

**THE PORTUGUESE GUITAR:
HISTORY AND TRANSFORMATION OF AN INSTRUMENT
ASSOCIATED WITH FADO**

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ABSTRACT

Since the mid-nineteenth century the Portuguese guitar has been connected to the *fado* genre. Over the years, both the instrument and the song genre have experienced significant transformations, at times related to aesthetic changes, at other times conditioned by social, political and economic alterations. This thesis focuses on the historic organological development of the Portuguese guitar, as an instrument associated with *fado*, and explores how the Lisbon guitar model has been progressively replaced by the Coimbra guitar model (both in practice and iconic symbolism). I argue that this tendency is related to the current new era of Portuguese guitar practice with its origins in the post-revolutionary period lived in Portugal after the political overthrow in 1974. My study is based on the review and analysis of the most recent works on the subject, fieldwork among players and makers, iconographic and archival research, and my own experience as a player and maker of both models of the Portuguese guitar.

DEDICATION

To my parents

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	ii
Dedication.....	iii
Acknowledgments.....	iv
Table of contents.....	v
Chapter one: Introduction.....	1
Significance and background.....	1
Literature.....	3
Aim, scope and terminology.....	7
Methodology.....	13
Organization.....	15
Chapter two: The Portuguese guitar defined.....	16
Portuguese guitar?.....	16
The great divide regarding the origin of the Portuguese guitar.....	21
A brief organology of the Portuguese guitar.....	28
The two “modern” modes of survival.....	34
Playing techniques.....	41
New concepts in Portuguese guitar construction.....	43
Conclusion.....	47
Chapter three: The Portuguese guitar in <i>fado</i>.....	49
A bit of history.....	49
Instruments of <i>fado</i>	60
About the <i>fado</i> genre.....	68
Conclusion.....	71
Chapter four: Representations of the <i>fado guitarra</i>.....	72
Severa, the singer/ <i>cítara</i> player.....	72
Portuguese guitar imagery through the ages.....	76
A new <i>fado/guitarra</i> mania?.....	89
Conclusion.....	93
Chapter five: The path of transformation.....	94
The trend of adopting the Coimbra guitar in <i>fado</i>	98
On the subject of cultural transference.....	103
The emergence of a new ethos among Portuguese guitar players in <i>fado</i>	105
Women and the Portuguese guitar.....	113
Conclusion.....	115

Chapter six: New aesthetics in <i>fado</i>'s Portuguese guitar	117
Looking at the Portuguese guitar playing.....	122
The power of technology.....	129
Conclusion.....	132
Chapter seven: Conclusion	133
Appendices	138
Appendix A: Quotations.....	138
Appendix B: Portuguese guitar organological family tree.....	143
Time-line from <i>cítara</i> to Portuguese guitar.....	144
Appendix C: Examples of duo player/singer performance.....	146
Examples of Coimbra and cultivated pieces played in the context of <i>fado</i>	147
Appendix D: Examples of <i>fado</i> arpeggios.....	148
Appendix E: Portuguese guitar string gauges.....	152
References	153

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Significance and background

Born and raised in Portugal in the 1960s, I first learned about the Portuguese guitar at an early age, and soon realized that there were actually two models of Portuguese guitar: one used in *fado* (see p. 8), the urban song genre that emerged in Lisbon in the mid-nineteenth century; the other played by students at the university town of Coimbra and by composers-performers such as Carlos Paredes (1925-2004) and Pedro Caldeira Cabral (born 1950).¹ Their differences included size, form, acoustics, tuning pitch, technique and symbolic value. Also, the music these two models performed was then quite disparate. Today this dichotomy is not so apparent, as many musicians prefer to use the Coimbra model also in *fado*, but changing its tuning to the Lisbon higher pitch. Although these two models of the Portuguese guitar are still in use with their distinct characteristics, makers now also build a variety of hybrid forms. These “innovations” have inspired mixed reactions from *fado* aficionados and helped to transform the sound spectrum of a seemingly well-defined genre of national importance. There are several questions surrounding such a shift in instrument model being used in *fado*, in particular in the significance of the association with Lisbon versus Coimbra, and in the genuineness of the genre. Furthermore, the implication that the Coimbra model has been adopted by *fado* musicians is one of the most controversial topics in the debate of today’s *fado* instrumentation.

¹ In my study I follow Cabral’s time frame regarding the establishment of the two main models of Portuguese guitar (1999: 169). See p. 34.

Musical instruments do not mutate naturally as do animals and plants; they change because the people who make them introduce alterations in order to find solutions for mechanical issues, to fulfill aesthetic preferences of musicians, or to make a personal mark in the world of instrument making, thus assuring the continuation of their work and ultimately their survival. As noted by Florent Bousson in his study of the guitar (2006: 64) an important part of a maker's life is devoted to doing exactly that at a conscious level, despite the possibility that some of the so-called "innovations" might result from involuntary acts. Musical genres are somewhat similar with respect to their underlying capability for potential transformation, although they do not exist as separate entities governed by a pre-destined set of rules; rather, as cultural products they depend on human nature.

While I have been involved with the Portuguese guitar both as a player and a maker for more than twenty years, my experience and conceptualization of the use of the instrument in *fado* are diasporic in nature, since I have lived in Toronto since 1985. This quality adds another dimension to my study of the Portuguese guitar as a highly symbolic artifact and conveys a distinctive gaze into a musical genre considered by many to be a national treasure. My research is of relevance to the field of cultural organology insofar as it elaborates on how a musical culture is constantly changing with a disposition to absorb other forms, both in musical essence and instrumental apparatus. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first study that analyzes the phenomenon of adopting the Coimbra model Portuguese guitar by a growing number of *fado* musicians.

Literature

Specialized literature on the Portuguese guitar is quite limited. Only two major studies are entirely devoted to the subject: *A Guitarra Portuguesa: Bosquejo Histórico* (*The Portuguese Guitar: Historical Sketch*) by Armando Simões (1974); and *A Guitarra Portuguesa* (*The Portuguese Guitar*) by Pedro Caldeira Cabral (1999). Shorter works include *As “guitarras de Alcácer” e a “guitarra portuguesa”* (*The “Alcácer guitars” and the “Portuguese guitar”*) by Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro (1936), and *Vozes e Guitarras na Prática Interpretativa do Fado* (*Voices and Guitars in the Interpretative Practice of Fado*) by Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco (1994). Nevertheless, books about *fado* commonly contain references or even a chapter dedicated to the instruments used in the genre. These include two historic works: *História do Fado* (*History of Fado*) by José Pinto Ribeiro de Carvalho “Tinop” (1903); and *A Triste Canção do Sul: Subsídios para a História do Fado* (*The Sad Song of the South: Contributions for the History of Fado*) by Alberto Pimentel (1904); and more recent accounts such as: *Fado: Origens Líricas e Motivação Poética* (*Fado: Lyric Origins and Poetic Motivation*) by Mascarenhas Barreto (1964); *As Músicas do Fado* (*The Musics of Fado*) by Ruben de Carvalho (1994); *A History of the Portuguese Fado* by Paul Vernon (1998); *Para uma História do Fado* (*For a History of Fado*) by Rui Vieira Nery (2004); *A Origem do Fado* (*The Origin of Fado*) by José Alberto Sardinha (2010); *Fado Portugal: 200 Years Of*

Fado by Samuel Lopes (2011); and *Fado Resounding: Affective Politics and Urban Life* by Lilla Ellen Gray (2013).²

Other important in-depth ethnographic works include chapters dedicated to the Portuguese guitar: *Música Popular Portuguesa (Portuguese Popular Music)* by Armando Leça (1945); *Instrumentos Musicais Populares Portugueses (Portuguese Popular Musical Instruments)* by Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira (1966) (the 2nd edition, 1982, contained the first draft of Cabral's thesis on the origin of the Portuguese guitar); and *Tradições Musicais da Estremadura (Musical Traditions of Estremadura)* by José Alberto Sardinha (2000).

Also worth mentioning are two rare studies on the sound qualities of different models of the instrument: *The Portuguese Guitar Acoustics: Part 1 – Vibroacoustic Measurements* and *Part 2 – Subjective Acoustical Quality Evaluations* by O. Inácio, F. Santiago, and Pedro Caldeira Cabral (2004); an MA Dissertation (Coimbra University) dedicated to the Coimbra model: *A Guitarra Portuguesa e a Canção de Coimbra: Subsídios para o seu estudo e contextualização* by Luís Castela (2011). And an ethnography on an innovative master builder: *Óscar Cardoso: Guitar Maker* by Pedro Félix (2011).

Until now, scholars and researchers have been more interested in debating the origin(s) of the Portuguese guitar than in its recent developments. There are, nevertheless, brief references to the early pioneer shift by musician/composer José Fontes Rocha (1926-2011) in the late 1960s (Castelo-Branco, 1994: 132-133; Pracana, 2011: 25-26)

² Probably the most recent academic publication on *fado* to date, this work presents a broad discussion of the genre.

and the sporadic use of the Coimbra model in *fado* (Gray, 2007: 128 n. 29; 2013: 246 n. 26). British author Paul Vernon approaches the topic, although perpetuating an outdated idea: “*Fadistas de Lisboa* [Lisbon *fado* aficionados] will generally refuse to play a Coimbra instrument” (1998: 12). Besides Fontes Rocha and Pedro Caldeira Cabral, several other players such as Alcino Frazão (1961-1988), Arménio de Melo, Custódio Castelo and Ricardo Rocha had already adopted the use of the Coimbra model in *fado* prior to 1998.

Mentions of the two surviving models of the Portuguese guitar are often limited to describing the visual effects of the scroll and the tear-shaped head carvings, as in Elliot (2010: 64 n. 144), and, although he alludes to the music practiced in Coimbra throughout his work, he never mentions the use of the Coimbra model in Lisbon’s *fado*. Furthermore, eminent scholar Rui Vieira Nery seems to have systematically decided not to identify the alteration in the organological context of *fado*. It is hardly plausible to imagine that he is not aware of the fact. I can only speculate that the nature of such a stance might be related to his involvement in the preparation of *fado*’s application to UNESCO, that is, so as not to compromise the “unity” of the genre. More recently, while revisiting a notion stated by Simões (1974: 134), Luís Castela clearly gauges the extent of the phenomenon in his dissertation:

Hoje em dia, são poucos os guitarristas profissionais que não usem este modelo, não só pela capacidade sonora que este possui, como também por ser reconhecido quase como o modelo único de Guitarra Portuguesa.

(2011: 76).

(Nowadays, few are the professional musicians who do not use this model [Coimbra], not only because of the sounding power that it possesses, but also because it is recognized as almost the only model of Portuguese guitar.)

My research belongs to a group of studies examining musical instruments not only in terms of their organology, but also as cultural objects conditioned by localized socio-economic environments and historical *démarches*. Such works discuss several aspects that make up a more holistic approach to the understanding of a musical instrument as a symbolic component within a specific culture. For instance, in his pioneer work on the Flamenco guitar, David George (1969) situates the instrument in its geographic, genre and sub-cultural contexts, provides a comparative organological study with the classical guitar and explores the concept of “national character” (23). In another example, the anthropological notes on the emergence of a Japanese genre by Kazuo Daijo and Suda Naoyuki (1998) describe a series of “conditions” (137) that contributed to the establishment of the shamisen (plucked lute) culture. Similar studies include: John Marson (2005) examining methods (34-38), new materials (39-51), social connections (181-186), and the use of the image of the harp as a “national emblem” (211); Jeffrey Noonan (2008) giving an historical account of the social environments (77-95) and iconographic value of the guitar in America (96-116); Jim Tranquada and John King (2012), analysing the ukulele as a national instrument (37), the craze of the past (92), the use of plastic as a new material (136), and its recent growing popularity (153); Hugh Cheape (2008) considering the origins of the great highland bagpipe as the national instrument of Scotland, exploring its symbolic value (7-8) and making the case for the necessity of a national collection of the instrument (8-9).

As in most of these interdisciplinary studies, my thesis focuses on an instrument imbued with symbolic and iconographic value in close connection with a musical genre;

this produces a multi-faceted account that includes several discussions related to organological evolution, aesthetic developments, symbolic implications, and current practice.

Aim, scope and terminology

My study stems from observing alterations in the choice of the Portuguese guitar model, coinciding with new approaches in construction and musical aesthetics within the practice in *fado* while I was researching it both as a musician and an instrument maker from 1990 on. Today's *fado* player using the Coimbra model might indicate that its sound quality is the reason for his/her³ choice, or that the longer string length proves to be more comfortable to play. However when asked to point out whom he/she considers to be the ultimate Portuguese guitar player, the answer usually includes the names of prominent musicians/composers such as Carlos Paredes, Pedro Caldeira Cabral and José Fontes Rocha - all known for using the Coimbra model of Portuguese guitar although not necessarily in the realm of *fado*.

The hypothetical lack of awareness of a different order of factors and circumstances at play in the preferred choice of instrument model in *fado* could be the result of the process of democratization following the “Carnation Revolution” on April 25, 1974,⁴ which projected the Coimbra guitar as the most developed and elevated of the Portuguese guitar models. In looking at this specific instrument and its use within a

³ Although as of 2013 there is only one woman playing Portuguese guitar in professional *fado*, Marta Pereira da Costa, I will still employ the formats his/her or he/she when referring to players in a non-personalized way.

⁴ The peaceful military *coup* that put an end to forty-eight years of the oppressive regime known as *Estado Novo* (New State).

particular musical genre, I found a series of socio-economic-political shifts over time that have influenced changes in both the instrument and the genre. These historical processes have brought to life new acoustic qualities and organological forms, which contributed to the shaping of a culture that is unique to Portugal and identified as *fado*. Some of these moments of the past have had a profound impact at several levels of the country's society; others were circumscribed to areas of Lisbon where the Portuguese guitar and *fado* first met and developed in close symbiosis.

My study assumes an understanding of *fado* as defined in the application to UNESCO's Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity:

Fado is a performance genre incorporating music and poetry which developed in Lisbon in the second quarter of the 19th century, as the result of a multicultural synthesis involving Afro-Brazilian sung dances newly arrived to Europe, a heritage of local genres of song and dance, musical traditions from rural areas of the country brought by successive waves of internal immigration, and the cosmopolitan urban song patterns of the early 19th-century. Originally cultivated in the lower-class neighbourhoods of the city it gradually expanded to other geographic and social contexts. It is widely recognized by most of Lisbon's inhabitants as a significant part of its cultural heritage, reflecting, through its practices and representations, the process of constitution of the modern city throughout the last two centuries.

In the 20th century Fado has become the most popular genre of urban song in Portugal and is acknowledged by most Portuguese communities as a symbol of national cultural identity. Its dissemination through Portuguese emigration to Europe and the Americas and more recently through the World Music circuit has also reinforced this same perception of Fado as a symbol of Portuguese identity, leading also to an increasing process of cross-cultural exchange involving other musical traditions. (UNESCO 2011, Nomination form 00563, section D "Brief summary of the element").⁵

⁵ For the application's full text visit the UNESCO site. Accessed September 9, 2013.
<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00563>

The core of my thesis concerns the current existence of a trend in the use of the Coimbra model of Portuguese guitar in the context of *fado*. This development in the choice of instrument model, first noticed in the second half of the twentieth century, corresponds to the beginning of a new period of practice involving aesthetic alterations within the genre. After exploring the phenomenon of the Coimbra model's adoption by *fado* musicians at a current rate of about 55% among professional, semi-professional, and amateur Portuguese guitar players dedicated to the *fado* genre (among top players the percentage is close to 100%), I suggest that the preference may be influenced by historical, socio-economic, political and cultural processes dating to the 1960s. The preferential trend became established in the late 1980s, involving a new ethos among *fado* players that parallels a cosmopolitan and globalized life experience. I explore the symbolic nature of the Portuguese guitar and its implications in national identity. I also propose a revision of the question of the origin(s) of the Portuguese guitar to support Pedro Caldeira Cabral's view of the matter by introducing new suggestions based on evidence not stated in the extant literature as far as I can determine.

In order to better contextualize my study on the development of the Portuguese guitar in *fado*, I offer brief historical, organological and community overviews, and look at instances of revival associated with the Portuguese guitar development and practice within the genre. I identify three main chronological periods in the aesthetic phases of the instrument's development in *fado*: the initial era of the second half of the nineteenth

century, with the first contact with the old *cítara*⁶ and its progressive transformation into an early small Lisbon model before the twentieth century; a second period from the 1920s to the 1980s, the golden age of the Lisbon guitar; and the current phase with a preference for the Coimbra model, and the proliferation of hybrid and experimental models of the Portuguese guitar.

The two main surviving models of Portuguese guitar, dating back to the first half of the twentieth century, were named after two important urban cultural centers of Portugal: Lisbon, the country's capital, and the university town of Coimbra, where diverse musical traditions developed. In order to avoid the long naming of the Portuguese guitar models, I use abbreviations to describe the fundamental instruments in my study.

Furthermore, I have chosen to use Portuguese words to refer to other instruments mentioned throughout the work (instead of the potentially erroneous English translations). In this study all translations, italics, underlining, and transcriptions are mine unless stated otherwise. I use "GP" when referring in general to the instrument known as *guitarra portuguesa* (Portuguese guitar). "GP *cítara*" defines an early form of GP with a

⁶ "*Cítara*" was the name of the direct ancestor of the Portuguese guitar, before it changed its name and became "*guitarra*." According to Cabral, cittern type instruments with twelve strings and wooden pegs made in Lisbon since the eighteenth century until c. 1860 were called "*cítara*;" others with ten strings and a watch key tuning mechanism received the name "*guitarra*" (1999: 201). See also p. 16 n. 15. For a comprehensive organological family tree and time-line see Appendix B

peg tuning system,⁷ probably the first to be played in *fado* accompaniment (see Figure 1).



FIGURE 1. *Cítara* by Augusto César Furtado, Horta, Faial, Azores.⁸

The abbreviation “GPLx” describes a Portuguese guitar (GP) of a specific model developed since around 1920 for use by professional players within *fado*; it is usually called *guitarra portuguesa de Lisboa* (Lisbon Portuguese guitar), sometimes also known as *guitarra de Lisboa* (Lisbon guitar), or *guitarra de fado* (*fado* guitar) (see Figure 2). In contrast, “GPCo” represents another model of GP, one that was born later, around 1940, dedicated to a different school of playing associated with Coimbra, the *guitarra portuguesa de Coimbra* (Coimbra Portuguese guitar), or simply *guitarra de Coimbra* (Coimbra guitar) (see Figure 3).

⁷ I sometimes refer to this class of instruments simply as “*cítara*,” since that was the original name at the time of their construction.

⁸ Instrument made in the early twentieth century belonging to a private collection. Similar *cítara* type GPs made as early as the eighteenth century can be found in several museums and private collections both in Portugal and abroad. See also p. 25 n. 38. Photograph by Nuno Cristo © 2013.



FIGURE 2. GPLx by Nuno Cristo, Toronto 2011



FIGURE 3. GPCo by Gilberto Grácio, Lisbon 1995⁹

In my study I describe the current period of GP practice in *fado* as “contemporary” (since the late 1980s) in contrast to the previous “modern” period. More potentially problematic terms have been employed by people linked to *fado*. For example, top player Mário Pacheco stated: “Carlos Paredes representa o som de Portugal e Fontes Rocha é o pós-moderno da guitarra portuguesa” (Carlos Paredes represents the sound of Portugal and Fontes Rocha is the post-modern of the Portuguese guitar).¹⁰ Similarly, while interviewed by *Jornal de Notícias* (newspaper), scholar Rui Vieira Nery agreed

⁹ Photographs by Nuno Cristo © 2011.

¹⁰ In an interview to Lusa news agency in *Portal do Fado – Notícias*, June 13, 2007. Accessed July 18, 2012. <http://www.portaldofado.net/content/view/332/67/>

that today's *fado* is "post-modern" in the sense that is a mixture of past and present.¹¹

Nevertheless, I prefer not to enter into a discussion of such a conceptually charged term.

Methodology

In my thesis I examine the dynamics behind the adoption of the GPCo by *fado* musicians, using a variety of resources including specialized historical literature, scholarly works, dissertations and articles, media interviews, published sheet music, vinyl and CD covers and inserts, photographs and film/video footage, historical instruments in museums and private collections, informal inquiry among musicians and GP makers. I had direct access to most of the sources; others were available through the Internet. After electronically collecting hundreds of images related to GP use in *fado*, I analysed them according to various aspects of interest to my study such as iconic, symbolic and historical value, by identifying the different models of GP, their makers, their players at various phases of their careers, gender issues, detailed observation of the characteristics and playing techniques of the *unhas* (finger picks), construction methods, and materials used. I gave particular attention to the chronological significance of the images in terms of their symbolic value.

Through cross-referencing information gathered in direct contacts, online research, and social media, I was able to compile an extensive list of more than 130 currently active *fado* GP players (professional, semi-professional and amateurs),

¹¹ In *Portal do Fado – Notícias*, June 13, 2007. Accessed July 18, 2012.
<http://www.portaldofado.net/content/view/2007/275/> See full quotation in Appendix A.

categorized by the model of GP they use and including such details as name, age, location, phone number, email.

One could possibly argue that once one tunes a GPCo to the higher pitched Lisbon tuning, the instrument can no longer be considered a GPCo, although I completely refute that notion on the basis of the organological characteristics relating to its construction and sound design. If built as a GPCo it will always be a GPCo. Nevertheless in my thesis, I recognize a significant change in acoustic quality when the instrument is subjected to the higher tension demanded by the *fado* tuning. I also acknowledge the creation and use of hybrid forms of GP with string lengths that fall between the typical 440 mm and 470 mm of the two main models. In order to categorize such less obvious cases, I resort to the labeling used by players and makers, published information directly related to particular instruments, and visual elements including body shape and head carvings. In regards to iconic representations of potential symbolic significance, I follow the simple classic rule: if it looks like a GPCo, it is a GPCo.

I was not exclusively dependent on my frequent trips to Portugal for personal contacts with players, makers and researchers of the GP, as quite a number of *fado* artists visit Toronto periodically.¹² In 2010, I was invited to a festival in Portugal dedicated to the GP where I met some of the most famous personalities in the world of the GP, including players/composers Pedro Caldeira Cabral, Paulo Soares, Custódio Castelo, and makers Fernando Meireles and Óscar Cardoso.

¹² Over the years I have met several visiting professional *fado* GP players in Toronto, among them: Luís Guerreiro, José Manuel Neto, Pedro Castro, Pedro Amendoeira, Ângelo Freire, Marta Pereira da Costa, and Eurico Machado.

Organization

In chapter two, I focus on the definition of the GP, looking at its possible origins, organological characteristics, and playing techniques. I examine the two “modern” surviving models of the GP; explain their differences; explore the notion of hybridity in the recent evolution of the instrument; and describe some new experimental designs. In chapter three, I give an historical account of the GP use in *fado*; I refer to the instruments that have been played within the genre; and reveal some of *fado*’s particularities. Chapter four is dedicated to the symbolism of the GP in the context of *fado*. Looking at legendary figures and GP iconography, I propose a critical analysis of the instrument often associated with ideals of nationalism. In chapter five, I examine the transformations that have occurred recently in the choice of model of GP in the practice of *fado*, analyse the conditions that led to the current trend of GPCo adoption in the genre, and introduce the concept of the “contemporary” GP player. Chapter six focuses on the GP as the vehicle of a new musical aesthetic. I examine the power of technology, reflect on the emergence of a new attitude within the genre, and describe the reality of the professional opportunities for the current GP payer. Finally in chapter seven, I summarize the important stages of development of the GP in *fado* and present the conclusion of my study.

CHAPTER TWO: THE PORTUGUESE GUITAR DEFINED

Portuguese guitar?

The words “Portuguese” and “guitar” represent no challenge for an English-speaking person, but when they are put together, things get a little unclear. One might think that this just refers to a “regular” guitar made or played by the Portuguese people. In fact, “Portuguese guitar” is the literal translation of “*guitarra portuguesa*,” the Portuguese name of a string instrument called “*cítara*” since the sixteenth century (Cabral 1999: 60), which can be interpreted in English as “cittern.”

In this chapter, I discuss issues related to the possible origin(s) of the GP, provide a comprehensive overview of its historic organological development into two diverse models and introduce the most recent construction ideas.

In the mid-eighteenth century sometime after c. 1760 (2007b) another instrument called “*guitarra*” that is, the “English *guittar*” (also a type of cittern), was introduced in Portugal by the British colony of merchants (2006; Nery 2004: 97; Castelo-Branco 1994: 131).¹³ These two instruments with very different characteristics coexisted for some time,¹⁴ although in separate social strata, and were built by the some local makers. However, by the nineteenth century the Portuguese guitar (GP)¹⁵ had adopted its English cousin’s name and some of its accessories such as the “capo” and the tuning system. In the process, there was a need to add the epithet “*portuguesa*” (Portuguese) in order to

¹³ The English *guittar* had been introduced in England by the court of Hanover [after 1714] (Cabral 2010). This modified cittern was later imported into Portugal by the local British bourgeois society in the main cities Lisbon, Oporto, Coimbra, and Funchal (Madeira).

¹⁴ Leite mentioned both instruments, among others suitable for playing harmony (1983 [1796]: 18).

¹⁵ The peg head type of GP was called “*cítara*” until c. 1860 (Cabral 1999: 201). See also p. 10 n. 6.

distinguish it from the English instrument that started to experience a decline in popularity after c. 1820 (Cabral 1999: 131). According to Manuel Morais (2011), the earliest known written reference to an instrument with the name “Portuguese *guitarra*” is from c. 1770-1780 and appears in a print of a Minuet from Sonata IV by Alberto José Gomes da Silva (died between 1764-1795) written in Italian and published in Spain: “*Ande Nell Stille della chitára Portuguese*” (in the tempo style of the Portuguese *guitarra*). But the word “*chitarra*” in Italian normally refers to a figure-eight instrument as in “*Chitarra Spagnola*” found in Filippo Bonanni’s *Gabinetto Armonico* published in Rome in 1722, thus not a cittern. Another reference mentioned by Morais as probably from c. 1794 comes from an anonymous undated handwritten compilation: “[...] *para uma e duas guitarras portuguesas*” (for one and two Portuguese *guitarras*). But the analysis of the pieces leads Morais to conclude that they are in fact to be played on English *guitars*. If the estimated dates are correct, these two references are older than the first edition of António da Silva Leite’s method in 1795,¹⁶ dedicated to the English *guitar*. Even in earlier documents,¹⁷ Leite only used the name “*guitarra*” when referring to the English *guitar*. Does this mean that the GP existed already around 1770-1780 or that the name was applied to the English *guitar*? It is strange that Leite never mentioned the GP, although he cited the *citara* (1983 [1796]: 18). Could this be its original name as

¹⁶ I have only read the second edition of this work, published in 1796.

¹⁷ Leite, António da Silva. 1792. *Seis Sonatas de Guitarra com acompanhamto de hum Violino & duas Trompas ad libitum*; Porto (cited Morais 2011). Accessed August 5, 2012.; <http://guitarrasdecoimbra2.blogspot.ca/2011/07/o-repertorio-da-guitarra-portuguesa.html> “Moda a Solo.” In *Jornal de Modinhas*, 2, 18: 40 Lisbon: Francisco Domingos Milcent, 1794 (cited Morais 2011). Accessed July 29, 2013 <http://purl.pt/14642>; and “Duetto novo com acompanhamento de duas guitarras, viola e baixo.” In *Jornal de Modinhas*, 2, 19.: 41-42 Lisbon: Francisco Domingos Milcent, 1794 (cited Morais 2011). Accessed July 29, 2013. <http://purl.pt/14643>

suggested by Cabral? (1999: 201). Morais gives yet another early example of the use of the name “*guitarra portuguesa*” (Portuguese *guitarra*) dated as c. 1810-20 in a manuscript by Bartolomeu José Geraldès: “*18 Sinfonias para Guitarra Portuguesa com acompanhamento de Guitarra Franceza ou Violino*” (18 symphonies for Portuguese *guitarra* with the accompaniment of French guitar or violin). In this case, the choice of the word “*guitarra*” in reference to the French instrument, commonly called *viola* in Portuguese, makes it difficult to define what the Portuguese one might really be. Less obscure are the references to “*guitarra portuguesa*” that appeared on public sale advertisements in Spanish newspapers as early as 1825.¹⁸ In his *Diccionario Musical* from 1890, Ernesto Vieira included the entry “*Guitarra Portuguesa*” which clearly describes a GP (271). Sometime between 1892 and 1895 the Alban Voigt & Company published in London a method by Havelock Mason entitled: *A Complete Method for Portuguese Guitarra*, acknowledging the existence of an autonomous *guitarra* in Portugal.

¹⁸ *Diario de avisos de Madrid*, June 1, 1825: 3. Accessed October 10, 2013.

<http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0002747497>

“Venta pública [...] una guitarra portuguesa y una magnífica silla [...]”(Public sale ... a Portuguese guitar and a magnificent chair)

In the same page another ad reads: “[...] canciones españolas y americanas, con acompañamiento de fortepiano y guitarra, [...]” (Spanish and American songs, with accompaniment of pianoforte and guitar ...) These two advertisements seem to suggest a clear distinction of two different instruments, the GP and the Spanish guitar.

Diario de avisos de Madrid, May, 30, 1833: 6. Accessed September 29, 2013.

<http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0002825675&page=6&search=guitarra+Portuguesa&lang=en>

“En el almacén da papel rayado para música de las nietas de Mintegui, calle de la Cruz frente á la de la Vitoria, núm. 6, se halla de venta una guitarra portuguesa del mejor autor, bien construida y sin clavijas,” (in the warehouse of music paper of Mintegui’s granddaughters, street of the Cross in front of the Vitoria, number 6, there is a Portuguese guitar for sale from the best author, well built and without tuning pegs). This was probably a GP with a mechanical tuning system.

Adding to the confusion regarding the naming of the GP over the years are references to the instrument in the *fado* context. In the late nineteenth century literary works describing scenes related to the genre by Camilo Castelo Branco (1874; 1879), Luís Augusto Palmeirim (1891),¹⁹ and later in the first historical accounts of *fado* by José Pinto Ribeiro de Carvalho “Tinop” (1903), and Alberto Pimentel (1904) the only words used to name the GP are either “*guitarra*” or “*banza*,” the latter being a common designation long before the emergence of *fado*.²⁰ Furthermore, few are the methods that contain in their titles the word “*portuguesa*” following “*guitarra*.”²¹ Curiously, in the 2010 *Enciclopédia da Música em Portugal no século XX*. (Encyclopedia of Music in Portugal in the 20th century) coordinated by Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, (Vol II: 597) the entry for the GP is solely “*Guitarra*.”

The old *cítara* had been suffering from social disqualification for quite some time since the early nineteenth century when around 1846 (Carvalho “Tinop” 1903: 44) it became associated with a type of urban song popular at that time in the poor neighbourhoods of Lisbon, now known as *fado*; although, with a new name, *guitarra*, the instrument regained its place among the bourgeois and aristocratic classes, little by little, in the second half of the century (Cabral 2006).²² Already by the first half of the twentieth century the GP had evolved into at least three urban types: Oporto, Coimbra and Lisbon. These last two are the only surviving models, and differ in construction and

¹⁹ Both authors cited in Colvin (2008: 27).

²⁰ A moralistic language related work by Manuel Joseph de Paiva in 1760 includes the word “*banza*” (cited Pimentel 1904: 10-11). See more about *banza* in Chapter Three.

²¹ Examples are: *Methodo para aprender a tocar Guitarra Portuguesa* by Reynaldo Varela in 1925; and *Metodo Elementar Teorico e Pratico de Guitarra Portuguesa* by J. C. Salgado do Carmo in 1929.

²² The *cítara* had been an instrument of the high social strata since the sixteenth century.

pitch. The *guitarra portuguesa de Lisboa* (Lisbon Portuguese guitar) (GPLx) is tuned in D, and was for many decades the only model used in *fado*.²³ The *guitarra portuguesa de Coimbra* (Coimbra Portuguese guitar) (GPCo) has been historically associated with the music and songs of university students in the city of Coimbra and it is tuned in C.

Accordingly, by about 1920 the GPLx was born, providing a new, improved sound for *fado*: more volume and sustained sound due to a larger body, a richer tone quality by means of correcting brace placement on the top, and overall introducing refinements in construction. Around 1940, virtuoso Artur Paredes, descendant of a line of GP players from Coimbra, worked in close collaboration with two Grácio brothers, first with “Kim” and then with João Pedro Jr., towards constructing an instrument capable of emitting sounds never before explored, trying to give voice to a new emotional language of GP playing as a cultivated solo instrument. With the previous experience of the GPLx and the innovations meanwhile introduced by his brother “Kim,” master João Pedro Grácio Jr. was able to fulfil the desires of the prodigious musician by producing a GPCo. The basis for his inspiration was an instrument made and played in the region of Coimbra, the *guitarra toeira* (Nunes 2005a; 2005b).

I suggest that the GPLx initiated a period of GP practice in *fado*, which I identify as “modern,” mostly based on the organological modifications introduced in order to produce a more apt instrument, capable of responding to the needs of the “new” twentieth-century professional *fado* player. In this sense, although within a different aesthetic, I also consider the GPCo to be a “modern” instrument.

²³ See also Chapter Three.

The great divide regarding the origin of the Portuguese guitar

At present among Portuguese researchers of the GP (mostly through its presence within the *fado* genre) there is a well defined split in opinion concerning the instrument's possible origin(s). In one camp are those who believe that the GP is a local national version of the eighteenth-century English *guittar* introduced in Portugal by a class of English merchants with commercial dealings in Port wine and wool, among other goods, established mainly not only in the larger cities of Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra c. 1760 (Cabral 2007b), but also in Funchal (Madeira). For this school of thought, there was no instrument in Portugal similar in form to the GP, with the same number of strings in double courses or the same tuning, before the arrival of its English "parent." In the other camp are those who uphold an evolutionary process of fusion between an earlier Portuguese instrument called *cítara* since the sixteenth century, a member of a broad family descending from the European citterns of the Renaissance and Baroque periods, and the English *guittar*, also belonging to that same organological lineage, but developed only in the mid-eighteenth century. On this side of the question, there is no doubt of the existence of a continuous tradition of a local Portuguese cittern variant since the sixteenth century, prolonged until today in the form of the GP.

These are the two main perspectives governing the historical study of the GP that currently are manifested in the works and the discourse of the most prominent researchers on the topic of the GP's ancestry. The first group includes Rui Vieira Nery, Salwa El-

Shawan Castelo-Branco, and Manuel Morais,²⁴ personalities linked to the *fado*'s application to UNESCO and associated with several cultural institutions and universities, such as the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, the Museu do Fado, the Instituto de Etnomusicologia - Centro de Estudos em Música e Dança (INET-MD), the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, and the Universidade de Évora.²⁵ The second group is led by Pedro Caldeira Cabral, and also involves researcher José Alberto Sardinha and a legion of students and aficionados of the GP, mostly not connected with *fado*. What seems to be established by these two views on the origin of the GP, is that at one point in history a newly named instrument came to light, emancipating itself from the context of cultivated bourgeois musical practice of the eighteenth century, and, after a period of unpopularity in the nineteenth century, was able to bounce back and develop into a “modern” GP, thanks to *fado*.

There are definitely points of contact between the GP and the English *guitar*, but there are also many divergent aspects. The refinement of the body's form and the mechanical appeal of the tuning system were the two main areas of influence among builders of the GP after the introduction of the English *guitar* in c. 1760 (Cabral 2007b); most of the rest is very different: the number of braces on the top, the number of strings, the tuning, the playing technique and the sound. A detailed observation of surviving GPs from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reveals, as noted by Cabral (1999: 159, 169), that most of these instruments, in particular the ones with a flat wooden peg-head,

²⁴ Previous authors include: Michelangelo Lambertini (1914), Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro (1936), Armando Leça (1945), Armando Simões (1974).

²⁵ Gulbenkian Foundation, Fado Museum, National Institute of Ethnomusicology-Centre for Studies in Music and Dance (INET-MD), New University of Lisbon, University of Évora.

have a body with a piriform contour similar to the European citterns built since the sixteenth century.²⁶ This outline continued to be used even after the eventual adoption of the mechanical tuning device self-attributed to John Preston,²⁷ as seen in the example held and explained by Morais in the TV program “*Guitarras e Violas*.”²⁸ The same form was also applied to English *guitars* made in Portugal as shown in Cabral’s monograph (1999:129), suggesting that this pear-shaped mold was already present in the workshops of Portuguese makers before the arrival of the English *guitar*. A compelling 1906 photograph of a young female beggar playing a battered GP (1890s ?) also displays that body profile.²⁹ It is curious that an earlier instrument, the famous *cítara* made by Joaquim Pedro dos Reis,³⁰ allegedly belonging to the legendary Maria Severa Honofriana (1820–1846),³¹ and dated as 1764,³² has a more rounded form, closer to the shape of later GPs. This was perhaps an early exploratory move towards a larger sound, perpetuated in the numerous early twentieth century photographs in Portuguese public archives.

Just recently, I noticed an instrument of the *cítara* type made, not in Portugal but in Spain, by master luthier Francisco Sanguino in Seville, dated 1791. The existence of

²⁶ Some surviving examples belong to the University of Leipzig’s Musical Instrument Museum collection.

²⁷ An advertisement in the *London Evening Post* on January 7, 1766, announced the invention by John Preston of a new tuning mechanism using a watch key (cited Pouloupoulos 2011: 395-396). Some of these mechanisms in instruments made in England show the inscription “Preston Inventor” engraved on.

²⁸ “*Guitarras e Violas, andam guitarras a gemer de mão em mão*” (program 5) broadcast on October 29, 2010. Accessed September 17, 2012. <http://www.rtp.pt/programa/tv/p25257/e5>

²⁹ In *Fado: Vozes e Sombras* (1994: 21) Young female beggar, Caldas da Rainha, 1906. Photograph by Jorge Almeida Lima (ANF). Also in Nery (2004: 89)

³⁰ See also Chapter Three.

³¹ A singer/GP *cítara* player and prostitute from the Mouraria quarter of Lisbon. Commonly referred simply as Severa, she is the central female figure in *fado* mythology, representing the original *fadista*.

³² As the last two digits are handwritten, Morais (2011) strategically suggests the year of 1790 as a more appropriate date placing it within five years of the first edition of Leite’s method.

this *cítara*, listed as “*Cister*” in the *Musik & Teatermuseum*, Stockholm (M510),³³ seems to suggest that this type of instrument was also used in Spain, a country where the English *guitar* never made a noted impression.³⁴

The Sanguino *cítara* appears to be the “missing link” between the Renaissance Italian citterns and the eighteenth century Portuguese *cítaras* with a peg head tuning apparatus. The neck is in the so-called “P shape,” in which most of the neck’s mass is on the treble side, leaving only a little more than the fretboard’s thickness in the bass section.³⁵ This is a distinctive characteristic of the surviving citterns dating back to the sixteenth century³⁶ and continued to be a common building feature in instruments up to the nineteenth century.³⁷ Yet another trait that relates the 1791 Spanish *cítara* to the Renaissance citterns is that the sides are wider at the neck joint and become progressively narrower towards the tail block where the strings are attached. Besides these obvious vestiges of old construction design, the Sanguino *cítara* is very much like the surviving Portuguese *cítaras* from the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries now

³³ http://www.mimo-db.eu/MIMO/infodoc/ged/view.aspx?eid=OAI_SMS_MM_POST_510&backUrl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.mimo-db.eu%2FMIMO%2Finfodoc%2Fged%2FdocumentLinks.aspx%3Ffid%3DI_IFD_AUTPP_0002802%26authoritySearchId%3De94d1213-4b63-4383-81f3-39307acb52c6%26authoritySearchIndex%3D%40fulltext_default_ifd_autpp
Accessed October 7, 2012.

http://194.250.19.151/media/SMS-MM/IMAGE/M510_01.jpg
Accessed October 7, 2012.

³⁴ Nevertheless, the Spanish newspaper *Diario de Madrid* published advertisements for the sale of English *guitars* between 1789 and 1795 (Kenyon de Pascual 1983: 299-308; cited Pouloupoulos 2011: 207-208).

³⁵ Called “P shape” because its cross-section reveals the shape of the letter “P” with its round and flat portions.

³⁶ Most of them made in Brescia, Italy, as per instruments listed as “*ceteras*” in the collection of the University of Leipzig’s Musical Instrument Museum. Accessed September 18, 2012. <http://www.sim-web.biz/MUSEUM/zistern.htm> The same concept also appears in Corsican citterns of posterior centuries.

³⁷ Especially among the German made “*Thüringer zistern*” (Thuringia citterns) as per examples in the collection of the University of Leipzig’s Musical Instrument Museum. Accessed September 18, 2012. <http://www.sim-web.biz/MUSEUM/zistern.htm>

preserved in museums and private collections:³⁸ the same number of strings in double courses, tunable by means of dorsal wooden pegs on a flat head, and the same generic pear body outline. Regarding the bracing of the top, it would not be too speculative to suggest the presence of the same simple system of one or two transversal bars in the area of the bridge found in citterns since the sixteenth century.³⁹

It is also curious to observe that in his study, Leite (1983 [1796]: 26 n. 6) mentioned an existing maker in the city of Oporto, Luís Cardoso Soares Sevilhano, who produced instruments as good as the ones coming from Great Britain made by Simpson. Commenting on the maker's last name, Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro (1936: 36) pointed out to the Andalusian origin of the celebrated Sevilhano (Sevillian).

Reinforcing the argument for the presence of a pre-English *guittar* cittern type of instrument in Portugal and Spain seems to be the existence of such a family of instruments half way around the globe, in the Philippines. Although commonly named *bandurrias*, like the popular Spanish instruments with truncated oval, almond or pear shaped bodies, a fixed bridge and top fan bracing of the guitar type, the Filipino versions are built as citterns, with a rounder body, floating bridge, and a parallel bracing pattern that resembles the old *cítaras* that supposedly belonged to Severa. Why this difference in construction? One possible explanation would be that the first European instruments

³⁸ Eighteenth century *cítara* type GPs can be found in Museu da Música, Lisbon; Musée des instruments de musique, Brussels; Museu da Cidade, Lisbon; and a private collection belonging to one of the sons of Alexandre da Silva Gonçalves (died January, 1999), somewhere outside of Portugal). Nineteenth and twentieth century examples are preserved in: Museu Nacional de Etnologia, Lisbon; Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Museu da Música, Lisbon; Musée des instruments de musique, Brussels; Pedro Caldeira Cabral's private collection; and D. Pedro de Bragança (Duke of Lafões)'s private collection.

³⁹ This is a very different system and more primitive compared to the ones practiced in the construction of English *guittar* commonly with a larger number of bars, sometimes in complex combinations of X- shaped design and smaller transversal or oblique braces.

which arrived in the Philippines in the sixteenth century, either Portuguese, Spanish or Mexican in origin, were in fact *cítaras*, not *bandurrias*. It was perhaps much later in the nineteenth century, when *rondalla* ensembles became popular, that these instruments were adapted to the *bandurria* tuning and string arrangement, although preserving the building design and mechanical vibro-acoustic nature of the cittern family.⁴⁰

Although an in-depth study on the origin(s) of the GP is yet to be carried out, I am convinced that it could hardly have evolved from the eighteenth-century English *guittar* because its construction pattern belongs to an earlier stage of development directly inherited from the sixteenth-century Italian citterns. The fact that Portuguese musicians/composers were interested in the English novelty instrument as early as c. 1755⁴¹ seems to suggest that they were already accustomed to a similar instrument, the Portuguese *cítara*. The misinterpretation of Leite's use of the name "*Guitarra*" as referring to the GP instead of the English *guittar* has led to a widespread misconception regarding the origin of the Portuguese instrument (*cítara*) that adopted the name "*guitarra*" before the time of its connection with the *fado* genre. Furthermore, Portuguese makers produced versions of the English *guittar* using the body of the *cítara*, an instrument that was familiar to them. Thus the question of kinship between the English *guittar* and the GP seems to be not of a parental nature but rather of a common ancestry found among the citterns of the Renaissance.

⁴⁰ See also p. 62 n. 116.

⁴¹ António Pereira da Costa (c. 1697-Funchal, 1770) *XII Serenatas for the Guittar* (c. 1755). London: J. Oswald (cited Morais 2011). Notwithstanding, Rob MacKillop (2001: 134) has claimed that the use of a Portuguese name as the author of this work was a commercial strategy by the publisher James Oswald, who actually composed the pieces and printed them c. 1760.

It is surprising that, while there is general recognition among authors that the GP was influenced in some way by the English *guitar*, in its form and tuning mechanism, I could only find a few mentions of a different approach in the making of the instrument. Eduardo Sucena (2008: 80) refers to a prototype of GP made by the famed violin/viola maker Joaquim José Galvão (active 1769-1825).⁴² In today's GP construction there are aspects relating these two organological families: the neck's angle setback and the conical shaped fretboard are only two examples of the potential innovative ideas applied to the *cítara*. Historian António Manuel Nunes has expressed the opinion that the scroll on the Lisbon GP was copied from the violin (2006b). In fact, it seems that the roots of certain decorative patterns, such as the scroll and other elaborate forms, were common in the sixteenth century in several instruments, either bowed or plucked. Nunes also tells us that Artur Paredes and "Kim" Grácio experimented with a violin-style soundpost while creating the GPCo (2005b).

Adding to the argument of an historical influence occurring from the violin to the GP, is the existence of a number of famous GP makers also connected with violin making at some point in their careers.⁴³

⁴² Sucena does not give a source for this information.

⁴³ Examples are: Manuel Pereira (1840-1889), António Duarte (1870-1924), Álvaro Merceano da Silveira (1903-1972), "Kim" Grácio (1912-1994), and Óscar Cardoso (1960).

A brief organology of the Portuguese guitar

An American perspective:

When Carlos Paredes, the great virtuoso of the GPCo, played in New York on April 13, 1984, Jon Pareles⁴⁴ wrote: “The Portuguese guitar is an orphan of music history - an instrument that survived in isolation long after its ancestors had disappeared. Only in Portugal, where it was not entirely displaced by the conventional, Spanish guitar, did its tradition survive.” Pareles continued: “In fact, the Portuguese guitar is not a guitar at all. It's a wire-strung, flat-backed lute that is related to the Renaissance cittern, with a high, penetrating tone like a tougher harpsichord.”⁴⁵

The instrument known today as the GP is generally understood as belonging to the large organological family of plucked lutes. This classification is, however, very broad, as it refers only to the construction and playing modes of the instrument. Other aspects must be considered in order to have a more complete idea of what a GP really is. I follow the comprehensive definition given by Cabral, as it contains several traits associated with the instrument, which I consider relevant in my study:

A guitarra portuguesa distingue-se dos outros cordofones de mão pela forma e dimensões da sua caixa de ressonância, pelo cavalete móvel em osso, pelas suas 12 cordas metálicas, dispostas em seis pares (ordens ou parcelas), pelo peculiar sistema mecânico de afinação, com o cravelhal metálico em forma de leque, com sistema de tarrachas deslizantes e parafuso sem fim, pela sua afinação única (si; lá; mi; Si; Lá; Ré; ou lá; sol; ré; Lá; Sol; Dó;), pela técnica de execução tradicional, com o dedilho especial da mão direita com uso exclusivo das unhas dos dedos indicador e polegar, e, como resultante natural destes factores, possui

⁴⁴ Jon Pareles was the chief popular music critic in the arts section of the New York Times.

⁴⁵ Curiously, Gray noted that in Portugal listeners also describe the sound of the GP as similar as that of a harpsichord (2013: 246 n. 26)

uma qualidade sonora com características tímbricas e expressivas distintamente individualizadas. (2007a).

(The Portuguese guitar is identified apart from the other portable chordophones by the shape and size of its body, by the movable bone bridge, by its 12 metal strings, grouped in six pairs, by the peculiar mechanical tuning system, with a fan shaped metal plate, with a system of moving hooks and threaded axles, by its unique tuning (b,a,e,B,A,D or a,g,d,A,G,C), by the traditional playing technique, the special plucking movements [*dedillo*] and exclusive use of the right hand index finger and thumb nails, and, as a result of all these factors, by its sound quality that has very specific timbral and expressive characteristics.)

One of the most striking visual aspects of the GP is, no doubt, its mechanical tuning system in the shape of a peacock's tail.⁴⁶ This is an anonymous Portuguese development from around 1870 of an older system used since the eighteenth century on the English *guittar* (Cabral 1999: 140) often referred as the "Preston mechanism." While carrying out research in the Museu da Música in Lisbon, I found a small book published in 1867 describing an experimental instrument called *Cithralia* in which a "newly invented" tuning system was used, containing individual "*chaves*" (keys) attached to each of the "*parafusos*" (screws) that applied tension to the strings (Azevedo 1867: 5, 14). The author, who was also the creator of the instrument, José João da Silva Azevedo, commented that these keys were much better than the "*cravelhas*" (pegs) (1867: 14). Could this be an intermediate tuning system between the wooden pegs and the *leque*, completely bypassing the so-called Preston mechanism?

Although in the past other tunings have been used in the GP, the only one that survived is known as "of the *fado corrido*" in reference to a fast tempo, non-stop *fado*

⁴⁶ MacKall preferred the image of a turkey's tail (1931: 64).

song style. Cabral's historical insight informs us of the origin of the tuning currently used in the GP:

Tendo como origem directa a Cítara europeia do Renascimento, por sua vez filiada na Cítola Medieval, a actual Guitarra Portuguesa sofreu importantes modificações técnicas no último século (nas dimensões, no sistema mecânico de afinação, etc.), tendo no entanto conservado a afinação peculiar das cítaras, igual número de cordas e a técnica de dedilho própria deste género de instrumentos. (2007b).

(Having its direct origin in the European Cittern of the Renaissance, in turn affiliated with the Medieval Citole, today's Portuguese guitar went through important technical changes during the last century (in its dimensions, in the mechanical tuning system, etc.), but preserved the peculiar cittern tuning, the same number of strings and the plucking technique typical of that type of instrument.)

In his *guitarra* method, João Maria dos Anjos (1889 [1877]: 9) describes three types of GP in use at his time: the old *cítara* design with wooden pegs, another with a keyed tuning mechanism borrowed from the Preston English *guittar*, and one with the locally developed fan tuning system still used today.⁴⁷ For all three, Anjos uses the same name “*guitarra*,” and specifies the same number of strings (12) and frets (17).

Furthermore, he suggests that the “*afinação própria*” (rightful tuning) for any of these instruments is the open major chord in C (gg, ee, cc, Gg, Ee, Cc) also known as “*afinação natural*” (natural tuning).⁴⁸ This way of arranging the strings in musical values, clearly influenced by the English *guittar*, was then used among the bourgeoisie for a repertoire of sonatas, minuets, marches, contredanses and in the accompaniment of *lunduns*, and

⁴⁷ An earlier method by Maia and Vieira also mentioned these three types of GP, although not as systematically (1875: 16).

⁴⁸ Anjos' notion of a “rightful tuning” might have been developed from Leite's method published in 1795. Maia and Vieira (1875: 56) revealed that they only got acquainted with Leite's work in 1875, and the same probably happened with Anjos.

modinhas (Cabral, 1999: 222).⁴⁹ Nevertheless, Anjos' work includes the option of tuning the *guitarra* to the “*afinação do fado corrido*” (*fado corrido* tuning), explaining in graphic detail how to do it, but not specifying the pitch of each string (Anjos, 1889 [1877]: 15).⁵⁰

The *fado corrido* tuning is, according to Cabral, the oldest one (1999: 315), and can be traced back to the fifteenth century in central Europe, used in cittern type instruments related to the GP, originally with a smaller number of strings. Cabral reaches this conclusion through one of three possible modern (late twentieth century) interpretations of a quotation by Johannes Tinctoris from c. 1487⁵¹ referring to the musical intervals between the strings: ...”*Ad tonum et tonum; Diatessaron; et rursus tonum....*”

Da primeira para a última ordem: Um tom inteiro; Um tom e uma quarta; e mais um tom inteiro no sentido ascendente (Ex: lá; sol; dó; ré). Esta última afinação encontra-se mencionada nos primeiros livros impressos com música francesa de Adrien Le Roy e de Guillaume Morlaye, sendo igualmente a afinação em uso ainda hoje na guitarra portuguesa. (1999: 56).

(From the first to the last string pair: a whole tone; a tone and a fourth; plus an ascendant tone (ex. a; g; C; d).

This last tuning is mentioned in the first printed books of French music by Adrien Le Roy and Guillaume Morlaye, and is also the tuning still used today in the Portuguese guitar.)

⁴⁹ Rui Vieira Nery makes a point of not including the *lundum* in the repertoire for the English *guitar* mostly played by females in the Portuguese urban bourgeoisie and nobility contexts from the mid eighteenth century up to the 1820s. Nevertheless in his 1880 novel “*A Corja*,” Camilo Castelo Branco mentioned *fados* and *lundus* (33) being played at the time of Count de Vimioso (1840s) on an instrument solely referred to as *guitarra*.

⁵⁰ Yet the pitch for the *fado corrido* tuning can be found in the scores (15-17): gg, ff, cc, Gg, Ff, Bbbb.

⁵¹ Tinctoris, Johannes c. 1487. *De Inventione et Usu Musicae*. (cited Cabral 1999: 32, 35, 54, 56).

In this line of thought we might infer that this was also the tuning used in the old *cítara* made by Joaquim Pedro dos Reis in 1764, the instrument which allegedly belonged to Severa, the legendary *fado* singer (see p. 23 n. 31). It actually predates the emergence of the genre in the early nineteenth century (Cabral interview August 13, 2012).

If *fado* was played first on other instruments such as the double course *viola* (folk guitar), is it possible that the same tuning was used? Cabral does not think so (interview August 13, 2012). It is also curious to note that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the more erudite repertoire was played with the newly adopted English *guitar* open tuning, and after the definite association of the GP to *fado* around 1846, the older *fado corrido* tuning emerged as an alternative, eventually becoming the choice of the twentieth century and current GP players and composers, for their performances and works of most soloist repertoire well beyond *fado*.⁵²

Regarding the stringing of the GP, I once again resort to Cabral's detailed historical outlook in order to explain the arrangement currently used on the GP:

Adrien Le Roy explica-nos também a constituição do encordoamento, referindo expressamente o uso de cordas duplas em unísono para as primeiras duas ordens, sendo as restantes triplas e afinadas da seguinte maneira: a corda central deve ser afinada uma oitava abaixo das suas vizinhas laterais.

Esta é a mais antiga referência a uma prática bem conhecida entre nós e que permanece ainda na actual guitarra que tem as últimas três ordens afinadas em oitava, uma característica que lhe confere uma certa "leveza" na realização de acompanhamentos e que levou à adopção da viola, no contexto popular do fado, para assim completar de forma eficaz as harmonias de base do sistema tonal. (1999: 56, 59).

(Adrien Le Roy also explains the string arrangement, specifically referring to the use of double strings in unison for the first two orders, with the rest

⁵² As an exception, Arménio de Melo opted for a different tuning: ee, gg, dd, Aa, Ff, Cc (Cabral 1999: 280).

as triple and tuned as follows: the central string should be tuned an octave lower than its neighbours on each side.

This is the oldest reference to a practice well known among us [the Portuguese] and that is still maintained in the current *guitarra* which has the last three orders tuned in octaves, a characteristic that gives a certain “lightness” in playing accompaniments and that led to the adoption of the *viola* [classical guitar], in the context of *fado*, in order to complement effectively the tonal system’s base harmonies.)

The idea of applying to the GP a device capable of altering the basic tonality of the instrument, in order to maintain the fingering of transposed chords and melodies, seems to have been borrowed from a common practice in the English *guitar* tradition. Even the old *citaras* did not escape the *a posteriori* intrusive neck operation of boring four holes to accommodate the magical “capo.” Later, more friendly methods were devised to give continuity to a procedure that at present would be considered completely unacceptable, as it might denote a lack of technique and poor knowledge of the instrument, although it was used frequently by the great GPLx master “Armandinho,” well into the twentieth century.⁵³ In an assumed revivalist posture as seen on a TV documentary from 2010, the most *avant-garde* of the current GP players, Ricardo Rocha, used a GPLx with a “capo” on the second fret, no pick-guard and with an extra bridge (performing *Fado Ciganita* by “Armandinho” with Jaime Santos Jr. playing an old *viola*).⁵⁴

⁵³ Photographic evidence accessed July 10, 2013. www.portaldofado.net/eng/content/view/2353/340/

⁵⁴ See also Chapter Six.

The two “modern” modes of survival

In defining the two surviving models of the GP, I refer to what has been frequently called the “*actual*” (current) GP in its two variants, the GPLx and the GPCo, as each represents the diverse organological *démarche* of the instrument since the first quarter of the twentieth century. I identify the establishment of these two models of GP according to Cabral (1999: 169), situating the approximate dates of their inception in c. 1920 for the GPLx and c. 1940 for the GPCo.⁵⁵

Approaching the twentieth century, the body of the GP was generally smaller than in posterior versions. Makers were using a variety of designs with several string lengths,⁵⁶ and tuning systems using both wooden pegs and the fan shaped device, *leque* (after 1870) (Cabral 1999: 140-142, 145-158). These *guitarras* were made in Portugal’s three major urban centres: Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra, where local models were developed.

The “modern” design of the GPLx seems to have started to take shape in the first quarter of the twentieth century, when instruments built with a string length of about 440 mm began to show a wider, larger rounded body than the previous GPs.⁵⁷ According to Pedro Caldeira Cabral (interview August 13, 2012) makers such as Álvaro Merceano da

⁵⁵ Although Cabral mentions maker João Pedro Grácio Jr. as the possible originator of the GPLx (Cabral 1999: 169), he also acknowledges that GPs with similar characteristics were also being made in the 1920s in the workshops of Augusto Vieira, António Victor Vieira, and Álvaro Merceano da Silveira (Cabral 1999: 133).

⁵⁶ String lengths between 424 mm and 440 mm as per the available data relating to examples with tuning pegs in museums and private collections.

⁵⁷ GP maker Augusto Vieira advertised a “*Guitarra Grande*” (large GP) available at the second floor of his Lisbon store sometime after 1908 (reproduced Almeida [2000?]: 6).

Silveira (1883-1972),⁵⁸ Francisco Januário da Silva (1909-1965),⁵⁹ and Domingos Cerqueira da Silva (1901-1980),⁶⁰ were probably the first to perform this alteration in size and contour in the construction of the “modern” GP of the Lisbon model. By the 1920s other luthiers, especially João Pedro Grácio Jr. (1903-1967), had followed the trend, producing GPLxs for the best performers for many decades to come. The process of establishing the “modern” model of the Lisbon GP (GPLx) was by no means a linear one and, as mentioned by Cabral (1999: 169), it could also be linked to the historical instrument made by Joaquim Pedro dos Reis in the eighteenth century (allegedly belonging to the legendary figure of Severa), the virtuoso GP player Armando Freire “Armandinho” (1891-1946), and the son of the patriarch of the Grácio family of luthiers, João Pedro Grácio Jr. Inspired by the size and form of the old *cítara*, the *guitarrista* asked the maker to create a similar version but incorporating the latest mechanical and ergonomic features of the GPs of the time. This proved to be a success and the new mold started to be consistently preferred by *fado* musicians (Cabral 1999: 166).

Besides the alterations in body size and outline, the GPLx acquired another trait that has been maintained till the present: the sides, instead of being parallel all around the body, became slanted towards the neck joint, resulting in a smaller back plate than the top, and a more complex angled heel block. The typical right angle at the point where the neck meets the body of the GPs of the nineteenth and early twentieth century was transformed in order to facilitate playing the higher notes, progressively demonstrating an

⁵⁸ Known as Álvaro “*ilhéu*” (islander) because he was born in Madeira Island. (Cabral 1999: 204).

⁵⁹ Known as Chico “*ilhéu*,” also born in Madeira, was Silveira’s employee up to 1920. (Cabral 1999: 204).

⁶⁰ From Oporto, but learned the art in Lisbon (Cabral 1999: 219).

obtuse tendency (with an angle greater than 90°), thus leaving more space for the fretting hand to reach the treble region of the instrument. The GPLx might have also benefited in sound projection from the apparently new concept. Interestingly, this design was practiced in the construction of the famed Italian dugout citterns of the sixteenth century.⁶¹ At the same time, the back plate developed a pronounced longitudinal arch rarely seen before in GP construction. When these alterations began to be applied is difficult to determine, but this probably took place between 1900 and 1920. A contemporary case of “going back in time” is no doubt the recent work of Óscar Cardoso regarding a carved body instead of a constructed body of prepared pieces of wood.⁶²

A pioneer in this organological shift, Álvaro Merceano da Silveira, later reinvented some of the construction methods, applying his knowledge of wood assemblage building,⁶³ and producing, in my opinion, some of the more beautifully designed examples of the GPLx. Silveira’s GPs were preferred by “Armandinho,” Salgado do Carmo, Júlio Silva, and later by José Nunes, Fontes Rocha and Carlos

⁶¹ Cittern examples:

16th Century Cittern, Giovanni Salvatori – Italy. Collection of the Musée de la musique - E.543

Accessed September 18, 2012. http://www.cittern.theaterofmusic.com/old/salvatori_543.html

Six-course Cittern by "A. Rossi Urbino," 16th Century. Current location unknown.

The instrument is carved from one piece, except for the soundboard and fingerboard. It appears very similar to the cittern currently in Bologna.

This instrument was auctioned at Christie's of London, July 8, 1999.

Accessed September 18, 2012. <http://www.cittern.theaterofmusic.com/old/rossi.html>

Cittern by Francesco Plebanus, 1536 – Italy. Collection of the Musée de la musique - E.1131

Accessed September 18, 2012. http://www.cittern.theaterofmusic.com/old/plebanus_1131.html

Brescia 2nd half of 16th century Sign.: "...ANI A ... NNO LV .."

Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, Inv.-Nr. 612

Brescia, 1590 unsigned. Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, Inv.-Nr. 613

Accessed September 18, 2012. <http://www.sim-web.biz/MUSEUM/zistern.htm>

⁶² A description and photographs of this model of GP appear in Félix 2011:116-117.

⁶³ In the 1930s, Álvaro Merceano da Silveira received a grant from *Instituto para a Alta Cultura* (Institute for High Culture) to study at *Scuola Internazionale de Liuteria de Cremona* (Cabral 2007b; Félix 2011: 35) Accessed October 12, 2010.

http://www.guitarraportuguesa.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=39&Itemid=116

Gonçalves (Cabral 1999: 204). His work signature was an oblique curved line at the base of the neck where it meets the body, which gave a more fluid character to that joint, traditionally represented by an oblique straight line of easier construction. Silveiras's art was then continued by the Cardoso family, while maintaining some of those unique features.

At the moment the inexperienced observer is able to overcome the illusory perception of a unified GP, and realizes that instead, the two surviving models of GP are essentially distinct, not only in appearance but also in sound. The visual and the acoustic aspects are commonly the two main referentials in the process of differentiating between the GPLx and the GPCo.

The two variant “modern” models of the GP came into existence at distinct times to perform different functions. The GPLx was first to appear, around 1920, for the sound renovation of *fado* and related instrumental music; the GPCo is the fruit of Artur Paredes' sonic dreams and the skillful patience of brothers “Kim” Grácio (1912-1994) and João Pedro Grácio Jr. (1903-1967) around 1940, later continued by Gilberto Grácio (born 1936).

Aiming for a larger acoustic presence as a solo instrument, with a deeper, more focused sound, and lower pitched; the designers of the GPCo produced an instrument that became the paradigmatic model embodying a progressive cultivated predisposition and impression among a growing number of players. The GPCo was later conditioned by *fado* musicians, already masters of the tuning, to undergo a pressure treatment by raising its

string tension a whole tone, resulting in a louder instrument.⁶⁴ When tuning the GPCo to a the higher pitch one should use strings of thinner calibers (Lisbon set)⁶⁵ in order to reduce the tension, which is still higher than on a GPLx, due to the longer string length.

The GPLx was in the past generally a more elaborate and expensive instrument than the GPCo, but today those differences are not as apparent. Many GPCo have been made with precious woods, decorated with mother of pearl and fitted with good quality tuning systems, although maintaining the simple head stock carving in the shape of a teardrop as the design of choice.

Since there is little scientific evidence on the matter, trying to identify the acoustical differences of the two “modern” models of GP seems to me an overwhelming challenge that would only reveal the subjective nature of such an analysis. Nevertheless, one is able to experience differences when the two instruments are used in their respective natural habitats, regarding both their timbre and the way they are played. Any assessment would prove to be even more problematic and confusing when focusing on a GPCo tuned to the higher pitched Lisbon tuning used in *fado*. Two studies related to the acoustical properties of the GP elaborate:

In this work we have taken the first steps of an ongoing project to study the vibratory and acoustical characteristics of the Portuguese guitar. The measurement of accelerance and vibroacoustic transfer functions on the soundboard of a set of 10 guitars allowed the recognition of a characteristic frequency range below 200 Hz where one resonance, the air

⁶⁴ The earliest photographic evidence of this practice that I have found appears in Moraes (2009: 382), depicting João Nuno A. Neves playing a GPCO in 1963 in the context of amateur *fado* in the Ribatejo province. Still, it is only sometime in the mid 1960s that the innovative move appeared in professional *fado* in the hands of Pedro Caldeira Cabral and Fontes Rocha. There are published photographs of Fontes Rocha playing a GPCO at Amália Rodrigues’ home in 1966, and 1968 and with Raul Nery playing GPLX at the Lumiar Studios, Lisbon in 1969 (Faria 2008: 151, 157, 162).

⁶⁵ See Appendix E.

cavity mode, is responsible for the low frequency character of the radiated spectrum. This resonance is accompanied by an acoustically inefficient structural mode which is more apparent in Coimbra guitars relatively to the Lisbon model. (Inácio, Santiago, Cabral 2004a: 8).

In a companion paper [1], we briefly explored some acoustical and vibratory characteristics of 10 Portuguese guitars. The data obtained has been used in the present work to quantify objective quality parameters, which could be correlated to subjective preferences of the guitars sounds. For this purpose, listening tests were performed on a total of 60 individuals, all academically or professionally related to music. The results of the listening tests do not show a significant correlation with some of the objective results. However, in some cases a trend can be envisaged for preference over lower natural frequencies of the first three resonances, found mainly in the Coimbra guitars. These results should be considered with care. The fact that the sound of these guitars might be more familiar to the sample of listeners that was used for the subjective tests could have biased the results. Furthermore, the different tunings between Coimbra and Lisbon guitars could have some negative influence on the final choices. Further developments of this work will take these aspects into account. (Inácio, Santiago, Cabral 2004b: 8) (not my translations).

It is thus clear that there are measurable acoustical differences between the two models of GP related to their diverse structural design, and that the preference for the lower sound of a GPCo is may be a learned process associated with musical aesthetics. Interestingly, this second deduction seems to echo a contrary subjective ideal given in a nineteenth-century method dedicated to the GP *cítara* as an instrument of *fado*: “[pode] levar-se a afinação da guitarra a um tom muito elevado, o que sempre é muito mais agradável ao ouvido que uma afinação em tom baixo” (one can take the *guitarra* tuning to a very high pitch, which is always more agreeable to the ear than a low pitched tuning) (Anonymous 1875: 16).

Over the years, the topic “Coimbra versus Lisbon” has produced heated debate and controversy. Amateur *fado* GPLx player José Pracana said in an interview to Agência Lusa in August 2005:⁶⁶

[...] *a diferença que ressalta logo, é que a guitarra de Coimbra não produz aquele gemidinho tão característico da de Lisboa. [...] Tocar o fado Mouraria com uma guitarra de Coimbra é tirar-lhe a alma.* ([...] the most noticeable difference, is that the Coimbra *guitarra* does not produce the characteristic *gemidinho* [vibrato] of the Lisbon guitar. [...] To play Fado Mouraria with a Coimbra *guitarra* is to strip out its soul.)

Professional *fado* GPCo player, Fernando Silva explained on his blog on August 25, 2007:⁶⁷

Tocar-se com uma guitarra de Coimbra faz com que o som seja mais consistente e harmonioso, não ficando tão estridente [...] Por sua vez acho a guitarra de Coimbra mais resistente em termos de construção do que a guitarra de Lisboa. (Playing with a Coimbra *guitarra* produces a more consistent and harmonious sound, not being so strident [...] In turn I think the Coimbra *guitarra* is more resistant in terms of construction than the Lisbon *guitarra*.)

The idea that the GPCo has a more harmonious sound appears to be generalized among players as the antithesis to the frequently referred “strident” sound of the GPLx.⁶⁸ GPCo maker Fernando Meireles went to the length of describing the GPLx as “*um instrumento deformado, ou seja, a sua forma é demasiado grande para a função que ocupa*” (a deformed instrument, that is, its form is too large for its function).⁶⁹

⁶⁶ “*Artes e Espectáculos*” by Francisco Resendes, in *Portuguese Times*, New Bedford, Massachusetts. August 2005. Accessed May 7, 2012. http://www.portuguesetimes.com/Ed_1780/Artes/br01.htm

⁶⁷ Accessed June 5, 2012. <http://fernandosilvablogspotcom.blogspot.com/2007/08/guitarra-portuguesa.html>

⁶⁸ See full quotations in the Appendix A.

⁶⁹ Published interview: “*Tributo ao Fado de Coimbra*” in *Diário de Coimbra* May 24, 2007. Accessed June 5, 2012. <http://guitarradecoimbra.blogspot.ca/2007/05/tributo-ao-fado-de-coimbra.html>

Playing techniques

A set of three oil paintings by José António Benedito de Faria e Barros (1752-1809)⁷⁰ showing a *cítara* player using a plectrum seems to be the earliest evidence of the use of this playing technique on this type of instrument in the eighteenth century. This practice is mentioned along with right-hand “all” fingers (thumb, index, medium and ring), thumb/index, and/or *dedilho* (alternating index strokes) techniques in the GP methods by João Victória.⁷¹

Up until the second half of the nineteenth century, the GP used for accompanying *fado* was probably mostly played with long and dragging chord strumming applied downwards by the right hand thumb in combination with the right index moving upwards (Cabral 1999: 169). But after 1850 players started using plucking techniques possibly borrowed from the five-course folk guitars, known as *violas de arame*, developing arpeggios of chords such as the one used in *fado corrido* (1999: 170). In the early recordings of instrumental pieces called *guitarradas*,⁷² players used a wide variety of effects and techniques such as tremolo and Spanish style strumming, apart from the traditional *fado corrido* arpeggio (1999: 170).⁷³ Other effects adopted over the years and

⁷⁰ Also known as “*Morgado de Setúbal*.” I have only seen reproductions of two of the paintings; one of them appears in Sucena (2008: Plate “*Guitarrista*” [GP player] between 112-113). See also Chapter Four.

⁷¹ These methods are from the twentieth century although undated:

A Guitarra sem Mestre, 1st Part (14th ed.) Lisbon. Plectrum use (2, 5-6); “all” fingers (5); thumb/index (6).
A Guitarra sem Mestre, 4th Part (5th ed.) Lisbon. Plectrum use (10 [in the case of a waltz]); all other examples (*fados*) with the use of *dedilho* (7 [the first time it appears in the series], 12, 14-15).

1º Album do Guitarrista, (2nd ed.) Lisbon. Plectrum use (11) or index but only for mandolin or violin music in the back of the book. The *fados* were not to be played with plectrum but with *dedilho* (2-10).

⁷² Cabral gives the example of player António Landeiro recorded in 1908 and informs that the word “*guitarradas*” only appears in documented sources after the beginning of the twentieth century (Cabral 1999: 170).

⁷³ See Appendix D for examples of this type of arpeggio.

still used today include muted notes, harmonics, and many types of arpeggios and strumming techniques.

The current playing technique used on the GP involves the right hand, unless the player is left-handed, thumb/index coordinated movements and the index alternating strokes (*dedilho*); nevertheless, some old methods also refer to the “all” fingers approach,⁷⁴ which could be employed on very rare occasions especially in the context of *fado*.⁷⁵ The strings are plucked by the nails of the thumb and index finger, most commonly with *unhas* (finger picks), and each double course is normally played in unison, although players sometimes strike the strings individually for a special effect. The thumb always strikes the strings with a downwards movement and the index finger performs an upwards or downwards stroke (*dedilho*). The index finger strokes are either alternated (up/down) or independently applied. This is a very old technique, which has also been used with other instruments for centuries (Cabral 1999: 319-320).⁷⁶ The strokes can be either resting or free strokes (Soares 1997: 50, 51) for both the thumb and the index finger, but the downwards stroke of the latter is always free. The thumb can be used on all or part of the strings when strumming a chord, or playing melodic/arpeggio notes in all but the first course of strings. The index finger can play on all or groups of the

⁷⁴ Victória, João. *A Guitarra sem Mestre*, 2nd Part (9th ed.). Lisbon. “All” fingers used (1, 15).

Varela, Reynaldo. 1925 *Methodo para aprender a tocar Guitarra Portuguesa* (2nd ed.). Lisbon: Armazem de instrumentos musicos de Viuva Rangel, Maia, Lda. “All” fingers for solo work and thumb/index for *fado* (5).

Carmo, J. C. Salgado do. 1929. *Metodo Elementar Teorico e Pratico de Guitarra Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Sasseti Editores. “All” fingers or thumb/index use (6-7).

⁷⁵ As an exception, a school in Lisbon teaches with this technique and a different tuning. Costa, Duarte. s.d. *Metodo de Guitarra Portuguesa*. Author’s edition, Lisbon. Tuning from low to high: B,E,A,D,F#,b.

⁷⁶ Luis de Milan's vihuela method from 1536, *Libro de música de vihuela de mano intitulado El maestro* mentions this technique. The book was dedicated to King John III of Portugal. This dedication, and the existence of six villancicos, which Milán wrote in Portuguese suggests that he spent sometime in Portugal.

strings, performing full or partial chords with either an upwards or downwards movement, and plucking melodic/arpeggio notes in combination with the thumb. Chords can also be played by coordinating the thumb and index finger movements, in such a way that the finger moving up crosses over the thumb moving down: this is called *figueta* (Cabral 1999: 319-320; Soares 1997: 61).

There are at present two main styles of playing the GP that include different approaches both in plucking and fretting the strings. These are: Coimbra style and Lisbon style. In the Coimbra style, the plucking index finger strikes every downbeat note upwards, reserving the alternating pattern (up/down) for the fast sequence of notes and the downwards stroke only for the upbeat notes (Soares 1997:68). In the Lisbon style, the strokes' direction is very much an individual choice, although a variety of arpeggio formulae with fixed stroke patterns have been used since the end of the nineteenth century and are still identifiable elements of specific *fado* songs (Cabral 1999: 325).⁷⁷

New concepts in Portuguese guitar construction

Besides the two definite models of the GP with their specific characteristics, there are others that could be considered hybrid, incorporating diverse aspects in their construction process. The most common combination is a GP with the longer Coimbra string length and a scroll head carving adapted to a Lisbon rounder body.⁷⁸ This hybrid

⁷⁷ That is case of arpeggios used in accompanying *fado corrido*, *fado menor*, *fado Mouraria*, *fado Pedro Rodrigues*, *fado puxavante*, *fado Vianinha*, and *fado das Horas*. See the Appendix D for some examples.

⁷⁸ This type of construction was first practiced in 1969 by maker Gilberto Grácio in collaboration with Fontes Rocha (Cabral 1999: 220) and it is at present quite common among other makers, such as Carlos Macedo. Pedro Caldeira Cabral used this hybrid GP to perform his own compositions in the lower pitched

GP tries to respond to the players' demands for a more spacious fretboard on an instrument that still looks like a GPLx.

The current professional GP player is a demanding musician who knows what to expect from his/her⁷⁹ instrument. He/she follows and helps to solidify trends regarding the choice of makers, and contributes to perpetuate myths relating to sound quality and playability of a limited number of luthiers that produce GPs for such a specialized market.

There was a time in the first half of the twentieth century, when professional *fado* GP players preferred the works of master maker Álvaro Merceano da Silveira (Cabral 1999: 204), but then in the early 1960s that popularity shifted to another famous maker, João Pedro Grácio Jr. and remained with the family through his son, Gilberto Grácio. Until recently, the Grácio family enjoyed great recognition in its design and establishment of the two models of “modern” GP, but its three-generation dynasty is now practically over. Although no direct descendant is to inherit the art of the Grácio family, the still-active Gilberto Grácio was able to find two students who since 2006 have given continuity to his work.⁸⁰ Musicians have been buying from another family of makers in its second generation. The son of the late Manuel Cardoso (1933-1991), Óscar, is now the

tuning as per video footage from RTP (Portuguese Public TV) archives: Accessed August 1, 2013.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OOzS8MCZjYM>; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7PoNk4tuu8g>

⁷⁹ As mentioned in Chapter One; although there is currently only one woman playing GP in professional *fado*, Marta Pereira da Costa, I will still employ the format his/her or he/she when referring to the GP makers in a non personified way.

⁸⁰ The *Atelier de Construção de Instrumentos Musicais de Corda* –AIMC (Stringed Musical Instruments Construction Atelier) is run by António Duarte and Hugo Madeira and produces good quality instruments, including both models of GP, under master Grácio's supervision. Accessed November 7, 2012. <http://atelierinstrumentosmusicaisdecorda.blogspot.ca/>

most popular maker among professionals.⁸¹ Besides the two main models of GP, he also makes various experimental ones that are on one hand strange and enigmatic, and on the other hand appealing and fashionable.

The construction of the instrument has also evolved to take advantage of the electronic environment. New materials such as carbon fiber have been used by Óscar Cardoso to enhance and focus the sound of the GP; pickups have been installed in its interior; extra sound holes have been included in its body; and even a “backless” GP has been invented, minimizing the risk of feedback. This radical design has encountered a mixed reception among players and the *fado* community in general, and most of the voiced reactions are full of skepticism and ridicule.⁸² In August 25, 2007, professional *fado* GPCo player Fernando Silva published his opinion on the backless model of GP created by Óscar Cardoso, referring to the polemic surrounding such an innovative design and its reception in the *fado* milieu, although not rejecting the idea of having one.⁸³

Acho que as guitarras sem fundo não passa de uma simples brincadeira do construtor porque essa tecnica de construir não vai levar a guitarra portuguesa a lado nenhum [...] Acho as guitarras sem fundo um pouco pesadas e com falta de graves como era de esperar [...] irá ter problemas com a montagem dos pick-ups [...] Não quer dizer que não possa comprar um dia uma guitarra sem fundo, não digo que não.

⁸¹ Accessed July 14, 2012.

<http://semanal.omirante.pt/index.asp?idEdicao=385&id=52514&idSeccao=5789&Action=noticia>

⁸² Published by Jonas April 4, 2009. Accessed July 14, 2012.

http://www.portaldofado.net/component/option.com_fireboard/Itemid,272/func.view/id,2397/catid,12/

Published by Topianinho April 4, 2009. Accessed July 14, 2012.

http://www.portaldofado.net/component/option.com_fireboard/Itemid,272/func.view/id,2398/catid,12/

Published by Bosco April 4, 2009. Accessed July 14, 2012.

http://www.portaldofado.net/component/option.com_fireboard/Itemid,272/func.view/id,2399/catid,12/

Published by Xanax April 5, 2009. Accessed July 14, 2012.

http://www.portaldofado.net/component/option.com_fireboard/Itemid,272/func.view/id,2401/catid,12/

⁸³ Accessed November 1, 2012. <http://fernandosilvablogspotcom.blogspot.ca/2007/08/guitarra-portuguesa.html> See full quotations in the Appendix A.

(I think that the backless *guitarras* are just a simple maker's game because that technique of building is not going to take the Portuguese *guitarra* anywhere [...] I find the backless *guitarras* a bit heavy and lacking bass as one might expect [...] there will be problems with the installation of pickups [...] This does not mean that I will not buy a backless *guitarra* one day, I do not say no.)

Engaging in a forum discussion later on, Fernando Silva describes the backless GPs that he tried as “unbalanced” (*desequilibradas*) and “a bit metallic” (*um pouco metálica*).⁸⁴

Others in similar debates have used the words “aggressive” (*agressivo*), or “not at all intimate” (*nada intimista*) to explain their sound.⁸⁵

Nevertheless some of the top GP players in *fado* are proud defenders of the concept and seem eager to be part of its inception, as in the case of Custódio Castelo:

Sou a primeira pessoa desta experiência de uma nova guitarra. A minha guitarra sem fundo é o modelo zero. Foram seis anos de experiências e estudo do Óscar Cardoso [...] Quando falei com o construtor sobre esta ideia ele disse que eu era maluco. Agora já há muitos guitarristas a tocar com guitarras como esta. Estou mesmo convencido que se o Mestre Carlos Paredes ainda fosse vivo e tocasse, gostaria de tocar numa guitarra assim.[...]

Esta é uma guitarra de concerto. Fazes um concerto numa igreja e o espaço funciona todo como uma enorme caixa acústica, cinquenta ou mil vezes maior que a caixa do instrumento.

(I am the first person of this new *guitarra* experiment. My backless *guitarra* is the zero model. It has been six years of experiments and study by Óscar Cardoso [...] When I talked to the maker about this idea he told me I was crazy. Now there are already many *guitarra* players, playing *guitarras* like this one. I am even convinced that if Master Carlos Paredes

⁸⁴ Published January 13, 2008 and May 5, 2009. Accessed November 1, 2012.

http://www.guitraportuguesa.org/index.php?option=com_fireboard&Itemid=149&func=view&id=343&catid=11#343

⁸⁵ Published by Raul, May 13, 2009. Accessed July 14, 2012.

http://www.portaldofado.net/component/option.com_fireboard/Itemid.272/func.view/id.2469/catid.12/

I also have had the opportunity of trying a couple of backless GPs (a backless GPLX belonging to Luís Guerreiro in 2010 and a backless GPCO belonging to Marta Pereira da Costa in 2012 both made by Óscar Cardoso), and in general I found them to have a very present and clear tone on the treble side, but lacking depth on the lower strings, which is easily explained by the open bottom not being able to trap and amplify the fundamental bass frequencies. The result is in my opinion an overall stronger and focus sound with a great emphasis on the higher register.

were still alive and active, he would like to play on a *guitarra* like this.

[...]

This is a concert *guitarra*. You play a concert in a church and the whole space works as a huge acoustic box, fifty or a thousand times larger than the instrument's body).⁸⁶

But others are readily available to propose a more accurate view, as did professional *fado* GP player Mário Henriques in a forum debate, giving credit to the maker for his inventive design initially performed on a *viola* (classical guitar), and attributing the property of the first ever backless GP (a GPCo) to top player Mário Pacheco.⁸⁷ In close interaction with maker Óscar Cardoso, top GP players started to appear sporting GPs (mostly GPCos) in a variety of experimental versions capable of creating great expectation both among sound technicians and the public alike. Visually puzzling, the backless GPs are also acoustically quite surprising that is, impressive in terms of volume, projection and tonal clarity.

Conclusion

Until now scholars and researchers have been more interested in debating the origin(s) of the GP than in its more recent development. It seems to me that there is not enough evidence to support the argument that the GP developed from the English *guitar*; on the contrary, there are many reasons one should consider the GP a regional variant descended from the European citterns of the sixteenth century. Influences from other instruments in the construction of the GP are not limited to the English *guitar* tuning

⁸⁶ Published April 2, 2009. Accessed July 14, 2012.

<http://semanal.omirante.pt/index.asp?idEdicao=385&id=52514&idSeccao=5789&Action=noticia>

⁸⁷ Published April 3, 2009. Accessed July 14, 2012. <http://www.portaldofado.net/content/view/1274/67/>
The first backless instrument, a classical guitar, dates from 2005 (Félix 2011: 128-129). The backless GPCo mentioned by Henriques was also made in 2005 (Félix 2011: 92).

mechanism and body shape, but also to some structural and ornamental aspects of the violin family.

The most dramatic transformation of the GP into a true “modern” instrument, including a considerable increase in size, occurred at the beginning of the twentieth century, probably in Lisbon, and resulted in the GPLx around 1920. During this organological development, several “innovations” including the neck setting angle, the sides slanting, and wider/higher frets became the standard of the “professional” GP, and were later applied in the GPCo final design around 1940. Thus, the Coimbra model benefited from the size and constructive aspects already present in the GPLx.

Two studies seem to confirm what subjective descriptions try to convey when distinguishing between the sound qualities of the two “modern” models of GP, although only when tuned to their respective “orthodox” pitches: there are acoustical differences resulting from structural variations; and the current preference for the sound of a GPCo is related to aesthetics.

Due to the proliferation of hybrid forms since the 1960s and a more recent tendency to average the string length, the GPLx and GPCo are now understood mostly as visual versions of the GP, and in some cases that is actually the reasoning behind the choice of the instrument used in *fado*.

CHAPTER THREE: THE PORTUGUESE GUITAR IN *FADO*

A bit of history

Although currently the GP is used in many different musical genres, including folk, pop, rock, jazz, avant-garde, experimental, and electronica, it is in *fado* that its practice is most apparent, where it maintains a privileged position as an “instrument-symbol” (Cabral 1999: 135) within Portuguese musical culture and its projection in the world. Nevertheless its presence, exclusively in the form of the GPCo that was developed around 1940, is also imperative both in the current tradition of songs and instrumentals associated with the university students of Coimbra⁸⁸ and in the contemporary solo compositions dedicated to the instrument in cultivated and erudite music. In *fado* the GP is tuned to a higher pitch, in a tuning known as “of the *fado corrido*,”⁸⁹ and is played with a specific technique called the “Lisbon style.” This in contrast to the “Coimbra style” used in other domains, tuned in the same way but to a lower pitch.⁹⁰

When in the mid-nineteenth century the GP became linked to *fado* (Carvalho “Tinop” 1903: 44), the instrument was made in a variety of forms, in general smaller and less round than the “modern” Lisbon *guitarra* model (GPLx), established around 1920

⁸⁸ This genre of music is referred by a variety of names such as *Canção de Coimbra* (Coimbra song) *Balada de Coimbra* (Coimbra ballad) *Toada Coimbrã* (Coimbra tune) or *Fado de Coimbra* (Coimbra *fado*).

⁸⁹ *Fado corrido* is one of the foundations of the genre and essentially a fixed form of accompaniment in 2/4 time and fast tempo, comprised of a cycle of eight bars divided in two groups of four, harmonically alternating between the tonic (I) and the dominant (V). The singing melody, which is largely improvised, starts on the fourth beat of the third bar of the first chord. *Fado corrido* is played on the GP as an ostinato of arpeggios and short melodies. See the Appendix D for examples of these arpeggios.

⁹⁰ Such as in the Coimbra ballad, cultivated and erudite compositions. See also Chapter Two.

and since then used by *fado* professionals.⁹¹ Some GPs dating back to the early days of the connection with *fado* still used the wooden peg tuning system typical of the old models sometimes referred as *cítara popular* (folk cittern) (Cabral 1999: 139), *cítara campeira* (rural cittern) (Cabral interview August 13, 2012), “*guitarra da Severa*” (Severa’s *guitarra*) (Cabral 1999: 140), *guitarra-cítara*, *guitarra-bandurra*, and *guitarra-banza* (Nunes 2005b). The body contour of these instruments was in general more elongated and the sides narrower than the GPLx, although using a similar short string length.⁹² More sophisticated tuning systems had begun to be applied to the GP at the turn of the nineteenth century, such as the so-called Preston mechanism (used in the English *guitar* since 1766). After 1850 a less frequent but curious system was developed visually mimicking the wooden pegs, although in fact using a mechanical device in their interior to apply tension on the string.⁹³ Later on, around 1870, the preference veered definitely towards the *leque*, the fan shaped mechanism of anonymous Portuguese ingenuity still used today (Cabral 1999: 140).

Approaching a new century, the body of the early Lisbon GP⁹⁴ started to change in size and shape: its fretboard became arched, the string length was set at around 440 mm, and the *leque* and scroll combination consolidated the connection to *fado* and the place of origin. In the meantime other urban designs developed, especially in Oporto

⁹¹ See also Chapter Two.

⁹² String lengths between 424 mm and 440 mm as per the available data relating to examples with tuning pegs in museums and private collections.

⁹³ As per the example found in the Museu da Música, Lisbon, made sometime in the second half of the nineteenth century by Philippe José Rodrigues (MM 275), referred to and depicted in *Fado: Vozes e Sombras* (1994: 181).

⁹⁴ Sometimes also referred as *guitarrilha* (small *guitarra*).

where makers typically explored the figure of a flower to crown their GPs, which in some cases had a longer string length of 470 mm.

Around 1920 a new GP model was created for the *fado* player, one with a larger, rounder body, wider sides, and typically embellished with the already traditional Lisbon head carving in the form of a classical scroll or a more elaborate variation. The GPLx was then born, becoming virtually the only model of GP used in *fado* for four decades until the early sixties, when another “modern” GP model, the GPCo with a longer string length of around 470 mm and tuned to a lower pitch, slowly started to infiltrate the scene in a complex process of adoption that attained characteristics of a trend approaching the new millennium. This other, more recent, model of GP was established around 1940. Developed mostly to fulfill the needs of a virtuoso, Artur Paredes (1899-1980), the founder of the “modern” Coimbra school of playing (1999: 238), it rapidly became the paradigmatic model for the cultivated GP repertoire. When the GPCo made its debut in *fado* it kept its Paredes’ low pitch tuning, as in the cases of Pedro Caldeira Cabral and José Fontes Rocha, but soon after was forced to adopt the higher *fado* tuning,⁹⁵ introducing a significant alteration in sound quality to the genre, one that changed the very character of an instrument designed to serve a diverse musical aesthetic.

In the early days of its connection to *fado*, dating back to the mid nineteenth century, the GP *cítara* was at first played by the singer or a solo accompanist, as in Severa’s myth, probably only strumming a few chords serving as a harmonic basis for

⁹⁵ Cabral was the first to switch to the higher pitched tuning in 1969 while José Fontes Rocha was still playing in the lower Coimbra tuning. (Cabral interview August 13, 2012). Cabral felt pressured by *fado* singers and decided to adopt the higher Lisbon tuning (Cabral interview December 6, 2012). See also Chapter One.

largely improvised sung melodies.⁹⁶ The instrument involved in such a context of circumstances could have been of varied form and sound quality. The GP had probably different names that merely denoted a position in the nineteenth-century Portuguese society: *banza*, *cítara*, and *guitarra* are the ones that survived through the writings of authors who mentioned the instrument. Later a more musically educated working class of GP players emerged, including Ambrósio Fernandes Maia (1830-1912), a barber,⁹⁷ and João Maria dos Anjos (1856-1889), a shoemaker, followed by his disciple Luís Carlos da Silva “Petroline” (1859-1934). All dedicated to the cultivated repertoire for the instrument, including erudite pieces, and accustomed to performing in concert halls within ensembles as soloists, they started to play instrumental versions of *fado* melodies and to be involved in the genre as accompanists and composers. These accomplished players ensured a tuned environment and a well-balanced chord progression in support of the singer, but not yet revealing, in the *fado* context, the abilities of versatile instrumentalists (Carvalho 1994: 102). This seems to have happened only later, in the early twentieth century, with Armando Augusto Salgado Freire, “Armandinho” (1891-1946), a disciple of “Petroline”, when he perfected a new role for the GP in *fado*: a second voice in dialogue with the singer, playing counter-melodies during the pauses of the sung melody and providing a harmonic root system during the verses by means of arpeggios and soft strumming. At this point in time the *viola de fado*, a classical guitar with six steel strings, had already joined the ranks of *fado* instrumentation. It formed a

⁹⁶ “Tinop” was very eager to inform that in the olden days, the *fadista* (singer) did not play the *guitarra*; he always had a *guitarrista* accompanying him (1903: 83). See also p. 57.

⁹⁷ Probably the first GP soloist/*fado* accompanist in the 1850s (Nery 2004: 99), Maia learned from João Pedro Quaresma (Tinop 1903: 235).

durable duo with the GP that remains the organological core of any *fado* performance today.

As players got more sophisticated, so did the GP. To my knowledge there is no certain published image of Ambrósio Fernandes Maia or João Maria dos Anjos actually playing an instrument, although there is photographic evidence that in 1891 professional internationally touring musicians were using a specific form of GP, with a round and quite small body, compared to a “modern” GPLx of the first quarter of the twentieth century. I was fortunate enough to stumble upon an article in the British weekly newspaper, *Black and White*, commenting on a concert by a troupe of “Portuguese Mandolin Players” at the Cavendish Rooms in 1891, London.⁹⁸ Close examination of the picture of the septet illustrating the text revealed that, besides a classical guitar and a small-sized guitar, all the other five instruments represented were in reality Portuguese *guitarras*, that is GPs, not mandolins. This observation was immediately confirmed in the second line of the article, which stated that these musicians called themselves “*Guitarristas*” (GP players). According to Pedro Caldeira Cabral this was an important discovery, since there is not much iconographic information on this type of ensemble,⁹⁹ quite popular in the mid-nineteenth century both in Portugal and abroad. Some of the historical GP players of the time might actually be present in the photograph: possibly

⁹⁸ See p. 54, Figure 4: “The Portuguese Mandolin Players.” In *Black and White*, September 19, 1891: 407. Accessed February 27, 2012. http://www.ebay.com/itm/Portuguese-Mandolin-Players-Cavendish-Rooms-London-1891-review-and-print-/380390465976?pt=UK_art_prints_GL&hash=item589109e1b8#ht_2072wt_826

As a curiosity, the great GPLX master of the twentieth century, “Armandinho” was born on October 11 that same year.

⁹⁹ Cabral personal email, February 28, 2012.

Ambrósio Fernandes Maia (the first sitting on the left? 61 years old?) and “Petrolina” (the first standing on the left? 32 years old?).



FIGURE 4. “The Portuguese Mandolin Players”

Besides the iconic value of this late nineteenth-century document, it is especially interesting in the way it gives a contemporaneous account of the repertoire being played by such a GP band and its reception by the Londoners’ society.¹⁰⁰ After mentioning *fado*

¹⁰⁰ It is curious that in this article the author mistook the GP for the mandolin instead of comparing it with the English *guitar*. Furthermore, earlier that same year “Genuine Portuguese guitarras” made by João Miguel Andrade were advertised for sale in a London newspaper (*The Era*, May 9, 1891: 22). Accessed November 3, 2013. <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000053/18910509/063/0022> The GP was enjoying some popularity in England with instruments being imported from Portugal and at least one method published in London by Alban Voigt & Company (Mason, Havelock. [1892-1895?] *A*

(“Fados”) as the national music of Portugal and relating it to the country’s Islamic (Arab) occupation, two very common ideas among certain sectors in Portugal, the writer proceeds:

It is a pity that the Portuguese musicians did not confine themselves to this captivating and popular music [*fado*], and to the sweet and curious national music of their neighbours of Spain. They chose, however, to put upon their programme a variety of operatic and dance airs which seemed somewhat foreign to the taste and the powers of the performers. They wound up with the beautiful "Fado de Tres Horas," to the obvious delight of the audience, a little wearied with over-long pauses in the performance and a wilderness of opera tunes which it knew by heart. A Capriccio Characteristico by Espinoza, and the Serenata of a young Portuguese composer, both pieces full of “crispness” and character, were rendered with a verve and precision that showed the "Guitarristas" at their very best.

Although there was no singer in this instrumental group it is clear that *fado* was not a stranger to the talented musicians.¹⁰¹

These professional instruments, built in a patterned fashion, were probably the most efficient in the last decade of the nineteenth century: good sound quality, tuning accuracy, and easy mechanical handling. During his celebrated career, João Maria dos Anjos witnessed at least three types of *guitarras* according to the tuning system applied to the same form of GP (?) (Anjos (1877 [1889]: 9), and at the end of his short life (thirty-three years) he was probably using a similar instrument. Disciple Luís Carlos da Silva “Petrolina” most certainly performed and enjoyed fame playing an identical GP, the organological precursor of the GPLx still used today.

Complete Method for Portuguese Guitarra, using the English open tuning but containing a few *fados*. See also pp. 18, 126-127 n. 261.

¹⁰¹ The mentioned "Fado de Tres Horas," was composed by Reynaldo Varela (1860/1-1930) (Cabral personal email February 28, 2012). Could he also be in the photograph at 31 years of age?

Since the mid 1800s the GP and *fado* had been moving not only into theatres and concert halls,¹⁰² but also to the outdoors, in *retiros*, *adegas* and *hortas* (retreats, wineries, and vegetable gardens) in the outskirts of Lisbon (Nery 2004: 125). As the performance spaces grew bigger and noisier there was a need for instruments with more volume and better projection; thus, they started to be built with larger bodies. By the time “Armandinho” became a disciple of “Petroline” around 1911 (Adriano 2007: 2),¹⁰³ and the practice of GP soloist performance began to decline, the aesthetic surrounding the sound of *fado* and the technical development associated with its production, had set in motion new ideas in GP construction. According to Cabral (1999: 159), before 1920 the GPs made in Lisbon had body widths ranging from 28cm to 33cm; body lengths between 31cm and 35cm; sides with maximum widths of 55cm to 85cm; and string lengths between 42cm and 47cm. But around 1910 these parameters started to change, by increasing the body’s width in relation to its length, resulting in a rounder outline, and expanding its size (1999: 169) reaching measurements of 37.7cm (body width), 40.4cm (body length), 75cm (maximum side width) in an elaborate “modern” GPLx made by João Pedro Grácio Jr. in June 1925 and used by “Armandinho” in the HMV sessions of 1928-29 at Teatro S. Luís, Lisbon (1999: 193,194).¹⁰⁴ This GPLx, now in Pedro Caldeira Cabral’s private collection, was described by Lawton MacKall while visiting Lisbon and

¹⁰² For instance, in May 3, 1873, João Maria dos Anjos’ sextet (GPs and *violas*) performed with female *fado* singers (Nery 2004: 105).

¹⁰³ Also note that in 1910 “Armandinho” had already composed “*Fado do Armandinho*” (3). Cabral gives 1914 as the date of the historical meeting (1999: 234).

¹⁰⁴ These recordings were reedited in 1994 by Heritage: *Armandinho (the 1928-29 HMV Sessions)*. 1994. Collection Fado’s Archives Vol. IV. Heritage HTCD25; and *Lisbon Women (1928-1931)*. 1994. Collection Fado’s Archives Vol. III. Heritage HTCD24.

attending a performing session by “Armandinho” at Solar da Alegria (1931: 64).¹⁰⁵ The great “Armandinho” is widely considered responsible for the structural patterning of *fado* songs (a practice still very much alive today), and having a huge impact in the genre, not only as a virtuoso musician but also as an inspired composer. Furthermore, there is evidence that “Armandinho” was influential in the organological development that led to the creation of the GPLx, choosing *guitarras* made by great master builders, among others, Álvaro Merceano da Silveira, and João Pedro Grácio Jr.¹⁰⁶

It seems that when it started to be used in *fado* in the mid-nineteenth century c. 1846, the *cítara* type GP was either played by the singer or a lone accompanist, although “Tinop” clearly stated that before his time singers did not play the *guitarra*, but always had an accompanist, and “Hoje quasi sempre o cantador se acompanha a si próprio” (nowadays [1903] almost always the singer accompanies himself) (1903: 83), he also mentioned other female singers, contemporaries of Severa, who played the GP *cítara* (1903: 69-70; 85).¹⁰⁷ Could this nineteenth-century group of female singers have been the pioneers of a practice later generalized in the beginning of the twentieth century, as “Tinop” appears to suggest?

In all types of music, the distinction between amateur and professional is commonly not a clear one, and in the context of the *fado* genre, for many decades it was hard to separate the two. At first, in the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth

¹⁰⁵ I had the pleasure of holding and trying out this remarkable instrument in 2011. A few photographs of this GPLx are found in Cabral (1999: 192-193).

¹⁰⁶ Up until the decade of 1960 most professional GPLx players used instruments made by Álvaro Merceano da Silveira, but then everyone started to play GPs made by João Pedro Grácio Jr. (Cabral interview August 13, 2012).

¹⁰⁷ Sucena also mentions Emília Genoveva Letroublon (1824-1895) an actress, singer and GP player of French origin (2008: 148).

century when *fado* started to be sung in taverns by prostitutes and ruffians, one could argue that certain performers were obviously remunerated in some way, but there was not a particular class of professionals. Approaching the middle of the century, as *fado* moved up the social ladder and was also performed for bohemian aristocrats in their own milieu, there were already GP players specialized enough to be considered professionals, not because they would charge a fee but because they were dependable in the accompaniment of *fado*. One such player was Roberto Camelo, who might have accompanied Severa at Count of Vimioso's house, sometime before 1846 (Cabral 1999: 223). Towards the end of the 1800s, musically literate players such as João Maria dos Anjos and Luís Carlos da Silva "Petrolina" attained professional status at a time when the GP became an identifiable distinctive instrument both in accompanying *fado* and in soloist work (1999: 144). At that point in history, continuing its social ascendance, *fado* made its way into the palaces of the high nobility and GP players benefited financially. In the early twentieth century, this process of professional specialization continued with GP players such as Júlio Silva, Reynaldo Varella (also a singer), Salgado do Carmo, (1999: 131; Nery 2004: 136).

With the assassination of the penultimate Portuguese monarchic ruler, King D. Carlos I, in 1908, and the triumph of the Republic in 1910, noble patronage disappeared and it was no longer possible for a player to survive exclusively from playing the GP, especially as a solo instrument performing an erudite repertoire. Most of the great players that followed totally connected with *fado* maintained another profession at least in the first years of their careers as GP players (Cabral 1999: 234, 240-241, 245-247, 249-

253).¹⁰⁸ These included Armando Augusto Freire “Armandinho,” José Marques “Piscalarete,” and later on, Casimiro Ramos, Carlos Ramos (also a singer), Jaime Santos, Fernando de Freitas (professional at 16), Domingos Camarinha (professional at 23), Raul Nery, José Nunes, Francisco de Carvalho “Carvalhinho,” and José Fontes Rocha. With the regulatory measures and censorship implemented after the military coup in 1926 and intensified by the *Estado Novo*, it became mandatory to be a professional in order to perform *fado* in public (Nery 2004: 188). Official documents were issued to prove professional status within the *fado* artistic community and other areas of commercial entertainment. A document found by José Manuel Osório in the archives of PIDE, the political police of Salazar’s regime, dating from December 20, 1939, reveals the atmosphere of repression in Portugal during that period. Among the many names (all related to *fado*) mentioned in the document as politically dangerous are two of the greatest personalities of the genre: “Armandinho” and Amália Rodrigues (Osório 2005 Vol.9: 22-23).¹⁰⁹ This might be the reason why I cannot find any reference or sign of participation of *fado* or the GP in the state mega exhibition “*O Mundo Português*” (The Portuguese World) in 1940,¹¹⁰ neither in the city of Lisbon Municipality’s pavilion nor in the general programming of the event with a duration of several months, from June 23 to December 2, 1940. This is somewhat surprising since the chair of the Executive Commission for the Centennials, the exhibition director Júlio Dantas, was the author of

¹⁰⁸ Raul Nery is an exception, embracing another profession later in life (Bastos 1999: 368-369).

¹⁰⁹ The document was actually issued by the first incarnation of the oppressive organization, *Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado* (Police of Vigilance and Defense of the State) which became PIDE (International Police of Defense of the Estate) in 1945 (Nery 2009: 132).

¹¹⁰ Commemorating two national centennials: the foundation of Portugal by Afonso Henriques in 1143 and the restoration of Portugal’s sovereignty in 1640.

the novel “*A Severa*” and the play “*A Severa: peça em quatro actos*” that as early as 1901 helped to consolidate the myth of the prostitute, singer of *fado*, player of GP *cítara* and lover of the nobleman Vimioso (Colvin 2008: 47). This leads me to suggest that there is no other explanation for the absence of *fado* or the GP in “*O Mundo Português*” except censorship. It is clear that, for the regime of the time, *fado* and the GP were not seen as symbolic of Portugal nor even recognized as local cultural attractions worth displaying.¹¹¹

Instruments of *fado*

Although currently one might consider the GP the instrument that best represents the essence of *fado*, not only because of its haunting sound, but also due to its national uniqueness, the genre has over the years made use of other sound-producing objects. In *fado*-related literature and lyrics, numerous and intriguing are the references to a *banza*¹¹² generally interpreted as a pejorative designation of any crude string instrument of African origin (Nery 2004: 46) and commonly used to identify either the GP or the five-course *viola* (folk guitar). But could it also reveal the presence of other types of instruments that had been used even before the early days of *fado*? Or, as the word’s African etymology might suggest, could it refer to a certain type of banjo? There is written evidence of the presence of African musicians playing plucked lutes for whites in Portugal as early as the

¹¹¹ In contrast a year prior, *fado* singer Ercília Costa (1902-1985) had been invited by the Propaganda Secretary of Portugal to perform in the Portuguese pavilion at the New York World Fair, accompanied by GPLx player Carlos Ramos.

¹¹² The earliest reference to *banza* that I was able to find as an instrument used in the context of a brothel, playing for song and dance, dates back to 1833. It appears in a collection of satirical verses about the complaints of prostitutes regarding new regulatory measures in Lisbon, *Queixumes das Pequenas à Vista da Próxima Mudança* (cited Nery 2004: 40, 46). Nevertheless, as mentioned in Chapter Two, the word “*banza*” appears in a work from 1760.

sixteenth century. In his study of black guitar players in Portugal and Brasil, Rogério

Budasz writes:

An example of a black musician well adapted to the Portuguese culture and speaking fluent Portuguese is to be found in the *Auto da natural invenção* by Antonio Ribeiro Chiado (c. 1520 – 91) (illus. 2). The black actor and guitar-player is first reminded of his subservient condition when he is asked to cede his chair to a visitor, but that order is revoked when he performs and proves his talent; he is then acclaimed as a ‘black Orpheus’. Social accommodation was possible if blacks succeeded in assimilating the standards of culture and behaviour of their oppressors, anticipating a fundamental aspect of race relations in Brazil in the following centuries. (2007: 4)¹¹³

The cover of the historical book, mentioned by Budasz as “illus. 2,” shows three male figures, two whites and a black, playing a round-bodied plucked string instrument with a flat head leaning backwards as in a lute, which looks very much like some sort of banjo.

The earliest known written record of an instrument of the banjo-type (round body, skin top, small number of strings, movable bridge) being played by African slaves in the Western Hemisphere is from the island of Martinique (Dessalles 1678: 48); *banza* is the name used in the French document. A surviving example of a *banza* chordophone, collected in Haiti in 1840, has a body made out of a gourd, cleverly adapted to a spike flat neck/fretless fingerboard, with three major strings and a shorter drone string on the side closer to the player. The strings are tunable by means of wooden friction pegs, probably an early European (Portuguese?) influence.

I believe that the possibility of the eventual use of African/European hybrid instruments in eighteenth-century Lisbon (and much earlier) is not to be discarded since

¹¹³ In reference to Chiado (1917 [c. 1580]: 196-197).

cultural elements linking Portugal to Africa and to the New World arrived and departed through Lisbon's port. Furthermore, the index/thumb and *dedilho* plucking techniques used currently in the GP¹¹⁴ seem to have a parallel existence in West African cultures.¹¹⁵

An instrument built in the form of a *bandurra*,¹¹⁶ a popular name also applied to the multi-coursed *viola* (folk guitar), but in this case with an almond-shaped body similar to a large Portuguese mandolin,¹¹⁷ was sometimes strung like a GP with six double courses over a movable bridge. I purchased (in Toronto) such an instrument built around 1890 in Oporto by Manoel Pereira dos Santos working for the Custódio Cardoso Pereira & Cia (from label) and belonging to a Mr. A. Nittleton in 3.8.1893, Gibraltar (from inscription on the top) and gave it to Pedro Caldeira Cabral for his collection. In Castela's thesis there are a few examples of *bandurra* type instruments with movable bridges,¹¹⁸ which might have been tuned like a GP and even used to play *fado* (?).

One of the surviving *citaras*, built in Lisbon by Joaquim Pedro dos Reis in 1764 (presently in Museu da Cidade, Lisbon, Portugal) allegedly belonged to Severa, the singer and prostitute from the Mouraria quarter of Lisbon. Her tragic short life and her

¹¹⁴ See Chapter Two.

¹¹⁵ See Eyre (2003): thumb/index technique in West and Central Africa (European influence?) (47); example 4.1 *dedilho* in Djelimady Tounkara style (51-52). See also: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3OSsSruMo4Y&list=PL68FCB22056E64EAF> Vieux Farka Toure, Bamako, Mali, 2006? Accessed July 28, 2013.

¹¹⁶ *Bandurra* is the Portuguese name for an instrument somewhat similar to the Spanish *bandurria*, but exactly what these instruments are is sometimes not very clear. In his MA thesis, Castela defines *bandurra* as an instrument with four courses of strings (2011: 68 n. 175) over a movable bridge and suggests that the GP (*cítara*?) might have evolved from it, as he found several instruments of that type but with six pairs of strings in Portuguese museums, very similar to the one I purchased. Besides variations in body outline and number of strings, the fundamental difference between this *bandurra* and the Spanish *bandurria* seems to be the kind of bridge, the latter using a fixed one. The exception is the previously mentioned Filipino version with movable bridge. See also p. 26.

¹¹⁷ Portuguese mandolins are flat-backed.

¹¹⁸ Examples in Castela (2011:139-140): "Fran. Lour. da Cunha a fez em Martim, 1802, Barcellos." s.l.= 44cm (MM 277); "João Gonçalves Jardim, Fabricante de Guitarras e Violas." second half of nineteenth century s.l.= 44.3cm (MM 596).

relationship with the Count of Vimioso are now considered to be the foundational myth of *fado* (Cabral 1999: 138; Nery 2004: 66). This eighteenth-century instrument is very much like a GPLx, although it still uses the old peg head, also common in other Portuguese string instruments, instead of the head carving in the form of a scroll and the mechanical fan-shaped tuning system, that appeared later after 1870 (Cabral 1999: 140). The history of this *cítara*, object of a celebration on November 21, 1907 in the Casino de Paris, on Avenida da Liberdade, Lisbon, is related by José Pedro do Carmo in *Evocações do Passado*, 1943 (*Fado: Vozes e Sombras* 1994: 183-184 photo; Cabral 1999: 141 photo - 142).¹¹⁹ The instrument was altered by the application of a new fretboard, probably longer than the original, judging by the fact that the ninth fret is now the one coinciding with the neck-body joint. In such *cítaras*, as in all GPs, the tenth is the common fret to be situated at this point, serving as visual aid in the execution of treble chords and melody notes. Furthermore, the existing holes on the neck, destined to receive a movable “capo” in the fashion of the English *guitar* of the time, are now not going through the fretboard. Within this scenario of part replacement, the original string length could actually have been shorter than the current 440 mm, which was perfectly “normal” in the construction of these early instruments that demonstrated considerable variation in scale size.¹²⁰ A fundamental question remains: were the holes made from the beginning or were they done *a posteriori*, trying to adapt the old *cítara* to a new practice introduced with the English *guitar*? The instrument is now in very bad condition, but a very similar one

¹¹⁹ Another celebration in 1926 at *Palácio Alverca*, on *Rua de Santo Antão*, Lisbon, is mentioned by A. Morais in his article “*Uma carta sobre o falso retrato da Severa*” (A letter about the false portrait of Severa) in *Guitarra de Portugal*. XVIII, 366, September 10, 1939: 7.

¹²⁰ String lengths between 424 mm and 440 mm as per the available data relating to examples with tuning pegs in museums and private collections.

made by João Correia de Almeida in 1776 exists in Pedro Caldeira Cabral's private collection and is in much better shape with its interior structure still intact (Cabral personal email May 13, 2010).¹²¹

Another *cítara* that is supposed to have been played and owned by Severa shows this inscription where the neck joins the sides: “*Anno d [sic] Christo de 1773/ Moiraria/ Honofrianna 1839.*”¹²² The instrument belongs to one of the sons of Alexandre da Silva Gonçalves (died January 1999), somewhere outside of Portugal. Its present owner said in 1994 that he had obtained it from his grandmother in 1922 when she was nearly 80 years old. She lived in the old Mouraria neighbourhood of Lisbon, where she worked as a clairvoyant and received the instrument as payment from a “registered” girl (i.e., a prostitute) (*Fado: Vozes e Sombras* 1994: 183, 185 photo). And yet another *cítara* allegedly belonging to Severa is part of the private collection of D. Pedro de Bragança, Duke of Lafões (1718-1761), with the label: “*Jerónimo José dos Santos a fez em Lisboa, Rua da Caridade, n.º 40*” (Jerónimo José dos Santos made it in Lisbon, 40 Caridade St.). The top was restored in 1873 by Manuel Pereira, Rua das Portas de Santo Antão, Lisboa (Morais 2003: 144 photo). This might be the instrument mentioned by Pimentel (1904: 163) as a *guitarra* with a peculiar form, thus nicknamed “*Melão*” (melon), used by Severa and belonging D. Caetano de Bragança, Duke of Lafões (1856-1927).

Regarding the peg head tuning system, which seems to be original in these *cítaras*, it has been suggested that this might have been an adaptation from the *viola* type of instruments (folk guitars) mounted with twelve strings arranged in five courses,

¹²¹ Total length: 770 mm; body width: 265 mm, side width: 85 mm. Top in pine, peg head, 17 frets.

¹²² Morais questions the validity of this inscription (2002: 100).

common in Portugal in the eighteenth century.¹²³ To me this possibility seems unlikely since, at the time, mandolins were using the same apparatus in Italy, as did *cítaras* and *bandurrias* in Spain, with different numbers of strings.¹²⁴

It was common for the body of this type of instrument to be made of pine (or a similar coniferous), rendering it very light. This choice has been interpreted as linked to an economic reason, in order to produce inexpensive instruments for the less fortunate. I believe this not to be the case. Instead, I suggest that it had to do with the sound quality of the instrument and a very well rooted practice among Portuguese makers, working for diverse strata of the society, producing items for both the populace and the very rich. This seems to me the reason why Jacó Vieira da Silva built the body of an exquisite instrument (c. 1780) now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (#208-1882)¹²⁵ exactly in the same manner: top, back and sides all in pine. Reinforcing my argument, I found a published photograph showing three Portuguese counts playing two *cítaras* and one GP with what seems to be a fan tuning system (see p. 66, Figure 5). The picture is undated, but the names of the rural noblemen have been added at the bottom: “Conde de Pombeiro, Conde de Lumiãres e Conde de Anadia,”¹²⁶ and dating is possible, following

¹²³ This notion appears first in Ribeiro (1936: 41). See also Simões (1974 : 82).

¹²⁴ This type of tuning system with twelve dorsal pegs can be seen in a Spanish *cítara* made by Francisco Sanguino in Seville, 1791, “*Cister*” in the *Musik & Teatermuseum*, Stockholm (M510). See also pp. 23-25. Furthermore, dorsal pegs were also used in English *Guittars* like the one made by Simpson in London in c. 1780–95, listed as “Cittern Simpson” in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (Accession Number: 89.2.167). Accessed October 10, 2012. <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/180012296?rpp=20&pg=1&ft=cittern&pos=13>

¹²⁵ Accessed July 28, 2013. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O92582/english-guitar-da-silva-jaco/>

¹²⁶ See p. 66, Figure 5: in *O Notícias Ilustrado* II, 44, 1929: 5. Accessed September 29, 2013. <http://www.ebay.com/itm/DIARIO-NOTICIAS-ILUSTRADO-PORTUGAL-FADO-1929-SEVERA-BENFICA-GUITAR-NMO-22-/231063752602?pt=Magazines&hash=item35cc790f9a>
Accessed July 28, 2013. http://historiasdofado.blogspot.ca/2011/11/figuras-do-passado_3776.html

Cabral's time frame, to be estimated sometime between around 1870 and 1880.¹²⁷ In addition, this sort of construction is abundant in the tradition of folk instrument making in Portugal.



FIGURE 5. Counts playing Portuguese guitars

¹²⁷ Cabral estimates that the *leque* tuning mechanism appeared c. 1870 (1999: 140) and that the use of the *cítara* type GP declined in use in Lisbon c. 1880 (1999: 148).

Yet another instrument has been used in *fado*, the piano (or pianoforte). Most of the printed sheet music of *fado* is written with piano accompaniment. In the 1870s, *fado* was sung to the music of the GP or the piano in the *cafés de camareiras* (Cabral 1999: 140).¹²⁸ Also, sometime in the nineteenth century (Castelo-Branco 1994: 133) the newly arrived *viola francesa* (classical guitar)¹²⁹ was added to the mix and this is the basic instrumental nucleus common even today. The auto-piano, pianola, or barrel piano were also used to play the music of *fado* at least as early as 1910.¹³⁰ Other instruments, such as the acoustic bass guitar and more recently the double bass¹³¹ have also joined the “band” in what could be still considered a traditional setting.¹³² There are nevertheless numerous examples of *fado* recordings and live performance with accompaniment of orchestras of various sizes, a practice that probably started with the inclusion of the genre in musical theatre and continued to be cultivated by some singers once *fado* became a spectacle.

¹²⁸ Special coffee parlours with female attendants/entertainers, many of them of Spanish origin.

“*Camareira*” is Portuguese for Spanish “*camarera*” meaning female servant.

¹²⁹ Introduced in Portugal at least since 1839 (Ribeiro 1936: 43 n. 1), although Nunes (2005b) mentions the use of a *violão* (classical guitar) with steel strings in Coimbra from the second half of the eighteenth century on. A drawing by Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro in *O António Maria* May 21, 1891: 92-93, shows the GP *cítara* and the *viola* (classical guitar) being played as a duo in the context of *fado* in the outdoors. See also pp. 52-53.

¹³⁰ Bulletin of New Music for Pianola... Aeolian Company, New York, December 1910.

p.14: Roll No. 3968 D *Fado Bohemia* (*Último fado*) by Varella \$.50

Roll No. 3967 P *Fado Dias de Souza* \$.50

Bulletin of New Music for Pianola... Aeolian Company, New York, January 1911.

p.14: Roll No. 3975 P *Fado Liro* \$.75

Roll No. 3969 P *Fado Plagiario* by Ferreira, Jr. \$1.00

Melodee Music Rolls 1923, Melodee Music Co, Ltd. New York.

301317 *Lu-Lu-Fado-Portuguese Dance*, by Milano \$1.00

¹³¹ Played by jazz musicians after the 1980s (Castelo Branco 2010, Vol. C-L: 452).

¹³² There are many examples of *fado* recordings and performance with orchestra accompaniment.

About the *fado* genre

As a song genre, *fado* is considered by many authors to have appeared in Lisbon not before the nineteenth century (Brito 1994: 18; Cabral 1999: 137; Nery 2004: 48), at the same time the instrument, still called *cítara*, was suffering a decline and mostly surviving in the rural regions of Portugal in the hands of wandering beggars and the blind. Due to an economic crisis, many people started to migrate to Lisbon looking for work. They brought instruments with them and whiled away the difficult times with songs and dances in the poorest neighbourhoods' taverns and barbershops. The most socially undervalued of these instruments, the *cítara*, became indispensable to performers singing and playing the type of songs we now call *fado* (Cabral 1999: 139).¹³³

It seems that around 1846 the GP *cítara* replaced the five-course *viola* (folk guitar) as the instrument of *fado* per excellence, but shortly after, it became the norm to have an instrumental duo accompanying the singer. The additional instrument, also called *viola* but in this case a type of classical guitar with six single-steel strings, would supply the rhythmic and harmonic structures, including bass lines and percussive nuances of the increasingly sophisticated music. This made it possible for the GP to have a true melodic voice in *fado*, according to an interplay game with the singer, filling in short phrases during the silences of the sung melody, and weaving arpeggio patterns unique to the genre. Once belonging to *fado*, the *viola* became indispensable in providing the characteristic syncopated groove and completing the trio, GP/singer/*viola*, which has been “sacred” since then.

¹³³ For a basic time-line of *cítara*, English *guitar*, GP *cítara* and GP, see Appendix B.

Although over the years *fado* became an important cultural export as a spectacle, it is still possible to enjoy its acoustic performance in small intimate venues. Thanks to the return to a democracy in 1974, new generations of players, composers, poets, singers, and *fado* lovers were able to reclaim the spaces where *fado* thrives, reshaping a practice that they call their own, celebrating a culture that is kept alive through reinvention and revival.

When *fado* bounced back to its mainstream popularity niche in the 1980s, a whole new attitude began to appear within the *fado* milieu, contrasting with the formality and constraints of the past. The genre emerged stronger than ever, with a renovated corpus of songs, revitalizing its music and poetry in a progressively globalized world. Permeable to all possible influences, it now appealed to a wider audience that recognized in *fado* something uniquely Portuguese, and intrinsically intertwined with their experiences of life.

It is curious that the *viola* also has changed in *fado* since the “Carnation Revolution” in 1974 (see p. 7 n. 4). Until at least the 1980s, in order to be recognized as a *viola* player in the context of *fado*, one had to play what is known as “*viola de fado*” (*fado* classical guitar), a deep bodied classical guitar prepared to sustain the pressure of steel strings, commonly five wound strings and a plain one. Towards the end of the century, musicians started to use softer sounding classical guitars with nylon strings, most of them commercially made instruments sometimes equipped with sound transducers under the saddle. This organological alteration surrounding the *viola* occurred while the GPCo trend started to set in within *fado*, and it could be related to the general

democratization process that the genre went through, and the new ways of capturing sound on the big stage. The change had already occurred in the Coimbra style, erudite or experimental GP performance, and it could be noticed in the music of Carlos Paredes when he switched from Fernando Alvim (playing steel strings) to Luísa Amaro (playing nylon), as his accompanist.¹³⁴

Propelled by the World Music industry since the beginning of the present millennium, *fado* or the so-called *Novo Fado* (New *Fado*) regained international appreciation, consolidating a renewed format of a genre with a strong ethnic component, featuring among other elements, a unique instrument, the GP. It is in this context that *fado* conquers new territory globally, being exposed to a wide and diverse audience with a keen interest in “exotic” music cultures. For their enjoyment, a huge commercial machine delivers at their door steps acts of a considerable number of masters of both classic and traditional instruments from many ethnic groups, who readily embraced an opportunity never before available at such a large scale. The GP players participating in this venture, marketed with ethnographic value, began to be celebrated individually in specialty magazine such as *Songlines* and to be recognized as soloists in concerts reserved for the *crème de la crème* of the World Music circuit.

Attesting to the intrinsic connection between the GP and *fado*,¹³⁵ the highly successful ensemble Madredeus (debut in 1987) made a point of not using the

¹³⁴ Luísa Amaro was also Carlos Paredes’ companion in the last years of his life. When the master became ill in 1993, Luísa Amaro, who had been formally educated in the classic guitar, decided to learn the GPCo. She is now another example of a female player, although not in the context of *fado*.

¹³⁵ Montreal based *fado* singer São produced her debut CD *Paixão de Fado* 1999 Les Disques Star Records Inc. STR-CD-8110, celebrating famous *fado* songs sung by diva Amália Rodrigues. Although there are photographs of the head of a GP (probably made in North America judging by the animal head carving) in

emblematic instrument in order not to be confused with the genre. It is quite interesting, though, that the mainstream Portuguese media was only too quick to label the group as the *Novo Fado*, a concept dismissed by band leader Pedro Ayres de Magalhães. Media even compared Madreus' singer, Teresa Salgueiro, to *fado* diva Amália Rodrigues.¹³⁶ One can only infer that in this train of thought, the absence of the GP would have represented some kind of evolution within the genre.¹³⁷ In contrast, other groups that have clearly proposed a rearranged delivery of *fado* songs or original material inspired by the genre decided to incorporate the GP in their band apparatus.¹³⁸

Conclusion

As had happened before, around the 1920s, with the emergence of the GPLx, the sound of *fado* changed after the 1960s with the progressive usage of the GPCo and again in the 1980s with the replacement of the *viola de fado* (steel strings) by the classical guitar (nylon strings). Other factors, such as the introduction of the *viola baixo* (acoustic bass guitar) in the 1950s (?) and the double bass later in the 1980s, have contributed to qualitative alterations in the overall sound of the genre. Currently the types of GPs and *violas* used in *fado* are freely chosen by the players and not dictated by a limiting patterned tradition.

its cover and booklet, the recordings do not contain GP accompaniment. This first CD was also released in Portugal in 2004 by Universal Music. But in her second CD *São canta Amália Rodrigues* 2001 Les Disques Star Records Inc. STR-CD-8128, São made sure to include the sounds of the GP in her work.

¹³⁶ As per "Artist Bio" Metro Blue (2) in *Madreus: The New Voice of Portugal*. Media kit at the concert at Roy Thompson Hall, Toronto June 29, 1996; and "Portuguese Group Gives Fado a Modern Twist" by Alan Riding in *New York Times*, July 5, 1995.

¹³⁷ Other examples of "pseudo" *fado* are Ala dos Namorados, Deolinda, Sal, and Quinteto de Lisboa.

¹³⁸ Examples are: Naifa, Mário & Lundun, *Fado em si bemol*, Oquestrada.

CHAPTER FOUR: REPRESENTATIONS OF THE *FADO GUITARRA*

Musical instruments have for many centuries been regarded as magical objects, capable of producing pleasant and meaningful sounds, at times ethereal, sacred or even of divine nature. Some instruments become so attached, as an abstract notion, to a nation or a community that it is hard to imagine one without the other. Different instruments tend to be used in various roles both in their musical commitments and ceremonial symbolic duties. In this chapter, I examine how the GP has been represented and charged with symbolic value over the years.

Severa, the singer/*cítara* player

The study of the historical symbolism of the GP in *fado* must begin at the dawn of the instrument's participation in the genre in the mid-nineteenth century, and must involve the mythical figure of Maria Severa Honofriana (1820-1846) who, as legend has it, accompanied herself on the GP *cítara* while singing *fado*.¹³⁹ In the mid-nineteenth century at the time of Severa, the instrument had been suffering from a decline in popularity, and was only to be found in the hands of the poor, and in taverns among sailors and prostitutes (Cabral 1999: 132; Nery 2004: 124). The image of this woman playing an old instrument sporting the peg head tuning system became the iconic symbol

¹³⁹ Other examples of historical female singers/ GP players are: Carlota Scarnichia, also played the piano at the time of Severa (Carvalho "Tinop" 1903: 69-70); Manasinha, active c. 1850 in the Madragoa quarter of Lisbon, the first woman to play *fado corrido* on a GP. (Carvalho "Tinop" 1903: 85); Emília Genoveva Letroublon (1824-1895) also an actress of French origin (Sucena 2008: 148); Cacilda Romero, active in the early twentieth century and described as "*cantatriz modernista*" (modernist *fado* singer) (Carvalho "Tinop" 1903: 220-222), of Galician origin probably via Brazil (Ferrin 2008: 1); Alda Gracinda de Carvalho in the early twentieth century (Pimentel 1989 [1904]: 59; Sucena 2008: 121).

of the foundation of *fado* itself, representing the most “authentic” ideal of the genre. Since then, that image has been reproduced countless times in a variety of media including literature, theatre, film, print (posters, books, records and CD covers, sheet music), and it is still explored today in the depiction of female *fado* singers in publicity shots and in performance.¹⁴⁰ The grand iconographic item of the twentieth century associating the GP with *fado* is the 1910 painting by Malhoa, depicting a bohemian scene with a woman reclining on a chair and a man singing while playing a GP¹⁴¹ (with the fan-shaped tuning system and a classical scroll, effectively connecting the early “modern” GP model to its place of origin in Lisbon). Many other expressive images exist conveying the sound of the GP and the weeping notes of *fado*’s sad lyrics, which can only be extracted from such an instrument, as suggested by oral tradition, poets, and celebrated writers. There followed a period of more than sixty years, from the 1920s to the 1980s, when the GPLx was perceived as the very image of *fado* and its sound lived in the acoustic environment of the city of Lisbon. Although the GP became the symbol of *fado* and Lisbon, it did not reach a status of national (epic) dimension until much later, through the GPCo.

In order to contextualize the symbolic value of the most emblematic instrument of the *fado* genre (the GP), one must recognize a larger global community of dispersed Portuguese nationals and their descendants plus a growing number of non-Portuguese *fado* lovers, in addition to the community of *fado* performers, poets, composers, and aficionados inside Portugal. Within this transnational group of *fado* followers, both the

¹⁴⁰ Some male singers have also been depicted holding a GP.

¹⁴¹ The celebrated artist hired local characters to pose for the picture: Adelaide da Facada and Amâncio.

genre and the instrument are perceived as charged with affects of mythical proportions. The genre is commonly regarded by the members of this heterogeneous population as reflexive of a national soul, a unique lyrical musical art form, the only one capable of conveying the deepest feelings of the Portuguese people. The *fado*'s "national song" concept dates back to the late 1800s; some have rejected it since the beginning,¹⁴² and its origins might be linked to the moment when *fado* became part of Portuguese aristocratic musical culture in the 1850s (Nery 2004: 123). This connection with the monarchic families is still very much noticeable in some performers' pedigrees, in names of *fado* songs referring to Counts, and lyrics accounting for the King's love of the genre.¹⁴³ Once embraced by the upper classes, *fado* rapidly gained the status of a national institution, at least in the imagination of its aficionados.

With the advent of new technologies such as recordings,¹⁴⁴ radio,¹⁴⁵ film,¹⁴⁶ and television,¹⁴⁷ the *fado*'s national dimension grew ever stronger. Theatre continued to be

¹⁴² Pimentel (1904: 31-32); Arroio (1909: 58); Vieira (1929: 352); Moita (1936); Chaves (1940: 45-46); Leça (1945: 102-110); Graça (1973: 150).

¹⁴³ The da Câmara family has a few members who sing *fado*: Vicente da Câmara (also plays GPLx), José da Câmara, Nuno da Câmara Pereira, Hermano da Câmara, and Gonçalo da Câmara Pereira (also plays GPLx). Two well-known songs place the King in the context of *fado*: "*Fado do Embuçado*" by Gabriel de Oliveira, and "*Até o Rei ia ao fado*" by Tó Moliças/Carlos Macedo.

¹⁴⁴ The first-ever commercial recording was made in c. 1890 in the format of 5" diameter plates. The first recordings in Portugal were done in Oporto in the fall of 1900 by the Gramophone Company of London (Gramco) with the American engineer W. Sinkler Darby (67 performances on 7" single sided discs). These recordings have not survived. In 1904 there were recordings in Lisbon by Gramco, Odeon (which launched the double sided disc that year) and smaller companies (Vernon, 1998: 59).

In 2007, José Moças published in his blog the first complete list of early *fado* recordings from 1900, including 11 *fados* sung by Veiga with *guitarra* accompaniment. Accessed September 28, 2012.

<http://www.78rotacoes.blogspot.ca/2007/11/as-primeiras-gravaes.html>

¹⁴⁵ In Portugal, *fado* was first broadcast through amateur radio stations between 1925 and 1935. After 1935 the state broadcaster, *Emissora Nacional* started to have live broadcasts from *casas de fado* in Lisbon (*Casa do Fado* 1998: 26). See also Colvin (2008: 28, 57 n. 27). For a more complete list of radio stations in Portugal since 1925 see Nery (2004: 204-207)

¹⁴⁶ The first Portuguese movie with sound was "*A Severa*" by Leitão de Barros in 1931, although the sound was recorded in Paris (Nery 2004: 216).

an important fertile ground for the development of *fado* and its popularization in Portuguese society from the second half of the nineteenth century on.¹⁴⁸ Paradoxically, *fado*'s quality as a national symbol never attained recognition by the state during the first decades of the second republic/*Estado Novo* (1933-1974), and although it was used for the regime's propaganda purposes later in the 1950s,¹⁴⁹ the *fado* artistic community in Portugal was very much conditioned by regulatory professionalism and censorship (see also p. 59).

Since the adoption of the GP as the chosen instrument of *fado* around 1846, replacing the five-course *viola* (folk guitar) in the accompaniment of the Lisbon urban song in its early days as an independent musical genre, the image and name of the round-bellied Portuguese cittern (*banza, guitarra*) became the symbol and sign of *fado*'s every visual representation, and written or oral reference. This seemingly indestructible connection, deeply rooted in *fado* mythology and imagery, survived periods of competition with the mandolin (Pimentel 1989 [1904]: 33; Oliveira 1982: 220) and the piano (Cabral 1999: 140), was maintained throughout the twentieth century and continues to be well established today. The link between the GP and *fado* is so strong that the mention of the instrument is synonymous with the genre itself, as can be attested by the

¹⁴⁷ The first TV broadcast in Portugal (RTP) dates from 1957 (Nery 2004: 230). José Nunes was the first GP player to appear on Portuguese TV (Cabral 1999: 248).

¹⁴⁸ In 1869 the comedy "*Ditosa Fado*" was produced totally dedicated to the genre and since then, *fado* became a regular presence in the musical theatre known as *Revista* born in 1851 (Nery 2004: 104).

¹⁴⁹ Salazar described *fado* as "depressing" in an interview by French journalist Christine Garnier probably in the 1940s, but published later (1955: 204-205 cited Nery 2004: 220 n. 141). In the 1950s the *Estado Novo* "discovers" *fado* and it became one of the elements of the infamous regime's trilogy; "*Fado, Fátima e Futebol*" (Nery 2004: 220, 226, 238).

title of the *fado* magazine *A Guitarra de Portugal*,¹⁵⁰ and in the words of contemporary *fado* GPCo player Eurico Machado:

Continua a ser muito mais o símbolo do fado do que a própria voz. Pelo menos é o que nos acontece, quando nós vamos tocar [...] normalmente na parte da guitarrada é que o público, normalmente os “estrangeiros” batem mais palmas, porquê? Não é por que nós estamos a tocar melhor do que o cantor está a cantar, não tem nada a ver com isso, é por causa da simbologia que a guitarra representa, para eles aquilo é diferente, e exótico [...] como símbolo tem mais força [...](interview December 14, 2012).

([The *guitarra*] continues to be much more the symbol of *fado* than the actual voice. At least when we are doing a show [...] normally in the *guitarrada* [instrumental] is when the public, usually “foreigners,” clap more, why? It is not because we are playing better than the singer is singing, nothing to do with that, it is because of the symbolism which the the *guitarra* represents, for them it is different, exotic [...] as a symbol it has more strength [...]).

Even only parts of the instrument, in particular the carved head and the fan-shaped tuning mechanism, *leque*, are enough to evoke the idea of *fado* and all its symbology.

Portuguese guitar imagery through the ages

The history of GP-related iconography is quite a recent one dating from the late eighteenth century. Its earliest known example seems to be the previously mentioned group of three oil paintings by “*Morgado de Setúbal*,” depicting a long-haired man playing a *cítara* with the old peg head tuning system and body shape very similar to surviving instruments of the same period and later.¹⁵¹ A mid-nineteenth century (1857) watercolour by E. J. Maia, “*O Marujo*,” portrays a mariner playing a GP *cítara*, thus

¹⁵⁰ *A Guitarra de Portugal* started in July 15th, 1922 and its first series went up to August 1939 (Nery 2004: 150).

¹⁵¹ See p. 41 n. 70.

associating the instrument with the environment of the port of Lisbon.¹⁵² Another drawing by the same artist in 1859, “*O Rapaz e o Cego*” (The Boy and the Blind Man), showing a blind man walking with his GP *cítara* led by a boy playing a five-course *viola* (folk guitar), informs us of the instrument’s popular use at the lower levels of Portuguese society.¹⁵³ From the second half of the 1800s one can find several drawing/etching representations of the same type of early GP linked to *fado* by famed Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro: “*O Fadista fora de portas*” (The Fadoist outside the gates) 1872,¹⁵⁴ “*Os Fadistas (O Cantador)*” (The Fadoists, the singer) 1873;¹⁵⁵ and later on, in his socio-political cartoons published in the popular magazine *O António Maria*, the instrument is depicted being played by lower social-economic class characters in the context of the tavern; it also appears at the hands of “*Zé Povinho*,” the fictional figure that sarcastically symbolized the collective traits of all Portuguese.¹⁵⁶ I have found fewer images of GP drawings by the same author showing the Preston type of tuning mechanism with a clock key and a head similar to some English *guitars*.¹⁵⁷ Still in this period, *fado* is iconographically very much associated with the five-course *viola* (folk guitar), attesting

¹⁵² The drawing is now in the *Museu da Cidade*, Lisbon, listed as having been made in December 1846 (MC. DES. 1624.03), although in the actual work one can see clearly two different dates: 1845 and 1857. Accessed January 20, 2013. <http://www.museudacidade.pt/Coleccoes/Desenho/Paginas/Marujo.aspx> It also appears in *Fado: Vozes e Sombras* (1994: 187), Cabral (1999: 287), and Nery (2004: 50) with the date of 1857 and inventory number MC: 7427/1728.

¹⁵³ This work appears in *Fado: Vozes e Sombras* (1994: 19) as part of the *Museu da Cidade* collection (MC 7427/1734 cat. 2), and also in Nery (2004: 95).

¹⁵⁴ In *Museu Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro*, Lisbon, MRBP: DES. I (cat. 21), *Fado: Vozes e Sombras* (1994: 19).

¹⁵⁵ In *Museu Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro*, Lisbon, MRBP: FGRA. I (cat. 20), *Fado: Vozes e Sombras* (1994: 18).

¹⁵⁶ “*A attitude do dono da casa*,” (The owner of the house’s attitude) in *O António Maria*, January 12, 1882: 16 (*Zé Povinho* playing GP *cítara*).

¹⁵⁷ “*A bruxa*,” (The witch) in *O António Maria*, February 24, 1881: 57 (transvestite figure playing GP with Preston system).

to the use of that instrument and not with the GP in the performance of the genre (although not as part of *fado*'s natural habitat, the tavern).

After 1870, *fado* became the subject of numerous periodical publications, both literary and of printed sheet music (Nery 2004: 107), many containing some form of representation of the GP as the iconic marker of the genre. Around the same time, the progressive popularization of photography also contributed to the dissemination of the GP image in the hands of players and singers. Although the GP *cítara* was still in use at the end of the nineteenth century, the most common model of GP depicted began to be the one with a rounder body, a scroll head carving and a *leque*-tuning device, which later on would evolve into the GPLx (c. 1920).¹⁵⁸

With an increased presence of *fado* in the theatre and concert halls from the 1860s on, and its geographical expansion beyond Lisbon to Coimbra (Nery 2004: 105, 109, 123), the GP image became ever present in advertising material associated with the genre. A postcard relating to a 1902 theatre play shows an anachronism: Severa playing a GP with a scroll and *leque* mechanism.¹⁵⁹

The twentieth century saw a definite increase of GP images in connection with *fado* and its progressive dissemination, including first, posters, postcards, sheet music, book and magazine covers, paintings, ceramics; and later, film ads, record/ CD covers,

¹⁵⁸ This seems to be the type of instrument being played by King D. Carlos I in the political cartoon "*Triste Fado*" (Sad *Fado*) by Alberto Sousa, in *A Capital*, September 13, 1911: 1, invoking the King's GP learning while still a prince, from his teacher, João Maria dos Anjos.

¹⁵⁹ The postcard image was published in the *fado* magazine *A Canção do Sul* (The Song from the South) in 1939 as a historical photograph of Severa. Comments to this publication appear in "*Uma carta sobre o falso retrato da Severa*" (A letter about Severa's false portrait) by A. Morais, in *Guitarra de Portugal*, XVIII, 366, Sept. 10, 1939: 7. The image is also found in *Fado: Vozes e Sombras* (1994: 142) and Osório 2005 (Vol. 15: 12).

and tourist souvenirs. At the beginning of the 1910s, several specialty periodicals dedicated to the genre began to be published, most of them displaying the GP in elaborate logo designs. It is worth pointing out the recycling of the old GP *cítara* image played by a woman in some of these publications, such as the cover of *O Fado* from 1910 (Nery 2004: 148), evoking Severa's original *fado guitarra* as if to re-affirm the origin of the genre. This became a recurrent practice during most of the twentieth century.

Nevertheless, among the great variety of images depicting the GP produced during the 1900s, the celebrated painting by José Malhoa in 1910, "*O Fado*," shows the instrument already in its newer, rounder form, scroll and the *leque* tuning system, while still in the original marginal setting of the genre. In another painting by Mário Eloy in 1927 *a posteriori* also titled "*O Fado*," the presence of the GP helps us to identify the context of the scene (Cabral 1999: 286; 2002).¹⁶⁰ Another artist who used the image of the GP, Cândido da Costa Pinto, painted more than a dozen surrealistic works critically related to *fado*, including the gorgeous "*Guitarra*" c. 1945, representing what seems to be an earlier precursor of the GPLx. In 1948, multifaceted futurist Almada Negreiros finished a mural at the Gare Marítima de Alcântara, Lisbon, "*Lá vem a Nau Catrineta que tem muito que contar*" (Here comes the Catrineta Ship with much to tell) connecting the GP with the mythological and real worlds of seafaring.

Since 1981 the GP has also been depicted in graphic novels as an essential ingredient in *fado*'s world.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ A painting by the same artist and with the same date but done in Paris appears with the title "Le Fado de Lisbonne" in Cabral (1999: 298).

¹⁶¹ *Tónius, o Lusitano – Uma Aventura nas Astúrias*, by Tito and André. Editorial Pública, 1981: 17.

The beginning of the present millennium saw an explosion of imagery relating to the GP in the context of *fado* in a vast diversity of media including sculpture, aerography, murals/graffiti, coins and stamps. This iconographic outburst seems to have been propelled by the death of the great diva of *fado*, Amália Rodrigues (1920-1999) and continued to develop throughout the period leading up to *fado*'s application to the UNESCO (2005-2010)¹⁶², and especially after its approval on November 27, 2011.

In 2000, a public sculpture by Domingos de Oliveira "*Guitarra na Proa: Homenagem ao Fado, a Amália e a Lisboa*" (*Guitarra at the Prow: Homage to Fado, Amália and Lisbon*), was set in Belém (see map, Figure 6, # 1). The work in the form of a GP honours *fado*, its diva, and the city of Lisbon. I believe this to be the first monument in Portugal to use the iconic power of the GP in symbolizing *fado*. Another public sculpture of a GPLx, "*Mouraria Berço do Fado*" (*Mouraria Cradle of the Fado*) was inaugurated in 2006 to signal the birthplace of the genre in the neighbourhood of Mouraria (see map, Figure 6, # 2), where the famed Severa allegedly lived, and in front of her house on Rua do Capelão, one can recognize a stylized GPLx icon done in the typical *calçada* (black and white cobblestone pavement tradition). In 2010 at the beach town Foz do Arelho, north of Lisbon, *fado* was celebrated with a sculpture of an abstract

Lisboa, Noites de Vidro, by Alice Geirinhas and others. Pelouro da Cultura da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1991.

Maldita Cocaína, by Jorge Magalhães and Rui Lacas, 1994.

A Minha Vida é um Esgoto, by Ana Cortesão. Baleia Azul, 1999.

Fado – Estórias da Noite, by Rui Pimentel. ASA, 2003.

O Fado Ilustrado, by Jorge Miguel. Plátano Editora, 2011.

Accessed December 28, 2012. <http://asleiturasdopedro.blogspot.ca/2011/12/bd-ao-som-da-guitarra.html>

¹⁶² The application was delivered in Paris on July 23, 2010.

GP.¹⁶³ In the fall of 2011, a Lisbon exhibition titled “*Fado – Acordes de ...arte*” (*Fado – Chords of ...Art*) displayed a series of mixed media abstract sculptures dedicated to the GP.¹⁶⁴

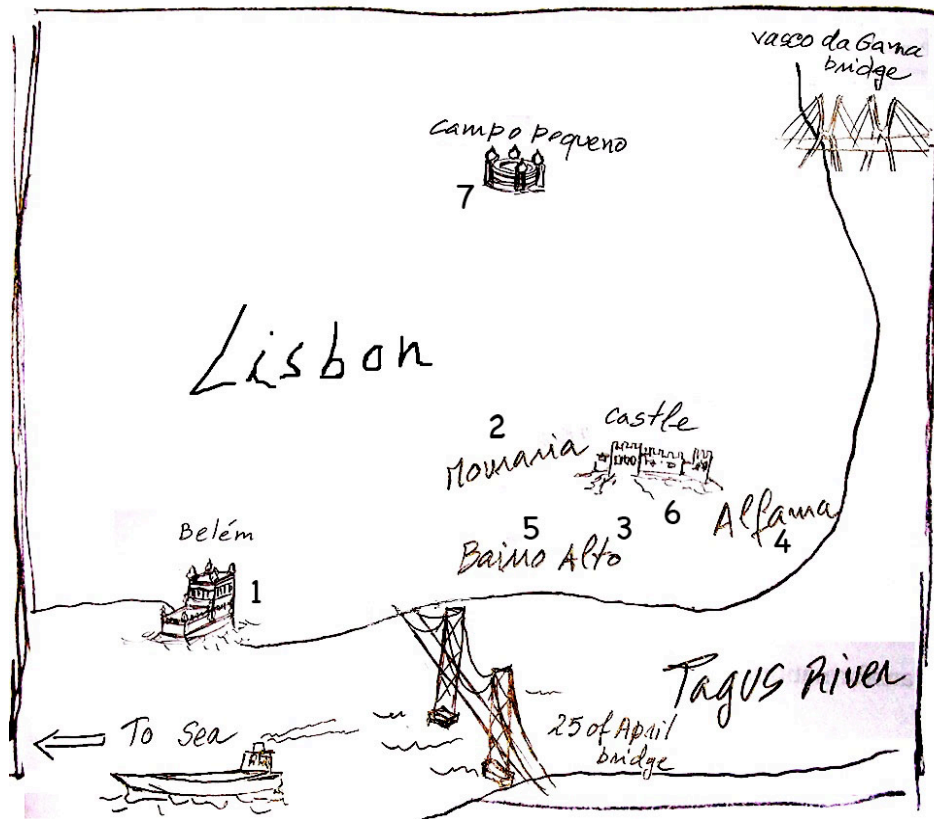


FIGURE 6: A schematic map of Lisbon.¹⁶⁵

During the international sand sculpture festival, Fiesa 2007 in the Algarve, a larger-than-life scene of a typical *fado* trio (singer, GP player, and *viola* player) was

¹⁶³ Accessed December 31, 2012. <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/33903151>

¹⁶⁴ Accessed December 31, 2012. <http://www.gazetacaldas.com/15445/ceramistas-caldenses-em-exposicao-sobre-o-fado-em-lisboa/>

¹⁶⁵ Drawing by Nuno Cristo © 2013.

presented under the general theme “Wonders of the World.”¹⁶⁶ The 2012 edition of the festival displayed a giant composition of a GP and Amália Rodrigues’ bust as part of a collection of works evoking international “Idols.”¹⁶⁷

Aerograph artist Jorge Marquez (born 1957) started a project titled “*Fado Pintado*” (Painted *Fado*) in 2009, airbrushing GPs with depictions of *fado* related scenes in combination with Lisbon landmarks, and themes of Portuguese identity.¹⁶⁸ As the “canvas” of his work, Marquez uses low-cost factory-made GPs, which, after they are decorated, are not intended to be played, although they are completed with strings and a bridge as if they were functional musical instruments. Of the twenty-one *guitarras* that I have seen painted by this artist only two are GPCo. Are these data relevant to the study of the symbolic value of the two main models of the GP in relation to *fado*?

Graffiti is another medium in which the GP began to be represented in the early twenty-first century. The preservation of outdoor murals/graffiti is by nature difficult to achieve, especially if the works are illegal, done spontaneously on private property and without much organizing. Therefore, it is possible that some of the examples mentioned here will not survive the architectural transformations inherent in an old city like Lisbon, although I also refer to works that resulted from organized events involving chosen artists within the activities of a municipal initiative under the name “*Galeria de Arte Urbana*” (Gallery of Urban Art), which since 2008 has been trying to control the sprawl of street

¹⁶⁶ Accessed January 3, 2013. <http://www.algarve-beach-life.com/fiesa-2007.html>

¹⁶⁷ Accessed January 1, 2013. <http://www.tvi24.iol.pt/sociedade/fiesa-fiesa-2012-algarve-escultura-na-areia-escultura-tvi24/1350117-4071.html>

¹⁶⁸ Accessed January 5, 2013. <http://jorgemarquez.weebly.com/guitarras.html>

art forms by assuring their legality through a process of institutionalization.¹⁶⁹ One of these spaces created by the Lisbon City Hall, situated in the steep street *Calçada da Glória* (see map, Figure 6, # 3), outfitted with seven removable panels, has shown at least two well produced murals with representations of the GP: a colourful one in 2011 by José Carvalho dedicated to GPCo master, Carlos Paredes,¹⁷⁰ and the other, a gray and white elaborate lowbrow style composition dealing with national symbolism by Miguel Januário in 2012, including a large image of a GPLx and references to *fado*.¹⁷¹ Several other murals/graffiti containing images of GPLx as of December 2012 could be viewed in the neighbourhoods of Mouraria and Alfama (see map, Figure 6, # 2, # 4), as well as other areas of Lisbon. Two murals are of particular interest as they might have been painted by people actually connected to *fado* and not necessarily artists, at least judging by their naive style of painting. One depicts a female GP player standing between a larger image of the instrument and a pot of dwarf basil with a popular quatrain written on a paper flag, perhaps evoking the legendary Severa during the summer festivities in her own neighbourhood,¹⁷² and the other is painted on the back wall of an old house in recognition of *fado* as a cultural heritage of humanity, with an homage to the singer Alfredo Marceneiro.¹⁷³

Also of note are various 2007 stenciled paste-ups by Jef Aérosol of Amália Rodrigues posing as playing a GPLx dispersed in different locations, especially in the

¹⁶⁹ Accessed January 6, 2013.

<http://gau-lisboa.blogspot.ca/2009/11/inauguracao-mostra-de-arte-urbana-2.html>

¹⁷⁰ Accessed January 6, 2013. <http://cargocollective.com/JoseCarvalho/Urban-Art-Gallery-Lisbon>

¹⁷¹ Accessed January 6, 2013. <http://lisboaimages.com/2012/05/>

¹⁷² Accessed December 27, 2012. <http://www.woophy.com/photo/1372859>

¹⁷³ In Cadaval, Marceneiro's parents' birth place. Accessed November 19, 2012. https://fbcdn-sphotos-g-a.akamaihd.net/hphotos-ak-prn1/603985_4303207092826_452017046_n.jpg

Bairro Alto and Alfama neighbourhoods (see Figure 6, # 5, # 4).¹⁷⁴ At the base of the hill leading up to the castle, a popular, legally prepared mural was painted in 2012 in *Escadinhas de São Cristóvão* as part of a project of a local resident group in order to revitalize the neighbourhood (see Figure 6, # 6). The brightly coloured picture in a cartoonist style dedicated to *fado vadio* (vagrant *fado*) contains the images of famous *fado* singers, Severa and Fernando Maurício, song lyrics and the instruments of the genre in performance.¹⁷⁵ A curious type of street art is the silhouette of a man carrying a GPLx painted with a stencil technique on traffic signs as if to alert drivers to frequent crossings of *fado* players in areas of the city not historically connected to the genre such as the broad *Avenida da República*, near *Campo Pequeno* (see map, Figure 6, # 7).

In June of 2008 a Geocoin by Kelux was issued featuring a GPCo,¹⁷⁶ and in September of the same year an edition of a Eurocoin was devoted to *fado* as cultural heritage; once again images of the GPLx and Amália Rodrigues were used to represent the genre.¹⁷⁷ Also in 2008, the official postal services of Argentina issued a series of stamps in commemoration of the communities of immigrants of diverse national origin, including Japan, Lebanon, Syria, and Portugal. The stamp dedicated to the Portuguese shows a central full color photograph of a GPLx over a background of traditional blue and white tiles, and a gray and white picture of a family of early immigrants, thus giving

¹⁷⁴ Accessed January 6, 2013. <http://www.flickr.com/photos/jefaerosol/1232845779/>

¹⁷⁵ The mural was done by a collective of artists working in graffiti, design and tattoos. Accessed January 6, 2013. <http://www.ionline.pt/boa-vida/graffitar-paredes-quem-canta-fado>
Accessed January 6, 2013. <http://www.lomography.com/magazine/locations/2012/12/03/lisbon-graffiti-fado-tribute>

¹⁷⁶ Accessed December 27, 2012. <https://sites.google.com/site/acasimgecoins/Home/portuguese-geocoins>

¹⁷⁷ Accessed December 27, 2012. <http://the-euro-coins.blogspot.ca/2008/09/fado.html>

to the image of the instrument used in *fado* an eminent national symbolic value.¹⁷⁸ A first series of stamps by the CTT (Portuguese Postal Services) was issued on March 3, 2011 in support of the *fado* application to the UNESCO.¹⁷⁹ Designed by Atelier Acácio Santos/Elizabeth Fonseca, six of the stamps included in the edition featured prominent *fado* singers of the past beside a large photographic image a GPLx.¹⁸⁰ Also part of the series is a block stamp with a small usable portion of a detail from the famous 1910 painting by José Malhoa “*O Fado*,” showing Amâncio, the GP player/singer in the picture. A second series was issued on October 11, 2012, designed by the same atelier and in celebration of *fado*’s status as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Most of the stamps in this series feature current singers of different generations and styles,¹⁸¹ while the double corporate stamp shows a photograph of a GPLx in straight-on perspective over a background of a charcoal drawing depicting a scene from an old tavern with a GP player/singer in front of a glass and a bottle, and three very attentive listeners.¹⁸²

The commercial company Paviduti had an exclusive limited edition (a total of 2000 items) dinner set collection made in 2002 by Fábrica Porcelana D Portugal SA, with each of all 125 pieces signed by two prominent *fado* singers, Rodrigo and Vicente da Câmara. In this case the GP is shown as a stylized line drawing, and it is also represented

¹⁷⁸ Accessed December, 27, 2012.

<http://cpargentina.blogspot.ca/2008/09/el-correo-argentino-est-preparando-una.html>

¹⁷⁹ Accessed December 27, 2012.

<http://postman-worldcovers.blogspot.ca/2011/10/stamps-of-carlos-do-carmo-and-amalia.html>

¹⁸⁰ Singers: Alfredo Marceneiro, Carlos Ramos, Herminia Silva, Maria Teresa de Noronha, Amália Rodrigues, and one still alive and active, Carlos do Carmo.

¹⁸¹ Singers: Vicente da Câmara, Argentina Santos, Rodrigo, Maria da Fé, Camané, and Mariza.

¹⁸² Accessed December 27, 2012.

<http://postman-worldcovers.blogspot.ca/2012/12/fado-heritage-of-humanity.html>

in the authentication certificate in the form of a photographed GPLx. Well known maker Vista Alegre produced a few decorative items and coffee sets honouring *fado* in which the GP appears in black and white line drawings, some of them based on historical examples.

Since its inception in the nineteenth-century taverns of Lisbon, *fado* has been intrinsically connected with alcohol, thus it is not surprising that in 2004 its name became a brand of Portuguese wine.¹⁸³ Nevertheless, it was only in 2011 that the bottle's label started to include the embossed outline of a GPCo. In homage to the genre in 2010, Casa José Repolho produced the Real-Fado wine with a logo dedicated to the GPLx player.¹⁸⁴ Another wine brand that uses the image of a GP is *Terra Nossa*, produced by Quinta Lixa, Sociedade Agrícola Lda.¹⁸⁵ Despite the northern origin of this *vinho verde* (green wine) its label, created by GJ Packaging, depicts a scene from Lisbon, with a GP as the central piece in the composition.¹⁸⁶

Tattooed imagery related to *fado*, including the GP, was a common practice among sailors and prisoners at the turn of the twentieth century, and it is well documented in Portuguese institutions such as the AIML¹⁸⁷ and the CPF,¹⁸⁸ as mentioned and depicted in the 1994 exhibition catalogue, *Fado: Vozes e Sombras*.¹⁸⁹ Most of these

¹⁸³ Accessed December 30, 2012.

<http://www.fado.pt/O-Fado/Quem-Somos/Content.aspx?tabid=2180&code=pt>

¹⁸⁴ Accessed December 30, 2012. <http://www.casajoserepolho-distinctivewines.com/images/stories/real%20fado%202010%20-%20detalhes%20do%20vinho.pdf>

¹⁸⁵ Accessed December 30, 2012.

<http://www.vinhoverde.pt/en/vinhoverde/marcas/default.asp?key=t&xlist=1&marca=12092>

¹⁸⁶ Accessed December 30, 2012. <http://blog.tribunadonorte.com.br/vinodivinovino/terra-nossa-um-rotulo-que-expressa-a-origem-do-produto-o-estilo-de-vida-e-a-cultura-portuguesa/62008>

¹⁸⁷ *Arquivo do Instituto de Medicina Legal de Lisboa* (Forensic Medicine Institute Archive of Lisbon).

¹⁸⁸ *Centro Português de Fotografia* (Portuguese Centre of Photography)

¹⁸⁹ *Fado: Vozes e Sombras*, (30-31; 193, fig. 27; 196, figs. 30, 31, 32).

historical tattoos show the GP being played by women displaying their crossed legs with stockings or in their underwear, thus conveying the notion of the prostitute entertainer GP player. As the performance of *fado* moved away from the criminal context during the twentieth century and became a musical art form appreciated by most of Portuguese society, its tattoo-inspired designs dwindle in popularity. Nevertheless, I was able to find three contemporary examples of commercially produced tattoos with GP images, one of which is a GPCo within a nationalistic symbolic arrangement, including monarchic and religious elements such as a crown, a crest, and the Order of Christ Cross, and entitled “*TUGA*,” meaning Portuguese.¹⁹⁰ The GPLx was the subject of a 2006 (?) design by Hotflametattoo studio,¹⁹¹ and in 2010 artist Bullet Bg created a full colour realistic tattoo of the same GP model.¹⁹²

In these recent depictions of the GP in the context of *fado*, the overwhelming majority epitomize the instrument that for most of the twentieth century represented the most traditional model used in Lisbon urban music: that is, the GPLx. It is interesting to note that somehow the authors of these works of art have chosen to evoke the genre by displaying the archetypal image of the Lisbon *fado guitarra*, thus not corresponding to the current reality of the more-than-frequent usage of the Coimbra model. If this was a conscious choice, what could be its meaning? Is the GPLx still the most powerful icon in suggesting the presence of the genre as it is manifested in the collective memory and not necessarily in tune with the present practice? In contrast, the artwork of posters and other

¹⁹⁰ Accessed March 17, 2011.

<http://www.myspace.com/sekhmet12/photos/38628529#%7B%22ImageId%22%3A38628529%7D>

¹⁹¹ Accessed November 17, 2010. <http://hotflametattoo-pt.deviantart.com/art/portuguese-guitar-170551955>

¹⁹² Accessed August 8, 2011. <http://www.checkoutmyink.com/tattoos/bulletbg/portuguese-guitar>

printed materials that actually advertise the contemporary performance of *fado* recurrently use the GPCo as its emblematic instrument. This observation seems to suggest that there is still some resistance to considering the GPCo as a legitimate *fado* instrument when conjuring up the idea of the Lisbon musical tradition.

The symbolic nature of the GP has been maintained, but what it symbolizes has definitely changed. Today, either model of GP represents solely the “*fado guitarra*,” each having lost its regional and musical individuality.¹⁹³ Nevertheless, in other contexts, in particular in the Coimbra musical tradition, and in erudite/experimental projects tuned to a lower pitch, the GPCo assumes quite a different stance far removed from *fado*. It is as if the GPLx has been dethroned from its past privileged position in *fado* and a new ruler has progressively been occupying the prominent spot. Curiously the undebatable connection of the *fado* genre to Lisbon seems not to be affected by the adoption of an instrument attached to another city.

From 7 July to 17 September of 2011, EGEAC¹⁹⁴/ Museu do Fado produced a full-fledged exhibition on *fado* iconography under the title “*Ecos do Fado na Arte Portuguesa Séculos XIX-XXI*” (Echos of *Fado* in Portuguese Art of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries), including works of prominent artists such as José Malhoa, Almada Negreiros, Júlio Pomar, Graça Morais, as well as a large collection of creative items in

¹⁹³ As per the title of Custódio Castelo’s solo debut CD *The Art of the Portuguese Fado Guitar - Tempus* international edition 2011 Arc Music B004DIPLEA. The album was first released in 2003 in the Benelux countries, but only made available in Portugal in 2007. In these two earlier editions the instrument was described as *Guitarra Portuguesa*. Accessed March 1, 2013. <http://www.custodiocastelo.com>

¹⁹⁴ EGEAC is a Lisbon Municipality’s public enterprise for Management of Facilities and Cultural Animation Enterprise. Accessed December 6, 2013. <http://www.museudofado.pt/gca/index.php?id=10>

sculpture, painting, drawing and ceramics, most of them containing the unmistakable outline of the GP.

The study of *fado* iconography has attracted the attention of academia and, not surprisingly, the director of the *Fado* Museum, Sara Pereira, has prepared a PhD thesis on the subject. *Fado* has definitely been in the minds of many people since the initial project of applying to the UNESCO's list of intangible heritage in 2005. The application was approved on November 27, 2011, and, commemorating the first anniversary of this achievement, new works are being published, official protocols are being signed involving GP educational programs at the university level, and there are plans to open a permanent building workshop in the historical neighbourhood of Mouraria, where according to legend, *fado* was born.

A new *fado/guitarra* mania?¹⁹⁵

With so much happening around *fado* and the UNESCO designation, it is not difficult to come across comments such as “*o fado está na moda*” (*fado* is trendy and fashionable) and that might be very well the case, as in 2012 the genre became the focus of the fashion world and in fact served as a vehicle to display garments belonging to famous *fado* singers. From November 23, 2012 to March 31, 2013 a temporary exhibition was shared by the *Museu do Design e da Moda* (Design and Fashion Museum) and the *Fado* Museum in Lisbon, entitled “*Com Esta Voz Me Visto*” (I Wear My Voice On My

¹⁹⁵ A previous mania happened in the interwar period 1918-1939 (Cabral 1999: 159).

Sleeve¹⁹⁶). A visitor to the exhibit could note the absence of the GP in this event devoted solely to sophisticated outfits.

As I was returning home from my December 2012 research trip to Lisbon, I noticed a display about *fado* at the city's airport, which included well produced panels with text and photographic reproductions of historical publications related to the genre, plus a recent collection of GPs "re-worked" and transformed by inspired artists, commissioned by the design firm Malabar. All these exploratory art pieces have the same structural base: cheap factory-made versions of the GPLx.

In current Portuguese society, *fado*, and consequently the GP, have achieved such a high profile as indicators of self-identity that it is not entirely surprising that they are the object of inspiration among fashion makers, architects, artists and designers. Already in the 1980s cutting-edge architect Tomás Taveira had stylized multiple necks of the GP in his skyscraper creation for the BNU headquarters in Lisbon. In 2012 the genre and its emblematic instrument made their way into the world of fashion and design: in an homage to *fado*, fashion designer Miguel Vieira presented a new line of clothing at ModaLisboa on March the 10th.¹⁹⁷ Later in July, in advertising for his male Fall/Winter 2012/2013 international campaign, the GPLx occupied a prominent spot, held tenderly by model Rodrigo Santos; its *leque* tuning knobs were projected onto a white background and inspired the design of metallic applications on the contemporary white running-

¹⁹⁶ This is the official English version of the title, not a literal translation, which would be "with this voice I dress myself."

¹⁹⁷ Accessed September 7, 2012. http://www.dn.pt/inicio/artes/interior.aspx?content_id=2354269

shoes, appealing to an ideal of Portuguese originality.¹⁹⁸ In a parallel move related to the UNESCO distinction in 2011, Portuguese fashion brand Dielmar showed a new line inspired by *fado* and the GP at the 30th edition of the Portugal Fashion *passarelle*, in a bid to create something totally Portuguese for the global market.¹⁹⁹ In its catalogue, two over-adorned GPLxs²⁰⁰ are featured in the hands of the long-haired male model in mock playing poses, and the composed out-doors shots with a gray and white background and a fall/winter feel, make use of the silhouette of a GPCo and traditional heart designs.²⁰¹

In the meantime, an ambitious project was set in motion in June 2012 by the Portuguese design company Malabar, which included well known personalities such as architect Álvaro Siza Vieira and artist Joana Vasconcelos (among nineteen others) to carry out creative acts on the theme of the GP.²⁰² With its title “*Tudo Isto É*” borrowed from the famous *fado* song “*Tudo isto é fado*” (All this is *fado*), the project produced a variety of items, including a knapsack in the shape of a GP, a tattoo, a tile and numerous modified GPs. These were not intended to be musical instruments, but rather exploratory works of art, playing with the symbolic nature of the GP in a free frame of mind. Of notice is the absence of a GPCo outline in the impressive set of works that constitute the current Malabar collection of interventions on the GP. Could this be related to a

¹⁹⁸ Accessed Sept 12, 2012 <http://dailymodalisboa.blogspot.ca/2012/07/campanha-outonoinverno-2013-miguel.html>

¹⁹⁹ Accessed Sept 12, 2012. <http://www.lux.iol.pt/moda/portugal-fashion-fado-inspira-nova-colecao-da-dielmar-portugal-fashion-dielmar-moda-outono-inverno-2013/1335813-5008.html>

²⁰⁰ These instruments were probably supplied by Malabar since at the end of the catalogue there is a special “thank you” note to the designing company. Curiously, at the Portugal Fashion show Dielmar’s great apotheosis was performed to the music of Madredeus’ “Alfama” with no GP being played, although suggested in the instrumental interludes by two classical guitars.

²⁰¹ Accessed Dec 18, 2012. <http://www.dielmar.pt/colecao/catalogo/catalogo.html>

²⁰² Accessed Sept 7, 2012. <http://p3.publico.pt/cultura/exposicoes/3498/tudo-isto-e-design-irreverente-na-guitarra-portuguesa>

conceptual distinction between the two models and the preference of one, or just the result of the availability of supplies regarding the general form of a GP? Most of these pieces have a basic GP body and neck pre-made in a factory, low in cost and suitable for an artist to alter its material existence in order to express a sort of emotional content usually connected umbilically, as it were, to the notion of Portugueseness. In contrast, in September 2012 the GPCo was featured as an important icon in the context of the *fado*, in a fashion production by Ricardo Carriço. It is quite interesting that singer Rodrigo da Costa Félix was the one holding the instrument in *Maxima*'s photo shoot, while all the glamour went to his wife, Marta Pereira da Costa, who actually plays the GPCo professionally.²⁰³ As a female player, she has received much attention from the media and the fashion world. In February 2013, the couple was invited to participate in the publicity campaign *People with Talent* launched by Spanish retailers Cortefiel. I believe this to be the first time a GP player was seen as a vehicle for fashion, a role previously reserved for female *fado* singers in a process that began with the diva Amália Rodrigues. Not surprisingly, the GPCo²⁰⁴ was once more the instrument being displayed in the photographic material and live presentation of this promotion that included a *fado* performance.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Accessed Sept 12, 2012. <http://www.maxima.xl.pt/v%C3%ADdeos/15025-no-fado-e-na-vida.html>

²⁰⁴ A backless model made by Óscar Cardoso.

²⁰⁵ Nevertheless, I recently found evidence of an earlier use of the GP in fashion promotion, dating from 1897 and curiously in Brazil. The garment store *À la Ville de Paris*, owned by Corrêa & C. sent out a printed image of a “dandy” elegantly dressed and holding a GP with a head carving in the shape of a pansy, in *Jornal do Brasil* VII, 354, December 20, 1897: 1. Accessed October 14, 2013. http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=030015_01&PagFis=8719

Conclusion

Although in the practical world of *fado* advertisement the GPCo is currently the most common image used, in other iconographic contexts there is still resistance to considering that model of GP as a symbol of the genre. It would be difficult (if not impossible) to pinpoint the exact date on which the GPCo also started to be used as an icon of *fado*, but that was hardly the case before the 1974 revolution. The GP is still very much a mystery for most of the Portuguese population (in and out of Portugal), although its symbolic value is generally recognized, especially within the transnational community of *fado* aficionados, and it has been used in the tourism and cultural industries.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE PATH OF TRANSFORMATION

In my experience as a researcher, player and maker of the GP, I have encountered among the general public and musicians in Portugal and elsewhere, a notable lack of knowledge about an instrument that carries and projects its nation's name around the world. Could this be related with its own name, one borrowed from another language: “*guitarra*” from the old English “*guittar*,” thus paradoxically understood as foreign? Adding to the confusion, other musically meaningful terms such as the neighbouring Spanish “*guitarra*,” a very similar instrument to the Portuguese “*viola de fado*” (classical guitar with steel strings) or the “*guitarra clássica*” (classical guitar), are frequently misused in reference to the GP, although they are organologically distinct in form, tuning, and acoustics.²⁰⁶ Furthermore, a certain ghettoization within a close group of makers, master players and disciples has contributed over the years to the mystification of the GP, protecting a secretive domain from the reaches of the general public. This assured the GP's survival in direct connection with *fado* since the middle of the nineteenth century, when it became the instrument of choice, the one deemed capable of emitting the heartfelt sounds of the “Portuguese soul.” In this chapter, I will discuss how this gnostic gap relates to the symbolic occurrence of the GPCo in *fado*. In particular I will consider the socio-political conditions that contributed to the surfacing of a new kind of GPCo player.

²⁰⁶ In an article by Luís Simões Gomes in the magazine *Politecnia* (2005: 28) published by the Politechnique Institute of Lisbon, one of the photographs was wrongly titled “*Colecção de Violas de Pedro Caldeira Cabral*” as the word “*Violas*” does not mean GPs, but “Guitars.” Accessed December 27, 2005. <http://guitarradecoimbra.blogspot.ca/2005/12/pedro-caldeira-cabral-5-na-revista.html>

As mentioned in chapter four, today, the images of both models of GP are indiscriminately used in all visual and printed materials relating to the *fado* genre, a fact that is obviously linked to a strong presence of the GPCo among the top musicians. This reflects a general lack of awareness of the different symbolic pasts of the two models, and a possible case of cultural transference, one that has been noticed by Coimbra aficionados.

António Manuel Nunes, although cautious, makes his point:

[...] *creio que não ficará mal reconhecer que a partir dessas mudanças, a "guitarra do fado" passou a andar a reboque da Guitarra de Coimbra.* (Nunes 2005a).
([...] I believe that it would not be bad to recognize that after these [organological] changes, the “*fado guitarra*” started to be trailed by the Coimbra *guitarra*.)

The GPLx is replaced by GPCo and *fado* is seen as a genre totally conditioned by a large music industry:

[...] *num género musical e artístico como o Fado, produzido em função do grande espectáculo e dos ditames da indústria cultural para as massas, verifica-se desde finais da década de 1960 um crescente abandono da Guitarra do Fado, ou do tipo lisboeta, e respectiva substituição pela Guitarra de Coimbra se tal processo suscite a emergência de movimentos de salvaguarda;* (Nunes 2005b)
([...] in a musical and artistic genre such as *fado*, produced in function of the big show and what is dictated by the cultural industry for the masses, one observes since the end of the decade of the 1960s a growing abandonment of the *fado guitarra*, or the Lisbon type, and its respective substitution by the Coimbra *guitarra* in a process that inspires the emergence of movements to safeguard [it];)

Indignation builds up for classical guitarist Rui Pato over hegemonic power games displayed by personalities from the capital:

O que levará pessoas respeitáveis, conhecedores profundos do instrumento, que são sinceros amantes desse instrumento a omitirem deliberadamente mais de um século de um estilo diferente de guitarra, de mais de uma centena de exímios executantes e das características de um modelo de guitarra que eles próprios foram utilizando em detrimento do modelo da sua cidade.

Sectarismo? Preconceito? Ignorância? (Rui Pato October 30, 2010)²⁰⁷

(What leads respectable people, profoundly knowledgeable of the instrument [GP], who are sincere lovers of that instrument [GP] to deliberately omit more than a century of a different style of *guitarra* [GPCo], more than a hundred skilled instrumentalists, and the characteristics of a *guitarra* model [GPCo] that they themselves have used to the detriment of their city's model [GPLx].

Sectarism? Prejudice? Ignorance?)

GPCo player Ângelo Correia goes directly to the point:

Começo com uma pergunta, quando foi a última vez que viram uma Guitarra Portuguesa... de Lisboa? Assumindo a Guitarra de Lisboa diferente da sua congénere de Coimbra apenas na ornamentação, apresentando a cabeça em caracol ao invés da lágrima de Coimbra, pensemos bem, e façamos a nós esta pergunta: quando foi a última vez que vimos uma Guitarra de Lisboa? (Correia 2011).

(I start with a question, when was the last time you saw a Portuguese *guitarra*... Lisbon type? Assuming that the Lisbon *guitarra* is different from its congener of Coimbra solely in the ornamentation, presenting a head scroll instead of the tear drop [shape] of Coimbra, let us think and ask ourselves this question: when was the last time that we saw a Lisbon *guitarra*?)

Álvaro Aroso points out changes in the type of *unhas* and technique:

É de notar que aquele músico [Pedro Caldeira Cabral], apesar de, inicialmente, se ter apresentado na execução do instrumento no [no contexto musical do] fado/guitarrada de Lisboa, utiliza a unha postixa arredondada usada em Coimbra e não a tradicional lisboeta em jeito de palheta. Mas outros guitarristas de Lisboa, como Fontes Rocha, não só aderiram ao nosso instrumento em forma e sonoridade distinta da sua “irmã” de Lisboa, como se aproximaram também do jeito de tocar

²⁰⁷ Accessed September 30, 2013. <http://guitarracoimbra.blogspot.ca/2010/10/rui-pato.html#comment-form>

coimbrão, suavizando o característico trinado lisboeta de “Armandinho”, [...] (Aroso 2012: 1)

(It is worth noticing that that musician [Pedro Caldeira Cabral], although he initially presented himself performing on the instrument [in the musical context] of the Lisbon *fado/guitarrada*, uses an *unha* [finger pick] with a round profile common in Coimbra and not the traditional [suarish] one from Lisbon as a plectrum. But other Lisbon *guitarristas* [GP players], like Fontes Rocha, not only adhered to our instrument [GPCo] distinct in form and sound from its “sister” from Lisbon, but also came close to the Coimbra style of playing, softening the characteristic Lisbon trill of “Armandinho.” [...])

GPCo master Jorge Gomes, revealing some frustration, goes as far as considering the adoption of his beloved instrument in *fado* as:

*[...] um crime cultural, um atentado cultural contra o património artístico dos guitarreiros que trabalharam para Lisboa e para os músicos que fizeram o fado para Lisboa. Aparecem [determinado tipo de guitarristas] na televisão com umas fantochadas, com uns folclores a tocarem guitarra, numa guitarra que não pode ser e é por isso que eu digo que é preciso muito cuidado quando as pessoas se ligam a determinadas actividades em que está em jogo a cultura e o bom senso [...]*²⁰⁸

([...] a cultural crime, a cultural outrage against the artistic heritage of the *guitarra* makers that worked for Lisbon and for the musicians that made the *fado* for Lisbon. They [a certain type of GP player] show up on TV with some puppet-like attitudes, with some folkloric nuances playing the *guitarra*, on a *guitarra* that can not be, and that is why I say that one has to take great care when associating oneself with certain activities in which culture and good judgment are in the balance [...])

Nonetheless, the change in preferred instruments is not new in *fado*. As mentioned in chapter two, just before *fado* became an autonomous genre (around 1840), its music was played on a five-course *viola* (folk guitar); then it adopted the *cítara* type of GP with

²⁰⁸ Transcription from video footage. Accessed December 24, 2012. http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=i_Y1GaPDfDQ
Accessed December 24, 2012. <http://cordasportuguesas.com/documentarios/>

wooden pegs, but there was also a time in which the mandolin and the piano were in fashion.²⁰⁹

The trend of adopting the Coimbra guitar in *fado*

A substantial part of my study focuses on factors that contributed to the current phenomenon of adoption of the GPCo by professional *fado* players, a trend that parallels a renewed musical aesthetic and has implications for the symbolic nature of the genre's emblematic instrument. The analysis is much more centred on the GP than *fado*, thus my discourse is guided by the relevance of the study of the instrument within the genre.

The last forty-five or so years have witnessed a change in the choice of instruments by *fado* musicians, with an ever-more-frequent use of the GPCo in music of the Lisbon playing style. In the oral history of *fado*, the first musician to introduce this concept was José Fontes Rocha (1926-2011), who opted for a GPCo tuned to its lower pitched tuning while trying to achieve a richer sound in his interpretations.²¹⁰ Pedro Caldeira Cabral however, states that when he became involved in *fado* in 1967, he was using an old Oporto GP with a 470 mm string length, in the lower pitched tuning simply because that was the tuning he had always used, and later in 1969, under the pressure of experienced *fado* singers, he was forced to adopt the higher tuning (Cabral interview August 13, 2012). Until now, I have been able to find photographic evidence of early use

²⁰⁹ See Chapter Three.

²¹⁰ This happened in the mid 1960s when José Fontes Rocha recorded the music of Alain Oulman (1928-1990) for the voice of Amália Rodrigues (1920-1999). There is video footage from 1968 showing José Fontes Rocha playing a GPCO and Carlos Gonçalves using a GPLX. Accessed July 28, 2013. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MwoZZFvxYB0>

of GPCo in *fado* dating back to 1963, prior to the legendary choice made by José Fontes Rocha in 1966.²¹¹

Although physically many GPs used nowadays by professional players in *fado* can be described as GPCo, their sonic nature is changed when tuned to the Lisbon tuning, which is the generalized practice among those who choose that model of GP. This transformation probably happened for the first time in professional *fado* during the 1960s at the hands of Pedro Caldeira Cabral, imposed by the attitude of top *fado* singers who at the time did not approve of the sound quality of the lower tuning. Nevertheless, it is possible that adopting the higher tuning occurred even earlier. This could have happened by chance, by some amateur player holding a GPCo, perhaps a student returning from Coimbra to his hometown, and in the circumstance of the local milieu, tuned his GPCo to accommodate it to the *fado* musical idiom. This hypothesis is suggested in a photograph from 1963 showing João Nuno A. Neves playing GPCo in the context of *fado* in the region of Ribatejo (Moraes 2009: 382).

Adopting the higher Lisbon tuning on a GPCo results in an instrument with a greater volume and a fuller sound, that, because of its longer string length, implies a greater tension over the bridge. Many instruments have been built with this in mind, and ever fewer *fado* musicians still play GPLx. A possible variant, a hybrid GP dating back to the late 1960s, is the adaptation of a longer string length to a GPLx body (Cabral 1999:

²¹¹ Photograph of Fontes Rocha with GPCO in rehearsal at Amália Rodrigues' home c. 1966, in Faria (2008: 124).

Photograph of Fontes Rocha with GPCO and Raul Nery playing GPLX at Estúdios Lumiar 1969 (2008: 157).

Photograph showing Fontes Rocha with GPCO and Vinicius de Moraes at Amália Rodrigues' home 1968 (2008: 162).

220).²¹² Furthermore, the playing technique and the shape of *unhas* (finger picks) has also evolved quickly, with the complicity of a mixed technique closer to the one used in the Coimbra style and less square, lighter, more flexible *unhas* (although there are exceptions). Curiously, while the “capo” was regularly used by GP players until the first quarter of the twentieth century, it seems that its practice was never connected to the pitch rising on a GPCo.²¹³

If *fado* musicians are open to use (and many indeed favour) the GPCo, to my knowledge the only examples of a GPLx used in the context of the Coimbra style are sporadic interpretations of Coimbra stylized songs such as “*Fado Hilário*” or “*Samaritana*” by Lisbon-style musicians.²¹⁴ This might be related to the fact that the GPCo, being a later development of the instrument, is generally perceived as acoustically more appealing and as having a better ergonomic design, as *fado* player Eurico Machado clearly conveyed while explaining his preference for it:

[...] *penso que os guitarristas, pelo menos eu no meu caso...tentamos...fugir, no bom sentido aos agudos, como a guitarra portuguesa já é um instrument agudo...então é como se eu quisesse algum equilíbrio...[...] oitenta ou noventa por cento das vezes, as guitarras de Coimbra mesmo afinadas em Lisboa, são as que tem esse som com mais graves e os agudos são mais redondos, são mais macios (...) não são tão crispados, não são tão agressivos os agudos, daí a minha opção,[...] [Sobre o perfil do braço da GPCo] penso que seja mais fácil de tocar, é mais fininho, menos espeço, mais largo, menos abaulado (...) acaba por ser mais fácil de tocar e de colocar a mão em termos...em termos melódicos, [...] tem mais espaço para fazer as melodias...é mais confortável [...] (Machado interview December 14, 2012).*

²¹² See Chapter Two.

²¹³ See Chapter Two.

²¹⁴ kd Lang sang “*Fado Hilário*” accompanied by GPLX master António Chainho on the CD *Onda Sonora: Red Hot + Lisbon* (the 11th in Red Hot's series of AIDS benefit albums, released July 20, 1999) Bar None Records AHAON-107.

([...] I think that the *guitarristas* [GP players], at least in my case... we try...to get away, in the good sense, from the high pitched sounds, as the Portuguese guitar is already a high pitched instrument...it is as if I wanted some balance...(..) eighty or ninety percent of the time, the Coimbra *guitarras* [GPCo] even when tuned as in Lisbon, are the ones that have that sound with more bass and treble notes that are rounder, smoother (...) not so crisp, the high pitched notes are not so aggressive, that is the reason for my choice,[...])

[About the GPCo neck profile] I believe that it is easier to play, it is thinner, less thick, wider, less arched (...) it ends up being easier to play and to place the hand in (...) in melodic terms, [...] it has more space to do the melodies...it is more comfortable [...]).

Appearing c. 1940 in a context apart from *fado* and at the hands of a virtuoso, Artur Paredes, the GPCo was noticed right away, and its association with cultivated music helped to cast ideals of a superior GP ethos among players such as José Fontes Rocha (1926- 2011), a northern Portuguese artist who migrated to Lisbon to start a brilliant career as a professional *fado* musician/composer. Before him, José Nunes (1916-1979), also from the north but raised in Lisbon, had been influenced as teenager by a GP player from Oporto, António Coelho Jr. “Barbeirinho” (1899-1960) (Cabral 1999: 234, 247).²¹⁵ He later developed a playing technique incorporating elements that today are associated with the Coimbra school, such as partial chords, and the use of the lower strings, combining the styles of the two great masters, “Armandinho” and Artur Paredes. In the meantime, two other great masters of the GPCo, Carlos Paredes (1925-2004) and Pedro Caldeira Cabral (born 1950), projected the Coimbra instrument into an even higher level of appreciation.

²¹⁵ The nickname “Barbeirinho” means “little barber.”

José Fontes Rocha certainly became a pioneer in the use of GPCo in *fado*, introducing the genre to a series of important alterations in rhythm, harmony and structure. In a published interview, he reveals his underlying musical preference: “*Gosto mais de tocar as músicas de Coimbra do que as coisas de Lisboa.*” (I prefer to play the musics of Coimbra than the things from Lisbon) (Bastos 1999: 180). His love for the Coimbra school of playing is evident in the inspired original variations that he composed and in his renditions of instrumental pieces arranged by Artur Paredes, such as “*Balada de Coimbra.*” Throughout his impressive fifty-plus-year career, Fontes Rocha was able to maintain a balance between the traditional and the innovative, contributing to the musical renovation of the *fado* genre since the 1960s. Fontes Rocha also performed sporadically within the Coimbra tradition,²¹⁶ a rare occurrence among *fado* musicians of the Lisbon milieu.

Alcino Frazão (1961-1988) was another early example of a *fado* musician keen to explore new avenues for the GP apart from the traditional voice accompaniment and *guitarradas*, revealing his value as a solo performer and composer. Like many others, Alcino Frazão started by playing the GPLx but soon moved on to the GPCo.²¹⁷ In his solo recording published posthumously in 1991, Frazão chose a repertoire that includes “*Valsa*” by Gonçalo Paredes and “*Canção de Alcipe*” by Afonso Correia Leite, two great classics of Coimbra style instrumentals.

²¹⁶ In the 1980s with Fernando Machado Soares. Accessed July 1, 2012.

<http://toadacoimbra.blogspot.ca/2009/06/cancao-de-coimbra-anos-80-viii-algumas.html#links>

²¹⁷ Another example is Pedro Veiga (also died young in 1993)

Is the adoption of the GPCo a response to a new aesthetic in *fado*? Players are aware of the changes in technique and accompaniment in contemporary *fado*. For instance, in his blog on August 25, 2007, professional *fado* GPCo player Fernando Silva recognized a new way of playing and singing *fado* and lamented that the old school is fast disappearing due to a lack of qualified teachers. He posited a possible aesthetic “evolution” within the genre in recent years, which included the adoption of the GPCo. A few days later in an online forum, Silva acknowledged that *fado* tended to change and follow new directions because the musicians (not only GP players) were still developing the new approach to *fado* accompaniment.²¹⁸ In December 14, 2012, another professional *fado* GPCo player, Eurico Machado, described with some more detail the current way of accompanying *fado*, which he considers more sober, to complement the voice, although maintaining the traditional improvised melodic character of the GP in permanent interaction with the singer.²¹⁹

On the subject of cultural transference

Is there a notion of transference on behalf of *fado* players, in adopting an instrument perceived as better designed, musically superior, and visually more appealing? As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, that seems to be the case among some Coimbra school aficionados who have expressed their awareness of the replacement of the GPLx by the GPCo occurring in *fado*, which is only natural since the Coimbra

²¹⁸ See full quotations in the Appendix A.

²¹⁹ See full quotations in the Appendix A.

tradition is related to the cultivated academic life of the second oldest university in Europe, and *fado* was born as the song of the lowest classes of Lisbon.

The phenomenon of the adoption of the GPCo as a legitimate instrument of *fado* is not only an individual choice of the GP player. This is also a larger phenomenon which has taken the form of a trend and developed in a movement of (trans)national proportions influencing all mainstream concepts relating to the GP in *fado*.²²⁰ The first official institution representing, safeguarding, and promoting the genre, the *Casa do Fado e da Guitarra Portuguesa*, currently *Museu do Fado*, is equally the guardian of the GP, not only as the instrument used in *fado*, but of “all” GPs, including those used in the context of erudite/experimental music. Notwithstanding the change to a shorter title, the municipal organization’s mandate is very much the same as before entering the ranks of the national museums’ network: to recognize the GP as a powerful catalyst of Portuguese identity well beyond *fado*, and to celebrate players/composers such as Artur Paredes, Carlos Paredes and Pedro Caldeira Cabral (GPCo personalities far removed from *fado* and at one point in time critical of the genre). One could argue that the Paredes, father and son, although affiliated with the Coimbra style of GP playing, actually lived and worked for many years in Lisbon, and were never members of the Coimbra University, so they could also be considered as belonging to the cultural tissue of Lisbon. Furthermore, Carlos Paredes composed the music for the movie *Fado Corrido* featuring Amália Rodrigues in the leading role, and he is also the author of “*Fado Moliceiro*” sung by

²²⁰ I have detected this trend in European countries, Brazil, and some areas of the United States. Curiously, it is not noticeable in Japan nor among the Portuguese diasporas in Canada. For instance, in Ontario I believe this to be a question of statistics since in the last twenty years only two new GP players emerged in the context of *fado*. Cultural retention might also be contributing factor.

Carlos do Carmo, another unavoidable name in the *fado* realm. Regarding Pedro Caldeira Cabral, although he was briefly involved in *fado* performance, his most celebrated work has to do with period, erudite and experimental repertoire using the GPCo tuned in its original lower pitched tuning. To include such individuals in the context of *fado* is nevertheless somewhat strange, although it might reflect the recent cultural transference of the GPCo into *fado*.

The emergence of a new ethos among the Portuguese guitar players in *fado*

As briefly presented in chapter one, in my study I identify three major evolutionary/historical periods in the GP organological development and practice in *fado*. The first is the mid-nineteenth century period under monarchic rule, when *fado* started to be considered a musical genre in connection with the GP *cítara* and played in the urban contexts of the tavern, and the brothel, then expanding to weekend retreats and aristocratic homes. Sometime in the last four decades of the “old regime,” the early Lisbon GP with *leque* and scroll became the instrument of professional musicians involved in both erudite music and *fado*. The second period, which I call “modern,” started after the installment of a republican system (1910). It was characterized by the establishment of the “modern” Lisbon model (GPLx) around 1920, adopted by professional *fado* musicians that preferred a larger body for more volume and sustain capable of expressing the desired musical effects that gave the instrument a new role in *fado*: the melodic interaction with the singer, as a second voice. Also during this period, although later, around 1940, another model was created, the “modern” Coimbra *guitarra*

(GPCo) especially designed, not for *fado*, but for a new school of GP playing among amateurs with a great emphasis in instrumental music. The “modern” period saw a definite development of two autonomous models of GP and their correspondent diverse styles of playing. In general the body of the “modern” GPs became larger comparing to nineteenth century instruments. The Lisbon model opted for the shorter string length, while the Coimbra *guitarra*, for the longer one.

The third and current period is a natural consequence of the second. I call it “contemporary.” A variety of factors contributed to a tentative rupture with the norm during the 1960s, under the tight rule of a dictatorship, when high profile musicians began to experiment using the GPCo in the context of *fado*, but the practice only started to get significant following in the 1980s, well after the overthrow of the totalitarian political regime in 1974. The transition from the “modern” to the “contemporary” periods in GP playing in *fado* happened not with a rupture but with a decade of prejudice affecting the genre upon the revolution, due to a debatable connection to the ousted oppressive government. By 1998, a new ethos among top GP players became a reality. I argue that a series of diverse conditions has contributed to the emergence of the “contemporary” GP player in *fado*: social-economic-political, aesthetic, and educational.

The return to a democracy in Portugal on April 25, 1974, following a forty-eight-year period of repressive dictatorship, led to a sense of freedom and openness at all levels of Portuguese society in celebration not so much of the glories of the past, but, most importantly, the victories of the then present. In 1986, Portugal joined the European Union and an overwhelming quantity of funds started to pour in, giving a boost to all

sectors of the country's economy, which combined with a need for national affirmation, culminated in important cultural manifestations celebrating the GP, and in particular the GPCo, as an important identity symbol. Lisbon's Expo 98 hosted a GP festival organized by Pedro Caldeira Cabral independently from the *fado* performances which were also part of the exhibition, presenting the most accomplished and cutting-edge performers /composers of the time for the distinguished Portuguese instrument. In 2003, a giant GPCo was built outdoors in Oporto by maker José Amorim.²²¹

With the "Carnation Revolution," Carlos Paredes, who had been a victim of persecution by the previous regime, became the living legend of the GP; his music came to form a large portion of the background sound of the new democratic *démarche*. Paredes' unavoidable influence on any serious GP player would mark a long list of future musicians, and placed the GPCo in a privileged spot in the world of GP. In parallel, Pedro Caldeira Cabral started an unprecedented work of historical research on the evolution of the GP and related instruments, recording his own compositions and demonstrating the versatility of the instrument in other contexts beyond *fado*, namely in the erudite and experimental realms (LP *Encontros*, Orfeu 1982 FPAT6017). Cabral, who had a brief passage through *fado* (1966-1982) at the forefront of the GPCo usage within the genre (before it emerged as a trend), became an incontestable reference of GP playing and composing both nationally and internationally. The GP players who started working in *fado* after the 1974 political *coup* had these two powerful role models to follow. Both used the GPCo and represented a widening of horizons in GP playing, alongside some

²²¹ Accessed September 7, 2012. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pC-49GnjdTE>

masters of *fado*, who already displayed a tendency to adopt the Coimbra model, as seen in the case of Fontes Rocha, who himself became a paradigm in *fado* accompaniment after his work with *fado* diva Amália Rodrigues in the 1960s.

Learning the GP as an instrument of *fado* and related instrumental music was for many decades a process of apprenticeship with an experienced player, in the oral tradition. Even though GP methods have been published since the second half of the nineteenth century, they do not exemplify the performance of important aspects of the Lisbon technique so truly emblematic of the genre's accompaniment style, at least during the "modern" period of GP in *fado* (c.1920-1974). Furthermore, the only significant methods that come to light approaching the twenty-first century and during its first decade were dedicated to the GPCo as an instrument of the Coimbra school of playing, tuned to the lower pitched tuning. These contained among others compositions by Carlos Paredes presented in tablature form, which certainly made it easier to learn even by a player who did not have music notation as a tool.²²² In 2007, Paulo Soares published another method, this time focused on the mastering of chords, which might be useful in various musical genres for both the GPLx and the GPCo.²²³ Since 2009 two books of tablatures and two DVD methods for GPLx have been published in Japan by M.T.E.C.,²²⁴ and videos on Youtube feature pieces by GPLx masters "Armandinho," José Nunes, Casimiro Ramos, Jaime Santos, António Parreira, and a composition by Count Jan Tisky

²²² Methods by Paulo Soares (1997) and José Santos Paulo (2006).

²²³ The subheading of this method reads: "*Guitarra de Lisboa, Guitarra de Coimbra, Fado, Jazz, Clássica, Pop*" (GPLx, GPCo, *fado*, jazz, classic, and pop).

²²⁴ Accessed Sept 7, 2012. <http://mtec.shop-pro.jp/>; and <http://www.esquina-web.com/cd/cd.html>

(Ian Tyszhiewz?) “*Lisboa ao Entardecer*.”²²⁵ More recently, six methods were published for the GP as a solo instrument for the Lisbon style *guitarradas* (instrumentals) using a similar tablature format, *Sounds of Lisbon* by Márcio Silva, 2011, both in Portuguese and English and containing seven pieces by GPLx masters “Armandinho,” José Nunes, Casimiro Ramos and a composition by Manuel Marques “Guitarra de Lisboa,” also including a didactic CD. The other five are part of a collection by Eurico A. Cebolo.²²⁶

In 1999 the GP finally made its way to the conservatory, taught by professional musicians of the Lisbon style and amateurs of Coimbra. At the *Casa do Fado e da Guitarra Portuguesa*, now categorized as a museum, a school was founded in 2002 to provide a learning environment for musicians interested mostly in *fado*. Curiously, the five-year GP course taught since the beginning by GPLx veteran António Parreira includes several pieces by Carlos Paredes and Pedro Caldeira Cabral in order to advance through the different levels of education, thus recognizing the merit of such repertoire in achieving a more comprehensive knowledge of the instrument. In 2012, a first group of GP players graduated from the only school that currently offers a three-year course on GP at the university level, not surprisingly taught by contemporary player/composer Custódio Castelo using a backless GPCo made by Óscar Cardoso.²²⁷

I suggest that the new attitude among GP *fado* players stems from an impetus of liberation from the closed, almost clandestine and submissive circumstances lived by

²²⁵ Accessed Sept 19, 2011. <http://www.youtube.com/user/MTECpt>

²²⁶ *Portuguese Guitar: Fados and Counter-Melodies*. 2011, Vol.1 with CD and Vols. 2, 3, 4, and 5 (2013) with CDs and DVDs.

Cebolo had published in the 1980s a method titled *Magical Guitar* showing a hybrid GP in its cover.

²²⁷ Escola Superior de Artes Aplicadas (ESART) do Instituto Politécnico de Castelo Branco. Accessed January 31, 2013. <http://www.ipcb.pt/en/>

players in *fado* until the 1980s. This need for innovation echoed sympathetically with the exploration of new directions in GP making by Óscar Cardoso upon his father's death in 1991, and is also noticed in the career shift of GPLx master António Chainho, engaged in exploratory projects for the GP since 1980.²²⁸ In his website, Chainho is quoted:

“Durante muitos anos a Guitarra Portuguesa esteve subjugada ao fado. Foi necessário libertá-la e acho que consegui.” (For many years the Portuguese guitar was subjugated to *fado*. It was necessary to liberate it and I think I have succeeded).²²⁹ The thrust to expand had also been experienced by Carlos Paredes, when he escaped from his father's tutelary grip in the early sixties (Nunes 2006a), and left us a considerable corpus of original music for the GPCo. Pedro Caldeira Cabral departed to other areas of study in the early 1970s, and became tireless in the promotion of the GP on the concert stage, emancipating it from the vicious circle of *“fado and guitarradas.”*

It is interesting to realize that Ricardo Parreira achieved deserved recognition as a top GP player only after he recorded the music of Carlos Paredes in 2006,²³⁰ although he is the son of GPLx master António Parreira, from whom he learned a panoply of secrets and techniques associated with the Lisbon school of playing. In other cases the emphasis in change leaned on the quest for a new sound, very much continuing José Fontes Rocha's almost obsessive preoccupation that led to the redesign of the *unhas* (finger picks), enabling a different angle of attack on the strings, and preference for the GPCo.

²²⁸ CDs *Guitarra Portuguesa*. 1998 [1980 LP]. Movieplay MOV 30.381; *António Chainho - The London Philharmonic Orchestra*. 1996 Movieplay Music 51020; *A Guitarra e Outras Mulheres*. 1998. Movieplay MOV 30.398; *Lisboa-Rio*. 2000. Movieplay MOV 30.435; *Lisgoa*. 2010. Movieplay MOV 30.610.

²²⁹ Accessed March 1, 2013. <http://www.antoniochainho.com>

²³⁰ CD *Nas veias de uma guitarra*. 2006. HM Musica, Lda. HM 002cd.

Mário Pacheco was one of the first top GP players to use a backless GPCo for that exact reason, looking into delivering a less “contaminated” sound, pure, clean, crystal clear, piano-like:

For me, besides having more sound, which makes it easier to play, they’re piano *guitarras*, the sound is easy and has a tremendous tone element.

I give great importance to the quality of sound, much more than the volume. But if it has volume and quality, so even better. But the quality of sound has always been the motivation to change the *unhas*, to change the ways of playing, to get that quality of sound, a clean sound. This *guitarra* gives me that clean sound I was looking for.²³¹

It was thus in this complex context of subtle metamorphosis and adaptation that the GP player’s ethos was modified, asserting a leading role in the making of *fado*, not only as a musician playing the most emblematic instrument of the genre, but also as composer and producer, thus assuming an agency as a creative force that assured the future and good health of *fado* entering the new millennium. This continues to be a slow process of democratization of the genre with its ranks being occupied by artists from other musical areas, which have been “discovered” by the industry or have “discovered” *fado* as a legitimate choice in their careers.

Regarding top GP players, the case study of Custódio Castelo stands out as an example of the development of a new stance in *fado*, presenting all the characteristics that I identify as belonging to a “contemporary” nature within the genre insofar as he/she

- is influenced by, experienced in or originally from a different musical area;

²³¹ CD/ DVD *A Música e a Guitarra*. 2006. World Connection WC 43063 (from English subtitles).

- is knowledgeable of the traditional corpus of *fado* repertoire and aware of the works of the great masters of the GPCo;
- recognizes publicly the influence of the great masters of the GPCo;
- believes in and practices the emancipation of the GP from *fado*;
- adopts the GPCo and/or related experimental models;
- acts as composer and/or producer;
- assumes a public persona as an artist;
- interested in leaving a legacy and in passing it on to others;
- engages in other musical projects not necessarily related to *fado*;
- reveals some degree of innovation in performance and/or composition;
- cultivates a parallel career as a soloist;

Not all these characteristics are shared by the GP players one could consider categorizing as “contemporary,” but all reveal at least some of these traits.

The doors opened to the “contemporary” GP player following the works of Carlos Paredes and Pedro Caldeira Cabral, as these two great masters, both using the GPCo, definitely demonstrated the musical possibilities of such a tuning, called “of the *fado corrido*,” the customary sound of the pre-Severa *cítara* perhaps, and now serving a cultivated repertoire and a variety of projects using the instrument in the contexts of folk, pop, jazz, rock, and electronica.²³²

²³² See also Chapter Two.

Women and the Portuguese guitar

The old tradition of female GP players is long gone; nowadays one can only witness the rare survivor in isolated areas of Portugal, especially in the Azores islands (and in some cases in the Azorean diaspora), and not necessarily linked exclusively to *fado*. Female GP practice was historically connected to a certain status among the bourgeois classes serving a repertoire of *modinhas*, *lunduns*, *cançonetas*, and instrumental pieces typical of the social musical life of a woman in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²³³ The performances would be held at home as amateur entertainment.²³⁴ The GP was then generally a smaller instrument and, according to some, there was actually a size dedicated to the ladies.²³⁵

The current case of Marta Pereira da Costa, as the only woman GP player in professional *fado*, is a striking example of how this male-dominated culture is apparently changing with the times, or at least is open to the idea of gender diversity (although in very small numbers).²³⁶ On March 16, 2013, Marta Pereira da Costa and her husband *fado* singer Rodrigo da Costa Félix performed with two other musicians at Casa do Alentejo, in Toronto. The show they presented was somewhat different from a “traditional” *fado* event, as it featured not only the singer but also the GP player in a soloist capacity during extended portions of the concert. The performance was not always

²³³ See also p. 31 n. 49.

²³⁴ In the Lisbon Municipal Archives one can find many photographs from the early 1900s depicting this female GP practice.

²³⁵ Maker Domingos Machado (born 1936) mentions a ladies’ GP typical of the nineteenth century. Accessed January 30, 2013. <http://www.geira.pt/museus/Coleccoes/index.asp?id=21> Others use the names *requinta* and *guitarilha* to describe a GP of a smaller size.

²³⁶ As far as I know there is also currently only one female *viola* (classical guitar) player in professional *fado*, Joana Almeida. Paradoxically, within the Coimbra amateur tradition, an even more male dominated one, the playing of the GPCo seems to be attracting a larger number of females.

related to *fado*: in fact the evening started with a medley of pieces by Carlos Paredes described by Marta Pereira da Costa as one of the most emblematic compositions for the GP. With great mastery of the instrument, Marta Pereira da Costa demonstrated that her *forte* is the soloist repertoire, which allowed for an original *fado* presentation format, one that gives at least equal agency to the instrumentalist and the singer in a genre where the poetic word is key. This might be directly linked to the novelty of having a woman playing the GP, or the reality of the couple's dynamic; nevertheless, it is a new concept that brings together the two great hopes for future GP development: solo work and *fado* accompaniment. Is the solo GP taking a piggyback-ride on *fado* due to a market constraint? Viewing herself primary as a GP player, Marta Pereira da Costa, is conscious that there are fewer working opportunities for a solo artist:

Eu acho que culturalmente estamos habituados a ouvir o fadista a cantar, e a guitarra eu acho que para já não tem ainda a posição onde se poderia estar, porque a guitarra para além de ser um instrumento para acompanhar fado, é um instrumento solista...e há muito repertório...e também os guitarristas hoje em dia também criam repertório. Eu acho que nós não fazemos muitos espectáculos instrumentais em Portugal, não só no fado, mas há sempre uma voz presente...acho que tem a ver com a tradição mesmo, mas se formos a outro país é normal, é normal haver espectáculos instrumentais e o público gosta de ouvir e não se faça por não ter voz, ou porque acha que é monótono [...] Por exemplo aqui [em Toronto] eu acho que fui muito bem recebida, muito bem recebida por tocar todas as peças instrumentais, acho que o público estava bastante atento, não fez falta nenhuma não ter trazido nenhum fadista comigo... (Marta Pereira da Costa interview March 15, 2013).

(I think that culturally we [the Portuguese] are accustomed to listen to the *fado* singer sing, and I believe the *guitarra* is not yet in the position that it could be; because the *guitarra* besides being an instrument for *fado* accompaniment is also a soloist instrument...and there is a lot of repertoire...and today's guitarists also create repertoire. I think we don't have a lot of instrumental concerts in Portugal, not only in *fado*, there is always the presence of a voice...I really think it has to do with the tradition, but if we go to another country, it is normal to have instrumental

concerts and the public likes to listen and do not find them boring [...] For example, here [Toronto] I think I was very well received playing all the instrumental pieces. I think the public was quite attentive, and no one missed anything because [that time] I didn't bring a *fado* singer with me...)

Although over the years many female *fado* singers have been depicted accompanying themselves or posing with a GP, the majority of these instances turn out to be the result of directed studio photo sessions for commercial purposes, exploiting the image of Severa and her alleged GP *cítara* playing, a practice that is still very much alive today. Nevertheless, there are cases of real performance of singers playing GP while they sing, although these are mostly men.²³⁷ One of the current female singers that has used the GP at least in one *fado* song is Raquel Tavares.²³⁸ Overshadowing the image of a woman playing a GP, the stigma of prostitution seems to have been somehow overcome and replaced by an idealized origin of the *fado* genre itself.

Conclusion

Judging by the higher percentage of players currently using GPCo, there is a clear tendency to adopt such a model of GP in the realm of *fado*. Among players, sound quality is the most cited reason for their choice and symbolic individuality seems not to be a concern. Players look for a well balanced, easy-to-play instrument, and are not too worried about whether it might symbolically represent Lisbon or Coimbra.

²³⁷ Examples: Carlos Ramos (1907-1969), D. Vicente da Câmara, Carlos Macedo, Gonçalo da Câmara, Ângelo Freire.

²³⁸ CD/DVD *Bairro*. 2008. Movie Play, MOV 30.606, bonus track #14 “*Ardinita*.” See also Chapter Six.

In the 1960s, *fado* GP players started to use the GPCo, at first mostly for aesthetical reasons (sound quality) and mechanical aspects (more space between frets), but after the revolution in 1974 (through a process of role modeling, peer pressure and fashionable tendency), the GPCo use became generalized. This practical shift began to be displayed and publicly revealed in the iconography relating to *fado*. The GP, either GPLx or GPCo, became the “Portuguese *fado* guitar” as in the subheading of the CD *Tempus* by Custódio Castelo.

In the 1980s the conditions were created for the emergence of the “contemporary” GP player in *fado* and a new aesthetic at all levels of performance, composition and choice of instrument. It is particularly interesting to look at how these new GP players present themselves in terms of what they wear, their playing posture, and how they behave while playing.

The trend of GPCo use in *fado* is a sign of the current period of the instrument’s development within the genre, which is characterized by new musical and visual aesthetics, and innovations in GP construction with a tendency for hybridization and experimentation. Nonetheless Coimbra aficionados are outraged and frustrated with what they see as the transference of their GPCo into *fado*. In fact, this cultural transmission is happening at different levels: practice, genre, and institution.

CHAPTER SIX: NEW AESTHETICS IN *FADO*'S PORTUGUESE GUITAR

In this chapter I begin by examining instances of revival that have contributed to the revitalization of both the GP and *fado*. In general terms, I understand revival as the return of a practice that existed in the past and was forgotten, which may include the process of approaching a practice or a stance in a creative new way.²³⁹ In this work I make reference to several examples of the return to forgotten practices related to the GP and *fado*. The spectrum in which this can be noticed is quite broad, including the instrument's construction and accessories used, playing/compositional attitude, and the performative presentation within the genre. Most of this happened after the "Carnation Revolution" in 1974. For an informed observer, instances of revival are relatively easy to spot, although often sporadic or merely circumstantial (for example, as previously mentioned, the use of a "capo" by GPCo player Ricardo Rocha).

Regarding the construction of the GP, in chapter two I mentioned some of the alterations that effectively contributed to the development of the instrument into a GPLx, which were carried out in the first decades of the twentieth century by Álvaro Merceano da Silveira among others. These included the revisited side slanting of the sixteenth-century citterns; and the arching of the fretboard plus the backwards angling of the neck, possibly two borrowed ideas from the violin family. Then, while working on the new conceptual GPCo, the two brothers Grácio opted for the old *cítara*'s pear-shaped body. Later, hybrids GPs started to be produced by borrowing elements from both of the two

²³⁹ For a broad theoretical discussion on revival see Livingston (1999).

previously established models. Already in the twenty-first century, Óscar Cardoso expanded the notion of the instrument and its sound, creating backless and dugout models. The change in the choice of the GP model in *fado* is just one aspect of a broader development in the genre which includes a new musical aesthetic, a “cleaner sound,” performance in large stages, innovative playing techniques, and new materials and shapes in the making of the *unhas* (finger picks).

One of the direct practical implications in the sound quality and playing technique of the GP is the ongoing labor on the *unhas* by altering their contour and using diverse new materials in search for the optimal thickness and flexibility. In the oral history of *fado* the practice of playing with *unhas* is normally first attributed to Jaime Santos, and the most mentioned case of their redesign is that of José Fontes Rocha, probably in the 1960s when he adopted the GPCo. Nevertheless, there are currently a number of different approaches to this important medium between the player and the instrument, which are undoubtedly connected with sound aesthetics.

The idea of “wearing” some sort of an apparatus to replace the use of the natural nails is mentioned in an anonymous GP *cítara* method from the nineteenth century (Anonymous 1875: 23) in the form of “*alfinetes*” (metal pins) and described as not easy for beginners, producing a “*aspero e desagradavel*” (rough and unpleasant) sound. Cabral describes the sound of master Artur Paredes as “*cheia*” (full) and “*cristalina*” (crystal clear) almost free of mechanical noises, a result of the study of technical aspects and characteristics of the *unhas*, in particular their shape, materials used and thickness (1999: 240). In the beginning, Artur Paredes used to perform with his natural nails (as did

“Armandinho” all his life) but later favoured artificial ones, made firstly from turtle shell and then from celluloid (1999: 240). Fontes Rocha was also very preoccupied with the clarity of sound produced on the GP; he reshaped the artificial nails in order to alter the angle of attack on strings (1999: 253). Some of the present top GP players use this type of approach, looking for the same sound qualities.²⁴⁰

In the beginning of the 1990s, singer Mísia appeared in the *fado* scene, presenting herself as the recreation of the original female *fadista*; carefully updating her image and promoting a cultivated persona, she announced in her music important changes within the genre. In her 1993 *Fado* (BMG/Ariola) Mísia included a chanson by Jacques Brel and "As Time Goes By" accompanied by GP; in 1995 she recorded *Tanto menos tanto mais* (BMG/Ariola) with poetry by Silvio Rodriguez (also with GP accompaniment) in an album that was awarded with the "Grand Prix du Disque de l'Académie Charles Cros," an achievement previously attained only by Amália Rodrigues with *Com Que Voz* in 1970. Eventually, diverse instrumentation became an option (Halpern 2004: 103): in 1998 Mísia released *Garras dos Sentidos* (Erato/ Warner Music Classic) combining accordion, violin and piano, and in 1999 in *Paixões Diagonais* (Erato/ Warner Music Classic) famous pianist Maria João Pires accompanied Mísia in a *fado*, revisiting a practice going back to the nineteenth century. It is not surprising that in 2003 the internationally celebrated *fado* singer decided to sing to the music of Carlos Paredes, stretching all preconceived ideas about the genre, including those of the great GPCo master.²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ See also p. 111.

²⁴¹ CD *Canto*. Warner Music Jazz France 2564-60850-2.

The 1990s also saw new talent in GP playing. Obviously a transplant from the universe of Pop-Rock, Custódio Castelo made himself visible and audible as the GP player of the future, playing a backless GPCo, with a musical and body language far from the traditional, exuding an undeniable performative virtuosity.²⁴² At a time that *fado* was starting to be presented on the big World Music stage with considerable gear, the GP player began displaying wider gestures and heartfelt facial expressions, contrasting with the customary impersonal stiffness of the past. Castelo's exuberance is not limited to live presentations, but is also embedded in his compositions and arrangements, and became embodied over the years in his original backless GPCo, literally covered on the inside with autographs and dedications.

Other aspects of the *Novo Fado* include: unplugged performance as a frequent practice by singer Mariza;²⁴³ sitting while singing as has been done many times by Camané;²⁴⁴ the use of second GP and/or an extra *viola* (classical guitar) as seen accompanying Carlos do Carmo;²⁴⁵ and employing the piano as a instrument of *fado* as

²⁴² Custódio Castelo at the Zappa Club, Telaviv, November 2010. Accessed July 28, 2013.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=efd01qzKreM>.

²⁴³ DVD *Live in London*. 2004. BBC/World Connection. Recorded at the Union Chapel, London on March 22, 2003.

At the North Sea Jazz 2009, Rotterdam, Holland on July 12, 2009. Accessed July 26, 2013.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kZ49q32VnzQ>

At the *Sava Centar*, Belgrade, Serbia on February 11, 2011. Accessed July 26, 2013.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ieZ_ittBW0

²⁴⁴ At the Coliseu, Lisbon on May 16, 2008: Accessed July 26, 2013.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iSpBB19zESA>; and with Ana Moura at the Gala SPA/RTP, CCB, Lisbon on February 21, 2011: Accessed July 26, 2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G7tyvH7f614>

²⁴⁵ DVD *Carlos do Carmo Ao Vivo, Coliseu dos Recreios de Lisboa*. 2004 Universal Music Portugal 9866303.

has been quite common in the works of several singers (and recently widely explored on the CD *Fado & Piano* by Maria Ana Bobone).²⁴⁶

An interesting facet of the contemporary rendition of *fado* songs, is the singer being accompanied solely by the GP, a practice going back to the early days of the genre in which the instrument is either played by the singer or by a GP player without any other musical support.²⁴⁷ In the performance of instrumental music for the GP in the *fado* context, players have introduced into their repertoires pieces from the Coimbra tradition or compositions by Carlos Paredes, Pedro Caldeira Cabral and others.²⁴⁸ I interpret this practice as a sign of appreciation for the GPCo masters, which resulted in a progressive influence of the Coimbra sound in Lisbon *fado*. Overall the GPCo, serving erudite/experimental composers, is widely considered to be acoustically superior. The performance of such repertoire by a *fado* musician raises his/her status in music as an artist not merely capable of playing and improvising in *fado* accompaniment or Lisbon style instrumentals. This development could be considered yet another instance of going back to an old practice among the GP players of the late nineteenth century that divided their attention between *fado* and an erudite repertoire.

Curiously, since about 2010 a reduced number of young GP players working in *fado*, mostly in traditional settings (*casas de fado*, small stage performances), emerged playing the GPLx. An even smaller group of players in isolated cases went from using the

²⁴⁶ CD *Fado & Piano*. 2012. K Branca Music EUCD2423 (includes compositions by Pedro Caldeira Cabral).

²⁴⁷ See the Appendix C for specific examples. See also Chapter Five.

²⁴⁸ See the Appendix C for specific examples. See also Chapter Five.

GPCo to prefer the GPLx, supported by the realization that the sound of the GPLx is the “appropriate” one for *fado*, at least in the traditional form and conservative context.

Looking at the Portuguese guitar playing

Nowadays, GP playing in *fado* occurs at different degrees of quality and professionalism. Amateur or semi-professional practice is not by any means synonymous with low quality. From the small restaurants and *tascas*,²⁴⁹ neighbourhood clubs and associations, to the more touristy *casas de fado* (*fado* houses) and festival/concert hall stage performances, GP players of all ages and levels of proficiency maintain a practice dating back to the mid-nineteenth century, one that has been renewed and recreated over the years and which once again seems to have an ensured future thanks to a dedicated group of performers and luthiers.

This section introduces the current top GP players in *fado*. All of them started their careers as GP players after 1974 and most of them have publicly recognized Carlos Paredes’ influence.²⁵⁰ Accordingly, they perceive the GP as having a potential parallel life as a concert instrument apart from its role in *fado*. Some of these sought-after GP players have in fact pursued mixed careers, producing recordings as solo artists that in several cases contain references not only to Carlos Paredes, but also to Pedro Caldeira

²⁴⁹ Small neighbourhood establishments serving some food, but mostly alcoholic beverages. For a detailed account of *fado* performance in *tascas* see Gray (2013: 29, 31, 169-173).

²⁵⁰ Mário Pacheco (Félix 2011: 133); Ricardo Rocha (*Revista Expresso* May 3, 2003: 20); Ricardo Parreira Press release. Accessed July 13, 2012. <http://www.hmmusica.com/>

Cabral and José Fontes Rocha.²⁵¹ The inspiring legacy of these great masters is commonly cited as the influential basis of the “contemporary” GP player.

Mário Pacheco started to play GP after 1980 (Cabral 1999: 279). In his *Clube de Fado* website, the player/composer/entrepreneur reveals his main influences:

He studies the best guitar players with dedication: “Armandinho,” Artur Paredes, Carlos Paredes, Pedro Caldeira Cabral, and Fontes Rocha. [...] In this show [in June 2005 at the National Palace of Queluz], Mário Pacheco recalls his “masters:” Carlos Paredes and José Fontes Rocha, composing two instrumental pieces in their tribute²⁵²

In 2003, Custódio Castelo recorded “*Homenagem a Paredes*,” an instrumental piece in tribute to Carlos Paredes, who passed away the following year: “The moment I knew that the master was ill, I dedicated to him my pain.”²⁵³ In an interview published in *Revista Expresso*, Ricardo Rocha reaffirmed the importance of the great master of the GPCo:

*Comecei a tocar Carlos Paredes com cerca de doze anos. Não tocar Paredes é como não conhecer o percurso da guitarra, ou pelo menos o percurso determinante que esta teve a partir do momento em que ele surge. Só comecei a tocar Pedro Caldeira Cabral depois dos vinte. Mas são as duas únicas figuras que existem, no sentido em que impulsionaram e iniciaram um percurso solístico para a guitarra. (May 3, 2003: 20). (I started to play Carlos Paredes at around twelve years of age. To not play Paredes is like not knowing the path of the *guitarra*, or at least the determinant path that it has had since the moment of his appearance. I only started to play Pedro Caldeira Cabral after my twenties. But they are the only two existing figures, in the sense that they impelled and initiated a solistic path for the *guitarra*.)*

²⁵¹ Mario Pacheco CD/ DVD *A Música e a Guitarra*. 2006. World Connection WC 43063.

Ricardo Parreira CD *Nas veias de uma guitarra*. 2006. HM Musica, Lda. HM 002cd.

Ricardo Rocha CD *Voluptuária*. 2003. Vachier & Associados, Lda. V&A200304.

Double CD *Luminismo*. 2009. Mbari Musica, Lda. Mbari 08.

²⁵² Accessed July 1, 2012. http://www.clube-de-fado.com/eng/mario_pacheco.html

²⁵³ Castelo’s debut solo CD *Tempus* was first released in 2003 in the Benelux countries, but only made available in Portugal in 2007. Accessed July 14, 2012.

<http://www.prweb.com/releases/2011/02/prweb5059064.htm>

In his debut solo album Ricardo Parreira recorded five compositions by Carlos Paredes, who is described in the liner notes as “Ricardo’s favourite Portuguese guitar composer...”²⁵⁴ In a press release other names are added to the list of his influences “split between Lisbon's greatest *guitarra* players, from Armandinho to José Nunes via Francisco Carvalhinho and Jaime Santos, and, in a more universal genre, Artur and Carlos Paredes, Pedro Caldeira Cabral and, more recently, Ricardo Rocha.”²⁵⁵

Although there are many professional and amateur *fado* GP players who follow mostly the traditional ways, either using the GPLx or GPCo, the top performers are those who have attained the status of great instrumentalists, becoming somewhat less dependent on the singers and frequently imposing a sound intrinsically linked to the *fadista*'s (*fado* singer) success. Among them are: Custódio Castelo (GP player) – Cristina Branco, Ana Moura (singers); José Manuel Neto (GP player) – Camané (singer); Mário Pacheco (GP player) – Mariza (singer); Ângelo Freire (GP player) – Mariza (singer). They all play the GPCo in the higher pitched Lisbon tuning.

Since the time *fado* started to be showcased and celebrated in the World Music circuit in the late 1990s, some GP players exhibited an assumed leading role in the making of the so-called *Novo Fado*, performing the typical *guitarradas* with a renovated aesthetic concept that included not only arrangements, giving solo opportunities to the other instruments (classical guitar, bass), but also delivering segments inspired by pieces belonging to the realm of the erudite GP. This was for instance the case of Luís Guerreiro, who, although playing a backless GPLx, freely explored the piece “*Balada da*

²⁵⁴ CD *Nas veias de uma guitarra*. 2006. HM Musica, Lda. HM 002cd.

²⁵⁵ Accessed July 13, 2012. <http://www.hmmusica.com/>

Oliveira” by Pedro Caldeira Cabral when touring with Mariza in 2007 at the Leverkusener Jazztage, Germany.²⁵⁶ On his first tour in 2003 with Mariza at London’s Union Chapel, he had played “*Mozart*,” an emblematic piece recorded earlier by Alcino Frazão in 1988, also known as “*Valsa Chilena*.”²⁵⁷ The same composition was performed during the concert also with Mariza at La Festa des Suds, Marseille, France 2003,²⁵⁸ and later in 2009, Luís Guerreiro chose “*Verdes Anos*” by Carlos Paredes as the instrumental in a concert with singer Mafalda Arnauth at De Maaspoort Theatre in Venlo, Holland.²⁵⁹

This new agency of the GP player as a creative force within a movement intended to revitalize *fado* by proposing an updated vision of the genre both musically and aesthetically, is very much present in the works by Custódio Castelo, who is deeply influenced by the great master Carlos Paredes.

The “contemporary” GP player sees himself/herself as an active participant in the *Novo Fado* industry, assuming a variety of roles besides accompanist of singers. In a 2009 interview Custódio Castelo explained:²⁶⁰

*O que tinha gravado nos discos dos outros, como acompanhador, não era suficiente como testemunho do seu trabalho? É como solista que se quer afirmar?
Sou compositor, produtor discográfico e músico. Como músico a minha especialidade é acompanhamento.*

²⁵⁶ Accessed Aug 1, 2013. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pd0xhEd9Kns&feature=related>

²⁵⁷ Playing a GPLx: Accessed Aug 1, 2013. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZTDGYyjuB3M>

²⁵⁸ Playing a GPCo: Accessed Aug 1, 2013. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WmnTC_1Ayb0

²⁵⁹ Playing a backless GPLx: Accessed Aug 1, 2013. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3McRF8_SzzM

²⁶⁰ Accessed July 14, 2012.

<http://semanal.omirante.pt/index.asp?idEdicao=385&id=52514&idSeccao=5789&Action=noticia>

Voltando à questão inicial. O Custódio Castelo pode sentir-se melhor como acompanhador mas a sua guitarra não se contenta com um lugar secundário.

A certa altura a guitarra portuguesa foi conotada exclusivamente com o fado. A guitarra servia o fado. Onde havia guitarra portuguesa havia fado. Os guitarristas estavam a servir de suporte, nem tinham direito a ter o seu nome divulgado.

(What you had recorded in the recordings of others, as an accompanist, was it not sufficient as proof of your work? Is it as a soloist that you want to affirm yourself?

I'm a composer, record producer and musician. As a musician my area of expertise is the accompaniment

Going back to the initial question. You [Custódio Castelo] might feel better as an accompanist but your *guitarra* is not content with a secondary role.

At a certain point the Portuguese *guitarra* was associated exclusively with the *fado*. The *guitarra* served *fado*. Where there was a Portuguese *guitarra* there was *fado*. The *guitarra* players served as support, they did not even have the right to have their names published.)

The GPCo became the chosen instrument model for anyone wishing to be considered a “personality” in the *fado* scene. This transformation in the “traditional” culture of *fado*, easy to detect, is in my view only possible because Portugal returned to a democracy in 1974. This political process started to bear fruit and soon produced a new type of GP player with a higher education, not necessarily in music, focused both on *fado* and solo performance, and often also a composer.

After decades of a constrained existence in *fado*, the “contemporary” GP player emerged, conscious of the solo possibilities of the instrument, well beyond the genre that helped its survival throughout the crucial nineteenth century.²⁶¹ Searching for a more

²⁶¹ The great family of European citterns have evolved since the Renaissance into regional varieties adopting different names according to the languages of those areas; *Zither*, *Zithern*, *Sitra* and *Zitharen* (Germany, Sweden and Low Countries), *Cistre* (France), *Cittern* (British Isles), *Cetra*, *Citra* or *Cetera* (Italy and Corsica), and *Citra* or *Cítara* (Portugal and Spain) (Cabral 2006b). Most of these instruments and

sophisticated musical practice, these GP players explore other avenues, especially in composition and arrangement; in the process they reorient the accompaniment of *fado*.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the GP was used in *fado* either doubling the sung melody or playing arpeggios with the accompaniment of the *viola* (classical guitar) rhythmic bass lines and harmonic changes. Already in the “modern” period around the 1930s, “Armandinho” introduced song structure and formulaic counter-melodies plus the typical ending: dominant (V)/tonic (I) (Castelo-Branco 2010: 452). *Fado* songs began to be performed following a specific sequence of instrumental and sung segments. This pattern became the norm of what is known as *fado castiço* (“authentic” *fado*), *fado fado* (“true” *fado*), or *fado tradicional* (“traditional” *fado*), until the 1970s when José Fontes Rocha started to use thematic instrumental introductions somewhat independently from the sung melodies. This practice was later generalized in the works of Carlos Gonçalves and António Chainho and continued with Custódio Castelo and Ricardo Rocha (2010: 598). The “contemporary” GP player assumes a more prominent role by supplying a continuous musical line parallel to the voice performed in a virtuoso style (2010: 452), thus not so dependent on instrumental numbers to demonstrate his/her technical/improvisational abilities.

their culture nearly disappeared during the nineteenth century, although movements of revival and safeguarding in the twentieth century: in the 1960s within the context of Celtic music (British Isles), and in the late 1970s in Corsica, have assured the survival of two regional citterns in Europe, besides the GP (Cabral 1999: 99-100).

In England, after the bourgeois English *guitar* had lost its popularity (c. 1820), Portuguese *guitarras* were being imported by Alban Voigt & Company who also produced a method for the instrument by Havelock Mason sometime between 1892 and 1895 using the “open tuning.” Accessed August 1, 2013.

http://www.fernandezmusic.com/Andrade_Guitarra.html See also pp. 18, 54-55 n. 100.

It is interesting to notice that according to Waldzither expert, Martina Rosenberger, the *Portugiesische Gitarre* was a popular instrument in Germany until the First World War. It was played in the “open tuning” and with accessories sold in Saxony and at least one method published by Wobersin (c. 1912). Accessed November 9, 2012. <http://www.mail-archive.com/cittern%40cs.dartmouth.edu/msg00219.html>

This new style of playing in *fado* is characterized by the use of a variety of dissonant chords attesting to a more educated approach to music making. The use of harmonic notes is also very representative of the current aesthetic. The innovations in GP playing in the realm of *fado* are nevertheless exercised generally within a very conventional frame, perpetuating the structure of the songs that has identified the genre so well since “Armandinho” (1891-1946). Regarding the technique, full or partial chords played simultaneously by the thumb and index finger in opposing directions seem to have replaced the long downward thumb strokes of the past. Tremolo is rarely performed, although players still use citations from the anonymous and “traditional” *fados* and their signature arpeggios.²⁶² Current professional *fado* GPCo player, Eurico Machado recognizes that past techniques have been abandoned, all in the name of a new aesthetic in the performance of *fado*:

[...] *mas há muito mais coisas que se perderam, antigas, e eu ainda vou querer recuperar isso [Acha que isso está a ser pouco usado agora?] Está ... está por causa da tal estética que as pessoas querem, querem agora ... com mais silêncios, e mais melódico, deixar a viola ser sempre a harmonia e a guitarra ser só uma resposta mais melódica ... até chega a haver um certo preconceito de fazer esses trinados, por que dizem que é abandonado ... existe até muito preconceito da malta nova em utilizar isso ... da parte de alguns músicos e dalguns cantores [...]* (Machado interview December 14, 2012).

[Besides the arpeggios] there are many more things that have been lost, old ways, and I still want to recover them [Do you think they are not being used much these days?] Yes (...) and that is because of the aesthetic that people wanted now (...) with more silences, and more melodic, to let the *viola* [classical guitar] be always the harmony and the *guitarra* be solely a more melodic response (...) there is even some prejudice against the playing of *trinados* (tremolos), because they say it is mandolin like (...) there is quite a bit of prejudice among the younger people against its use (...) from some musicians and some singers [...]

²⁶² See the Appendix D for some examples of arpeggios.

The power of technology

Although unplugged performance of *fado* still persists in small venues such as *casas de fado* (*fado* houses) restaurants, associations, clubs or *tascas*, most of today's mainstream *fado* is presented on stages for large audiences through a P. A. system, sometimes outdoors. Since the advent of the microphone, *fado* has experienced challenges that have contributed to the “modernization” of its sound both in recorded and live performance.²⁶³

In the second quarter of the twentieth century, radio played a massive role in the popularization of both *fado* and the GP; the first broadcasts of *fado* took place between 1925 and 1935 through amateur radio stations. With the creation of a national entity, the *Emissora Nacional* (National Broadcaster) in 1935, regular live programs were produced both in studio and from *casas de fado* (*fado* houses) (*Casa do Fado* 1998: 26; Nery 2004: 204-207). GP radio diffusion was not limited to the performance of *fado* but also dedicated special attention to instrumental music for the instrument with the participation of the best *guitarristas* of the time, including Artur Paredes in his unique Coimbra style (Cabral 1999: 239). One of the first *fado* GP players to be featured on the radio was José Nunes, and later, in 1956, he was a pioneer on TV (Cabral 1999: 247-248). More recent technologies have enabled the exploration of certain acoustical characteristics through electronic manipulation, which in turn have inspired the search for new elements involved in the playing technique. In the audio context many factors contribute to the sound of a particular GP, either being played in studio, through a P.A. system, or simply

²⁶³ In 1925, the American Western Electric Company developed the moving coil microphone recording system (Vernon 1998: 62). In 1926, “Armandinho” recorded with that new technology (Cabral 1999: 237)

unplugged. The *unhas* are one of these prominent factors, capable of changing the character of a GP solely on the basis of the materials used in making them and their specific design (contour). In recordings of GPLx masters dating back to the 1950s one can hear a great amount of mechanical “noises” that are linked to the use of *unhas* of substantial size and squarish profile. These were traditionally fashioned out of turtle shell (sometimes from a leg scale). This material is rarely used nowadays, been replaced by all kinds of plastics which produce a much clearer sound.

The availability of new sound transducing technology contributed as well to the character of the amplified GP. First used in the late 1980s with disastrous results, the piezoelectric type pickups, designed for acoustic guitars, were installed under the bridge of the GP, given the player independence of movement although seriously compromising the sound of the instrument. It took some time for technicians to figure out a way of harnessing the equation. Later, other electronic gadgets started to be applied to the GP, but not permanently. A popular one, still used today, is the minute omnidirectional type condenser microphone, which is mounted on the instrument’s top in a studied location for maximum frequencial balance. With the advent of the backless *guitarra* already in the twenty-first century, other types of condenser microphones began to be introduced through the large opening at the back and placed inside the instrument in hope of capturing its full resonance. By the first decade of the new millennium, the attention turned towards a larger supercardioid condenser microphone fixed on a gooseneck contraption that clips to one side of the GP, and still providing in the player a sense of freedom. More recently, player José Manuel Neto appeared with a GPCo (made by Óscar

Cardoso) with an electromagnetic type pickup mounted across the sound hole to ensure a stronger signal in concert situations (where the GP has to compete with a larger number of instruments, including a drum set).

Technology might have been the direct reason why the stage location of the GP player has occasionally changed in the past two decades. Nonetheless, the traditional arrangement of the musicians in a *fado* concert was, and in many cases still is, a fixed line up starting with the GP player on stage right, followed by the *viola* (classical guitar) player towards the centre, and the acoustic bass guitar or double bass on stage left. Currently there is some flexibility regarding the positioning of the different players, especially when other non-traditional instruments are involved.²⁶⁴

Today's *fado* sound on a stage is conditioned by a complex control system of volume, frequencies and electronic effects dependent on the skill of a team of sound engineers and technicians. Electronic manipulation is currently so crucial that touring *fado* artists usually travel with sound engineers as part of their teams. It is in this context that the GPCo also reveals a better adaptability, with its broader frequency spectrum, its fuller harmonic balance, and its less resonant compressed sound. Overall on stage, the GPCo might prove to be easier to tame than the GPLx.

²⁶⁴ Examples are: GP, double bass, and *viola* at a Camané concert at the Coliseu, Lisbon's on May 16, 2008. Accessed July 26, 2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jSpBB19zESA>; double bass, GP, and *viola* at a Camané with Ana Moura concert the Gala SPA/RTP, CCB, Lisbon on February 21, 2011. Accessed July 26, 2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G7tyvH7f6l4>; acoustic bass, *viola*, GP, accordion, and mandolin at a Mafalda Arnauth concert in Mogadouro, Portugal on August 24, 2011. Accessed July 26, 2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=42yR0jytQEU>

Conclusion

Since the advent of the New *Fado* in the late 1990s, a new musical aesthetic has emerged regarding the performance of GP in *fado*. Forgotten practices such as the duo singer and GP player have been explored, dissonant chording and counter-melodies redefined, introductions and solo interventions extended and innovated, and extreme virtuosity cultivated. The “contemporary” approach also includes a conscious moving away from traditional arpeggios and tremolo techniques. Technology has been an important agent of sound metamorphosis both in the recording and stage presentation of *fado*, which led to the search for the perfect pair of *unhas* as a building block in the evolution of *fado* sound character. Aesthetically, the “contemporary” GP *fado* player favours a “cleaner,” “pure” and “focused” sound.²⁶⁵ The *unhas* are an ever-present concern for the player, who is always in the pursuit of the ultimate combination of material, shape, thickness and flexibility. In general, since the introduction of plastic type materials, the *unhas* became thinner and more flexible.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁵ See also p. 111.

²⁶⁶ One of the popular materials now in use among *fado* professionals is a plastic polymer called Polypropylene (PP) found in objects with the recycling code 5 or available in sheets. The preferred thicknesses are: “05” to play GPCo and “06” using GPLx (Machado interview December 14, 2012).

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

My thesis has argued that the current instrument called Portuguese guitar is not simply a variation or adaptation of the eighteenth century English *guitar* introduced in Portugal in the 1760s, as it is often presented. Instead, it evolved from a cittern-type instrument existing in Portugal since the sixteenth century. This direct ancestor of the GP, named *cítara*, went through various stages of evolution until it achieved the characteristics present today. In the process it developed into several regional models, which were used for diverse musical repertoires. When *fado* emerged as a song genre in Lisbon in the 1800s, the GP used in its accompaniment belonged to a specific phase of development that I call GP *cítara*, which used friction pegs inserted from the back onto a flat head for tuning, and a pear-shaped body like its ancestor. At this stage the instrument already had twelve strings arranged in six double courses. There followed a period of transformation in which the peg-head was sometimes replaced with the keyed tuning mechanism used in the English *guitar*. The shape of its body also started to change, becoming rounder towards the end of the nineteenth century, at least in Lisbon. At the same time a new tuning mechanism was developed in Portugal and rapidly became the norm. Known as the *leque* (fan), it has been used in GPs since around 1870 in combination with decorative sculpted heads inspired by classical motives (flowers, leaves, animal or human heads, and scroll). The scroll became the most characteristic shape on the GP of the Lisbon model associated with *fado*. By the end of the nineteenth century, professional musicians from Lisbon were using a very specific model of GP,

both in *fado* and solo repertoire. This early Lisbon GP with its rounder body, short neck, *leque* and scroll, is the form that evolved into the instrument subsequently adopted by professional musicians totally dedicated to *fado*. This “modern” GP, which I abbreviate as GPLx, appeared around 1920, presenting a substantial increase in body size compared to its predecessor. The new instrument continued to develop, acquiring a design never seen before in GPs, in particular at the base of the neck where the sides are no longer parallel, but slanted. The fretboard became highly arched, as did both the top and the back plates, and the frets got wider and higher, made of tougher metal.

Around 1940, another “modern” type of GP that I refer to as GPCo was born, distinct in several aspects from the GPLx, and serving a diverse musical repertoire practiced by amateurs and university students of Coimbra. With a more elongated body shape, a longer neck, a lower tuning pitch, and a simpler head carving, the GPCo incorporated many improvements developed for the GPLx in its construction. After that time, these two “modern” models of the GP grew apart as two separate concepts not only in visual aesthetics but also, and most importantly, in acoustical and musical aspects.

This situation started to change with the construction of hybrid forms of GPs, in the late 1960s, which also saw the first incursions of the GPCo into *fado*. Due to a certain monolithic tradition within the genre and its stigmatization at the time of the 1974 “Carnation Revolution,” the creative move of using the GPCo in *fado* had a chance to really take root only in the late 1980s. Since then it has been the paradigm for the professional GP player in *fado* in the current period. Many of the new players and singers came to *fado* from other musical experiences such as pop, rock and jazz, unlike previous

generations, which learned directly from *fado* sources. This resulted in a broader musical perspective that goes beyond tradition, challenging it, changing it, recreating it, and pushing its boundaries in the framework of an intangible heritage.

After identifying and analyzing the current preference of the GPCo among GP players working in *fado*, I argue that at the end of the twentieth century the practice of the GP in the *fado* genre entered a new period of development which I label “contemporary,” revealing a set of reorientations in musical aesthetics and choice of instrument model. This period has also seen the production of a variety of experimental models of GP and a corpus of new compositions for the instrument. In terms of its iconographic value, the “contemporary” period has led to an indiscriminate use of images of both main models of GP (the GPLx and the GPCo), in the representation of the *fado* genre at all levels of practice from amateur to professional. The two “modern” models of GP are still the most common ones used in *fado*, although since the second half of the 1960s (Cabral 1999: 211-212, 220) hybrid versions have been built, and their use has not been limited to *fado*. Hybrid GPs have continued to be made, combining different string lengths with bodies of the Lisbon or Coimbra contours, and in some cases displaying the typical head carvings in an interchangeable manner. The current tendency seems to be the use of an in-between string length of 467 mm on both models (Félix 2011:13).

Around 2004, experimental models which I consider to be of a “contemporary” conceptual nature, started to emerge from master Óscar Cardoso’s workshop for a new strain of *fado* players eager to be at the forefront of revitalization within the genre, which in the meantime had matured into what has been called the *Novo Fado*. The most

stunning feature in some of these “contemporary” models of GP is that they are backless. This large opening on the back plate, seriously alters the acoustic behaviour of the instrument, creating “a new concept of sound” in the maker’s words and producing a *guitarra* that musician/composer Mário Pacheco describes as “*guitarra-piano*” (piano-*guitarra*) based on the “clear” or “clean” quality of its sound.²⁶⁷

Once part of *fado*, the GP became so indispensable that its sound, or even just its image, is easily confused with the genre itself. This, in many cases, reflects an erroneous assumption. I suggest that to talk about *fado* without the presence of the GP is currently only possible in the extraordinary circumstance of the instrument’s unavailability, and rarely in the professional milieu. In contrast, not everything played on a GP is *fado*. Seemingly defying these antagonistic principles are the musical projects that appear to be inspired by, but fall short of, being *fado* due to aesthetic reasoning and a pinch of stigmatization within Portuguese society. *Fado* is no longer closely associated with prostitution and ruffians, but there is still a residue of marginality and dubious conduct among sectors of its community.

At present, the public seems either to accept both models of GP as “the” instrument of *fado*, or does not distinguish between the two. For some, the difference between GPLx and GPCo is a “question of particulars” only to be noticed and acknowledged by specialists.²⁶⁸ General ignorance about the GP is still the norm; it is

²⁶⁷ Pacheco interview in CD/ DVD *A Música e a Guitarra*. 2006. World Connection WC 43063.

²⁶⁸ “*Uma forma mágica e cantante de dizer Portugal*” by José Jorge Letria in *Fado do Público*. 2004. CD Collection EMI Valentim de Carvalho/ Público/ Corda Seca/ Casa do Fado e da Guitarra Portuguesa. Vol. 3.

also common for people to not know what a GP is (nor what a *viola* [classical guitar] is); this happens also in the media, and a similar misunderstanding applies to *fado* itself.²⁶⁹

Portuguese and international markets currently sustain a sizeable industry of *fado* including the indispensable GP player, normally sporting a GPCo. Well traveled musicians on tour year-round frequently make use of new GP concepts by Óscar Cardoso, assuming a link to the old player/maker collaboration and the endless search for a new sound. The major market for the GP is still the *fado* circuit and that could be the reason top players with recordings of solo works continue to be involved in *fado*, following somewhat parallel careers in order to survive as musicians.²⁷⁰ After a period of intense years, top GP players were able to free themselves from the routine resident work at *casas de fado* and are now engaged mostly in stage concerts, touring Portugal and the world, accompanying successful *fado* singers. This does not mean that they do not play sporadically at *casas de fado*, restaurants, clubs or *tascas*, which they do.²⁷¹

From the archetypal tavern and brothel to the aristocratic salons and the world's concert halls, the GP has been able to affirm itself as a unique instrument serving a musical genre often described as a national song or even “the soul of Portugal.” *Fado* is currently the most viable context for further organological developments of the GP and definitely the only one providing sustainable professional careers among both makers and players.

²⁶⁹ Songs belonging to other genres such as *marchas* or folk tunes are often designated as *fado*.

²⁷⁰ Examples include Custódio Castelo, Ricardo Rocha, Ricardo Parreira, and Miguel Amaral.

²⁷¹ As an exception, Custódio Castelo was able to bypass the *casas de fado* in the early years of his career.

APPENDIX A: QUOTATIONS

Chapter two (Fernando Silva about the backless GP):

Agora há uma nova polémica em relação às guitarras, que são as sem fundo. Acho que as guitarras sem fundo não passa de uma simples brincadeira do construtor porque essa tecnica de construir não vai levar a guitarra portuguesa a lado nenhum e já ouvi pessoas que defendem o fado como era cantado e tocado a elogiar esse tipo de guitarras. Apoiam esta evolução das guitarras, se considerar-mos evolução e criticam as novas formas de acompanhamento de fado, o que não percebo.

*Acho as guitarras sem fundo um pouco pesadas e com falta de graves como era de esperar pelo menos as que eu experimentei, para quem toca em palcos com amplificação irá ter problemas com a montagem dos pick-ups, porque se vê tudo por traz em relação aos fios. Não quer dizer que não possa comprar um dia uma guitarra sem fundo, não digo que não.*²⁷²

(Now there is a new polemic regarding the *guitarras*, those that are backless. I think that the backless *guitarras* are just a simple maker's game because that technique of building is not going to take the Portuguese *guitarra* anywhere and I have already heard people that defend the *fado* the way it used to be sung and played stand up for this type of *guitarras*. They support this evolution of the *guitarras*, if we consider it as an evolution and they criticize the new ways of *fado* accompaniment, which I can not understand.

I find the backless *guitarras* a bit heavy and lacking bass as one might expect at least the ones I tried, for someone that plays on stage with amplification there will be problems with the installation of pickups, because one can see everything from behind in terms of the wiring. This does not mean that I will not buy a backless *guitarra* one day, I do not say no.)

²⁷² Published by Fernando Silva August 25, 2007. Accessed November 1, 2012.
<http://fernandosilvablogspotcom.blogspot.ca/2007/08/guitarra-portuguesa.html>

Chapter five (comments mentioning strident)

*Tocar-se com uma guitarra de Coimbra faz com que o som seja mais consistente e harmonioso , não ficando tão estridente [...]*²⁷³
(Playing with a Coimbra *guitarra* produces a more consistent and harmonious sound, not being so strident [...])

*A de Lisboa dá um som mais agudo e estridente, enquanto a de Coimbra dá um som mais grave e, na minha opinião, um som que preenche mais, que é mais cheio (por ser mais grave).*²⁷⁴
(The Lisbon one [GPLx] gives a higher pitched and strident sound, while the Coimbra one [GPCo] gives a lower pitched sound and, in my opinion, a sound that fills in more, that is fuller (because it is lower).)

*Eu reconheço as diferenças na construção de ambos os instrumentos. E não só pelo aspecto, mas também pelo som mais melancólico e triste, menos estridente portanto, prefiro a guitarra de Coimbra (não deixando de dar o devido valor à guitarra de Lisboa!)*²⁷⁵
(I recognize the differences in construction of both instruments [GPCo and GPLx]. And it is not only in the visual aspect, but also in the sound, which is more melancholic and sad, less strident, so I prefer the Coimbra *guitarra* (not without giving the due value to the Lisbon *guitarra*! [GPLx])

*O meu 1º passo vai ser adquirir uma guitarra portuguesa. Em princípio vou optar pela de Coimbra. Pelo simples facto de o som me parecer mais encorpado e eu gostar de música menos estridente ou com mais graves.*²⁷⁶
(My first step will be to purchase a Portuguese *guitarra*. In principle I will be opting for a Coimbra model [GPCo]. For the simple fact that the sound seems to me to have more body and because I like music that is less strident or with less bass.)

²⁷³ Published by Fernando Silva August 25, 2007. Accessed May 7, 2012.

<http://www.fernandosilvablogspotcom.blogspot.ca/2007/08/guitarra-portuguesa.html>

²⁷⁴ Published by maia June 5, 2008. Accessed October 31, 2012.

http://www.guitarraportuguesa.org/index.php?option=com_fireboard&Itemid=149&func=view&id=108&catid=11

²⁷⁵ Published by RuiS April 7, 2009. Accessed October 31, 2012.

http://www.guitarraportuguesa.org/index.php?option=com_fireboard&Itemid=149&func=view&id=108&catid=11

²⁷⁶ Published by Lágrima December 18, 2009. Accessed October 31, 2012.

http://www.guitarraportuguesa.org/index.php?option=com_fireboard&Itemid=149&func=view&id=445&catid=11

*Pessoalmente não gosto muito do som das Guitarras de Lisboa, acho-o algo estridente...mas o de Coimbra, quando afinado correctamente parece-me algo “morto.”*²⁷⁷

(Personally I do not like very much the sound of the Lisbon *guitarras* [GPLx], I find it somewhat strident...but the one from Coimbra, when tuned correctly seems to me somewhat “dead.”)

Chapter five (about changes in playing):

[...] é que existe uma grande polémica em relação aos dois tipos de guitarra.

*Hoje o fado toca-se de maneira diferente, claro que se perdeu um pouco a forma como os antigos tocavam os fraziados [sic] antigos [sic] tudo isso pertence [sic] a uma geração de guitarristas e a uma escola, que se perdeu um pouco. Há muito poucos guitarristas a tocar á moda antiga que éra [sic] e é bonito, talvez seja mais difícil de executar [sic] mas também pouco gente [sic] há para ensinar como se tocava nesse tempo. Acho que para tal efeito os violas também [sic] teriam que tocar á moda antiga, o que não tocam [sic] tirando alguns casos. Até mesmo os fadistas estão a perder um pouco a forma antiga de se cantar o fado, possivelmente faz parte de uma evolução que tem acontecido nos últimos anos.*²⁷⁸ (Fernando Silva’s blog August 25, 2007)

([...] there is a big polemic regarding the two types of *guitarra*.

Today the *fado* is played in a different way, it is clear that the way in which the old [players] used to play the old phrasings has been lost a bit, all of that belongs to a generation of *guitarristas* and to a school, that is a bit gone. There are very few *guitaristas* playing in the old fashion that was and is beautiful, it might be more difficult to perform but there are also fewer people to teach how it used to be played at that time. I think that for that effect the *viola* players would have also to play in the old way, which they do not except in a few cases. Even the *fado* singers are losing a bit the old way of singing the *fado*, it is possibly part of an evolution that has been happening in recent years.)

²⁷⁷ Published by Thyrs February 7, 2011. Accessed October 31, 2012.

http://www.guitarraportuguesa.org/index.php?option=com_fireboard&Itemid=149&func=view&id=874&catid=12#874

²⁷⁸ Accessed May 7, 2012.

<http://www.fernandosilvablogspot.com.blogspot.ca/2007/08/guitarra-portuguesa.html>

*Devido a evolução dos guitarristas o fado tem tendência a se desvirtuar-se e caminhar novos rumos e bonito mas não sabemos onde vai parar. Os guitarrista [sic] ainda não estão preparados para fazer desafios com outros instrumentistas de outras áreas assim como os fadistas será que devemos parar?*²⁷⁹ (Fernando Silva, August 30, 2007)
(Due to the *guitarristas*' evolution the *fado* has the tendency to lose its virtues and follow new directions it is beautiful but we don't know where it is going to go. The *guitarristas* are not yet ready to engage in challenges with other instrumentalists from other areas and the same is happening with the *fado* singers [;] should we stop?)

[...] *houve uma necessidade de adaptação ... e houve uma alteração da musicalidade ... existe uma forma mais, mais sóbria de acompanhar ... mais de metade dos guitarristas vão optando cada vez mais pela resposta à voz, sem atropelar a voz como se costuma dizer (...) sem estar sempre a tocar em cima da voz [Mas de qualquer modo é improvisado, não é? Continua a ser improvisado?] É, é improvisado só que isso torna (...) faz com que a função da guitarra se torne ainda mais melódica [...]*(Machado interview December 14, 2012.)

([...] there was also a necessity of adaptation ... and an alteration in the musicality ... there is [now] a more sober way of accompanying ... more than half of the *guitarristas* [GP players] have been opting more and more for the response to the voice, without trampling the voice as we say it (...) without playing always on top of the voice [But it is nevertheless improvised, right? It continues to be improvised?] Yes, it is improvised and that makes (...) it causes the function of the *guitarra* to be even more melodic [...])

Chapter five (Rui Vieira Nery about post-modern *fado*)

*Podemos dizer que hoje há um fado pós-moderno?
É pós-moderno por uma característica fundamental da pós-modernidade, que é a mistura de passado e presente, a nível de música, de letras, de estilo de canto. Os fadistas e as fadistas da geração mais jovem juntam uma grande quantidade de influências diferentes, o que é típico de uma vida cultural muito globalizada, tipicamente pós-moderna.*²⁸⁰
(Can we say that today there is a post-modern *fado*?)

²⁷⁹ Accessed July 15, 2012.

http://www.portaldofado.net/component/option.com_fireboard/Itemid.272/func.view/id.473/catid.5/

²⁸⁰ In *Portal do Fado - Notícias* June 13, 2007. Accessed July 18, 2012.

<http://www.portaldofado.net/content/view/2007/275/>

It is post-modern due to one fundamental characteristic of the post-modernity, which is a mixture of past and present, at the level of music, lyrics, and singing style. The *fado* singers, male and female, of the youngest generation put together a great quantity of different influences, which is typical of a cultural life very globalized, typically post-modern.)

TIME-LINE FROM *CÍTARA* TO PORTUGUESE GUITAR

17th century:

- Oversized ceramic figure of an angel playing a *cítara* with a flat peg head in *Retábulo da Morte de São Bernardo* made c. 1680 (Cabral 2006) by Frei Pedro (2010), in the church of the Monastery of Alcobaça (1999: 64, 67; 2006; 2010).

18th century:

- Introduction of the English *guittar* (and its “open tuning”) in Portugal (c. 1760).
- Reference to *cítara* in Leite’s method (1983 [1796]: 18).
- Music scores are written for the “open tuning.”
- Three oil paintings by José António Benedito de Faria e Barros “Morgado de Setúbal” (1752-1809) show a *cítara* player using a plectrum (Sucena 2008: 112-113).

19th century:

- The *cítara* was undervalued only surviving in rural areas, barbershops and taverns.
- English *guittar* declined circa 1820 in favour of the piano (Nery 2004: 98).
- Between 1840 and 1846 *fado* was played on five-course *viola* (folk guitar).
- The *cítara* became GP *cítara* (with flat peg head) and started to be played in *fado* around 1846 (Carvalho “Tinop” 1903: 44).
- Solo GP players after 1850s were also accompanying *fado* (Nery 2004: 99) using “open tuning,” probably learned from methods and music scores written for such tuning.
- Early Lisbon GP (small body) with *leque* and scroll (c. 1870)
- Method by an anonymous amateur dedicated to the GP *cítara* only deals with the *fado corrido* tuning describing it as “the most used” (1875: 18).
- João Maria dos Anjos mentioned three types of “*guitarra*” (1877 [1889]: 9) and both open tuning and *fado corrido* tuning.
- The use of GP *cítara* declines in Lisbon c. 1880 (Cabral 1999: 148) but remains in isolated regions well into the twentieth century (Beira Alta, Azores).
- GP *cítara* becomes GP in the last quarter of nineteenth century both as a solo instrument and in *fado* (Cabral 1999: 144).

20th century:

- GPLx is preferred by professional *fado* GP players (c. 1920).
- GPCo is made for Artur Paredes and later adopted by Coimbra aficionados (c. 1940).

- During the 1960s in rural areas far from Lisbon, popular musicians and instrument makers mentioned “*moda velha* tuning” (old tune tuning) used for the *cavaquinho* (Oliveira 1982: 203) and *viola* (Oliveira 1982: 197), which is the same as the *fado corrido* tuning. Specifically in Arnoia this tuning was called “*afinação para a Chula*” (tuning for the *Chula* dance) used in the *viola Amaranтина* (Oliveira 1982: 198). Oliveira also refers to a slight variation of the *fado corrido* tuning called “*Mouraria velha*” (old Mouraria): E, A, b, e, g (from low to high) in which the middle string (b) is the highest. [In this same rural context, around 1999, Cabral interviewed a 97-year-old lady in Trás-os-Montes (Ribeirinha village) who could still play the GP (after a 22 year hiatus), both using the thumb/index and plectrum techniques. She played *fado menor* and dance tunes using the *fado corrido* tuning, known in the region as “*afinação antiga*” (old tuning) (Cabral interview August 13, 2012)].
- Photographic evidence (1963) of a GPCo being played in the context of *fado* (probably using the higher pitch tuning).
- Photographic evidence (1966) of José Fontes Rocha playing a GPCo (lower pitch tuning?) in the context of *fado*.
- First hybrid GP made by Gilberto Grácio (1969) for José Fontes Rocha who later sells it to Pedro Caldeira Cabral.
- In the 1980s GPCo use in *fado* becomes more frequent among professionals.
- A new ethos among *fado* GP players, most of them playing GPCo (c. 1998).
- First backless GP (a GPCo) made in 2005 by Óscar Cardoso for Mário Pacheco.

APPENDIX C: EXAMPLES OF PERFORMANCE

Examples of duo GP player/singer performance

In some of these examples (in chronological order), I am not certain of what model players are using, thus their description appears simply as (GP player):

- Cristina Branco (singer)/José Manuel Neto (GPCo player), opening track #1 “*Tive um coração perdi-o*” in CD *Live 2006* Universal Music 984 3206.
- Mariza (singer)/Luís Guerreiro (GP player), “*Duas Lágrimas de Orvalho*” performed live at JazzTage Leverkusen 2007. Accessed July 30, 2012.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e9IeyuglWT8>
- Cuca Roseta (singer)/Mário Pacheco (GPCo player) “*Rua do Capelão*” in *Fados*, a 2007 film by Carlos Saura. Accessed July 30, 2012.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TdHb1hM2ETw>
- Mariza (singer)/Ângelo Freire (GP player), “*Fado Loucura*” performed live on BBC 3 (Radio) on January 22, 2010. Accessed July 30, 2012.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hGcJKT3PW0A>
- Camané (singer)/José Manuel Neto (GPCo player), “*Último Recado.*” Accessed July 30, 2012. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WYvWUbjECrg>; and “*Súplica.*” Accessed July 30, 2012. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WYvWUbjECrg> performed live for a documentary by Musiquim 2011.

Examples of Coimbra and cultivated pieces played in the context of *fado*

- José Fontes Rocha: “*Balada de Coimbra*” (arranged by Artur Paredes). Accessed August 13, 2013. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wLILxXccNBY>; and “*Variações em Ré menor*” (by Artur Paredes). Accessed July 28, 2013. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MwoZZFvxYB0>
- Ricardo Rocha “*Variações em Mi menor*” (by Artur Paredes). Accessed July 28, 2013. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MwoZZFvxYB0>
- Luís Guerreiro: “*Valsa chilena*” (arranged by Alcino Frazão). Accessed Aug 1, 2012. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZTDGYyjuB3M>; “*Verdes Anos*” (by Carlos Paredes). Accessed Aug 1, 2012. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3McRF8_SzzM; and “*Balada da Oliveira*” (by Pedro Caldeira Cabral). Accessed Aug 1, 2012. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pd0xhEd9Kns&feature=related>

APPENDIX D: EXAMPLES OF *FADO* ARPEGGIOS

The arrows indicate the right index finger stroke direction (down – towards the player; up – away from the player). The numbers and “t” above the staff notes represent the left hand fingers (1-index; 2-middle; 3-ring; and t-thumb). The “T” and “i” under the tablature show what right hand fingers to use for the arpeggio (T- thumb; i-index).

Fado Corrido in D
(Lisbon Portuguese Guitar)

Traditional

Nuno Cristo © 2010

Fado Corrido in G (high arpeggio)

(Lisbon Portuguese Guitar)

Traditional

$\text{♩} = 120$

T i i T i i T i i

Nuno Cristo © 2010

Fado das Horas in A

(Lisbon Portuguese Guitar)

D. António de Bragança

The first system of musical notation consists of a treble clef staff with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a 2/4 time signature. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 120. The melody begins with a triplet of eighth notes (G4, A4, B4) on the first beat, followed by a quarter note (C5) on the second beat. This pattern repeats in the second and third measures. Above the first triplet, there are fingerings: '3' above the first note, '2' above the second note with a downward arrow, and '1' above the third note with an upward arrow. Above the first and third measures, there is a 't' marking. Below the treble staff, the guitar accompaniment is shown on a six-string staff. The first measure has a 7th fret barre on the first string and an open 0th fret on the second string. The second and third measures have a 4th fret barre on the first string and an open 0th fret on the second string.

T i i T i

The second system of musical notation continues the piece. The treble staff shows a triplet of eighth notes (G4, A4, B4) on the first beat, followed by a quarter note (C5) on the second beat. This pattern repeats in the second and third measures. Above the first triplet, there is a 't' marking. Above the second and third measures, there are fingerings: '2' above the first note, '3' above the second note, and '4' above the third note. Below the treble staff, the guitar accompaniment is shown on a six-string staff. The first measure has a 4th fret barre on the first string and an open 0th fret on the second string. The second and third measures have a 7th fret barre on the first string and a 7th fret barre on the second string. The fourth and fifth measures have a 7th fret barre on the first string and a 7th fret barre on the second string.

Nuno Cristo © 2010

Fado Mouraria G

(Lisbon Portuguese Guitar)

Traditional

♩ = 96

2 1 3 4 3 3 3 1 2 4

i T i

T i T i

T i

T i

Nuno Cristo © 2010

APPENDIX E: PORTUGUESE GUITAR STRING GAUGES

String sets vary slightly. Here are some of the most common: recommended to me by Gilberto Grácio in 1990; Dragão brand; Rouxinol brand (stainless steel); given in Cabral 1999. In both models, the wound strings (W) are silver-plated and the plain ones are spring steel, sometimes referred as music or piano wire.

Lisbon tuning (string length = 440 mm):

Pitch	Grácio	Dragão	Rouxinol	Cabral 1999: 310
B4 (493.88Hz)	.009"	.009"	.0095"	0.23mm [.009"]
B4 (493.88Hz)	.009"	.009"	.0095"	0.23mm [.009"]
A4 (440Hz)	.010"	.010"	.010"	0.25mm [.098"]
A4 (440Hz)	.010"	.010"	.010"	0.25mm [.098"]
E4 (329.63Hz)	.013"	.013"	.0126"	0.33mm [.0129"]
E4 (329.63Hz)	.013"	.013"	.0126"	0.33mm [.0129"]
B3 (246.94Hz)	.020"W	.020"W	.020"W	.018"W
B4 (493.88Hz)	.009"	.009"	.0095"	0.23mm [.009"]
A3 (220Hz)	.024"W	.024"W	.025"W	.020"W
A4 (440Hz)	.010"	.010"	.010"	0.25mm [.098"]
D3 (146.83Hz)	.036"W	.036"W	.031"W	.030"W
D4 (293.66Hz)	.018"W	.018"W	.0175"W	.018"W

Coimbra tuning (string length = 470 mm):

Pitch	Grácio	Dragão	Rouxinol	Cabral 1999: 310
A4 (440Hz)	.010"	.011"	.010"	0.25 [.0098"] or 0.275 mm [.0108"]
A4 (440Hz)	.010"	.011"	.010"	0.25 [.0098"] or 0.275 mm [.0108"]
G4 (392Hz)	.012"	.012"	.0105"	0.275 [.0108"] or 0.30mm [.0118"]
G4 (392Hz)	.012"	.012"	.0105"	0.275 [.0108"] or 0.30mm [.0118"]
D4 (293.66Hz)	.014"	.015"	.014"	0.35 [.0138"] or 0.36mm [.0141"]
D4 (293.66Hz)	.014"	.015"	.014"	0.35 [.0138"] or 0.36mm [.0141"]
A3 (220Hz)	.020"W	.022"W	.020"W	.020"W
A4 (440Hz)	.010"	.011"	.010"	0.25 [.0098"] or 0.275 mm [.0108"]
G3 (196Hz)	.024"W	.024"W	.020"W	.022"W
G4 (392Hz)	.012"	.012"	.0105"	0.275 [.0108"] or 0.30mm [.0118"]
C3 (146.83Hz)	.038"W	.038W	.036"W	.032"W
C4 (293.66Hz)	.020"W	.018W	.0175"W	[?]

When tuning a Coimbra guitar to the Lisbon tuning, players normally use Lisbon gauges.

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