: P. Plantier, 1879).

¹⁹ Consiglieri Pedroso, *Portuguese Folk-Tales* (London: The Folk-Lore Society, 1882) and Leal, *Antropologia em Portugal: mestres, percursos e transições*, 15.

²⁰ On E.B. Tylor see George W. Stocking, Jr., *Race, Culture, and Evolution* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 69–109.

²¹ Teófilo Braga, *Contos tradicionais do povo português*, 2 vols (Livraria Universal de Magalhães & Moniz, 1883) and Leite de Vasconcelos, *Contos populares e lendas*, 2 vols (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1963/1966).

²² Leite de Vasconcelos, "Observações sobre as cantigas populares", *Revista Lusitana*, 1 (1889), 143–157.

monument simultaneously aesthetic and historical” points to the generally positive view of popular culture that circulated amongst the first generation of Portuguese ethnologists.²³ Despite an initial interest on texts (that can be a symptom of a Romantic and Herderian concept of nationalism), several researchers mentioned above accompanied the tendency to expand the subject matter of the field of ethnology that developed towards the end of the century, addressing topics such as kinship or material culture. Moreover, this approach tended to perceive popular culture as a trace of the past (portrayed within an ethnogenealogical perspective), and was predominantly grounded in the capture of what was perceived as the “authentic tradition,” what was peculiar, picturesque, or unusual.²⁴

This panorama underwent a significant change in the last decade of the nineteenth century, favouring a less textual approach to popular culture, and expanding its scope beyond popular literature to also include art, architecture, technologies, and forms of economic and social life.²⁵ This multiplicity points to a more complex view of popular culture in the 1890s in which evolutionist theories played a key role. According to Leal, this shift is clear in the work of Adolfo Coelho and in the research endeavours of Rocha Peixoto (1868–1909). In this period, marked by the traumatic event of the British Ultimatum of 1890, the generally favourable view of popular culture gave way to a more pessimistic perspective that presented several of its traits as symptoms of the Portuguese decadence.²⁶ Furthermore, while most of the scholars discussed above were based in Lisbon, Rocha Peixoto developed his work in Porto, a city in which a network of scholars studied history, economy, ethnology, philology, archaeology, anthropology, and the natural sciences.²⁷ In this context, Peixoto strove to establish a scientific basis for an approach in which natural history and physical anthropology were key in determining the ethnicity and the “ethnic psychology” of the Portuguese people.²⁸ Moreover, Peixoto’s work epitomises the expansion of popular culture as a subject matter as well as the porosity of the academic disciplines.

In a short text possibly dated from 1908 and published posthumously Peixoto discusses illustrated postcards and addresses ethnographic fidelity in this type of

²³ Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, 143.

²⁴ Leal, *Antropologia em Portugal*, 178.

²⁵ Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870–1970)*, 43.

²⁶ Leal, *op. cit.*, 56.

²⁷ Augusto Santos Silva, “O Porto em busca da Renascença (1880–1911)”, *Penélope: revista de história e ciências sociais*, 17 (1997), 54.

²⁸ Santos Silva, *op. cit.*, 54–55 and Leal, *op. cit.*, 89–90.

object.²⁹ Peixoto considers how technological innovations and the mass production of postcards might have been articulated with ethnological practices in the beginning of the twentieth century. In this text, he describes the postcard as a mass-produced commodity and as an “iconic statement” of the epoch.³⁰ Subsequently, Peixoto points to the coexistence of two types of postcards depicting popular customs, those that faithfully reproduce a realistic scene and the ones that “sacrifice reality” for aesthetic purposes.³¹ Thus, Peixoto values an aesthetic based on authenticity, which points to the role that realistic depiction played in the scientific (as well as in the artistic) field of the time. Peixoto then enumerates several series of postcards he considers of ethnographic and archaeological value in Portugal and abroad. His discussion includes a collection published in Coimbra by Papelaria Borges from which I was able to access two postcards that depicted musical activities. The first of these postcards portrays a group constituted by a bagpiper, two percussionists (on snare and bass drum, respectively) and several male spectators from the rural areas near Coimbra.³² The second postcard presents a *serenata*, a musical event associated with the student life of the University of Coimbra, in which five male students from this institution (wearing their traditional academic robes) are portrayed playing Portuguese guitar, guitar, and what appears to be a mandolin.³³ These postcards share a realistic approach to the depiction of the people involved, a feature that is valued by Peixoto throughout his text, and not a conventional aestheticisation (or staging) of the popular.

Another of Rocha Peixoto’s interests was the study of the Portuguese “ethnic psychology,” a developing area at the time. Peixoto examines this through the analysis of popular culture, perceived by him as a “strategic domain for the demonstration of the decadence of Portugal and of the Portuguese people,” a negative position that was expressed in his essay “O cruel e triste fado”, published in 1907.³⁴ In this article, Peixoto uses the expression *fado* to mean both the belief in fate, a trait he presents as a characteristic of the Portuguese temperament, as well as the popular songs.³⁵ Moreover, Peixoto relates the Portuguese history with the atropism of its people, embodied in the

²⁹ Rocha Peixoto, “A arqueologia e a etnografia nos bilhetes postais”, *Etnográfica*, 4/1 (2000), 185–188.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 186.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Coimbra, o gaitero, costume dos arrabaldes* [postcard], Coimbra, Pap. Borges, [1904]. Record number Fel_028588-AL-RE, ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Bildarchiv, Feller Collection.

³³ *Coimbra, Uma serenata d’estudantes* [postcard], Coimbra, Pap. Borges, [1904]. Record number Fel_028589-AL-RE, ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Bildarchiv, Feller Collection.

³⁴ Leal, introduction to Rocha Peixoto “O cruel e triste fado”, *Etnográfica*, 1/2 (1997), 332.

³⁵ Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870–1970)*, 43.

fado as song, which he believes to “dramatically express the substance of the national soul.”³⁶ He finishes by presenting a group of men passing by and singing a *fado* (a song that, for him, contained the whole temperament of the Portuguese people, presented as dirty, hypocrite, vagrant or wheeler-dealer) as the embodiment of the motherland.³⁷

This profoundly pessimistic view of Portugal as a nation as well as the surfacing of decadence as an aesthetic trope (a feature that was not exclusive of Portuguese culture) in the 1890s can be associated with the events that undermined the country’s autonomy in the international arena as well as in the national context, such as the British Ultimatum of 1890 and the financial crisis of 1891. This period was considered a moment of decadence of a nation that once had what was perceived as glorious imperial age. Therefore, the colonial empire was key in this process and the British Ultimatum occupied a central place in the construction/constriction of national identity that is associated with the encounter with the Other. This specific event raised awareness towards the Empire during a time when colonialism was being embedded within a nationalist framework and its solution demarcated both the geographical and symbolic boundaries of the Portuguese empire.

Ethnology and the Portuguese Empire

It may seem that Portuguese ethnology was, essentially, a nation-building anthropology, a view that Leal imported from George Stocking’s work. Nevertheless, in a recent work that addresses several criticisms of his perspective, Leal argues that, “although explicitly addressing issues related to Portuguese folk culture, Portuguese anthropologists were implicitly commenting on the imperial condition of Portugal.”³⁸ As stated above, the ethnographic work developed by the first generation of Portuguese ethnologists concentrated mainly on the rural areas of the country. Nevertheless, several scientific endeavours in other areas, such as the cartographic expeditions to Africa and India that took place in the last decades of the nineteenth century, collected important ethnographical data of people that inhabited Portugal’s African colonies. Moreover, the

³⁶ Peixoto, “O cruel e triste fado”, *Etnográfica*, 1/2 (1997), 332–336.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 335–336.

³⁸ Leal, “The hidden empire: Peasants, nation building, and the empire in Portuguese anthropology”, in Roseman and Parkhurst (eds), *op. cit.*, 41.

Revista lusitana, a scientific journal edited by Leite de Vasconcelos, published a few philological and ethnological articles on the Portuguese Indian and African colonies.³⁹

In this process, the accounts of several military cartographers involved in the scientific expeditions to the Portuguese African colonies constitute important sources of ethnographic data. The Navy officers Hermenegildo Capelo and Roberto Ivens conducted a cartographic expedition from Benguela (coastal Angola) to the interior of the African continent in 1877–80. Apart from the reportage published in the magazine *O Ocidente*, the accounts of the expedition were published in book format.⁴⁰ This points to a rising awareness of the public towards the Portuguese imperial condition, a tendency that can be related with the frequent publication of colonial imagery in several periodicals. These occurrences point to a mechanism through which the presentation of images from the Portuguese colonies can be framed as both an interest for the exotic and as a form of naturalisation of the imperial ideology in their intended readership. In their journey, Capelo and Ivens followed the courses of several rivers and collected geographical and hydrographical information, data on the fauna and flora of the visited places, and on local ethnology. Their work contained an episode in Quiteque (Angola) which bears an important meaning for musicologists. The explorers described and transcribed a musical composition that was performed by drums, marimbas and chorus, adding to their description an illustration of the marimba.⁴¹

The stupendous roar of the *bumbos*, alternating with the solos of ear-piercing fifes, might be translated by competent professors into the grander emotions of the soul and the cries and shrieks of anguish and despair. The plaintive sounds drawn from the *marimba* might, by the same learned persons, be converted into wails over the monotony of life in the woods, and the mortal dullness which accompanied it.⁴²

³⁹ M. Marques de Barros, “O guinéense”, *Revista Lusitana*, 5 (1897–1899), 174–181, 271–300 and Monsenhor Sebastião Rodolfo Delgado, “Dialecto indo-português de Goa”, *Revista Lusitana*, 6 (1900–1901), 63–96.

⁴⁰ Hermenegildo Capelo and Roberto Ivens, *De Benguela ás terras de Iácca; descrição de uma viagem na Africa central e occidental*, 2 vols (Lisbon: Imp. Nacional, 1881). For a coeval English translation see Hermenegildo Capelo and Roberto Ivens, *From Benguela to the Territory of Yacca: Description of a Journey into Central and West Africa*, 2 vols (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1882).

⁴¹ Capelo and Ivens, *From Benguela to the Territory of Yacca: Description of a Journey into Central and West Africa*, vol. 1, 138–140.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 138.

The short transcription was set in a three-stave system (voice, marimba, and drums) in which the voices were doubled by the marimba in unison or in octaves and the drum provided the accents.⁴³

The serial account of the explorers' journey was published in the magazine *O Occidente* before the work was published in book format. In the part that concerns this particular episode, the magazine published a slightly different one-staff transcription of the collected melody.⁴⁴ Several years later, Capelo and Ivens embarked on another cartographic expedition that lasted from 1884 to 1886, this time from Angola to coastal Mozambique, and published their findings in the book *De Angola à contra-costa*.⁴⁵ The role that nationalist ideologies played in the study of the Portuguese colonies at the time can be attested by the dedication of both of Capelo and Ivens' books. Their *From Benguella to the Territory of Yacca* was dedicated to the Portuguese nation and *De Angola à Contra-costa* was dedicated to the King D. Luís I, to Manuel Pinheiro Chagas (the Navy and Overseas Minister at the time of the expedition, 1842–95), and to the Portuguese people.

The name of Serpa Pinto (1846–1900), a military officer who, although integrated in Capelo and Ivens' first expedition, separated from them and followed a route that led his party to Pretoria and Durban, should not be overlooked.⁴⁶ Pinto's account was published in Portuguese by a London publishing house in 1881.⁴⁷ In his expedition, Pinto collected the same type of information as his colleagues Capelo and Ivens (topographic, hydrographical, zoological, botanical, and ethnological) and included abundant illustrations of maps, village schematics, genealogical trees, utensils, and people, some of whom depicted in the context of their everyday activities which points to an ethnological concern by the data collector. In terms of musical activities, the book mentions chanting and drumming in a wedding, as well as a fiddler, both in the Province of Bié (Angola). According to Pinto, the fiddler accompanied his singing with a three-stringed instrument built by himself, that the explorer assumed was not

⁴³ Capelo and Ivens, *op. cit.*, 139–140.

⁴⁴ *O Occidente*, n° 74, 11th January 1881, 15.

⁴⁵ Capelo and Ivens, *De Angola à contra-costa*, 2 vols (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1886).

⁴⁶ For a collection of several news of the ongoing expeditions of Capelo, Ivens and Pinto and for several proceedings of meetings held at the Sociedade de Geografia in which these expeditions were discussed see Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Typ. de Christovão Augusto Rodrigues, 1877), 126–138 and 249–280, respectively.

⁴⁷ Serpa Pinto, *Como eu atravessei Africa: Do Atlantico ao mar Indico*, 2 vols (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1881).

“primitive,” but a copy from a European model.⁴⁸ This idea indicates a diffusionist perspective in which the technically more sophisticated instruments built by the African resulted from their contact with more “civilised” people, a theory that circulated in Europe at the time of Pinto’s exploratory journey.

In 1880, António Francisco Nogueira published *A raça negra sob o ponto de vista da civilização da África*, a work that discusses ethnicity in the context of the Portuguese colonies in Africa. According to Nogueira, the book attempts to portray the “Negro race” (the expression he uses throughout his work) not as the “absolutely inferior beings we suppose them to be” but as an “indispensable element in the civilising process we [the Portuguese] have to carry in Africa.”⁴⁹ Moreover, he argues that “the Negro needs to be aided in his evolution towards civilised life” and that a symbiotic (albeit functionally distinct) relationship between the colonialist Whites (“the necessary element for direction and progress”) and the colonised Blacks (“the active instrument of labour”) is needed to maximise the economic exploration of the African colonies.⁵⁰ Nogueira, a member of the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (and of the institution’s commission for the exploration and civilisation of Africa), was born in Brazil and emigrated to Moçâmedes (Angola), where he lived for 25 years, an experience whose usefulness was claimed by him in writing his book. The work is divided into two parts, the first dedicated to an exposition of scientific data concerning “the possible enhancement of the Black,” framing this perspective with accounts of distinguished travellers and Nogueira’s own observation.⁵¹ The second part is dedicated to the study of the Portuguese possessions, and Nogueira advances his proposals for the schooling and education of the Black population in these contexts.

One of the most interesting sections of the book is Nogueira’s discussion of the several theories of the origin of the human races that were circulating. I use the term “race” not only because it is the expression used by Nogueira throughout his book but also due to a tendency that was prevalent in various scientific currents that presented the concept “race” within a strict biological framework. Moreover, Nogueira’s theoretical work is firmly grounded in biometrical and craniological data that was produced by

⁴⁸ Pinto, *op. cit.*, vol 1, 162–163.

⁴⁹ António Francisco Nogueira, *A raça negra sob o ponto de vista da civilização da África; usos e costumes de alguns povos gentílicos do interior de Mossamedes e as colónias portuguesas* (Lisbon: Typographia Nova Minerva, 1880), 7.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 11, 209.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

researchers associated with the natural sciences, which points to his perspective on race as a biological feature.

In his analysis of the theories for the origins of the human races, Nogueira subdivides them in three categories: monogenist (which presents the totality of mankind as one single species), polygenist (in which the several human races are considered to be separate species), and “transformist” (the term Nogueira uses to designate evolutionist theories, that points to an interpretation of the biological world as a set of varieties of the same materials).⁵² Furthermore, Nogueira bases his discussion on these theories by drawing from the work of their foremost developers, such as Armand de Quatrefages (a prominent French naturalist who proposed a monogenist approach to the study of mankind, 1810–92), Paul Topinard (a French doctor and physical anthropologist, 1830–1911), Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (a French naturalist, 1744–1829), Charles Darwin (1809–82), Ernst Haeckel (a leading German evolutionary biologist, 1834–1919), and Clémence Boyer (a French scientist and the translator of Darwin’s *The Origin of Species* to French).⁵³

Nogueira relates scientific developments in the natural sciences (especially geology and zoology) to several biblical texts and identifies himself with polygenist theories, drawing from the works of Topinard that present the several human types (or species or *genera*) as the descendants of several ancestors (and not of a common ancestor as the evolutionists upheld), but also accounts for mechanisms of natural selection (associated with Darwin’s theory of evolution).⁵⁴ Moreover, the polygenist approach was used by Nogueira to shift the emphasis, associated with some monogenist theories, on a strict hierarchical relation of biological races towards a more cultural approach, a feature that resonates in his discourse about the civilisation process of the Black populations. According to Stocking, despite constituting a heterogeneous field, late nineteenth-century evolutionist social theories relied on the notion of an ahistorical and ageographical “human nature” whose development was subjected to natural laws, therefore arguing that “man developed from his earliest state in a slow, unilinear evolutionary progress whose eventual goal was perfection and whose highest present

⁵² Nogueira, *op. cit.*, 11. For a discussion on polygenism and monogenism in a post-Darwinian context see George W. Stocking, Jr., “The persistence of polygenist thought on post-Darwinian anthropology”, in George W. Stocking, Jr., *Race, Culture, and Evolution* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 42–68.

⁵³ About de Quatrefages see Martin S. Staum, “Nature and nurture in French ethnography and anthropology, 1859–1914”, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 65/3(2004), 475–495.

⁵⁴ Nogueira, *op. cit.*, 65–66.

manifestation was western European society.”⁵⁵ Furthermore, Nogueira’s polygenist stance was developed in a scientific context where one of the central tenets of contemporary anthropology, the biological unity of the human species, had not yet been established and where the study of key elements such as hereditariness was not yet part of scientific discussion.⁵⁶ According to Stocking, the dichotomy between cultural and biological tropes such as “primitivism” and “civilisation” was underpinned by a racial interpretation.⁵⁷

Complementarily to a growing interest in the synchronic study of the Portuguese colonies, a new diachronic perspective of these territories was circulating. This perspective was predominantly based on historical approaches and was encoded by people associated with both the historical and the political spheres, like Pinheiro Chagas and by Oliveira Martins (1845–94). As noted earlier, Chagas supported several exploratory expeditions to the interior of the Portuguese African colonies. Furthermore, during his consulate as Navy and Overseas Minister (that lasted from 1883 to 1886) he took important strategic resolutions for these territories, such as the installation of the telegraph from Angola to the metropolis, or the implementation of a railroad system in Angola and Mozambique.⁵⁸ In 1890, after the British Ultimatum, Chagas published an account of events associated with Portuguese colonialism in the nineteenth century, presenting the latest developments as an elegy to the Portuguese Expansion and colonisation, covering the then-recent developments with a “veil of mourning.”⁵⁹ The book *As colónias portuguesas no seculo XIX* offers a factual narrative of Portuguese colonialism from 1811 to 1890 and contains a first person account of Chagas’ work as a member of cabinet, which can be useful to understand the context in which the African continent was partitioned among European countries towards the end of the century.⁶⁰

Oliveira Martins embodied an interesting paradigmatic shift in Portuguese historiography that developed in the late nineteenth century. Initially drawing from Herculano’s positioning on the voluntaristic origins of the Portuguese nation (based on a rational and contractual relation), towards the end of his career Martins adopted an approach that valued the racial aspect of Iberian civilisation, emphasising its specificity

⁵⁵ George W. Stocking, Jr., “French anthropology in 1800”, in Stocking, *op. cit.*, 26.

⁵⁶ Stocking, “The critique of racial formalism”, in Stocking, *op. cit.*, 161–194.

⁵⁷ Stocking, “French anthropology in 1800”, 38.

⁵⁸ Maria Filomena Mónica, “Os fiéis inimigos: Eça de Queirós e Pinheiro Chagas”, *Análise Social*, 36/160 (2001), 713–714.

⁵⁹ Pinheiro Chagas, *As colónias portuguesas no seculo XIX* (Lisbon: António Maria Pereira, 1890), 221.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 194–221.

within the European context.⁶¹ This shift is visible in the works *O Brasil e as colónias portuguesas* (published in 1880) and *As raças humanas e a civilização primitiva* (published in 1881), in which he presents the Black person as an “adult child” and the Black race as “anthropologically inferior, frequently closer to the anthropoid, and unworthy to be called human.”⁶²

This racist perspective, which established a hierarchical (and evolutionary) relation of races that promoted Aryan superiority, circulated in the European context of the second half of the nineteenth century, a discourse epitomised by the thought of Arthur de Gobineau (1816–82), author of the *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*.⁶³ In his paradigmatic shift, Martins restricted the idea of the Portuguese national character to the inhabitants of the metropolitan territory (excluding the people from its colonies), whom he portrayed as related with the Lusitani.⁶⁴ Moreover, Martins established a rigid racial hierarchy in which races other than the Aryans (or Indo-Europeans) were perceived as inferior, a strategic move that both naturalised (in the biological sense of the term) and legitimated the Portuguese rule in its colonies, exclusively perceived as territories subjected to the metropolis.⁶⁵

The scientific data on the Portuguese colonies problematises a binary conception in the field of the history of anthropology between nation-building or empire-building anthropological traditions. The scientific study of culture in the Portuguese empire was mainly concentrated in the research of the popular culture of the metropolis, as argued by Leal. Nevertheless, ethnological data on the populations of the colonies was produced in the same period and should not be overlooked. Therefore, the history of Portuguese anthropology carried in itself elements of both traditions, despite privileging the elements associated with the nation-building tradition.⁶⁶ Furthermore, the establishment of Portuguese anthropology can be framed in a perspective through which

⁶¹ Valentim Alexandre, “Questão nacional e questão colonial em Oliveira Martins”, *Análise Social*, 31/135 (1996), 194.

⁶² Oliveira Martins, *O Brasil e as colónias portuguesas* (Lisbon: Livraria de António Maria Pereira, 1888), 284. See also Oliveira Martins, *As raças humanas e a civilização primitiva*, 2 vols (Lisbon: Bertrand, 1881).

⁶³ For a study of Martins’ anthropological works see Manuel Viegas Guerreiro, *Temas de Antropologia em Oliveira Martins* (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1986).

⁶⁴ Alexandre, *op. cit.*, 201.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ See, for example, Ricardo Roque, *Antropologia e império: Fonseca Cardoso e a expedição à Índia em 1895* (Lisbon: Imprensa das Ciências Sociais, 2001).

“the construction of an Other in the colonial world was part of the process of constructing the Same in the homeland.”⁶⁷

Geology, Archaeology and Physical Anthropology

Archaeology and physical anthropology played a key role in the introduction of anthropology in the Portuguese university as well as in the creation of a museological interest in the field. During the period covered by this thesis, the term “anthropology” predominantly comprised the area of physical anthropology in its two main strands, the French school, led by the Paul Broca (1824–80), and the German school, led by Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902).⁶⁸ This semantic detail is one of the reasons why this thesis has favoured the use of the term “ethnology” in preference to anthropology, unless when addressing current historiographical accounts on the subject.

The Geological Commission of Portugal was formed in 1857, an institution led by Pereira da Costa (1809–88) and Carlos Ribeiro (1813–82), with the assistance of Nery Delgado (1835–1908). Despite its changing status and a small interruption of its activities, the Commission played a key role in the geological study of the country, and published Portugal’s geological map.⁶⁹ The map resulted from a survey undertaken by Ribeiro and Delgado, military engineers whose work was grounded in extensive geological fieldwork, a method that proved to be valuable for their subsequent archaeological endeavours. In 1863, Ribeiro discovered the Concheiros de Muge, an agglomeration of human remains and artefacts close to the valley of the river Tagus, that pointed to the presence of humans in Portugal in the Tertiary period. These findings played an important role in the international scientific panorama of the time, when the periodisation of the history of Man was part of a complex discussion in the natural sciences. Both Ribeiro and Costa presented papers on these findings in international conferences, and Costa published a book on the subject (a bilingual edition in Portuguese and French, evidencing an effort to publicise the findings abroad), a work

⁶⁷ Miguel Vale de Almeida, “Anthropology and ethnography of the Portuguese-speaking empire” in Prem Poddar, Rajeev S. Patke and Lars Jensen, *A Historical Companion to Postcolonial Literature: Continental Europe and its Empires* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 436.

⁶⁸ For a biographical accounts of Broca and Virchow see Francis Schiller, *Paul Broca: Founder of French Anthropology, Explorer of the Brain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), and Benoit Massin, “From Virchow to Fischer: Physical anthropology and ‘modern race theories’ in Wilhelmine Germany”, in George W. Stocking, Jr. (ed.), *Volksgeist as Method and Ethic: Essays on Boasian Ethnography and the German Anthropological Tradition* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 79–154.

⁶⁹ Nery Delgado and Carlos Ribeiro, *Carta geológica de Portugal* (Lisbon: Direcção Geral dos Trabalhos Geodésicos, 1876). Shelfmark PTBN: C. Par. 70, National Library of Portugal.

heavily influenced by the stratigraphic theories of Charles Lyell (1797–1875).⁷⁰

According to Santos, the archaeological works of the Commission aimed to fill the lacunae left in Portuguese history by the Romantic historians, employing a positivist paradigm to study the “natural history” of the Portuguese people.⁷¹

The findings mentioned above were key in the ninth edition of the International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology held in Lisbon on 19–29 September 1880. This conference was dominated by the discussion about the existence of Man in the Tertiary period and included leading figures in the scientific field of the time, like Virchow, de Quatrefages, John Evans (a prominent English geologist, 1823–1908), and Giovanni Capellini (one of the foremost Italian scientists of his time, 1833–1922). There was also a significant Portuguese participation that included Carlos Ribeiro (with presentations about the Tertiary Man in Portugal and on the *kiökkenmöddings* found in the Tagus Valley), Nery Delgado (discussing the Neolithic findings in the cave of Furninha, near Peniche), Adolfo Coelho (who presented papers on pre-Roman religions in the Iberian Peninsula, on macrocephalous skulls, and notes on the ethnography of gypsies in Portugal), Martins Sarmiento (whose paper concentrated on the Lusitani people, 1833–99), and Consiglieri Pedroso (giving a paper on popular marriage in Portugal). Furthermore, the participants made field trips to the area of Alenquer, Ota, and Azambuja in order to witness *in loco* Ribeiro’s findings, and to Citânia de Briteiros, an archaeological site near Guimarães dated from the Bronze Age and excavated by Martins Sarmiento.⁷² Although the meeting was concentrated on archaeology, geology, and physical anthropology, the heterogeneity of the presentations points to a porosity between academic disciplines and between the natural and the social sciences at the time.⁷³

As stated above, the link between the Lusitani and the modern Portuguese people was reemerging, which points to the development of a set of ethnogenealogical theories on the origins of the nation. For this association to be presented as a solidly grounded fact, it had to rely on data that was produced according to the scientific

⁷⁰ Pereira da Costa, *Da existência do homem em epochas remotas no valle do Tejo: Noticia sobre os esqueletos humanos descobertos no Cabeço da Arruda* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1865).

⁷¹ Gonçalo Duro dos Santos, *A escola de antropologia de Coimbra, 1885–1950* (Lisbon: Imprensa das Ciências Sociais, 2005), 75.

⁷² For the proceedings of the congress see Congrès International d’Anthropologie et d’Archéologie Préhistoriques, *Compte-rendu de la neuvième session, Lisbonne, 1880* (Lisbon: Typographie de l’Académie Royale des Sciences, 1884).

⁷³ Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870–1970)*, 30.

methods of the time. In this process, the archaeological work developed by people like Martins Sarmiento and Leite de Vasconcelos was key in positing the Lusitani as the direct ancestors of the Portuguese. This move was an attempt to construct what Smith calls a myth of descent based on the imputation of a common ancestry and origin of a particular nation.⁷⁴ This resonates with Hobsbawm's theorisation of the modern nation, in which this construction tends to be presented as a "natural" fact "rooted in the remotest antiquity."⁷⁵ In this sense, archaeology was used to attest the antiquity of the Portuguese nation.⁷⁶

A key event in the history of the Portuguese science was the institution of the discipline of "Anthropology, Human Palaeontology, and Prehistoric Archaeology" in the Natural Philosophy Faculty of the University of Coimbra in 1885.⁷⁷ The title of this discipline and the faculty in which it was lectured indicates its association with physical anthropology. Consequently, the institution of a modern anthropological science in the Portuguese university can be related to a naturalist inclination in some anthropological studies carried in this period.⁷⁸ The lecturer of the discipline was Bernardino Machado (1851–1944), who held a professorship in this university and developed a prominent political career, having occupied important places during both the Constitutional Monarchy and the First Portuguese Republic.⁷⁹ Machado was a member of parliament and then became Public Works, Commerce, and Industry Minister before embracing republican ideals and joining the Republican Party.

In late 1893, when Machado was a member of cabinet (and by his decree), the Museu Etnológico Português (Portuguese Ethnological Museum) was created. This points to the rising recognition of archaeology and ethnology, now legitimated by its association with the two foremost scientific institutions of the time, the university and the museum.⁸⁰ On the one hand, the rise of mass consumption of goods can be associated with a rising interest for material culture during the nineteenth century,

⁷⁴ Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 24–25.

⁷⁵ Eric J. Hobsbawm, "Introduction", in Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 14.

⁷⁶ See Philip L. Kohl, "Nationalism and archaeology: On the constructions of nations and the reconstructions of the remote past", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27 (1998), 223–246.

⁷⁷ Santos, *op. cit.*, 77.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 98–122.

⁸⁰ On the issue of the establishment of anthropological museums see George W. Stocking, Jr. (ed.), *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985) and Nélia Dias, "The visibility of difference: Nineteenth-century French anthropological collections, in Sharon Macdonald (ed.), *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture* (LondonNY: Routledge, 1998), 36–52.

crystallised in the museum.⁸¹ Conversely, the site of the museum is not a space exclusively dedicated to the display of modern scientific developments but a mechanism through which modernity itself is constituted, performed and presented to the public.⁸²

Leite de Vasconcelos founded the museum and directed it until 1929, a fact that evidences a shift in his research from ethnology to archaeology in this period.⁸³ As a form of systematisation, the museum's collection was divided in several periods of the "Portuguese civilisation" (prehistoric, proto-historic, Roman, "barbarian," Arabic, Portuguese-medieval, Renaissance, and modern). According to Leite de Vasconcelos, the aim of the institution was to "educate the public, making him know and love the motherland," thus promoting the development of a national consciousness based on the production and presentation of scientific knowledge about Portugal.⁸⁴ The main concern the "modern Portuguese epoch" collection was to present objects that were both "characteristic and ancient," perceived by Leite de Vasconcelos as being related to the everyday life of the people (such as buildings, furniture and household objects, clothing, means of transportation, tools, or religious artefacts, for example).⁸⁵ Moreover, the museum published its own journal from 1895 onwards, *O archeólogo português*, an illustrated publication that was devised as a forum for the public display of Portuguese archaeological heritage, becoming a key resource in this area.⁸⁶

The two main sources of the museum inventory of the time were the private collections of Estácio da Veiga (1828–91) and of Leite de Vasconcelos.⁸⁷ Veiga was a prominent Portuguese archaeologist who developed most of his fieldwork in southern Portugal, having founded the Museu Arqueológico do Algarve in 1880 and written a four-volume work on the paleoethnology of the province of Algarve.⁸⁸ The archaeological turn in the work of Leite de Vasconcelos is paralleled by his rising interest in the study of the Lusitani as the interpretative framework for Portugal's pre

⁸¹ Orvar Lofgren, "Scenes from a troubled marriage: Swedish ethnology and material culture studies", *Journal of Material Culture*, 2 (1997), 111.

⁸² Sharon Macdonald, "Preface", in Macdonald, *op.cit.*, 9.

⁸³ Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870–1970)*, 70.

⁸⁴ Leite de Vasconcelos, "Museu ethnographico português", *Revista Lusitana*, 3 (1895), 194 and 197.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 217.

⁸⁶ See *O archeólogo português*, 1 (1895).

⁸⁷ For a first hand account of this period of the history of the museum see Leite de Vasconcelos, *História do Museu Etnológico Português* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1915).

⁸⁸ Estácio da Veiga, *Antiguidades monumentaes do Algarve: tempos prehistoricos*, 4 vols, (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1886, 1887, 1889, 1891). See also Ana Luísa Santos, "Estácio da Veiga e os primórdios da antropologia física", *Xelb*, 7 (2007), 239–248 and Maria Luísa Estácio da Veiga Silva Pereira, *O Museu Archeológico do Algarve (1880–1881): subsídios para o estudo da museologia em Portugal no séc. XIX* (Faro: Tip. União, 1981).

and proto-historical past, a process that culminated in the publication of a three-volume work on the religious cults in Lusitania.⁸⁹ The search for a common ethnic ancestor (or, according to Smith, the encoding of a myth of common origin) for the Portuguese people had previously occupied an important place in the work of the Martins Sarmiento. He was the archaeologist responsible for the resurfacing of the link between the Lusitani and the modern Portuguese, a research paradigm followed by his colleague Leite de Vasconcelos, who frequently quoted Sarmiento's work in his research.⁹⁰ For Sobral, "nationalism was an attempt to promote cultural homogeneity as a means for resolving class and cultural contradictions within states, and a notion of race as something settled and based in fate could contribute ideologically to nationalization."⁹¹

The construction of a discourse that strove to homogenise the Portuguese population evidences a key trend in the process of nation-building. According to Balibar, since nations do not possess a natural ethnic base, the local populations need to be ethnicised ("represented in the past or in the future *as if* they formed a natural community, possessing of itself an identity of origins, culture and interests which transcends individuals and social conditions") in order for the modern nation-state to be efficiently established.⁹² However, the presentation of the Lusitani as the sole ancestors of the modern Portuguese people, thus promoting the view of Portugal as a nation grounded on an ethnic unity, was not the only ethnogenealogical theory developed at the time. At the turn of the century, Basílio Teles (a republican politician from Porto, 1856–1923), developed a theory that presented the population from the north of Portugal as being of Aryan origin and the southerners as being of Semitic descent, a view shared by the historian Alberto Sampaio (1841–1908).⁹³ In this process, "by denying a shared ethnic identity among the Portuguese, Teles also put in question the national myth

⁸⁹ Leal, *op. cit.*, 73 and Leite de Vasconcelos, *Religiões da Lusitania: na parte que principalmente se refere a Portugal*, 3 vols (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1897, 1905, 1913).

⁹⁰ Leal, *op. cit.*, 63–82. See also Martins Sarmiento, *Os Lusitanos: questões de etnologia* (Porto: Typ. de Antonio José da Silva Teixeira, 1880) and Sarmiento, "Para o pantheon lusitano", *Revista Lusitana*, 1 (1888/1889), 227–290.

⁹¹ Sobral, "Race and space in the interpretation of Portugal: The north-south division and representations of Portuguese national identity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries", in Roseman and Parkhurst (eds), *op. cit.*, 212.

⁹² Étienne Balibar, "The nation form", in Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London/NY: Verso, 1991), 96.

⁹³ Sobral, *op. cit.*, 214–216. See also Basílio Teles, *O problema agrícola: crédito e imposto* (Porto: Livraria Chardron, 1899) and Teles, *Estudos históricos e económicos* (Porto: Livraria Chardron, 1901).

linking the Portuguese to the Lusitani, an idea that had experienced a revival since the last decades of the nineteenth century.”⁹⁴

The favourable reception of the ideas presented by Teles (underpinned by an ideology that purported the racial superiority of a part of the Portuguese population) was mostly confined to other northern authors, such as Alberto Pimentel, who approached the study of Portuguese popular songs within this framework. By transferring Teles’ theories to the subject of music, Pimentel opposes a south constituted around a strong Semitic presence, whose main characteristics were embodied in fado (“the mournful song of the South”), and a north where a distinct ethnic and natural background made the “joyful songs of the North” thrive. This binary division between regional identities and musical practices was discussed by Pimentel in two works published in 1904 and 1905.⁹⁵ As discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, he portrays fado as the musical representation of the south of Portugal in his work *A triste canção do sul: subsídios para a história do fado*. This book ignores the plurality of the musical practices in the region and concentrates on an urban popular genre in detriment to the various coexistent rural music practices. The following year, Pimentel published *As alegres canções do norte*, an illustrated book that associates the popular songs (in the plural, contrary to his work on fado) performed in the Portuguese north with a Galician background. This connection is associated with the theories of Manuel Murguía (a Galician journalist and historian, 1833–1923), who presented local culture as a product of the Celtic heritage in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula.⁹⁶

As alegres canções do norte begins by addressing the origin of the songs performed in Minho, characterising this repertoire with expressions such as “vibrant with villager joy or with choreographic vigour.”⁹⁷ Subsequently, Pimentel states that some of these songs were performed in Lisbon’s theatres, albeit stripped of their nature and, therefore, “dampened,” a fact that points to the integration of several rural songs in the urban entertainment market.⁹⁸ Moreover, he relates these repertoires with the predominant type of social organisation in Minho (relying on small property owners

⁹⁴ Sobral. *op. cit.*, 218.

⁹⁵ Alberto Pimentel, *A triste canção do sul: subsídios para a história do fado* (Lisbon: Livraria Central, 1904) and Pimentel, *As alegres canções do Norte* (Lisbon: Livraria Viúva Tavares Cardoso, 1905).

⁹⁶ Pimentel, *As alegres canções do Norte*, 21 and José Manuel Sobral, “O Norte, o Sul, a raça, a nação – representações da identidade nacional portuguesa (séculos XIX–XX)”, *Análise social*, 39/171 (2004), 271. See also Manuel Murguía, *Historia de Galicia*, vol. 1 (Lugo: Imprenta de Soto Freire, Editor, 1865).

⁹⁷ Pimentel, *op. cit.* 7.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

who worked their own land), the religious devotion of the peasants, the prevalent type of family institution, and with ethnicity (presenting the *saloio*, the peasant of the rural outskirts of Lisbon, as being of Semitic origin and the *minhoto*, the inhabitant of the province of Minho, as related with the Galician people).⁹⁹ Pimentel argues that the joyful character of the songs of the north are a result of a system of “mesological, physical, and moral factors” in which the life of the rural populations of Minho was based. Conversely, the joyful character of the repertoires is fed into this system, thus completing a cyclical movement.¹⁰⁰ This clearly points to Pimentel’s romanticised view of the peasant from Minho, who lives far away from the capital (with its industry and politics), therefore a privileged holder of the idyllic authenticity associated with some views of popular culture that were circulating at the time (as in Cecil Sharp’s work on England and America). Pimentel ends the first chapter of his work by praising the beauty of both solo and choral songs of the peasants from Minho, presenting the latter as a quasi-spontaneous phenomenon.¹⁰¹

Moreover, Pimentel addresses the poetic content of the popular songs, stressing its association with the everyday life of the peasants and the role the natural and religious worlds played in this repertoire. He finds several tropes, such as elements drawn from the botanical (trees, flowers, plants, and fruits), animal (especially birds), and physical worlds (such as rivers of hills). Furthermore, the names of settlements, of saints associated with several popular religious festivities, and the habits and customs from rural everyday life constituted the rest of the repertoire.¹⁰² The third chapter of Pimentel’s work examines the choreography of the northern songs, including a significant number of musical transcriptions. If singing formed part of the daily routine of the northern peasants, he argues that dancing was associated with leisure activities carried out on Sundays and religious festivities.¹⁰³ Pimentel states that the northern “choreographic songs” (dances that include singing, sometimes in dialogue form) had a leaping character and were, just as agricultural chores, an affirmation of stamina, unlike the dances performed in urban contexts, as well as in the outskirts of Lisbon, based on a “monotonously Arabic dragging of the feet.”¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Pimentel, *op. cit.*, 8–22.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 33–34.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 35–67.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 69.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 71.

According to Pimentel, the dances from the Portuguese north followed the same choreographic pattern, and he goes on to enumerate them while discussing their origin and presenting textual and musical transcriptions.¹⁰⁵ The musical examples comprised both harmonisations and transcriptions of the melodic line. Pimentel describes and analyses the *Caninha verde*, the *Malhão*, the *Chula* (including the *Chula de Penafiel*), the *Vira*, and the *Marrafa*, presenting them as a form of resistance and protest against what he designates as the “invasion of urbanism.”¹⁰⁶ The urban/rural binary permeates Pimentel’s work, who sees the urban world as a nefarious influence that decharacterises and corrupts the rural people. Moreover, he criticises the “country girls who, with the vain intention of imitating aristocratic conventions, dance the polka or the waltz, especially when played by a *banda* or at a piano” (two contexts associated with urban music-making).¹⁰⁷ This argument reinforces the relation between gender and class with specific leisure activities (such as music and dance).

Pimentel then turns his attention towards the association between songs and contexts of work and leisure (such as harvesting) and towards the role music played in the cyclical religious festivities of the region. The section on popular pilgrimages and feasts places these events in context and includes several photographs of these manifestations, as well as extracts from song texts and several musical transcriptions of the repertoire associated with them. Pimentel ends the book with the analysis of two important manifestations of popular religiosity in the country, such as Christmas and St. John's Day festivities (held on 23–24 June). In conclusion, despite basing his assumptions on an ethnic division of the country, a view that was not widely shared in the study of popular culture in Portugal, Pimentel’s work can be read as an attempt to systematise and integrate popular song in the wider context of cultural practices through a system in which several dichotomies (such as north/south, Galician/Semitic, and urban/rural) are operating.

However, the dichotomy between the urban and the rural is very problematic. On the one hand, it essentialises both spaces as self-contained entities through a clear demarcation between the rural and the urban spaces that does not account for the porosity between them. Conversely, the presentation of the rural realm as the site where an “authentic” popular culture needs salvaging from the process of urbanisation tends to

¹⁰⁵ Pimentel, *op. cit.*, 73.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 74–101.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 100.

overlook tendencies like internal migration. The itinerant musicians evidence this porosity. According to an article published in *O Ocidente*, groups of wandering musicians were frequently seen in Portuguese towns and villages.¹⁰⁸ These groups predominantly performed songs from the successful comic operas of the time, associated with urban contexts of production.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, in a time when ethnologists were developing and promoting an essentialist view of Portugal's rural areas, street musicians can be taken as symptoms of the porosity between the urban and the rural. In this sense, they played an important role in the dissemination of theatrical repertoires from urban to rural areas, thus extending (both geographically and socially) their audience. Moreover, a perceived opposition between the country and the city that idealised the countryside as a utopian space where a mystic past interacted with a present reality was symptomatic of an ongoing process that entailed both industrialisation and urbanisation.¹¹⁰

Song Collection in Portugal: Between Domestic Entertainment and Scientific Objectivity

The study, collection, and publication of music from predominantly rural contexts was a secondary concern of Portuguese ethnology. Song collection and publishing were part of the domestic entertainment market, and most of these works shared the conventions of sheet music. In this process, music from rural contexts was adapted for domestic consumption. This relies on one of the paradoxes of folklorism, that the creation, institutionalisation, and reproduction of its ruralist content is made in an urban framework.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, the dichotomy rural/urban is open to problematisation, especially in a period when “the leisure and literary habits of the middle classes encouraged the burlesque mimesis of rural customs and the systematization of the fantasized images of rural life created via this mimesis.”¹¹² Thus, the aestheticisation

¹⁰⁸ *O Ocidente*, n° 645, 25th November 1896, 258–259.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975) and John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, “Images of empire, contests of conscience”, in Comaroff and Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992), 192.

¹¹¹ Branco and Castelo-Branco, *op. cit.*, 7.

¹¹² António Medeiros, “Imperialist ideology and representations of the Portuguese provinces during the early Estado Novo”, in Roseman and Parkhurst (eds), *op. cit.*, 87.

and commodification of the rural were key in the incorporation of rural sources in domestic entertainment, in the form of sheet music and sound recordings.

Bohlman traces the association between cultural identity and traditional music back to the European eighteenth century and to the Herderian paradigm of the *Volklied*, a term that semantically condensed both of these realms.¹¹³ Herder's equation of a national consciousness with the popular traditions of a group contributed to his belief that "the oral tradition contained the essence, or soul, of a nation."¹¹⁴ Building on this perspective, "a nation's characteristic and unifying high culture must necessarily be rooted in that of the peasant," pointing to the prominent role that folk culture (posited as a symbol of nationalism) played in the mechanisms of creation, institution, and reproduction of national identities.¹¹⁵

In Portugal, the interest in the collection of popular songs was initially associated with Romanticism in literature, which perceived and constructed "the people" as the repository of the nation's cultural substrate.¹¹⁶ This move situates "the people" within "an anterior temporal space, within but not fully of the present."¹¹⁷ The lyrics of the songs were the predominant concern of the collections of popular songs, as a consequence of Romanticism's interest in their literary characteristics. Towards the last third of the nineteenth century this tendency was complemented by the ethnological and philological work on these texts by people like Teófilo Braga or Leite de Vasconcelos.¹¹⁸ However, the study of the musical features of these repertoires tended to be narrow, especially when compared with the attention given to the textual component of songs, which reinforces the predominance of a textual paradigm in the study of popular culture in Portugal.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, important collections of both texts and musical transcriptions of traditional music were published from the last third of the nineteenth century onwards. In some cases, the collection of song texts and music from the country's rural areas were presented in counterpoint to the publications of fado and

¹¹³ Philip Bohlman, "Traditional music and cultural identity: Persistent paradigm in the history of ethnomusicology", *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 20 (1988), 31–33.

¹¹⁴ John Francmanis, "National music to national redeemer: The consolidation of a 'folk-song' construct in Edwardian England", *Popular Music*, 21/1 (2002), 2.

¹¹⁵ Francmanis, *ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Salwa Castelo-Branco and Manuela Toscano, "'In search of a lost world': An overview of documentation and research on the traditional music of Portugal", *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 20 (1988), 159.

¹¹⁷ Janet Sorensen, "Alternative antiquarianisms of Scotland and the North", *Modern Language Quarterly*, 70/4 (2009), 416.

¹¹⁸ Castelo-Branco and Toscano, *op. cit.*, 160.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 159.

songs drawn from the *revista* and the operetta that, according to some people, occupied a dominant role in the market for cultural goods.¹²⁰

In this analysis, the usage of several terms for classifying specific sound worlds has to be historicised. For Scott, the creation of a distinction between art and entertainment was associated with “an intense dislike of the market conditions that turned art into a commodity.”¹²¹ This demarcation relied on a perspective through which “entertainment music was regarded as hand-in-glove with business entrepreneurs for whom popular music was a mere commodity and profits the main concern.”¹²² The carving of the rift between art and entertainment is associated by him with a debate based on the polarity between “light music” and “serious music.”¹²³ In Portugal, this type of discourse was reproduced by several people, employing a slightly different terminology. For example, when referring to Cyriaco de Cardoso’s output, Ernesto Vieira states that it was exclusively comprised of *música ligeira* (light music).¹²⁴ Furthermore, he attributes the fact to the composer’s lack of formal training (associated with other musical spheres), clearly displaying the dichotomy between *música ligeira* and *música clássica* (classical music, the term Vieira uses throughout his dictionary).¹²⁵

A discussion of musical categories in nineteenth-century Portugal that concerns the topics this chapter addresses is the problematic relation between *música ligeira* and *música popular* (literally, popular music). Ethnography and song collecting played a key role in defining the sphere of the *música popular* in its specific terms, with scholars like Braga identifying it with the “melodies of the people” (predominantly associated with the country’s rural contexts).¹²⁶ Therefore, *música popular* (the “spontaneous” or “authentic” music of “the people”) was used to classify a field that would be currently designated by traditional (or, in some instances, folk) music. Furthermore, in Cândido do Figueiredo’s Portuguese dictionary, one of the most prestigious lexical publications of the time, the proposed definition for the term “popular” is “relative to the people;

¹²⁰ António Martins Pereira (ed.), *Ramalhete de cantigas populares portuguesas* (Porto: António da Silva Santos, [1902]), III–IV. In the preface of this collection of song lyrics, the editor praises the work of Teófilo Braga and Leite de Vasconcelos.

¹²¹ Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The 19th-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris and Vienna*, 88.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 87–92.

¹²⁴ Ernesto Vieira, *Diccionario biographico de musicos portugueses: historia e bibliografia da musica em Portugal*, vol.1 (Lisbon: Lambertini, 1900), 424.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ Teófilo Braga, “As melodias portuguesas”, in César das Neves and Gualdino de Campos, *Cancioneiro de músicas populares*, vol. 1 (Porto, Typographia Occidental, 1893), v.

proper of the people; agreeable to the people; esteemed by the people, democratic.”¹²⁷ In this definition, the polysemic character of the term indicates its ambiguous usage. One of the most interesting points in this definition is the word “democratic.” Pursuing this line of enquiry, one of the definitions that Cândido de Figueiredo gives of “democrat” is “the one who belongs to the popular class or who does not like aristocracy.”¹²⁸ Moreover, he uses the term “democracy” to describe a “social class that includes the proletariat and the smallest population.”¹²⁹ In this case, the association between the terms “popular” and “democratic” is produced at the level of connotation (therefore, indirectly). This can be interpreted as a symptom of the ongoing intellectual debate on the incorporation of the popular masses in the Portuguese political reality of the end of the nineteenth century.¹³⁰ Consequently, it becomes possible to draw an analogy between the relation mentioned above and the scientific approaches that, by studying “the people,” contributed, albeit indirectly, to its integration as part of the political discourse.¹³¹

Developing the discussion of the taxonomy of the “popular,” it is also possible to trace a historically situated association between the sphere of *música popular* with what was perceived to be “proper of the people” and between the field of *música ligeira* with what was considered “agreeable to the people.” Therefore, *música ligeira* was linked with the products of the urban entertainment market, where theatrical music was predominant. Naturally, the associations stated above are not mutually exclusive, as the definitions may (and many times do) overlap each other. Being “proper of the people” is not incompatible with being “agreeable to the people,” for example. Nevertheless, there were preferential meanings of the term “popular” according to the context in which it was used. Thus, *música ligeira* was used to designate what we now call popular music, displaying the shift of the meaning of “popular” throughout the twentieth century, especially after its placement within the production of the culture industries.¹³²

¹²⁷ Cândido de Figueiredo, *Nôvo dicionário da língua portuguesa*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Livraria Tavares Cardoso & Irmão, 1899), 344.

¹²⁸ Figueiredo, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 389.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Jorge Freitas Branco, “A fluidez dos limites: discurso etnográfico e movimento folclórico em Portugal”, 27.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² For various discussions of the definition of popular music see Roy Shuker, *Understanding Popular Music* (NY: Routledge, 1994); Peter Manuel, *Popular Musics of the Non-Western World: An Introductory Survey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Richard Middleton, *Studying Popular Music* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1990); Simon Frith, *Popular Music: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, vol. 2 (London: Routledge, 2004), 3–4, and Keith Negus, *Popular Music in Theory: An Introduction* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1996).

According to Castelo-Branco and Toscano, between 1872 and the 1920s the transcription of Portuguese traditional music (at the time predominantly designated *música popular*) was concentrated in three categories: harmonised versions of collected melodies (mainly accommodated for solo piano or voice and piano, as well as for several ensembles); stylised arrangements of these melodies for choruses, *bandas*, or orchestra; or rigorous representations of the collected melodies.¹³³ The heterogeneous techniques used in musical transcription point to the ambiguous space that traditional music occupied. On the one hand, the study of the music of rural populations relied on notions of scientific objectivity in which the collector's agency is effaced. Conversely, the larger segment of musical transcriptions of these repertoires shared the conventions of sheet music editions (in their harmonisation and instrumentation), a fact that points to its integration as part of the market for domestic entertainment.

The first known publication containing Portuguese rural songs is the *Álbum de músicas nacionais portuguesas* (Album of Portuguese National Musics), by João António Ribas (1799–1869), a prominent performer and music dealer who developed most of his career in Porto, where this work was published in 1857.¹³⁴ What is curious about this title is the use of the expression “Portuguese national musics” for a work that consists of regional songs. This can be interpreted as a symptom of the Romantic heritage that portrayed Portugal as a homogeneous nation in which the regional particularisms are superseded by the national level.

Neves e Melo published his groundbreaking compilation of “popular musics and songs collected from the tradition” in 1872 and the most significant work of collection of Portuguese traditional music at the time, the *Cancioneiro de músicas populares*, was published in Porto during the last decade of the nineteenth century.¹³⁵ The *Cancioneiro*, a three-volume publication coordinated by César das Neves (1841–1920) and Gualdino de Campos (1847–1919) comprised a heterogeneous repertoire, spanning from original compositions to songs drawn from Portuguese rural and urban contexts as well as songs from abroad.¹³⁶ Moreover, as in most of the musical editions of the time, it consisted of

¹³³ Castelo-Branco and Toscano, *op. cit.*, 168.

¹³⁴ Vieira, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 253–254 and João António Ribas, *Album de músicas nacionais portuguesas: constando de cantigas e tocatas usadas nos diferentes districtos e comarcas das províncias da Beira, Traz-os-montes e Minho* (Porto: C. A. Villa Nova, 1860).

¹³⁵ Adelino das Neves e Melo, *Músicas e canções populares colligidas da tradição* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1872) and César das Neves and Gualdino de Campos, *Cancioneiro de músicas populares* (Porto: Tip. Ocidental – Empresa editora César, Campos & C^a, 1893, 1895, 1898).

¹³⁶ Maria do Rosário Pestana, “César das Neves”, in Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), *Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX*, vol. 3 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2010), 909–910.

vocal and piano arrangements, the core of the market directed to the domestic entertainment.

According to Pestana, the collection and publication of the repertoire contained in the *Cancioneiro* that was drawn from rural contexts was underpinned by a nationalist ideology and supplied a version of these songs that was accommodated to urban audiences.¹³⁷ Consequently, it is possible to discuss the *Cancioneiro* as a symptom of a process in which the vernacular was aestheticised in order to integrate the conventions of the entertainment market. In this process, one of the criteria in selecting repertoires collected in rural areas was the musical texture. Despite including songs from many Portuguese regions the *Cancioneiro* consisted exclusively of songs for solo voice, glossing over the vocal polyphonic practices of several of the country's provinces (such as Alentejo or Minho), and emulating the conventions associated with the commercial edition of sheet music.¹³⁸ Moreover, each song was dedicated to a aristocratic or bourgeois woman/girl, which indicates the publication's intended audience as well as reinforces the parallel between singing and playing the piano with the feminine segments of several strata of Portuguese society.¹³⁹

Despite its orientation towards the entertainment market, the *Cancioneiro* contains important information for ethnological purposes, a fact that points to the ambiguous place occupied by traditional music at the time. In their work, Neves (who supervised the musical component) and Campos (who was in charge of the texts) included data such as the name of the collector, the date and place of the collection or of the first source in which the song appeared. Moreover, the *Cancioneiro* included several descriptions of the choreographic schemes associated with specific pieces. Apart from repertoires collected by Neves and Campos, the *Cancioneiro* also relied on the transcription work of other people, who were acknowledged in the publication.

For example, the song *Trolha de Afife* had been included in João António Ribas' *Álbum de músicas nacionais portuguesas*. The publishing strategy of this song (collected by Ribas in 1850) is very interesting because the melody is set over a figuration of the type of the Alberti bass in the pianist's left hand, pointing to what can be perceived as the adapting of a regional melody to the conventions of the

¹³⁷ Pestana, *op. cit.*, 909–910.

¹³⁸ Susana Sardo, "Música popular e diferenças regionais", in Mário Ferreira Lages and Artur Teodoro de Matos (eds), *Portugal: Percursos de Interculturalidade*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: ACIDI, 2008), 421.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

transnational sheet music market of the middle of the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁰ Thus, the *Cancioneiro* can be analysed not only as a patchwork and superimposition of repertoires, collectors, and regions but also of chronological times.

A piece that can be framed both in the context of superimposition of chronological times and as a residual trace of the nation's past is the song "Batalha de Alcacer Quibir," included in the *Cancioneiro de músicas populares*.¹⁴¹ This song refers to the Battle of Alcácer-Quibir (or Ksar El Kebir), fought in Northern Africa in 1578, where the Portuguese king D. Sebastião perished, creating a dynastic crisis that culminated with the union of the two Iberian kingdoms from 1580 to 1640. According to Neves and Campos, the piece was collected from Miguel Leitão de Andrada's book entitled *Miscellanea do sitio de N. S^a. da Luz do Pedrogão Grande*, originally published in 1629 and republished, in a new version, by the Imprensa Nacional in 1867.¹⁴² Neves transcribed a song in a partbook format (in which the *cantus*, *altus*, and *bassus* were notated separately and in C clefs) to a two-stave piano setting, a strategy he describes in his critical commentary.¹⁴³ Despite its strophic form and narrative stance, aspects that may place the song within the repertoire of popular balladry, Neves argues that its contrapuntal approach points to a non-popular origin of the song.¹⁴⁴ This points to the interpretation of popular culture as a space in which vestigial traces of erudite cultural formations of the past are preserved, thus promoting an ahistorical and static view of this field.

The fact that Neves and Campos identify the collectors is symptomatic of a mechanism that relied on their prestige (or social capital, to use Bourdieu's terminology) to promote their work. This stands in counterpoint to the rise of a scientific ethnological approach based on positivist paradigms, which presented the collector as an agent who does not interfere with the materials (therefore a "vanishing mediator") in his/her activity of registering the popular repertoires. Another promotion strategy used for this type of publication was to have then prefaced by distinguished scholars. For example, Leite de Vasconcelos wrote the introduction to the collection of

¹⁴⁰ Neves and Campos, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 74–75.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 1–3.

¹⁴² Miguel Leitão de Andrada, *Miscellanea do sitio de N. S^a. da Luz do Pedrogão Grande* (Lisbon: Matheus Pinheiro, 1629), 230–231 and Andrada, *Miscellanea* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1867). The 1867 edition, apart from the reproduction of the original song, includes a modern transcription of the piece in a three-stave system with barlines and G and F clefs.

¹⁴³ Neves and Campos, *op.cit.*, vol. 2, 2.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

traditional songs from the Beira region organised by Pedro Fernandes Tomás (1853–1927).¹⁴⁵ The *Cancioneiro de músicas populares* also partook in this strategy, having each of the published volumes prefaced by a personality whose activity was associated with Porto (where Neves and Campos worked and the collection was published), Teófilo Braga, Sousa Viterbo (a prominent art historian and archeologist of the time, 1845–1910), and Manuel Ramos (a journalist who wrote on music).

In the preface of the first volume of the *Cancioneiro*, Teófilo Braga reviews the predominance given to the literary materials of songs in the studies of the time, especially when compared with the scarcity of work about their music. Braga attributes this shortage to the specific training required for the collection and transcription of songs whilst preserving the “naive simplicity of the melodies” and their “spontaneous naturality.”¹⁴⁶ In his analysis of the traditional songs, Braga presents the strong association between text and music as a product of the “mental syncretism of the races,” thus framing the traditional songs within an ethnogenealogical interpretation of history.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, Braga philologically traces back this tradition to the *Rigveda*, a work he argues it was produced by the Aryan ancestors of the Portuguese people.¹⁴⁸ Braga also discusses several medieval and early modern songbooks, arguing that popular melodies were traces of the past. This argument not only creates an unbroken sequence in the history of Portuguese poetry but also represents “the people” as the holder of traces of this historical past in a critical period for Portugal, a country “threatened by decadence” and where revivification of the “national genius is dependent on the vitality of its tradition.”¹⁴⁹

Sousa Viterbo begins the introduction of the second volume of the *Cancioneiro* by praising the work and its service to the “Portuguese nationality.”¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, he addresses the association between science and folklorism at the time, the two of them walking “hand in hand to the fields, collecting, a little by chance, the flowers that spontaneously blossomed at their feet.”¹⁵¹ Viterbo also argues the possible usage for the *Cancioneiro* as a source for the comparative study of the “aesthetical manifestations” of

¹⁴⁵ Pedro Fernandes Tomás, *Canções populares da Beira: acompanhada de 52 melodias recolhidas para piano* (Figueira da Foz: Lusitana, 1896).

¹⁴⁶ Teófilo Braga, “As melodias portuguesas”, in Neves and Campos, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, v.

¹⁴⁷ Braga, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, v.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Braga, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, vi–vii.

¹⁵⁰ Sousa Viterbo, “Cancioneiro de músicas populares”, in Neves and Campos, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, v.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

several peoples and points to the theatrical and ecclesiastic influence in the Portuguese repertoire of traditional songs. Moreover, he argues that these songs might also have been influenced by the Jewish or Moorish cultures who had settled in the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁵² The second volume of the *Cancioneiro* contains a long preamble by César das Neves in which he discusses the “primitive music of the crude people,” initially centered in rhythm, giving the example of percussion ensembles and bagpipers that were part of the popular celebrations of several religious feasts in the north of Portugal.¹⁵³ Subsequently, he develops an interesting discussion concerning various types of song and uses thematic and organological data to characterise them, pointing to the musical and cultural diversity in the various regions of Portugal.¹⁵⁴ He concludes his analysis with a historical account of the Portuguese popular song, presenting its alleged stagnation and the dominant role played by theatrical music as symptoms of national decadence, a view that closely resembles Rocha Peixoto’s work discussed above.¹⁵⁵

Manuel Ramos’ introduction of the last volume of the series shifts the relevance of the collection towards the sphere of art music, addressing the constitution and development of a Portuguese tradition whose thematic materials were drawn from traditional music. In this discussion, Ramos praises several Pre-Raphaelites and their use of various elements of the English popular culture in creating a national style.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, Ramos examines the work of several Russian, Scandinavian and Bohemian composers associated with a nationalist canon in art music.¹⁵⁷ He then turns to the Iberian context and traces a historical account of Portuguese music in the nineteenth century, associating this period with the rise of a nationalist movement that includes composers like Francisco de Sá Noronha, João Arroio, Ciríaco de Cardoso, Viana da Mota (who, despite having developed a career mostly abroad, had composed several works that aestheticised Portuguese popular music, 1868–1948), Victor Hussla (1857–99, who used thematic materials from the collection published by João António Ribas in his *Rapsódias portuguesas*),¹⁵⁸ Alexandre Rey Colaço (whose work consisted mostly of

¹⁵² Sousa Viterbo, *op. cit.*, vi.

¹⁵³ Neves, “Preambulo”, in Neves and Campos, *op. cit.*, vol.2, xi–xiii.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, xiii–xv.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, xv.

¹⁵⁶ Manuel Ramos, “Cancioneiro de Músicas Populares”, in Neves and Campos, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, v.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, v–vi.

¹⁵⁸ Vieira, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 254.

small pieces for piano, 1854–1928), and Alfredo Keil.¹⁵⁹ In his preface, Ramos emphasises the role that traditional music should play in the renewal of Portuguese music through a nationalist perspective (arguing that Portugal was a late developer in this process), enumerates several collections of Portuguese popular songs, and argues for some of these materials to be integrated in the curricula of primary schools.¹⁶⁰ For him, collections of traditional music repertoires were a thematic repository for art music composers to draw upon, as a conveyor of domestic entertainment, and as a pedagogic tool in which the promotion of patriotism is underpinned.

One of the most prevalent associations between a given territory and a specific song form is the case of the Portuguese fado. The first historical endeavors that concentrated on presenting fado as a musical and poetic genre were published during the first decade of the twentieth century.¹⁶¹ In their works, both Pimentel and Pinto de Carvalho limit the discussion of fado to Lisbon and Coimbra. However, the *Cancioneiro de músicas populares* includes a significant number of songs entitled fado that were collected in places such as Porto, Figueira da Foz, Cascais, Leça, Cinfães, Tancos, or Azores. Moreover, the publication includes the “Fado do celta” (Fado of the Celt), a title that is associated with the poetic content of the song and resonates with the discourse on the ethnic grounding of the Portuguese nation.¹⁶²

This heterogeneous universe of songs whose title contained the word “fado” and that were circulating in Portugal can be explained by the polysemic use of this term, defined in Cândido de Figueiredo’s dictionary as a “popular song, generally allusive to the everyday life of working people.”¹⁶³ Hence, the term “fado” has to be historicised and understood as a term generically used for popular song, despite the historiographical endeavor to present fado as a music category within a circumscribed historical and geographic context. Drawing from a literary example, in Eça de Queirós’ *A relíquia* (published in 1887), he places the protagonist telling a concocted story that

¹⁵⁹ See Maria José Artiaga, *Continuity and change in three decades of portuguese musical life 1870–1900*, Ph.D. thesis (Royal Holloway, University of London, 2007); Teresa Cascudo, “A década da invenção de Portugal na música erudita (1890–1899)”, *Revista portuguesa de musicologia*, 10 (2000), 181–226; Paulo Ferreira de Castro, “Nacionalismo musical ou os equívocos da portugalidade/Musical nationalism, or the ambiguities of portugueseness”, in Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), *Portugal e o mundo: o encontro de culturas na música/Portugal and the World: The Encounter of Cultures in Music* (Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 1997), 155–170.

¹⁶⁰ Ramos, *op. cit.*, vii–viii. See also Ramos, *A musica portuguesa* (Porto: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1892).

¹⁶¹ See Pinto de Carvalho, *História do fado* (Lisbon: Empresa da História de Portugal, 1903) and Pimentel, *A triste canção do Sul: subsídios para a História do fado*.

¹⁶² Neves and Campos, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, 260.

¹⁶³ Figueiredo, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 595.

had supposedly occurred in his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in which an English woman (with whom he was romantically involved) played the piano and sung fados (the term Queirós literally uses) and theatrical songs in the next room.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, in a folkloristic approach to the Portuguese islands of Azores published in 1903 Longworth Dames and Seemann pointed out that the term “fado” was used to designate songs associated with popular dances in this region.¹⁶⁵

In this sense, it becomes possible to problematise a diffusionist narrative in which fado subsisted as a musical genre that had originated in Lisbon and subsequently migrated to Coimbra (according to Pimentel’s perspective) by pointing out the existence of popular songs with this designation within the Portuguese territory. Moreover, writing in 1902 Moore states that “the word ‘fado’ is used with a singular meaning in Portugal which seems to have absolutely no connection with the musical form.”¹⁶⁶ Drawing from an Anglophone parallel, she argues that fado is the “the laborer’s song of fate” and that “the Portuguese indiscriminately call ‘fados’ what we designate as serenades, ballads, jigs, and sailor’s hornpipes.”¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless, Moore associates fado with Portuguese identity, a cultural trope frequently repeated up to the present, by producing a highly problematic sentence: “A musically inclined Portuguese (and most Portuguese are musically inclined) can instantly tell whether a song is a ‘fado’ or not; though he cannot successfully [*sic*] explain it to any one who is not a born Portuguese.”¹⁶⁸

By 1900, the publishing of collections of popular songs was part of the music publishing business, pointing to their incorporation as part of the commercial entertainment market. It is in this context in which Vieira reports that some of these collections constituted an “abusive commercial exploitation” of these popular repertoires.¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, an approach to song collecting with scientific undertones was developed at the time, a process that, in some points, overlapped the tendency of editing traditional music with more commercial intents. In this process, the ideological move to efface the role of the collector, “a witness who intervenes between us and the performance and colours the record of it with some of his or her own ideas and

¹⁶⁴ Eça de Queirós, *A relíquia* (Porto: Typ. de A. J. da Silva Teixeira, 1887), 395.

¹⁶⁵ M. Longworth Dames and E. Seemann, “Folklore of the Azores”, *Folklore* 14/2 (1903), 145.

¹⁶⁶ Isabel Moore, “Portuguese folk-songs”, *The Journal of American Folklore* 15/58 (1902), 165.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 165–166.

¹⁶⁸ Moore, *op. cit.*, 165.

¹⁶⁹ Vieira, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 254.

assumptions,” played a key role.¹⁷⁰ For example, in 1902 the Council of Musical Art of the Lisbon Conservatoire released a circular that aimed to systematise the collection of folk songs on a national level. The document was sent to several personalities as well as published in the institution’s official journal.¹⁷¹ Moreover, the document requested the collaboration of all people who were interested in the musical traditions of Portugal. This publication stressed that song collection was to be made without the addition of elements that were not part of the observed performance, establishing a discourse based on neutrality and authenticity (in which the collector acts as a “vanishing mediator,” a character that, despite imposing meaning on and organising the transcribed repertoires, retreats to invisibility after the process is over).¹⁷²

According to this circular the collected repertoire was to be rendered as performed and “without any personal interference from the collector.”¹⁷³ In this perspective, the harmonisations produced by the collectors (that formed the standard for the bulk of the sheet music editions of traditional songs) were considered to be a direct intervention by them on the musical materials. However, the impact of this circular was not substantial and the publication of most of the transcriptions that fitted the aims intended by the Conselho falls outside the chronological boundaries of this thesis. Nevertheless, some of the collectors who were active at the time altered their strategy. For example, Pedro Fernandes Tomás not only abandoned the procedure of harmonising the collected melodies but also removed the harmonisations he had previously included in *Canções populares da Beira* in the second edition of this book, published in 1923.¹⁷⁴

Apart from his input on the work of scholars who studied traditional music, Leite de Vasconcelos published an ethnological work that concentrated on poetic and musical repertoires. This article included a few musical transcriptions of traditional melodies (the majority of which without harmonisation) and was published in 1907.¹⁷⁵ Vasconcelos’ “Canções do berço” (“Songs of the cradle”) can be interpreted as a contribution by one of the leading scientists of the time to the study of traditional repertoires. He discusses the repertoire of cradle songs in Portugal, placing them in an

¹⁷⁰ Vic Gammon, “Folk song collecting in Sussex and Surrey, 1843–1914”, *History Workshop Journal*, 10/1 (1980), 62.

¹⁷¹ Conselho de Arte Musical do Conservatório Real de Lisboa, “Cancioneiro popular português”, *Revista do Conservatório Real de Lisboa*, 1 (1902), 15–16.

¹⁷² Conselho, *ibid.* and Gammon, *op. cit.*, 84.

¹⁷³ Castelo-Branco and Toscano, *op. cit.*, 161.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ Leite de Vasconcelos, “Canções do berço: segundo a tradição popular portuguesa”, *Revista Lusitana* 10/1–2 (1907), 1–86.

international (or, more accurately, interethnic) framework. Moreover, Vasconcelos historically traces these repertoires in Portugal to the Renaissance and includes illustrations of cribs from several Portuguese regions, a reflex of his growing interest on material culture in everyday life. The core of the work consists of a long collection of poems of cradle songs from all Portuguese continental regions as well as from the archipelago of Madeira (many of them taken “directly from the people’s mouth”) by Vasconcelos and other collectors.¹⁷⁶

Vasconcelos organises the song texts in four main categories: prelude, songs to lull, songs of the cradle, and a heterogeneous category that contains songs that bear distinct morphological characteristics. The “prelude” consists of poems that express the care the mother has towards her children explaining both the signification and the origin of the lyrics, most of them received from previous generations of mothers, pointing to the role women played in the transmission of cultural capital. The “songs to lull” were performed when the mother is holding the child in her arms, and the “songs of the cradle” were sung while the child is in the cradle. The last category comprised songs with an unusual meter or stanza length, songs that include Mirandese or Spanish words, proverbs and sayings as well as poems that, despite not being oriented to lull children, were used for this aim (valuing cultural practices as well as intrinsic poetic content of these manifestations).¹⁷⁷ Vasconcelos also argues that the distinction between the songs to lull and the songs of the cradle is mostly theoretical and that the same songs could be used in both contexts, an argument that is reinforced by his collection, where the majority of lyrics fall in this category.¹⁷⁸ “Canções do berço” then includes an appendix consisting of song texts collected after the work was paginated, an extensive commentary to the materials, and the musical transcription of a few regional songs.

One interesting characteristic of portable sound recording technologies is their potential application in the collection of traditional music. This resonates with an ethnological perspective whose aim was to safeguard a culture that was perceived to be vanishing. In the introduction of a work by Pedro Fernandes Tomás published in 1913, *Velhas canções e romances populares portuguesas*, the art critic António Arroio (1856–1934) argues for the use of sound recording as a form of avoiding the collector’s

¹⁷⁶ Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, 23–24.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 13–14, 19–22.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

intervention on the musical materials.¹⁷⁹ Promoting technological devices as guarantors of mechanic objectivity transfers the role of the “vanishing mediator” from a human agent (the collector) to a technological apparatus (the phonograph). Despite the date of publication of Tomás’ work falling outside the chronological boundaries of this thesis, the book contains important information on the new processes and paradigms for song collecting in Portugal. Furthermore, in the introduction of the book Arroio states that he undertook field recordings in what constitutes the first mention of the use of the phonograph in the work of Portuguese folklorists.¹⁸⁰ Regrettably, there is no further evidence of these phonograms nor of the dates the recordings (that might fall before 1908).¹⁸¹ Conversely, several songs collected in the *Cancioneiro de músicas populares* were recorded and released by the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, an occurrence that is symptomatic of the ambiguous status of the editions of traditional music, situated in the interstitial space between the commodity forms of the entertainment market and the recent ethnological endeavor.¹⁸²

The establishment of a scientific approach to a number of disciplines played a key role in the encoding of the cultural nation-state. Despite the concentration of most of the effort of Portuguese scholars on language and race, the fields that Balibar presents as the two main routes of producing ethnicity, a significant amount of work on other elements of popular culture, including music, was carried out by people like Leite de Vasconcelos, Pedro Fernandes Tomás, and César das Neves.¹⁸³ This can be interpreted as a symptom of a wider process, mostly undertaken by republican scholars (Consiglieri Pedroso, Teófilo Braga, or Adolfo Coelho), that aimed to ground the Portuguese nation in a scientific basis in order to dissociate this entity from the monarchic institutions, and to establish a competing notion of nationality.

For this task, the construction of “the people” (or, to use Almeida’s expression, “constructing the Same in the homeland”) through disciplines such as archaeology, physical anthropology, philology, folklore studies, linguistics, and history within the framework of the Portuguese Empire occupied a prominent place in the work of several

¹⁷⁹ Pedro Fernandes Tomás, *Velhas canções e romances populares portuguesas* (Coimbra: França Amado, editor, 1913); António Arroio, “Introdução”, in Tomás, *op. cit.*, xxiv–xxv; and Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, “The image of Objectivity”, *Representations*, 0/40 (1992), 81–128.

¹⁸⁰ Arroio, *op. cit.*, xxiv.

¹⁸¹ Castelo-Branco and Toscano, *op. cit.*, 161.

¹⁸² Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *Novo Catalogo de discos portugueses* (Lisbon: n.p., 1908), 7–10.

¹⁸³ Étienne Balibar, “The nation form”, in Balibar and Wallerstein, *op. cit.*, 96.

ethnologists. Conversely, the creation of a market segment centered on the commodification (and inherent aestheticisation) of the vernacular embodied a rising interest for the consumption of these repertoires that, albeit collected from “the people,” shared the conventions of the sheet music or of the gramophone record associated with an urban space. This facilitated the naturalisation of the nation-state for several sectors of Portuguese society.

On the one hand, the aestheticisation of the vernacular played an important role in the incorporation of what were perceived as urban song forms, such as fado, in the entertainment market. This complex relation was analysed by Frith:

if one effect of mass culture was to ‘discipline’ the nineteenth-century urban ‘unrespectable,’ another, equally important, was to loosen up the nineteenth-century urban (or suburban) respectable...But the other side of this story is the selling of ‘safe’ ways for middle-class city dwellers (and the respectable working class) to enjoy the proletarian pleasures of noisy public behavior.¹⁸⁴

Conversely, the process of folklorisation concentrated on vernacular elements drawn from the rural populations. Nevertheless, both urban and rural musical products were transformed to fit the conventions of the market for cultural goods. Therefore, rural and urban repertoires found their common ground in the commodity forms associated with the entertainment market, complicating an essentialist perspective that relies on a clear segmentation between the urban and the rural or between the ethnological and the entertaining. Furthermore, both ethnology and the entertainment market reflected and influenced a growing public awareness to national and regional identities in Portugal.

¹⁸⁴ Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 34.

Conclusion

“Burning in a fever of greatness, Lisbon had felt the necessity for other streets, other styles, other interiors: something that was coherent with the ideals, the habits, and the workings of its modern life.”¹ This remark by the writer Fialho d’Almeida captures some of the fundamental changes in Lisbon that merged urban planning, everyday life, and modernity. This concluding chapter aims to enlarge and bring together several topics that permeate the entire thesis but were addressed in their specific contexts. Therefore, this chapter will map several lines of thought that, despite their ubiquitous presence in the subtext of the thesis, were only allowed to emerge at certain points.

I would like to start by examining the polarity between art and entertainment, a process that is associated with the expansion of the market for cultural goods in which commercial popular entertainment venues provided the privileged setting.² A move that draws a fracture between art and entertainment can be examined as a reaction against the cumulative commodification of cultural goods and their exchange according to specific market conditions.³ However, the establishment of an artistic field that relies on the symbolic capital of the objects it contains (such as so-called Western art – or “serious” – music) is certainly integrated into the broader market of cultural goods that was in place at the time. This brings me to the process of categorising and naming. In Cândido de Figueiredo’s Portuguese dictionary published in 1899 the term “art” is defined as both a set of conventions and as a synonym of skill or artifice, not containing any reference to an autonomous field of cultural production.⁴ However, before the dictionary was published, two series of the music periodical *Arte Musical* (“Musical Art”), addressing repertoires associated with the erudite realm, had already been published (in 1873–1875 and 1890–1891). This points both to the polysemic character of the term “art” in the Portuguese context of the time, as well as to its uneven circulation and meaning in distinct cultural spheres.

Drawing from Lacan, Laclau presents the process of naming as the privileged mechanism for the organisation and unification of a specific heterogeneous object, a

¹ Fialho d’Almeida, *Lisboa galante* (Porto: Livraria Civilização, 1890), 16.

² On this issue see Derek B. Scott, “The rift between art and entertainment”, in Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The 19th-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris and Vienna* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), 85–115.

³ Scott, *op. cit.*, 88

⁴ Cândido de Figueiredo, *Nôvo dicionário da língua portuguesa*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Livraria Tavares Cardoso & Irmão, 1899), 135.

move that operates retroactively on that entity.⁵ Moreover, naming becomes a way of not only enunciating but also a form of arranging reality. By considering the thought of both Gramsci and Lacan in the works of Laclau, it is possible to expand the notion of naming from an exclusively taxonomical operation towards a perspective in which “the production of meaning is simultaneously an operation of power.”⁶ Constructing an artistic field that stood in opposition to the commercial entertainment market can be interpreted as an operation of power, facilitated by people who promoted strategies of social distinction through the consumption of cultural goods. Therefore, this move can be associated with the translation of accumulated economic capital into cultural capital by the privileged sectors of Portuguese society, aiming to disseminate, legitimate, naturalise, and reproduce a hierarchical view of society.⁷ According to Bourdieu,

In the symbolic struggle over the production of common sense, or, more precisely, for the monopoly of legitimate naming, that is to say, official i.e., – explicit and public – imposition of the legitimate vision of the social world, agents engage the symbolic capital they have acquired in previous struggles, in particular, all the power they possess over the instituted taxonomies, inscribed in minds or in objectivity, such as qualifications.⁸

Therefore, the polar segmentation of the market for cultural goods has been present in public discourse since, at least, the second half of the nineteenth century. This division is associated with the cultural legitimation of several social groups in a period when both the universe for these goods and the numbers of its intended consumers were in rapid expansion. According to Scott, “the field of the popular that opened up in the nineteenth-century was one in which different classes and class fractions fought over questions of intellectual and moral leadership (in Gramscian terms, hegemony).”⁹ This points to a field in which several competing notions of the “popular” were operating, and indicates that any essentialisation of either pole of the division between art and entertainment is misleading.

However, if the field of art was constructed as a polar opposite to the market of popular entertainment, the definition of the latter realm is a complex and multilayered

⁵ Ernesto Laclau, “Ideology and post-Marxism”, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 11/2 (2006), 109.

⁶ James Martin, “The political logic of discourse: a neo-Gramscian view”, *History of European Ideas*, 28/1–2 (2002), 26.

⁷ Pierre Bourdieu. *La distinction. Critique social du jugement* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1979).

⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, “The social space and the genesis of groups”, *Theory and Society*, 14/6 (1985), 731.

⁹ Scott. *op. cit.*, 9.

process. As stated in the second chapter of this thesis, some of the most prolific composers of operetta and *revista* for Lisbon's stages worked steadily for institutions associated with the art music field (such as the Real Conservatório de Lisboa or the Real Teatro de S. Carlos). However, apart from a few exceptions, these agents were not directly employed as composers by these institutions. Although they accumulated roles in theatrical and musical organisations, their activity shifted according to the distinction between venues in Lisbon's cultural fabric. For example, several members of the orchestra of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos who never wrote operas to be performed in that space were frequently employed as composers for theatres that concentrated in presenting operettas and *revistas*. On the one hand, prominent musicians accumulated roles in several venues of the capital that were associated with either segment of the market. Conversely, their role shifted according to the place they worked, which points to the accumulation of differentiated tasks by the same musician.

If we are to take the distinction between "art" and "entertainment" seriously, we have to associate the latter with the idea of the popular. For Middleton, the current form of understanding popular music can be traced back to the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries and associated with features that were symbiotically interrelated, such as the increase in number and size of audiences, the creation of public institutions for musical education, and the development of channels for the dissemination of music.¹⁰ Moreover, it was in this process that the problematic rift between art (the "emergent canonic repertory of 'classics'") and entertainment ("a sense of low-class, 'trivial' genres") was carved.¹¹

Another way of mapping the "popular" is through its position in the market for cultural goods. According to Frith, the "equation between popular culture with market choice is problematic. It means that 'popularity,' by default, is consumption as measured by sales figures and market indicators."¹² However, these parameters are not directly applicable to the Portuguese context, at a time when "popular" meant "relative to the people; proper of the people; agreeable to the people; esteemed by the people, democratic" and there are no reliable quantitative data concerning the theatrical and

¹⁰ Richard Middleton, "Popular Music: I. Popular music in the West, 1. Definitions", *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (5 June 2010).

¹¹ Middleton, *ibid.*

¹² Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 15.

musical activities in Lisbon.¹³ Nevertheless, the concept of *música ligeira* operates in a symbolic universe similar to what we now call popular music, displaying the transformation of the meaning of “popular” throughout the twentieth century, especially after its association with the production of the culture industries.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the definition of “popular” through specific (and essentialist) stylistic characteristics appears to be highly problematic. Drawing from a Lacanian-Žižekian perspective, Middleton argues:

However ‘popular music’ is articulated, whatever we try to make it mean, the people as subject is embedded somewhere within it, and with an emotional charge that will apparently just not go away. We need to account for that investment as well as the (necessary) mutability of content. And here the word itself must come to the fore. Žižek’s position is grounded, more broadly, in an anti-descriptivist theory of naming. Names (‘the people,’ ‘music,’ ‘popular music’), he argues, do not acquire meaning through reference to given properties but through a ‘primal baptism’ followed up in a ‘chain of tradition.’¹⁵

This brings me to the discussion of the concepts of tradition and modernity. Both terms are deeply connected and should be analysed in relation to each other. On the one hand, the rapid transformation of human modes of experience associated with “modern” life suggests a complex interaction of technological innovations, economic development, and political processes that reshaped the everyday life of the Portuguese people. Conversely, the term “modernity” points to a specific notion of space and of historical time that marked a distinction between “modern” and “pre-modern” worlds. The concept of tradition became predominantly associated with a static vision of a pre-modern world that contrasted with the portrayal of the modern world as a kinetic entity. However, situating tradition as a residual trace of the pre-modern world in modern societies proves to be a problematic move because it tends to rely upon an evolutionist

¹³ Cândido de Figueiredo, *Nôvo dicionário da língua portuguesa*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Livraria Tavares Cardoso & Irmão, 1899), 344.

¹⁴ For various discussions of the definition of popular music see Roy Shuker, *Understanding Popular Music* (NY: Routledge, 1994); Peter Manuel, *Popular Musics of the Non-Western World: An Introductory Survey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Richard Middleton, *Studying Popular Music* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1990); Simon Frith, *Popular Music: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, vol. 2 (London: Routledge, 2004), 3–4, and Keith Negus, *Popular Music in Theory: An Introduction* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1996).

¹⁵ Richard Middleton, *Voicing the Popular: On the Subjects of Popular Music* (London/NY: Routledge, 2006), 34. See Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London/NY: Verso, 2008), 98–99. About Žižek’s overlapping of Kripkes notion of the rigid designator with Lacan’s concept of the master signifier see Slavoj Žižek, *Looking Awry: An Introduction to Jacques Lacan Through Popular Culture* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1992), 103.

conception of culture. Moreover, elements of both worlds (if they can be presented as separate spaces) tend to coexist in Lisbon and popular traditions (presented as timeless, achronological, or subject to a conception of historical time other than the modern) were politically used to establish a chain of tradition that attested the antiquity of the Portuguese nation.

This intertwining and embedding of tradition and modernity can be profitably analysed by referring to Derrida's notion of the constitutive outside. "The constitutive outside is a relational process by which the outside – or 'other' – of any category is actively at work on both sides of the constructed boundary, and is thus always leaving its trace within the category."¹⁶ Consequently, the construction of a dichotomy between tradition and modernity, a cultural trope in Western modernity, is problematic because these categories are ontologically relational. Therefore, tradition is the constructed space in relation to which modernity is encoded, performed, and commodified, an entity that "marks the alterity of the inside, fashions its borders, assigns its social significance, and supervises its relations with other boundaries."¹⁷ Conversely, "the constructed inside [in this case, modernity], which is both agent and victim of this territorializing process, extends beyond itself to become another's outside within."¹⁸ According to this analysis, an interpretation of tradition as a residual trace of a pre-modern past becomes extremely problematic due to the porosity between categories, in which the apparent rigidity of boundaries is promoted in order to maintain (and not to contain) that category.¹⁹

One of the most important perspectives on these matters was proposed by Hobsbawm in *The Invention of Tradition*, a key work for the study of tradition, modernity, and the nation-state that has been widely discussed since its first publication in 1983.²⁰ In his work, Hobsbawm situates tradition (namely in its "invented" forms) within the boundaries of modernity and associates this with the creation of the modern nation-state. According to the same author, invented traditions "are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their

¹⁶ Wolfgang Iser and John Paul Jones, "Identity, space, and other uncertainties", in Georges Benko and Ulf Strohmayer (eds), *Space and Social Theory: Interpreting Modernity and Post-Modernity* (London: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 146.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

own past by quasi-obligatory repetition.”²¹ Moreover, they are a “set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.”²² Thus, invented traditions were a key strategy for the production of symbolic markers in which the modern nation operated. Moreover, they promoted an unbroken continuity between the past and the present.

This attempt to ground nation-states in a remote past and the use of their alleged antiquity as a strategy for the legitimation of that contingent formation can be associated with a modern conception of historical time. According to Hobsbawm, invented traditions can be framed in the “attempt to structure at least some parts of social life” within the ever-changing modern world, an argument that resonates with the promotion of an ahistorical and static view of popular culture by several Portuguese ethnologists.²³ However, in his argument Hobsbawm presents a reductive view of tradition, defining it as a realm that relies on purported notions of invariance and fixedness, excluding conventions or routines that have no “significant ritual or symbolic function as such.”²⁴ Moreover, Hobsbawm draws a distinction between tradition and custom, presenting the latter as a relatively flexible concept that is prevalent in traditional societies (that, in this context, may be understood as pre-industrial).²⁵ This line of reasoning raises several important questions. First, Hobsbawm’s view of tradition relies on a functionalist perspective on ritual and symbols which tends to reduce (or even exclude) the ritual and symbolic aspects embedded in everyday life, a perspective that stands as incompatible with my appropriation of Bourdieu’s notion of *habitus* throughout this thesis. Second, the distinction between tradition and custom is highly problematic when dealing with a culturally heterogeneous country, which would be the normative arrangement for most nation-states.

For example, Portugal was a predominantly agrarian country with a few incipiently industrialised areas, which may indicate the coexistence of several types of social organisation within the same territory. Drawing from Hobsbawm’s perspective, if Portuguese ethnology predominantly studied popular culture in rural communities, the

²¹ Eric J. Hobsbawm, “Introduction”, in Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), *op. cit.*, 2.

²² *Ibid.*, 1.

²³ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 2–3.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

folklorists acted as mediators not only between the rural and the urban, but also between customs and tradition. Consequently, folklorists played a key role in creating a stabilised representation of tradition through the crystallisation of elements associated with dynamic traditional practices (or customs).

One of the most prevalent topics in the discussion of tradition and modernity is the urban/rural divide and its historical implications. The association between tradition and the rural areas of the country dominated the work of various authors, some of whom aimed to create a link between coeval popular culture and the nation's glorious past. Therefore, the construction (or production) of rural space can be interpreted as a historicist operation that aims to bind space and time together in one historical category. The essentialisation of both urban and rural realms through their demarcation as self-contained entities was used to ground and legitimate political action. Moreover, the presentation of the rural world as the site where an "authentic" popular culture needs salvaging from the process of urbanisation tends to disregard the symbiotic relations and the porosity of boundaries between these spaces. For example, the rise of internal migration from the country to the city contributed to the reconfiguration of cultural practices in both realms. Furthermore, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the significant emigration of both men and women from predominantly rural areas to countries such as Brazil reshaped Portuguese everyday life and is well documented in the coeval sources.

Conversely, elements associated with the rural world and, therefore, with modes of life that were presented as traditional were ubiquitous in the urban landscape, due to a symbiotic relation between the city and the country that surfaced with urbanisation. Because the city had to rely on the countryside for the supply of several basic products, the pedlars, mostly inbound from the rural outskirts of Lisbon known as the *região saloia*, were a constant presence in the city's everydayness. These sellers concentrated their trade in outdoor markets (such as the Praça da Figueira), fairs, or in the city's streets (with their carts and baskets), and contributed with their cries to the auditory landscape of the city. Another element that reinforces the porosity between the urban and the rural is the regular incorporation of regional songs, dances, and characters in the urban entertainment market. This aestheticisation of the rural can be interpreted as part of the process of aestheticising the vernacular that was addressed in the first and second chapters of this thesis. Conversely, the dissemination of songs associated with the urban

entertainment market in rural areas through wandering musicians evidences the fluidity of boundaries between the country and the city, and complicates the predominantly essentialist perspective promoted by the ethnologists of the time.

In the second chapter of this thesis, I analysed the dialectic relation between the local and the global, a process that can be correlated with both the tradition/modernity and the urban/rural binarisms. As argued earlier, the growing commodification of music fostered the creation of a transnational market for these goods in a period when, apart from financial institutions, most of the trade was conducted with or within national economies (in which the colonial world was included).²⁶ In this sense, although the global commerce worked, mainly, at an international level, cultural goods relied in transnational processes of dissemination and reproduction. This evidences a tendency towards deterritorialisation that would be transferred to the production, mediation, and consumption of other kinds of merchandise throughout the twentieth century. Giddens points to the presence of what he designates as “disembedding” mechanisms in modernity, “mechanisms which prise social relations free from the hold of specific locales, recombining them across wide time-space distances.”²⁷ Moreover, when dealing with contemporary societies, the author states: “the reorganisation of time and space, plus the disembedding mechanisms, radicalise and globalise pre-established institutional traits of modernity; and they act to transform the content and nature of day-to-day social life.”²⁸ Despite Giddens’ focus on late modernity, his insight proves very useful for understanding the development of a transnational entertainment market.

As argued in the second chapter of this thesis, the “national” is not so much a space as a logic inherent to this process that takes place between the local and the global. Therefore, it becomes possible to articulate both levels through the nation-state in order to create and maintain a symbolically efficient nation during a period of intense social change for both local and global levels. Moreover, the constant negotiation of tensions and boundaries between the local and the global, tradition and modernity and, to some extent, the urban and the rural is a constant feature of the modern nation-state. In discussing modernity and transnationalism, the notion of cosmopolitanism surfaces. According to Anderson, “Victorian views on cosmopolitanism must be situated within

²⁶ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914* (London: Abacus, 2004), 41–42.

²⁷ Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), 2

²⁸ *Ibid.*

the context of nineteenth-century understandings of the term. In general, cosmopolitanism denotes reflective distance from one's original cultural affiliation, a broad understanding of other cultures and customs, and a belief in universal humanity.”²⁹ Moreover, a “cultivated detachment from restrictive forms of identity” underpins the notion of cosmopolitanism, which points to its placement as a disembedding mechanism present in modernity, as Giddens would have it.³⁰

Therefore, cosmopolitanism can be associated with the progressive break between cultural practices and specific places. For example, the construction of the Portuguese railway facilitated the European travels of several sectors of society and reduced the time that various foreign goods (in which music commodities were included) took to be imported. This facilitated the circulation of “modern” products that were mostly associated with the sophistication of Parisian life in Portugal, and accelerated the process through which several goods that were commercialised in a transnational level, such as sound recordings, were incorporated and metabolised into everyday life.

However, an exclusive association between cosmopolitanism and the economically privileged Portuguese social groups has to be problematised. These people were able and tended to travel, which points to their integration in a transnational flow of people across Europe that can be read within a context of cosmopolitanism. Nevertheless, the integration of elements associated with the transnational entertainment market in Portuguese contexts adds a new layer of complexity to this issue. The performance of Offenbach’s Parisian operettas in theatres mainly directed at the popular segments of Lisbon’s society, or the production and recording of “modern” and “vernacular” musical styles (such as the Brazilian maxixe or the Portuguese fado) by Portuguese artists and their incorporation in the catalogues of multinational phonographic companies are symptoms of this process. These events, associated with the development of internationalist strands associated with the workers’s movement, contributed to the expansion and displacement of the spectrum in which cosmopolitanism operated. Thus, this thesis proposes the existence of a popular modernity (that integrates in its fabric both the local and the global levels) and of

²⁹ Amanda Anderson, *The Powers of Distance: Cosmopolitanism and the Cultivation of Detachment* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 63.

³⁰ Amanda Anderson, “Cosmopolitanism, Universalism, and the Divided Legacies of Modernity”, in Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (eds), *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 266.

vernacular forms of cosmopolitanism that relied, precisely, on the disembedding mechanisms that were developed with modernity.

This work is permeated by the association between technological innovation, objectivity and modernity. The development of technologies that reduced human intervention in capturing and registering information is a key element for the study of this period. The development of photography, phonography, and film is related to a new form of objectivity that relied on mechanical apparatuses to guarantee its neutrality. Moreover, “aperspectival objectivity was the ethos of the interchangeable and therefore featureless observer – unmarked by nationality, by sensory dullness or acuity, by training or tradition; by quirky apparatus, by colourful writing style, or by any other idiosyncrasy [*sic*] that might interfere with the communication, comparison and accumulation of results.”³¹ This paradigm was predominantly employed in the natural sciences but can be traced back to the late eighteenth-century philosophy and associated with the Kantian notion of disinterestedness.³² Furthermore, Daston associates this type of objectivity with the creation of a transnational network of scientists during the nineteenth-century and the development of an ideal of communicability in this sphere, a tendency that is related to the notion of cosmopolitanism addressed above.³³

However, the development of what Weidman, following Kittler, designates as the “modern technologies of the Real” was not exclusively integrated in the field of scientific production.³⁴ Moreover, their rapid incorporation in the market of cultural goods surfaces as an important trend. This points to a specific type of objectivist thought that underpins an important part of the Western culture and has its most significant symptoms in the development of a positivist science as well as of aesthetic trends such as naturalism and realism. However, although the technologies mentioned above can be interpreted as mechanical conveyors of reality, their usage is more complex, thus making a univocal reading of that cultural tendency highly problematic. If naturalist and realist perspectives occupied a prominent space in the market for cultural goods, the ubiquitous presence of allegorical modes of representation is also important in this market.

³¹ Lorraine Daston, “Objectivity and the escape from perspective”, *Social Studies of Science* 22/4 (1992), 609.

³² *Ibid.*, 606–607.

³³ *Ibid.*, 608–612.

³⁴ Amanda Weidman, “Guru and gramophone: Fantasies of fidelity and modern technologies of the Real”, *Public Culture*, 15/3 (2003), 453–476.

For instance, the presentation of the *revista* in Lisbon's theatres, a genre based on an epic structure that relied heavily on allegory and personification, coexisted with the performance of realist and naturalist plays. Moreover, photographs of scenes from the *revista* were published in several periodicals as well as on postcards. This points to the prominence of realistic modes of representation that relied on mechanical and chemical processes even in the depiction of the allegoric content of the theatre. Another symptom of this process can be found in the work of several Portuguese ethnologists, who used a philological approach that was based on positivist paradigms in the analysis of popular literature with mythical content, such as various folk tales. Nevertheless, despite the coexistence of several aesthetic codes, there is a predominantly objectivist mode for their representation in various spheres and commodities that sometimes relies on technologies then perceived and promoted as epitomes of modernity.

An important characteristic of some of these technologies was their ability to produce representations of reality through mechanical and chemical processes. As argued before, it is possible to draw from a Barthesian analytical stance to present the developing technologies of photography, phonography and film as purveyors of analogue data that introduced new modes of representation in the market for cultural goods. Thus, the rise of iconographic and phonographic cultures has to be framed as part of a larger process of incorporation of both visual and auditory analogue representations of reality in a market that, in the middle of the nineteenth-century, was predominantly concentrated on goods that hold what Barthes designates by digital information, data that relied on a code for its interpretation.³⁵ Moreover, the new types of purportedly unmediated representation (associated with their promotion as sources ofaperspectival objectivity) that the “modern technologies of the Real” made possible contributed to the reshaping of human experience under the sign of modernity.

In this thesis I have aimed to analyse the role that the entertainment market played in the construction, dissemination, and naturalisation of the modern nation in Portugal between 1865 and 1908, a period of intense social change. For that purpose, my work has addressed a heterogeneous set of elements such as class, gender, ethnicity, technology, tradition, modernity, and the construction of both public and private spaces (from urban planning to the changing ideal of domesticity). Moreover, it contributes to

³⁵ Roland Barthes, “The photographic message”, in Roland Barthes, *Image-Music-Text* (NY: Hill and Wang, 1978), 17.

the study of the association between music and the nation by dealing on cultural materials that are seldom examined from a musicological perspective. In nation-building, the creation of a transnational market for cultural goods is bound to an analysis that has to account for the porous and complex interaction between several scales of cultural production (from the local to the global, crossing through the regional and the national).

The construction of both identity and alterity is fundamental to create a symbolically efficient nation-state and requires a specific approach when studying a country like Portugal. On the one hand, Portugal was a peripheral European country that depended heavily on foreign capital for its modernisation. Conversely, the country developed a significant interchange with its former colony Brazil and possessed territories in several continents. In this context, the colonial and post-colonial worlds were a constant presence in the definition of Portugal as a nation, a feature that was foregrounded at some points of the country's history (such as during the crisis following the British Ultimatum), and grew in significance in the country's international positioning throughout most of the twentieth-century. Therefore, the incorporation of colonial ideology in the fabric of a European nation relied on the construction and naturalisation of an asymmetrical bond between the metropolis and the colonies. Moreover, the spectral presence of a purportedly golden age during the heyday of the Portuguese Empire was a key element in the process of construction of the continental nation-state that intersected both time and space, history and geography.

What was the role music played in the process of creation, dissemination and internalisation of the symbolic nation? In some direct instances, the performance of patriotic marches, such as *A Portuguesa*, fuelled nationalist feelings in particularly difficult moments of Portuguese history. The presentation of this repertoire in the theatres and its extension to the domestic space via the sheet music or player piano roll indicates another important trait that positioned music as an effective conveyor of nationalist or patriotic ideologies, its ability to cross boundaries of both physical and social space. Therefore, music was a privileged site for the promotion and internalisation of the "composite image" of modern Portugal through pleasure, a tendency that can also be related to the process of acquisition of cultural capital through musical practice by several sectors of Lisbon's population. For that purpose, pleasure, promoted not only as an escape to the daily constraints imposed by modern life for the

theatre-going audience of the capital, but also as a factor associated with the loosening of social conventions, acted as a facilitator for the composite image of the modern nation to be naturalised and internalised. Consequently, the depiction of patriotism and modernity in the entertainment market can be interpreted as a process of commodifying the nation and making its consumption pleasurable for the public, a process that was paralleled but also relied on the commodification of music itself. This points to an articulated entertainment system in which the same theatrical show (itself a cultural good) generated a set of associated commodities that extended the scope of that universe to the city's streets as well as to domestic spaces, and incorporated the musical theatre repertoire in various contexts of everyday life.

However, the promotion of the nation through entertainment was not exclusively confined to the direct use of nationalist propaganda, such as the patriotic marches, but was a logic that permeated the market for cultural goods at the time. For example, the positive press reviews that several operas and operettas created by Portuguese authors can be interpreted as a form of promoting an attachment of the readers to a nationalist agenda. Moreover, the use of music in the *revista* is symptomatic of the promotion of a nationalist logic that underpinned a significant segment of the cultural goods. Its structure in closed numbers allowed for a selection of varied symbols associated with the nation-state and with the transnational entertainment market to be presented and internalised by its audience, who were also able to domestically reproduce these repertoires. The music included in the *revista* ranged from what might be considered transnational musical styles (such as the waltz) to aestheticisations of the urban and rural Portuguese vernacular (such as the fado or the chula), combining the performance of music that was perceived as epitomising modern cosmopolitan sophistication with the presentation of repertoires that were locally developed. Therefore, the Portuguese entertainment market and the rise of several types of musical theatre are inextricably bound to the complex symbolic and material process through which Portugal was established, presented, developed, and commodified as a modern nation-state between 1865 and 1908.

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