Folk or Fake: The Notion of Authenticity in Portuguese Fado

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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James P. Félix

Abstract

This thesis examines the notion of authenticity as it relates to folk music, particularly fado, a genre of urban folk music most commonly found in Lisbon, Portugal. It argues that authenticity, rather than being an inherent feature of the music, is ascribed by each individual on a case-by-case basis, and that the individual's judgement of the value of a performance is dependent on this apparent authenticity. In particular, this thesis addresses the way tradition and "the traditional" are viewed, and the impact of commercialisation and modernisation as they relate to the notion and perception of authenticity.

In order to better explore the ideas of tradition and authenticity, this thesis identifies a number of different factors that impinge on the perception of such characteristics, including the way in which fado has been commodified by the recording and tourist industries, the way in which fado performances came to be standardised in the twentieth century, and attitudes towards the evolution of the genre as a result of modernisation. Rather than simply focus on the musical features of fado performance and their fidelity to the "traditional", this thesis examines the value that authenticity and tradition are seen to have to both the performer and the listener. This is achieved through a critical analysis of existing scholarship concerning authenticity, coupled with the author's observations of fado performances and interviews conducted with individuals involved with fado; these include professional musicians and singers, audience

members, and those involved with the operation of fado houses in Lisbon. Other important features of fado are discussed, such as the role that it plays in the lives of its practitioners, its cathartic value, the identity that is constructed through involvement with fado, and the status accorded to the genre and its practitioners by both those involved with it and those outside of it.

This thesis advocates two central ideas regarding authenticity in fado. The first is that there can be no absolute standard or measure of authenticity, but rather it is ascribed on a case-by-case basis and is a personal judgement that may differ from one individual to the next. Second, while authenticity is important, it does not render that which is deemed to be inauthentic as an object of lesser value but, rather, the two types serve different functions, and therefore cannot be judged in the same way. Subsidiary to this, the thesis argues that the terms “amateur” and “professional” are not to be taken as opposite points on the same scale, because they actually describe two different orders of things: “amateur” implies a personal state of mind and belief whereas “professional” simply indicates one who receives money for a performance. In this way this thesis contributes to the fields of ethnomusicology and popular musicology and builds upon previous scholarship in order to enable a greater understanding of the nature and role of tradition and authenticity in popular folk music.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Perhaps the mother was a brothel prostitute,
Perhaps the father a decadent aristocrat
Perhaps since birth they gave it love and bile,
Perhaps it grew stumbling in the ungrateful life.

Maybe they educated it without manners,
Between disorders, razors and passions,
Perhaps it was hearing gales and drunkenness,
And the violence which tears hearts apart.

Perhaps while growing it saw that destiny,
Was the word better understood,
In the unreason of its genuine sense,
And, certainly, abandoned it grew.

Perhaps later solitude, mistake, longing,
And bad fortune, inflamed love, bitter fate,
Gave to its voice the quality
Of the despair and the dark tone of the mute.

It suffered much, often delirious,
Perhaps then it sang hoarsely a maddened love,
Only a few times did it know how to love in a gentle fire,
And very often so much love tasted of so little.

Perhaps it was burning on several flames simultaneously,
Maybe the story was more peculiar,
In the helplessness it always had two nursemaids,
That were called the viola and the guitar.

Because next to them maybe they already recognize it,
Maybe they'll refuse to call it bastard,
And maybe even those who don't sing it won't forget,
It was born like this, grew like this, its name is fado.[1]

[1] '*Nasceu Assim, Cresceu Assim",* English Translation in Rafael Fraga, and Augusto Macedo, *Carlos do Carmo Songbook (Bilingual Edition)*, (Lisbon: Edições: Nelson de Matos, 2008), p. 152.

Introduction and Rationale

In recent years there have been numerous movements within music in the name of “authenticity", whether it be in connection with pop, jazz or early music. However, it seems that there are as many definitions of this term as there are “authentic” performances, each with its own merits and shortcomings. The intention of this project is to further the discussion of authenticity in the field of folk music, particularly *fado*, the urban folk music of Portugal.

Fado is seen by many Portuguese people as more than just a form of art — it is about expression: expression of emotions, expression of self, and expression of nationality. In participating in fado, the performer becomes immersed in powerful raw emotion and sentiment with the music, which in turn becomes the performer’s vehicle. The question this study intends to answer is whether it is this expression of emotion, or some other factor which qualifies a performance or interpretation of folk music as authentic. Further to this, and perhaps more significant in today’s culture of consumption, is the following question: can a performance or interpretation of a piece of folk music retain its authenticity when taken out of its original context? If not, upon which factors is it dependent? There is a growing debate amongst fado aficionados surrounding the question of modernising the fado: should other instruments be used? Can someone other than a Portuguese person perform fado authentically? Is the use of amplification an act of infidelity, or a necessary evil for performance in large venues? Should fado even be performed outside the intimate confines of the *tavernas* and *tascas* of Lisbon?

The central, characteristic of fado as a genre, that which defines it as uniquely Portuguese, is *saudade*, a term which has no direct translation in English, but can best be described as a form of melancholic yearning, a longing for an unspecified feeling or experience. Lila Ellen Gray claims that, from the perspective of the Portuguese people, '… almost always, fado is from Lisbon, fado is sung with a Portuguese soul, fado is ours and is about the longing of saudade, expressing what is lost and might never be found, what never has been but might be'.[2] She goes on to describe saudade as an '"originary trope" for feeling which enables expression as a fadista'.[3]

Saudade is not merely a feeling, but an emotional state, and this state is not just experienced by those who sing or listen to fado but it is a state considered to be related to Portuguese history, and as such is a distinct part of national identity. It is saudade that is seen as the defining characteristic of fado, and its perceived presence or absence is often held to determine the authenticity of a performance. However, that still leaves the question: what is authenticity?

Tim Taylor makes the claim that '[I]f world musicians depart from their assumed origins they run the risk of being labeled a sell-out and/or perhaps losing their world music audience'.[4] This implies that the "traditional" musicians are unable to perform in any way other than that which is seen as authentic by the consumer looking for music of the "other", indeed they are prevented from developing in order to preserve the original and primitive, by 'strategic inauthenticity'.[5] However, a comparison between the recordings available

[2] Lila Ellen Gray, 'Memories of Empire, Mythologies of the Soul: Fado Performance and the Shaping of Saudade', *Ethnomusicology*, 51.1 (2007), 106–130 (p. 107).
[3] 'Memories of Empire, Mythologies of the Soul', p. 108.
[4] Timothy D. Taylor, *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 23.
[5] Taylor, p. 126.

outside of Portugal with the live performances in the old neighbourhoods of Lisbon reveals that the two are worlds apart. This, then, presents questions regarding the use of music as a cultural product on the world market: do we take the word of the producers that what we buy is authentic? Why are we happy to purchase this processed product when what we really want is the raw material, the original, the authentic? Is this even what we truly want?

This deception is present not just in the recording market, but also on the streets of Lisbon, where tourists are guaranteed “authentic” fado nights in smart restaurants with waiters and performers alike in shirt and waistcoat, yet the locals are usually to be found in tiny, overcrowded tascas listening to an old man in his work clothes singing about his life, his country, his saudade.

In order to understand the need for a sense of authenticity within fado, it is necessary to assess the present state of affairs with regards to this aspect of Portuguese culture. That which began as a song of the working classes, one in which a person, male or female, young or old, could give voice to their innermost feelings and emotions, has since been taken and mutated. It is not, however, solely innovators such as Amália Rodrigues who are responsible for such bastardisation, but also it is the commercial culture within Portugal. Once the song of the people for the people, fado is now a major tourist attraction for visitors seeking the so-called “real” Portuguese culture. What they actually experience, however, in the *casas de fado* which are accessible for visitors to Lisbon, those which are advertised in hotels and by tour operators, is a folk culture which has been purified and cleaned up for presentation as a symbol of all that is good about urban life in Portugal. Visitors sit in a well-designed restaurant while well-dressed singers, retained by the house on a contract, sing

songs of poverty and the hardships of life, imitating the style of well-known singers such as Amália. The tourist is served overpriced food, is attended by smartly-dressed waiters, and receives more or less exactly what he or she expects to receive. These tourist attractions, often feeling the need to advertise their "authenticity", reflect little of the true nature or social origins of fado, other than the songs being sung. They are an example of authenticity through apparent fidelity, yet one may still get the feeling that the performers are just that — performing as a way to make money, rather than singing to express themselves. Paulo Jorge Santos, a guitarrista working in Lisbon, highlighted this distinction when I spoke to him in 2007, with reference to the Coimbra style of fado:

> The fado in Coimbra is mostly played by the students. They are not so much workers. Here it's more people working for it. They have to sing and play to get money, but there in Coimbra more people play for pleasure. It's more for serenades and to entertain people, but not in a professional way… here even if we don't have motivation we have to play because we are working. There, [Coimbra] they are studying and play for pleasure, to enjoy themselves.[6]

That the very people involved in this commercial aspect of their own cultural heritage can draw the distinction between putting on a show and the catharsis experienced through the "traditional" format in the local tascas surely reveals that something has gone wrong. He explains: 'I think in a way fado is how we express our feelings and even the people that don't sing and that don't work in

[6] James Félix, *Interview with Paulo Jorge Santos*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, July 2007).

the fado, they sometimes need to come to hear and to cry and to express their feelings.'[7]

In the same interview, Santos talks of a local taverna near the restaurant where he goes after he has finished working in order to sing fado as he knows it, not as part of his job as a musician, but as an expression of his Portuguese heritage. He calls this 'real fado' and claims that 'it's so different, more than you can imagine. It's completely different. You have many foreigners there, but they are in a way that they are not here [at Adega Mesquita]'.[8]

In commercial fado, one often finds that a performance can "tick the boxes", that is, all the traditional elements that one would expect, such as the instrumentation, the lyrics, even the way in which the singer dresses, are present and correct. What is often lacking, however, is the saudade, that emotion which defines fado for the Portuguese people, the emotion to which Portuguese people relate as "theirs". When attempting to sing a particular song, Gray is told 'I could hit you, I could kill you, but you will never have a Portuguese soul';[9] this soul is one that is bound to the history of Portugal, and therefore inextricably tied to the concept and experience of saudade.

As such, it is my intention to explore these and other issues considered to form the appearance or perception of authenticity. In doing so I hope to further understanding about authenticity within folk music and to get past the semantic problems with the term. It is my hope that this work will encourage a deeper appreciation of authenticity and its role as something more integral to music

[7] *Interview with Paulo Jorge Santos.*
[8] *Interview with Paulo Jorge Santos.*
[9] Gray, p. 111.

than merely “ticking the boxes” or imitating a style. Rather, it is key in giving music meaning, on both an individual and a cultural level. The focus of the research presented in this thesis is the perception of the notion of authenticity and the way in which it relates to the genre of fado, and as such all material within the thesis should be viewed in this context.

Principal Aim

To investigate the meaning and significance of authenticity in Portuguese fado and the way in which it is constructed by the individual.

This will encompass four subsidiary aims which will contribute towards the principal investigation:

I. **To develop an understanding of discourses of “authenticity” in the context of folk music;**

II. **To investigate the way in which social, political and geographical factors impinge upon this perceived authenticity;**

III. **To explore the difference between the perceptions of authenticity of the consumer and the practitioner, and between the native and the outsider;**

IV. **To investigate if there can be such a thing as ‘transferable authenticity’ in folk music, that is, whether authenticity remains intact when the music is removed from its originary context.**

Methodology

The principal issue to be addressed in this project is that of authenticity: what it means for either a piece or a performance/interpretation to be deemed authentic by various audiences, and what criteria need to be met for such a label to be ascribed. Coupled with authenticity are concepts of meaning and significance, and as such, these issues will also be explored in relation to fado, investigating the importance of authentic fado to the Portuguese people as a both a cultural icon and also as a contributory factor in the formation of national identity.

In order to investigate these features in connection with fado, it will be necessary to combine a number of approaches and draw on resources from a number of disciplines. The primary mode of research for this project is a literature-based approach involving an examination and critique of existing theories and assumptions of authenticity. Central to this is the examination of existing literature relating to fado, and in a wider sense, folk music in general. However, as this research is drawing together concepts which have previously been under-represented with regard to music, it has been necessary to draw upon sources from extra-musical disciplines, in many cases applying existing theories to existing musical ideas in order to develop a new way of looking at said music.

One of the first stages of this research is to identify the social and cultural functions that fado serves in Portuguese society and to the Portuguese people. This is a vital stage of the research in order to establish the importance of fado, and by extension, to justify the need for authenticity, or at the very least, the need for a greater understanding of authenticity within the genre. In determining

this importance, as related to fado's function, I will draw upon various areas of musicological scholarship. These will include writings on theories of musical nationalism, music as a vehicle for expression, and music as a cultural product. In addition, this area will necessarily be heavily influenced by writings from fields outside of music, such as anthropology, psychology, and sociology. Through bringing together these threads and relating the theories of each discipline to the genre of fado, it will be possible to draw some conclusions regarding the nature of fado as a socio-cultural phenomenon, rather than as a purely musical entity.

Further to this research, however, it is my intention to spend a certain amount of time with the people considered a part of the tradition of fado. Through a series of interviews with various performers in the genre, both professional and amateur, I have gained an insight into the way in which the lives of those involved in fado interact with the musical tradition. In addition to this, it has produced some interesting and varied opinions on the historical and social origins of fado, as there are numerous theories circulating regarding this aspect of fado's history and development, and often, different people favour different ideas depending on their own circumstances, choosing to believe and spread those ideas to which they feel most able to relate on a personal level. In addition to interviewing the performers, however, I also spoke with a number of other people involved with fado. Firstly, it has been necessary to talk to people who listen to fado, that is, natives of Lisbon rather than tourists. This has brought about greater understanding of what fado means to the Portuguese people who are not seeking to make a living from, or take any active part in, fado performances. This has the added advantage that by talking to each individual, it is usually possible to find out their own motivations and thoughts,

but also by collating these interviews, a more accurate view of the meaning of fado to the Portuguese people as a whole will emerge; in essence, in order to discover more about the relationship between fado and society, it is my intention to speak to those who are a part of that society.

Additionally I spoke with and interviewed a selection of managers of the *casas de fado*. These conversations were of particular interest as they gave an insight into the views and values of those who are promoting fado as a way to enhance their own business; in order to attract customers to their restaurants it is necessary for them to advertise fado as a product, rather than simply a cultural entity, and as such they may be seen to hold different views than those for whom fado is purely a personal or emotional experience. In addition, these interviews provided a greater insight into how the commercial side of fado really works. Further to this, many people involved in this aspect of fado, as I have noticed from previous experiences attending and observing at fado nights, also participate in the musical side of fado; at one *casa de fado* I visited, for instance, the waiter would regularly take a turn singing either solo or with another singer, at another, the manager would often sing, and at a third, one of the cooks came out of the kitchen and sang fado while still wearing her apron. I hope to discover if these people see the commercial side as separate to the personal, or if the two can effectively exist side by side.

The format of these interviews was as open as possible, avoiding any sort of leading questions. The interviews were conducted in English, Portuguese, or a mixture of both languages, depending on the participant. Each interview was conducted in a location convenient for the participant, and was recorded on a digital voice recorder with the consent of the participants. Each participant was

given an information sheet about the nature and purposes of my research, which they may keep, and was asked to read and sign two copies of a consent form, one of which was theirs to keep. This confirms that they have read and understood the information sheet, that they understand all answers given are voluntary, that they may be identified in reports connected to the research, and that they give consent for the data given by them to be used in future research. It also contained contact information for the interviewer, and states that they may, at any point, withdraw their participation with no negative consequences. These interviews were later transcribed and translated where necessary, while trying to remain as faithful to the original wording as possible (where the answer has been given in broken English, for instance), and any editorial clarifications will appear in square brackets. As far as possible, I will provide any necessary translations, although there may be instances of a translator being present during the interview, or other Portuguese speakers assisting in some translations. Any assistance in this regard has been fully referenced within the thesis, stating the translator's name and the extent of their assistance.

Each interview will have a similar format, in terms of the questions asked, to a certain extent, but it is my intention to leave the overall formal structure of the interview quite free. I also hope for the questions to be participant-led, rather than researcher-led; if the conversation seems to be going in a particular direction because of the answers the participant gives, then I feel it would be beneficial to the research to follow it in case it reveals a new way of looking at a particular aspect of fado. Similarly, if the answers being given by the participant are indicating another feature which had not been planned as part of the interview, then it would be advantageous to ask questions relating to those features, or to probe further in order to get the participant to expand on a

particular topic. The data collected by these interviews and discussions will, by its very nature, be mainly qualitative as opposed to quantitative, and as such has been analysed on a case by case basis in order to understand individual opinions and thoughts, but also as part of a larger collection of data in order to identify any common themes or trends. This process of analysis was continuous throughout the collection of data in order to better adapt the initial planned questions to obtain relevant information. This process of interviewing and conversing with people connected, with fado in one way or another continued throughout the course of the research, mostly undertaken while staying in Lisbon in order to be closer to those places where fado is taking place.

In addition to these interviews, I also had a number of informal conversations with individuals about fado, both at fado performances and also in and around the city of Lisbon. A large number of these were spontaneous and took place in an informal manner. As such, it has not always been possible to record such conversations, obtain formal consent or, at times, record the names of these passing acquaintances. The content of these conversations naturally influenced my research and may at times be reproduced in general terms in this thesis. Where this happens, the participants will simply be referred to anonymously as “individuals”, “tourists” or other appropriate terms.

While the main focus of this research is fado as a socio-cultural phenomenon, it is important not to neglect the musical nature of fado. As such, I intend to devote a chapter of the thesis to this subject, taking a musicological, analytical approach to fado. This will involve a certain amount of historical musicology in order to determine the development of fado and the reasons for which it is now performed in a certain way. This section will also rely on a certain amount of

organological reference material, as fado is seen a tradition dominated by guitar-based instruments, yet there are regional variations on the Portuguese *guitarra*, and aspects of its history, such as its links with the English guitar and the cittern, which may have an effect on, or raise further questions about, the perception of authenticity.

Through a combination of interviews, observations, and literature-based research it is my hope to gain a deeper understanding of fado and all the facets of this genre, both musical and extra-musical. This will then enable me to draw on parallels and models from other areas of musicology and related subjects such as anthropology, assessing each model and theory when applied to fado. Finally, it is my hope that this approach will enable a deeper understanding of the concept of authenticity in folk music, which will then facilitate a more intimate understanding of fado and, by extension, other genres of folk music.

Approaches to Research

I wish to clarify not only the approach which I have taken towards the collection of data for my research, but also the balance between, and roles of, my two primary research methods. Specifically, I wish to emphasise the prominence of a literature-based, socio-historical approach, and the relative subservience of the more practical, fieldwork-based research. This does not mean that these observations and interviews are unimportant, but rather that they are intended to inform my textual research and enhance the arguments and conclusions which result from it. The fieldwork and the literature-based research has entered into a symbiotic relationship within my thesis, with observations and interviews conducted based on findings drawn from these texts, and similarly the reading

and archival work has been directed by issues raised by the interviews and observations.

Identification of Study Object

The primary object of study of this research is fado, a form of urban folk music which is considered to originate from the poorer neighbourhoods of Lisbon, Portugal. However, while my research focuses on this music genre, the specific aspect which interests me regarding fado, and by extension folk music in general, is the notion of authenticity. This term is often used in discussions and writings on the topic of music of all genres, but it is my position that it is particularly relevant when discussing genres of folk music, a view which is illustrated in the writings concerning fado currently available. As such, it is appropriate for the majority of the research to take this literature-based, socio-historical approach, in order to examine the way in which the term is used and applied to fado, and the way in which different criteria have been applied to fado in order to determine authenticity. However, while studying a form of music with such close connections with a particular geographical location, it has also been necessary to collect data from those currently involved, in whatever form, in the production and reception of fado. This will be used to support or refute conclusions drawn from written sources, and therefore strengthen and inform the eventual proposed theory of the determinants of authenticity. In this way, my research cannot be said to lie wholly in one field of music or social studies such as ethnomusicology; I see it instead as an approach informed by both popular musicology and ethnomusicology. It is my hope, through this research, to investigate the notion which I have termed ‘transferable authenticity’, that is, the question of whether authenticity, once it is determined or at least perceived to

be present, remains inherent in the music itself, or if it is inextricably linked with all aspects of the performance, specifically, the context and venue. For example, one could question whether a performance could be repeated exactly in a different location not usually associated with that performance, such as fado in a concert hall, and retain its original authenticity, or if this is lost the moment it is removed from its original, “traditional” context. This will be achieved through the development of a Taxonomy of Authenticity which may be used as a framework with which to approach questions of authenticity in folk music.

Assumptions of this Study

When discussing such a subjective concept as authenticity in music, one must approach the topic with certain assumptions, thereby narrowing the scope of the research in order to focus on one or two specific problems or questions, and also providing a context and point of reference for the findings and conclusions of the study.

In order to focus the investigation into authenticity in fado, this research has been undertaken with the following assumptions:

- Fado is an important element of Portuguese national identity and can be seen as a specifically Portuguese genre of music;

- Authenticity cannot be determined or ascribed based on any one single factor, but is dependent on a number of elements, both musical and extra-musical;

- The apparent presence or perception of authenticity is central in assessing the value of fado, both on the basis of an individual performance and as a genre in general;

Additionally, fado is viewed throughout the thesis as a form of urban folk music, rather than any other form of music such as popular. While this may seem contradictory to authors such as Mintz, who argues that 'Folk society and urban society are conceived of as polarities at opposite ends of a continuum,'[10] it is nevertheless music whose origins are to be found in the lives of a particular social group, and as such is music of a people, regardless of their urban or rural affiliations. Stokes makes the claim that:

> It is a commonplace in poststructuralist critique that binary oppositions (such as authentic/inauthentic, reality/representation) establish hierarchies and must be understood in ideological terms. The task is, then, not one of establishing conclusively whether or not these terms have any analytical value, but […] understanding how they are discursively deployed in the organisation of a given musical exchange.[11]

It is my position that such binary oppositions are an obstacle to understanding cultural and social contexts and significance in music. Supported by a variety of academic sources and my own fieldwork, I intend to demonstrate that such dichotomies as amateur versus professional and urban versus folk are misunderstood and misused, and therefore must be redefined in order to appreciate the nuances of any cultural phenomenon.

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[10] Sidney W. Mintz, 'The Folk-Urban Continuum and the Rural Proletarian Community', *The American Journal of Sociology*, 59.2 (1953), 136–143 (p. 136).
[11] Stokes, Martin, 'Music, Travel and Tourism: An Afterword', *The World of Music*, 41.3, (1999), pp. 141–155 (p. 143).

This allows a focus on two issues which are central to the research aims stated above:

- An assessment and exploration of the various criteria which are considered to contribute to the perception of authenticity of a particular fado performance;

- An exploration of the notion of transferable authenticity, whether it can and does exist, and if so, under what circumstances.

Theoretical Orientation

Rice makes the assessment that ethnomusicology should ask 'How do people historically construct, socially maintain and individually create and experience music?'[12] In the same article, he proposes a model for ethnomusicology as a discipline, which builds upon the model promulgated by Merriam.[13] In his model, Rice advocates an approach which takes into account all three of these elements — the historical, the social, and the individual levels of interaction with music — in order to understand how people make music.[14] My research is based on this model, but in addition to asking "How?", I also hope to explore "Why?" This includes such issues as why one performance can be deemed authentic in favour of another, why authenticity as a concept is so contested, and why the inauthentic music still flourishes and continues when the authentic

[12] Timothy Rice, 'Toward the Remodelling of Ethnomusicology', *Ethnomusicology*, 31.3 (1987), 469–488 (p. 473).
[13] See Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1964, repr. 1980).
[14] Rice, p. 473.

is so important. This will take into account all three aspects of music as proposed by Rice, both individually and in relation to each other.[15]

One of the key concepts linked to authenticity in folk music is that of meaning, and in order to explore this, I am initially adopting the sociological phenomenological theory of meaning in music as promulgated by Schutz, later built on by Berger and Luckmann,[16] who argues that meaning is created when a stream of experience (*durée*) is broken by reflection, which in turn is shaped by associations with shared experiences. As such, this theory relies upon the individual's reaction with both the music and with society, thereby fitting in with traditionally-held ideas about fado's role in society and its power to speak to and for the individual. Schutz expands on this concept by arguing that music can be regarded as having separate rules and meanings from the everyday world while still relating to it, and that it involves sharing a flux of experiences 'through a vivid present in common'.[17]

This interplay between the individual and society which, according to the model of sociological phenomenology, is central to the construction of meaning, is a highly relative issue, and as such it is necessary for the approach adopted to reflect this, yet still be capable of adapting to this subjective area. For this reason, I am using the model of symbolic interactionism as a starting point for my investigation into this interplay, which has at its centre three basic premises: that human beings act towards things based on the meaning of the thing for them; that the meaning of these things derives from and arises out of social

[15] Rice, p. 408, fig. 4.
[16] Cited in Ruth M. Stone, *Theory for Ethnomusicology* (London: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2008), p. 166.
[17] Cited in Stone, p. 168.

interaction with others; and that meanings are handled in and modified through a personal interpretative process.[18]

The variety between these models reflects the inter-disciplinary nature of my research, and these have been chosen based on my existing knowledge of, and previous research into, fado and the people involved in creating and interpreting it. While my continued research may result in these models being adapted, I believe that they provide a useful starting point for my questioning, and also act as a theoretical framework within which to work.

Methodology and Techniques

As mentioned above, the main methodology adopted for this research has been a literature-based socio-historical approach, examining sources from a variety of disciplines, both directly and indirectly linked with the genre of fado and authenticity, and by extension, the issues surrounding these topics. However, this research is supported by fieldwork, albeit not in the same quantity as in the more traditional, purely ethnomusicological models, or as Beaudry[19] puts it, the 'long-term, total immersion approach'. Rather, this fieldwork has been carried out in numerous short periods of one to three weeks, spaced regularly over a number of years.

This is an approach undertaken and supported by Beaudry, who claims that the advantage for her is that 'I get relief from a situation with strong emotional over-

[18] Blumer cited in Uwe Flick,, *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*, 4th edn, (London: Sage, 2009), pp. 57–58.
[19] Nicole Beaudry, 'The Challenges of Human Relations in Ethnographic Enquiry: Examples from Arctic and Subarctic Fieldwork', in *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, ed. by Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley (Oxford: Oxford University press, 1997), pp. 63–83 (p. 70).

tones — a break that allows me to revert to my normal self while considering the field period with some perspective.'[20] She later states that the result of these shorter periods of field work would necessitate a reliance on interviews as 'I put myself in a position where I am told things because I do not spend enough time in the community to learn it all by observation alone.'[21] As such, my two main modes of data collection have been interview and observation.

It is at this stage that I feel it necessary to clarify the specific object of study for this thesis. Fado is often argued to exist in two distinct forms depending on a number of factors, foremost of which are geographical location and the content and purpose of the sung texts. Broadly speaking, this subdivides fado into that of Lisbon and that of Coimbra. Throughout this thesis, unless specifically noted, 'fado' will refer only to that of Lisbon as it is this sub-genre which is under investigation. The nature of *fado da Lisboa* is one which is explored in great detail throughout the following chapters. There will be points in subsequent chapters where *fado da Coimbra* will enter into the discussion, most notably in Chapter Five which deals with the cultural and social status of fado. This is done in order to highlight the varying views taken of fado in general, and the opinions of various individuals on what does and does not constitute fado.

The Notion of Authenticity: An Overview

The majority of the authenticity debate in "non-classical" music has been fuelled by writers from the disciplines of popular music studies and jazz studies, and as such many of these writings will play a significant role in this project. It will be

[20] Beaudry, p. 70.
[21] Beaudry, p. 74.

necessary to extrapolate some of the theories and stances from the world of popular music and apply them to folk music, particularly fado, which will provide some interesting contrasts. In particular, there are two authors who focus on different concepts of authenticity.

In his article Authenticity as Authentication,[22] Moore argues that authenticity has been wrongly attributed to the music itself and, rather, each individual performance should be designated some form of authenticity based on the form of emotion being conveyed and the effectiveness of that conveyance. This variance in the form of emotion is based more on whose emotion is being expressed, rather than how it is communicated, and Moore's argument claims that the three possibilities are first, second and third person authenticity, involving the emotions of the performer, the listener, and the composer respectively. This theory, however, fails to recognise any sense of authenticity relating to fidelity or origins of the music in question, neither does it say anything about the music in and of itself, simply how good the performer is at doing his or her job.

Conversely, Taylor[23] expounds on numerous theories of authenticity within popular music discourse, some of which are also relevant to folk music. He names what Moore later described as 'authenticity of emotionality',[24] but points out that 'the western presentations [of world music] leave them so decontextualized and deritualized that they are evacuated of the meanings of their own surroundings and of little interest to a western listener as music'.[25]

[22] Allan Moore, 'Authenticity as Authentication', *Popular Music*, 21.2 (2002), 209–223.
[23] Taylor, 1997.
[24] Taylor, p. 23.
[25] Taylor, pp. 24–25.

With this quote he not only suggests that transferable authenticity is a myth, but also that such presentations of music can offer no aesthetic value to a western listener, and are therefore suitable only as an artefact, something to be admired simply for its other-ness. Such a proposition reduces the music of other cultures simply to tokens, and is problematic due to its ethnocentrism. Similarly, this thesis will investigate in greater depth both his claims about removing a music from its original context, and also whether his theory of 'authenticity as primality', that is linking folk with an unbroken chain of tradition going back into the past,[26] is a legitimate claim.

Another concept linked in with the notion of authenticity is that of tradition. One of the key books in this regard is 'The Invention of Tradition',[27] a collection of academic essays which examine the notion of tradition and the way in which a tradition evolves and changes over time. It also addresses the way in which a tradition comes into existence to begin with, what characteristics make tradition worthy of continuation, and the value of tradition with regard to subjects such as art and music. In addition to this, there is an article by Kaemmer[28] which takes a different approach, focussing on the role of music within a tradition, as opposed to tradition within music. The way in which a tradition is continued and passed on is examined by Shelemay in her essay[29] which examines the role of the ethnomusicologist in preserving and, in some cases, propagating tradition. Supplementary to these key texts, there are numerous other sources which

[26] Taylor, p. 26.
[27] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
[28] John E. Kaemmer, 'Between the Event and the Tradition: A New Look at Music in Sociocultural Traditions', *Ethnomusicology*, 24.1 (1980), 61–74.
[29] Kay Kaufman Shelemay, 'The Ethnomusicologist, Ethnographic Method, and the Transmission of Tradition', in *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, ed. by Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley (Oxford: Oxford University press, 1997), pp. 189–204.

either make reference to the “traditional” in relation to music, or discuss the nature of tradition in a musical context. However, there are also numerous articles, especially those from earlier in the twentieth century, which make reference to traditional music or continuing a tradition but do not examine the notion of what it means to designate a particular style or performance as such.

The other main focus of my research is concerned with fado as a musical and social phenomenon. While the advances in technology, the media industry, and the nature of today’s consumer-driven society have resulted in a wider dissemination of recorded material outside the boundaries of Portugal than ever before, unfortunately there is a noticeable sparsity of academic work on the subject of fado written in English. There are, however, certain key texts to which reference will be made throughout the thesis.

Gray[30] has touched on issues of authenticity of fado performances, specifically in relation to the perceived authenticity of emotionality amongst listeners. In her interviews, the most common comment regarding a performer’s style is to do with emotion: either they are singing with lots of it (a good thing), or they are lacking sufficient expression of their emotion (a bad thing), usually due to the fact that they are trying to sing about a subject they have never experienced, let alone tried to convey emotionally through music. In addition to this, she has described many of her own experiences as an outsider trying to participate, but also as merely an outside observer. These include her own observations of how others behave and the way fado is performed in various venues, but also her experiences of everyday life in Lisbon and the way certain dwellers in this city react when questioned about fado.

[30] Gray, 2007.

Vernon's book[31] has a rather different focus to the work of Gray, but is still useful for this thesis. He discusses the 'standard practices' associated with fado performances and presents some of the more commonly held theories about the origins of fado. However, the great strength of this book is not in analysis, but in the section which is devoted to charting the careers of some of the more prominent fadistas from a commercial and economic point of view. Vernon goes into great detail about contracts signed, fees paid, and disputes between recording labels and music shops, and traces the development and spread of fado following the advent of recording equipment and the wider availability of gramophones. This has been a highly useful source to inform my chapter on the commercial aspects of fado, and is made more accessible by the fact that all monetary quantities are converted into British currency. Additionally, this book forms a useful source of information as it was published in 1998, and so it will be possible to compare his findings with my own of the present day, thereby developing a greater understanding of the way fado has developed thus far in the twenty first century, particularly since the boom in digital music formats and the recent global economic recession. The strength of Vernon's section on the commercial arrangements within fado was highlighted but also contrasted by Nery with the quality of the rest of his book, claiming that ' [Vernon's book] shows a serious deficiency of information in all areas that do not relate to [the creation and editing of discographies and recording]'.[32] Nonetheless, until 2010 and the publication of Elliot's work, this coupled with the work of Gray made up

[31] Paul Vernon, *A History of the Portuguese Fado* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1998).
[32] Rui Vieira Nery, 'Fado', in *Enciclopédia da Música em Portugal no Século XX (C–L),* ed. by Salwa Castelo–Branco, (Portugal: Circulo de Leitores/Temas e Debates e Autores, 2010), pp. 433–453 (p. 444).

two of the three key English language texts which dealt with fado in any level of detail.

The other key text is the collection of essays[33] edited by Pais de Brito,[34] which touches on the notion of authenticity as having some connection with what has gone before in a tradition. While this may be the most commonly accepted theory of authenticity, it encounters problems in folk genres such as fado where the origins of the music and style are lost in the mists of time and surrounded by urban legend and myth. The question of how far back a tradition can be traced with such anonymous compositions is an important one that has yet to be thoroughly investigated, and even when it is touched upon, it is often in relation to the style of the guitarrista's playing or the instrumentation used, and rarely about a performance as a whole. These essays are the published materials of the 1994 Expo in Lisbon, and as such need to be examined critically as a product of their time. While there may be similarities between the present situation and those discussed in these essays, there is a great deal that has changed due to political, social, economic and technological advances. Nonetheless this document will be highly useful as a way of examining the attitudes towards fado at a particular point in history.

In a similar way, the work of Rodney Gallop[35] is an insight into the ideals and views connected to fado, and indeed other folk music and cultures of Portugal, at the start of the twentieth century. Additionally, as he is a scholar from

[33] The result of the 1994 cultural exhibition 'Lisbon 94'.
[34] Joaquim Pais de Brito, ed., *Fado: Voices and Shadows* (Lisbon: Electa, 1994).
[35] Rodney Gallop, 'The Fado (The Portuguese Song of Fate)', *The Musical Quarterly*, 19.2 (1933), 199–213.
Rodney Gallop, 'The Folk Music of Portugal: I', *Music and Letters*, 14.3 (1933), 222–230.
Rodney Gallop, 'The Folk Music of Portugal: II', *Music and Letters,* 14.4 (1933), 343–354.
Rodney Gallop, 'Folk-Music of Eastern Portugal', *The Musical Quarterly*, 20.1 (1934), 96–106.

England, rather than Portugal, his work can convey those impressions of an outsider, rather than an insider, at a time when the music of Portugal was still relatively unknown in the rest of the world. Particularly useful will be his book entitled 'Portugal: A Book of Folkways'[36] as this not only discusses fado, but other day to day aspects of life for the Portuguese, thereby allowing a comparison between fado and other music at that time.

In 2010, a new book, as well as an accompanying blog,[37] was published by Elliot[38] which examines the connections between fado and the city of Lisbon, including the concept of the identity of a fadista as a *Lisboetta*[39]. This book provides a much needed update within fado research in the English speaking world. It is one of the most recent scholarly works on the topic of fado in English and, as Elliot is primarily a popular music scholar, my own work as an ethnomusicologist will contrast with this in order to enhance the way in which fado is viewed. Furthermore, his work focusses mainly on recorded material as opposed to live performances, and as such his ideas will contribute to the way such material is viewed in my chapter on the commercial side of fado. This work will also be of particular importance with regard to my chapters on the social aspects of fado and also the contexts in which fado exists and is performed.

[36] Rodney Gallop, *Portugal: A Book of Folk-Ways* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936; repr. 1961).
[37] Richard Elliot, *The Place of Longing*, <http://theplaceoflonging.wordpress.com> [accessed 14 August 2010].
[38] Elliot, Richard, *Fado and the Place of Longing: Loss, Memory and the City* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010).
[39] One who comes from, or lives in, Lisbon.

I will also make reference to, and build upon, my own previous unpublished research, particularly my undergraduate dissertation[40] which examines the role of fado in shaping Portuguese national identity. The material contained therein will be used as a starting point for a discussion on the effects of this identity on fado in the thesis chapter examining the social elements of fado. In addition, I will be drawing upon my own research via observations of fado performances and interviews with those involved in fado, as described in the methodology section of this paper.

A further source of information on fado is the Fado Museum in Lisbon[41] which houses a permanent exhibition on the history of fado, including information on instruments, possible origins, developments, and key figures connected with fado. It also has information on issues such as fado and censorship under the fascist government and the way fado is portrayed in art and films. This information has been published in a museum catalogue[42] and will be used for some of the more factual aspects of each of the chapters as the authors of this catalogue have, in general, refrained from any strong bias or subjectivity of opinion. The museum also houses an area for temporary exhibits focussing on more specific areas, such as a specific performer or a particular theme of fado.

In addition to these sources on fado and authenticity, it is my intention to make reference to literature from a number of other areas. These will include historical and political books, in order to examine, for example, the way fado was affected by the fascist dictatorship,;sociological and anthropological texts, in order to

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[40] James Félix, *No Cristal de uma Gargante Vive a Alma de um Pais - Fado Na Alma Portuguesa: The Role of Fado in Shaping Portuguese National Identity*, (Unpublished Undergraduate Dissertation, University of Nottingham, 2008).
[41] Museu do Fado, Largo do Chafariz de Dentro, No. 1, 1100–139 Lisboa.
[42] EGEAC/Museu do Fado, *Fado Museum: 1998–2008* (Lisbon: RPO, 2008).

examine and apply particular theoretical models to my own research, such as theories of cultural identity; and music psychology, which will play an important part in the chapter dedicated to the emotional aspects of fado. Other subjects more closely linked with my research, such as Iberian studies, and ethnomusicological texts dealing with other musical traditions, be they Portuguese, European, American or African, will be utilised in order to compare the way fado and other musics are viewed. This will also enable a wider understanding of fado in a global context.

Thesis Structure

Investigating the wide-ranging, yet relatively unexplored, concept of authenticity within the context of folk music, and more specifically, fado, it is necessary to divide the analysis into sections which focus on specific aspects of these themes. While there are a number of ways to theme these chapters, based for example on different conceptions of authenticity, the most effective way to relate these theories or possible criteria to fado as a cultural and musical phenomenon, is to examine them in relation to the individual aspects which go into making up fado music and fado performance (which are not always the same thing).

In Chapter Two I present an overview of fado from a musical point of view. For the individual who has never heard fado, an historical comparison may be seen with the ancient Islamic music of Portugal:

> The academy of music, founded at Cordova by Ali-Zeriab, produced the famous Mousali, whom the people in the East regard as their first musician. Their music did not consist, as with us, in a “concord of sweet sounds” from different instruments, but simply in a soft and

> tender air, which the musician sung [sic], and accompanied with a lute. Sometimes they united a number of voices and lutes together, to perform the same air in unison. This was, and is still, sufficient to gratify a people, passionately fond of poetry, and whose first object, when they hear a voice, is to understand the meaning of the verses which are chaunted [sic].[43]

In order to establish a point of reference for the rest of the thesis, I focus initially on what is considered "typical" fado, discussing characteristics such as instrumentation and vocal style, including the roles of each individual involved in fado performance. This leads into a discussion of the ways in which fado has evolved and the effects of modern innovations such as the use of amplification and the concept of fusing different genres together. I also address the numerous theories and mythologies which have sprung up in order to explain the origins of fado as a genre and which may go some way towards determining why fado sounds as it does. Following on from this, I describe a number of fado performers who many regard as embodying the stylistic features of the genre, assessing the claims that the performances of these individuals set the benchmark against which all other fado can be assessed. This discussion then allows an examination of what it is that people expect from a fado performance and why these expectations exist, touching briefly on a number of issues which will be covered in greater detail in subsequent chapters, such as celebrity culture, the dichotomy of professional versus amateur, and the nature of tradition.

In Chapter Three I discuss the nature of tradition in more depth, both in general and as it is understood in terms of fado.

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[43] George Power, *The History of the Empire of the Musulmans in Spain and Portugal*, (No location: zero papel), (2011 [1815]), Kindle Edition.

I examine different notions of what it means to be traditional and the way in which traditions are formed, questioning whether a tradition is seen as an unchangeable form, if it has the potential to grow and evolve, and the way in which such traditions are either accepted as canon or rejected as divergent from the “true” format of the genre. I examine the way in which individuals and society in general respond to these changes, and also the way the music evolves in relation to societal changes. I address issues such as the effects of modernisation and commercialism on a genre built upon a strong socio-historical tradition. The way in which innovations may contribute to such a tradition without necessarily destroying or abandoning what went before is of particular relevance to this discussion, and the perceived need for stability is contrasted with the desire for originality in order to keep a genre alive. This section of the discussion will also touch upon the way this process can be seen in reverse by taking certain elements of existing tradition, such as instrumentation or vocal ornamentations, and inserting them into non-traditional environments, such as the concert hall, cinema and, in one instance, a stage musical. Further to this, I discuss the difference between these forms of voluntary evolution and necessary adaptation, with specific reference to the place and view of fado under the fascist regime which dominated Portugal for almost half a century.

In today’s society, music is often seen as a commodity, one to be packaged in order to make an attractive product for anyone willing to pay. By extension, this also gives music the potential to be used as a tool, for political, social or financial gain. Regarding the many musics which are seen as primarily aesthetic products, this commercialism may not impinge drastically on the genre. In discussions of folk music, however, the effects are more noticeable.

In Chapter Four, I explore the ways in which the modern culture of consumerism has affected the Portuguese genre of fado, taking into account the way in which fado has been used as both a tool of political propaganda and as a tourist attraction. I present an account of the various factors which precipitated the rise of the commercial fado venues that tourists may experience today, and examine a variety of opinions and reactions to the idea of commercial fado. The key moments in the evolution of the fado business are discussed, including technological advances such as the advent of the radio and sound recording, fado's use in film and theatre, and the attitudes towards fado taken by the government during the period of fascist dictatorship. I explore the links between fado and tourism in Portugal, and also the effect commercialisation has had upon expectations and standard practises within fado performance.

This is also where I will discuss specific figures involved in fado today, ranging from the amateur to the professional, from the relatively unknown to the international star. I examine their own experiences of the genre and, through these examples, build a picture of the different points of view of the status of fado and of those involved in it. Much of the information in this chapter has stemmed from either formal interviews or informal conversations I have had with a variety of individuals involved in fado in some form or another. This will lead into a discussion of the paradox of a 'professional folk singer' and the ways in which this phenomenon has, in conjunction with the recording and tourist industries, led to an increasingly homogenised sound within the genre. Exploring the causes and features of this uniformity, I seek to illustrate the way in which commercialisation of the music of a people is viewed and the repercussions this process has on the genre. Chapter Four concludes with an

examination of the effects of commercialisation, including both positive outcomes such as increased accessibility for a wider audience, and also possible negative outcomes such as the homogenisation which comes as a result of dominant celebrity figures and a sense of distance from the genre's presumed roots — in addition to the attitudes and opinions of a selection of performers towards these changes.

In Chapter Five I discuss the status of both fado as a genre and also its practitioners. The chapter begins with a discussion of the nature of fado as a culture and the ways it may variously be viewed as an aspect of popular culture, folk culture, subculture and counter-culture. As Portuguese society has evolved over the years, so too have the attitudes and beliefs of its people. Examining the cause of these changes and the impact they have had on the genre and the nation, I illustrate the way perceptions of cultural identity evolve independently of musical affiliation. The concept of ownership is examined, particularly the idea of fado as being uniquely Portuguese, and this then leads into an examination of the way in which fado is viewed on the world stage, as a genre within the category of "world music". This chapter also deals with genres considered to be related to fado, but about which there is disagreement regarding their classification as a part of the fado tradition, specifically an instrumental form of fado music and a genre found in the north of Portugal which began as fado but has since been altered for different purposes and a different audience. Chapter Five concludes with an examination of the international superstar figure within fado, and a re-examination of the insider/outsider dialectic so common in discussions of folk music. Embraced as the epitome of Portuguese culture by a society that once rejected them, the *fadista's* identity has undergone a transformation which I trace in Chapter Six;

this identity is inextricably linked with the musical genre of *fado*, from its impoverished origins as the song of the lowest in society, through fascist dictatorship to the time of international fado stars.

In the early days of the genre, fado was considered a song of criminals and drunks, and as such there were many negative associations, as the personalities of the people became tied to the popular opinions of the genre. Today, fado is still sung and retains much of the same subject matter. *Lisboettas* sing of the difficulties of life, losses suffered, and their enduring love of Portugal, but now people flock to hear these songs; the singers work during the day as bankers, taxi drivers, fishermen and doctors, and in the evening they sing for love of fado. In contrast with the previous chapter, which focussed on those outside the genre looking in, Chapter Six explores the perspectives of those inside the genre: how fadistas see themselves, and how this has changed, exploring the link between involvement in fado and the negotiation and formation of both individual and group identities.

Following on from this, Chapter Seven is centred around the the value fado has for those involved in it, and the role it plays in their day-to-day lives. Expanding on the material presented in previous chapters regarding identity, status and the commodification of fado, I explore how musicians, singers and aficionados relate to the music, investigating what these individuals get out of fado, and what result stems from the effort and dedication with which they pursue this passion. This discussion will address a number of issues which could be seen to contribute towards this “functional value” of fado, including the meaning of fado on an individual level and the various functions fado serves within each individual’s life, whether it is a way of earning a living or simply an enjoyable

activity. Despite the importance placed on the issues raised in the previous chapters, the most important aspect of fado for many is its emotional nature. Fado is often seen as an expression of emotions first and foremost, and it is this function of fado which will be examined in this chapter.

The majority of this chapter addresses emotion, a concept which is consistently cited as a defining feature of fado. Often suggested to be the central kernel of fado, or at least, of “authentic” fado, I examine the role which emotion plays in fado, and argue that it is the presence or lack of emotion in any given fado performance which is the primary criterion for assessing its authenticity. In discussing emotions, I explore the notion of saudade*,* the emotion which is often claimed to be uniquely Portuguese and of which fado is seen as the musical embodiment. I then discuss the value of fado as providing catharsis for both the performers and the audience, which will lead into a discussion of sincerity. In particular, I analyse the possibility of falsifying emotions or, through well-rehearsed performance, creating the illusion that one is relating to the content and sentiment of the song in a deep way, despite having no personal experience or connection with it. Furthermore, I question whether genuine sincerity matters, or if the important thing is the appearance of sincerity; the role of the performer’s intention is scrutinised, with a discussion of the impact of genuine or falsified emotion for both the practitioner and the listener.

Fado is the means through which a person can temporarily separate themselves from everything else going on in their lives and the lives of those around them. When a person stands up to sing a fado, they are not thinking about what they did at work during the day or what they need to do in the next few days; rather they are engulfed by the quasi-sacred act of performing fado.

Just as psychologists get patients to talk about their problems and feelings in order to begin the journey to recovery, the singer gives voice to their soul and their innermost tortures are given voice, thereby exorcising them and purifying their minds and hearts. However, this is not always the case, as there are countless performers who see a fado performance as just that — a performance, often with the end result of earning a wage. This is a constant complication when attempting to assess authenticity relating to emotion, and the divide between fado as personal catharsis and fado as a way of making a living will be explored in depth.

One key term which will be discussed here has no direct translation in English, but the Portuguese concept of *saudade* is nonetheless an important feature of fado, and is often held to be the defining emotion in an authentic fado. At best it can be described as a form of uncertain, melancholic yearning, and it is often believed by the Portuguese people that this emotion is unique to them, a product of the socio-political history of their nation. This adds an interesting element to the nature/nurture debate, fuelling the discussion of whether fado can truly be taught and learned, or if it can only exist in those born with it in their soul [*fado na alma*].

The other issue to be discussed in this chapter is the question of "Whose emotion?”. It is often claimed that fado is not solely about the release and expression of the performers’ emotions, but also the emotions of the audience. The audience is seen as playing an equally vital part in the cathartic nature of good fado, and the question of whether this is a form of sharing emotions, or if there are as many emotional responses as there are listeners, is one to be addressed here. Further to this, I propose a new way of viewing the oft-cited

dichotomy of professional and amateur, arguing that these two concepts should not be placed in opposition to one another as they do not relate to the same fundamental issues, but rather describe two different elements of personal motivation and intention.

Having presented in previous chapters various views on the nature of fado and the elements seen to be a part of the genre, in Chapter Eight I draw upon these discussions in order to examine in detail the nature of authenticity. By using the perspectives on fado taken from people with various forms of involvement with fado, I examine the idea and ideal of the authentic within fado specifically, and folk music in general. I assess the value of authenticity and suggest a Taxonomy of Authenticity, a number of categories of authenticity, each of which relates to one or more specific areas of the performance and practice of fado. I devote the remainder of this chapter to introducing and assessing the concept of “transferable authenticity’” and the implications of such a notion.

Through the research presented in this thesis, it is my hope that fado, and by extension all folk music, will be better understood, and that the semantic problem connected with the term “authenticity” will become less of a barrier to this understanding. Moreover, I hope to demonstrate the importance of perceived authenticity for genres such as fado, and also the role played by non-musical elements such as socio-political factors, personal factors, and the importance of existing within a continuum of tradition.

*Author's note: throughout this thesis I draw upon a number of sources which have been accessed in Portuguese rather than English. These sources include, but are not limited to, books, articles, song texts, personal (informal) conversations, and interviews. Where sources are presented in multiple languages, references and quotations are based on the original authors/translators English versions. In all other places, unless otherwise stated, translations are my own. In cases where responses have been given in English, as far as possible I give quotations using the speaker's original choice of words, providing editorial clarification as necessary.

Chapter Two

Musical Features Typical in Fado

Introduction

In 2011, an application was made successfully to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization[44] to add fado to the list of examples of the "World's Intangible Cultural Heritage", The significance and implications of which are discussed in detail in Chapter Five. The application process involved a wide range of supporters, including singers, instrumentalists, academics and composers. The description below is taken from the nomination form submitted to UNESCO in the section marked 'Identification and definition of the element', which requires 'a clear and complete explanation':

> Fado is a type of song usually performed by a soloistic voice, male or female, accompanied traditionally by a Portuguese guitar and an acoustic guitar, both wire-strung, although in the past few decades this instrumental accompaniment has been often expanded to two Portuguese guitars, a guitar and a bass guitar (or string double bass). The Portuguese guitar, a pear-shaped instrument of the cittern family, with twelve wire strings, which is unique to Portugal, is used particularly for the accompaniment of the voice, in association with an acoustic guitar, but also has an extensive soloistic repertoire. The genre is based on a widespread amateur practice of informal performance from which emerge the majority of its professional practitioners, but there is a permanent interaction between these two circles. Young performers, both singers and players, usually come from an informal, orally transmitted training which takes place in the traditional performance spaces (neighbourhood associations and Fado houses), and often in successive generations in the same

[44] Hereinafter UNESCO.

> families. Informal tuition by older, respected exponents is a key element in this process of transmission and reprocessing.[45]

Seventy-five years earlier, the British folklorist Rodney Gallop described a fado performance as centred around a I–V7 harmonic structure, with rhythmic characteristics as follows:

> Some account has already been given of the mannerisms of the Lisbon *fadista*. The most characteristic of these is the flexibility of the rhythm, a free *rubato* over the steady beat of the accompaniment, which it is extremely difficult to seize or to transcribe, and to which staff-notation imparts a rigidity the lack of which is its principal charm. The five notes unevenly distributed over the four beats of the bar stand to one another in countless slightly differing proportions of time value. These subtle rhythmic inflections vary from verse to verse, and, like plain-song, though in a different way, the tune moulds itself to the plastic form of the words. So closely do these rhythmic mannerisms – together with the easy, intimate manner and the throaty, almost hoarse voice – resemble the style of the authentic jazz singer, that one is tempted to see in them a further negro legacy to *fado*.[46]

While the above descriptions are typical of the sort aimed at those with little or no prior knowledge of the genre, there is a great deal more to the musical nature of fado performance than much of the literature suggests.

In this chapter I explore the musical features of fado, beginning with an investigation into those characteristics considered to be “typical”, such as instrumentation, melody and harmony. The role of each performer will be considered in depth, taking into account the evolution or stability of these roles,

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[45] UNESCO, *Nomination File No. 00563 for Inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2011*, (Bali: UNESCO, 2011), Section 1: Identification of the Element.

[46] Rodney Gallop, *Portugal: A Book of Folk-Ways* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936; repr. 1961), p. 260–261.

which will in turn explain how and why certain instruments, together with their playing styles and sonic characteristics, have come to be regarded by many of the fado community as defining the nature of the genre. This will then lead into an examination of the issue of variations of the instrumental ensemble, looking at the work of numerous artists known to take a less stringent approach to both accompaniment and singing style. Key figures in the musical evolution of fado will be discussed, and their contributions and innovations within the genre will be assessed through a comparison of the state of fado before and after their careers. Using existing literature combined with the observations and interviews of my own fieldwork, I intend to show that, from a musical perspective, there can be no universally agreed-upon template for authentic or traditional fado. I will demonstrate that it is often those individuals claiming to perpetuate and practise traditional fado who are prepared to blend a variety of musical features within their art. In addition to these audible features, I discuss the role silence is understood to play within fado, and the ways in which this tenet is enforced or ignored in a variety of performance contexts. By drawing these threads together, I present a wide continuum upon which the ‘standard’ soundworld of fado — that which most claim is “typical” as presented at the start of this chapter — is but one possibility and, while serving as a touchstone, is not necessarily the only musical format in which fado is seen to exist.

Origins and Influences

A major preoccupation amongst certain scholars and aficionados alike concerns the origins of fado as a form of music. As is common with much music, particularly those genres classified as “folk”, the genesis of fado is both uncertain and disputed, with suggested dates of origin spanning centuries and

proposed geographical locations including Portugal, South America and aboard ocean-going vessels. I wish to present some of the more common narratives at the outset of this chapter in order to illustrate the beliefs of those involved with the fado. Although it may be argued that certain elements of these theories help to explain why fado sounds the way it does, the main purpose of including the various notions of the origins of fado is to emphasise people's need to believe in certain things. As will be discussed later, it is these beliefs that allow individuals to relate to the music, and it is through personal relationships that value judgements concerning tradition and authenticity are made. As such, I do not intend to prioritize any one of these theories, but rather I use them to help chronicle the rise of fado to the position it occupies today. Richard Elliott asserts that fado 'acts as a cultural product for reaffirming local identity via recourse to social memory and an imagined community,'[47] and in keeping with this characterisation, the issue with which I am most concerned is the value of such histories to those involved with fado and the resultant effect upon the way fado is performed and discussed.

There is written evidence of the existence of fado as a musical genre dating from as early as 1833,[48] and it is even suggested that fado was born as early as the fourteenth century as the song of homesick sailors on the "Voyages of Discovery".[49] Gallop cites Pinto de Carvalho, author of one of the earliest books on the subject of fado, as saying 'the fado is of maritime origin, an origin which is confirmed by its rhythm, undulating as the cadenced movements of the wave,

[47] Richard Elliot, *Fado and the Place of Longing: Loss, Memory and the City* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), p. 1.
[48] Paul Vernon, *A History of the Portuguese Fado* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1998), p. 5.
[49] Lila Ellen Gray, 'Memories of Empire, Mythologies of the Soul: Fado Performance and the Shaping of Saudade', *Ethnomusicology*, 51.1 (2007), 106–130 (p. 106).

regular as the heaving of a ship […] or as the beating waves upon the shore.'[50] There is a widespread belief that sailors at some point have sung fado, but there are also claims that it originally comes from other sources. The British-born sociologist Marion Kaplan, living in Portugal, suggests: 'The soaring, haunting sounds of fado are descended, perhaps, from a melancholic dance of Congolese slaves shipped to Brazil. Or perhaps from the cantigas of the Middle Ages'.[51] It is inevitable that such an old musical form would have a wide variety of influences, mostly due to the varied history of Portugal. Elliot takes a different stance on the idea of maritime influences, suggesting that it was not Portugal's action in going out to sea that formulated the distinct sound of fado, but rather the fact that they received travellers from across the globe in the ports of Lisbon, and this amalgamation of cultures and sounds resulted in what can be heard today:

> Lisbon has been an important port for centuries and has been witness to the comings and goings of myriad cultures; most commentators agree that it is this mixing of cultural practices along the banks of the Tejo River that most likely gave birth to fado and that, contrary to the nationalist insistence on Portuguese purity, Brazilians and Africans most likely had some involvement in the process.[52]

This notion is supported by two instrumentalists working on the international fado circuit. When asked about which of the narratives of the birth of fado they chose to believe, Diogo Clemente told me that 'Lisbon is a port, and receives every influence, every culture. Moorish and Arabic people, and that mix was the

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[50] Pinto de Carvalho, cited in Rodney Gallop, 'The Fado (The Portuguese Song of Fate)', *The Musical Quarterly*, 19.2 (1933), 199–213 (pp. 202–203).
[51] Marion Kaplan, *The Portuguese: The Land and Its People* (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 2006), p. 333.
[52] *Fado and Place of Longing*, p. 19.

kitchen of fado. I do not believe in a purely Brazilian origin, for example…', to which Angelo Freire added, 'fado is a European music, so it evolves. Its evolution is with society. As society evolves, so too does the music.'[53] I then questioned them on the importance of a belief in one particular origin or source of fado as it is today, and they suggested that it is important insofar as it serves as a source of inspiration for the performers and composers. Clemente put forward the view that 'it's inspirational. If I believe that the port is the point of departures and arrivals, it's important for *saudade.*[54] The relation with the sea — all of the stories of fado talk about that – I think it's important.' Freire agreed with this idea, stating that 'no matter where [the fadistas] come from, it's inspirational.'[55]

Commonly cited influences on the sound of fado and other forms of Portuguese music are the Moorish settlers who, after landing at the Iberian Peninsula in 711 BC retained control of parts of what is now modern day Portugal for up to five centuries.[56] Indeed, the following description of Islamic music from the period of Muslim occupation of the Iberian peninsula could, without too much difficulty, be applied to fado:

> Their music did not consist, as with us, in a "concord of sweet sounds" from different instruments, but simply in a soft and tender air, which the musician sung [sic], and accompanied with a lute. Sometimes they united a number of voices and lutes together, to perform the same air in unison. This was, and is still sufficient to gratify a people, passionately fond of poetry, and whose first object,

[53] James Félix, *Interview with Diogo Clemente and Angelo Freire,* (Coventry: Unpublished, February 2010).
[54] A melancholic yearning or longing discussed in greater detail elsewhere in this thesis
[55] *Interview with Diogo Clemente and Angelo Freire.*
[56] José Hermano Saraiva, *Portugal: A Companion History* (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1997), pp. 8–9.

> when they hear a voice, is to understand the meaning of the verses which are chaunted *[sic]*.[57]

One musician working at a fado house in Lisbon, when asked about the origins emphasises both the uncertainty regarding the true origins and the fact that there are a number of popular theories:

> For me, as I think of it, I think it has a lot of Arab influence because of the history of Portugal and the way that it's sung. The melisma of the voice is the style, but it depends also on the singer. I think that some of the Arab music and Arab culture has some roots in fado also. But I heard a lot of theories and I never studied these deeply. Also, the story of the sailors, the Portuguese travelling and the feeling of leaving your family behind. I think it comes from a mix of stuff, not exactly one place. But I cannot tell exactly what the origin is.[58]

In addition to suggested Islamic links, at various times in history Portugal has had large numbers of Jewish settlers among its population, and it is thought by some they also contributed to the development of fado, but of all mainstream cultural influences suggested that this notion is much less commonly cited.[59] Nonetheless, despite such a potentially cosmopolitan pedigree, there are many, mostly those connected with fado performance rather than the academic study of fado, who insist on the purity of fado as uniquely Portuguese and dismiss any suggestion to the contrary, as illustrated by a comment made to Lila Ellen Gray: 'Fado is our music! Fado is not Arab! Fado is not from Brazil! Fado is Portuguese! Brazil was Portuguese before it was Brazilian […] How can a

[57] George Power, *The History of the Empire of the Musulmans in Spain and Portugal*, (No location: zero papel), (2011 [1815]), Kindle Edition, n.p.
[58] James Félix, *Interview with Tiago Tomé*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, June 2012).
[59] Donald Cohen, ed., *Fado Português* (London: Wise Publications, 2003), p. 7.

Brazilian understand our music?'[60] Mario Pacheco, one of the most prominent figures in fado today, involved as he is in composing, promoting and playing fado in addition to owning one of the best-known fado houses in Lisbon, when asked directly 'what is fado?' replied:

> Nowadays I believe the sharpest, the best label of Portugal, fado, it's our music connected with, related very closely to the Portuguese, to the art of the Portuguese, the Portuguese feeling, and it's a music that was born here in this neighbourhood [Alfama] two hundred years ago. It's not a new song, it's a song we've had two hundred years, always living and always accompanying the times, so it's a very alive music with new poems with new musics, with new interpreters, but the roots are there.[61]

One interesting feature of all of the prominent accounts of the origins of fado is the urban nature of them. There are a number of suggestions connecting fado to life in Lisbon, or life in cities in general; similarly many of these myths suggest multi-cultural or global origins for fado, with influences from this or that country or culture. However, there is a surprising lack of theories connecting fado with any of the other Portuguese musical traditions, specifically the rural strains of folk music. While some of these traditional genres, such as the *ranchos folcloricos* were, some claim, partially fabricated and later promoted by the Salazaarian regime,[62] there is, nevertheless, a strong tradition of rural folk music within Portugal, from the music of the *gaita-de-foles* (Portuguese bagpipes) of the northern mountain villages of Tras-os-Montes, to the *fandangos* and polyphonic male voice choirs of the central and southern regions

[60] Lila Ellen Gray, 'Resounding History, Embodying Place: Fado Performance in Lisbon, Portugal', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Duke University, 2005), pp. 120–121.
[61] James Félix, *Interview with Mário Pacheco*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, June 2012).
[62] Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco and Maria do Rosário Pestana, 'Folclore' in *Enciclopédia da Música em Portugal no Século XX (C–L),* ed. by Salwa Castelo–Branco, (Portugal: Circulo de Leitores/Temas e Debates e Autores, 2010), pp. 507–508 (p. 508).

of Alentejo. Indeed, these have little to nothing in common socially, historically or musically with the fado of Lisbon, favouring as they do “rural” percussion instruments (such as two pine cones rubbed together, or milk jugs struck across the opening with a leather paddle) and accordions, commonly placing an emphasis on ensemble singing and, often, accompanied by dancing. The only real similarity between the urban (fado) and rural (folclore) music of Portugal is the predilection for a simple harmonic structure consisting of alternating tonic and dominant seventh chords; however this is not sufficient evidence to suggest any solid connection between these genres, as such a harmonic scheme is prevalent in many musics of the western world. Indeed, the opposition of tonic and dominant is one of the key features of traditional western harmony. It is interesting to note, however, that in recent years, some of the more commercial fado houses, particularly those in the areas of Lisbon frequented by a large number of tourists, often include performances of some of these rural genres alongside fado, in order to give tourists a taste of “real” Portugal and “real” Portuguese music. Regardless of the fabricated nature of such performances, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four, it is clear that they are viewed as two distinct genres, and are included in the entertainment programme because of a view that presenting one of the genres without the other would render the listener’s experience of Portuguese music incomplete. They are sold as two genres placed side by side in order to emphasise the differences between them, rather than the commonalities; they are not seen as two related forms of music except by virtue of being uniquely Portuguese.

Despite the lack of any definitive knowledge of the origins of fado, there is one position which has, for many decades, dominated discussions of the origins and role of fado – the Lisbon-style fado is not the song of the upper classes of

society, but the musical expression of the common people. That is not to say that it has never received attention from the upper classes, but rather that it is generally considered the music of and for the proletariat. There was a movement in the early twentieth century by the bourgeoisie to appropriate the genre and refine it as parlour music, fuelling a number of heated debates in the pages of fado-related journals and publications of the time, but with later changes in the political and social climate these efforts ultimately failed, with fado once more being seen as a working-class genre. I deal with this issue in greater detail in Chapter Five. Whether or not it originated in distant lands, it is now seen as Portuguese, and specifically related to Lisbon. This is reinforced in part by a number of different aspects of fado performance, such as the neighbourhoods in which fado evolved and can still be heard today, and the subject matter. There is one story that is popular amongst the Portuguese people, however, and it is that of Maria Severa (1820–1846). A prostitute and daughter of a tavern owner known as "The Bearded Lady," Severa is said to have moved to Mouraria, and the story suggests that she took a lover who was subsequently sent to Africa for an unknown crime; in pining for him she learnt to sing fado with the yearning melancholy known as *saudade*. Her rise to fame (or, rather, infamy) came after her tempestuous affair with the Count of Vimioso. His family objected so strongly to his entertaining such a relationship with someone so low in society that he was forced to leave her, sending her spiralling into depression before dying of apoplexy at the age of twenty six.[63] The tragic story of this young woman's life, the way in which it is representative of the lot of many residents of Lisbon at that time, and the way in which the emotions felt by the central character led to a musical genre, is so integral to the development of

[63] *A History of the Portuguese Fado,* p. 8.

both fado and a form of Portuguese urban identity, that the first Portuguese sound-film in 1931 was the story of her life, *A Severa*.[64]

Another common association, particularly in the early days of fado, was between fado and blind beggars. Vernon points to the governmental provision of money boxes for the blind as the cause of this: 'Blind beggars, who could find no other work and who received nothing from the government save an official black wooden begging box, regularly sang and played guitarra on the streets for a few escudos — a practice which could still be found as late as the 1980s — and their role in the dissemination of the fado has been a key one.'[65] Certainly, there are numerous references to blind musicians involved with fado at the start of the twentieth century, and many books contain images, be they photographs or drawings, of blind musicians with fado-related instruments.[66] While there are a number of references to fado as being sung by blind musicians, there is nothing to suggest that they were involved in the origins of the genre, but rather, they were responsible for the spread of the genre, both throughout Lisbon and the surrounding towns and countryside. It should be noted that the repertoire of these beggars was not limited to fado; today one can still hear blind beggars on the streets of Lisbon and, more often than not, they sing music more akin to the rural folk songs of Portugal. That the music was performed by beggars, who by the nature of this label are at the bottom of the social hierarchy, served to perpetuate the association of fado with those lower classes, a topic explored in greater detail in Chapter Five.

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[64] Directed by Leitão de Barros.
[65] Jan and Cora Gordon (1933), cited in *A History of the Portuguese Fado,* pp. 18–19.
[66] See, for example, *Descalços* (Rui Viera Nery. *Para Uma Historia do Fado,* (Lisbon: Público-Corda Seca, 2004), p. 124), *Cegos Cantadores* (Ruben de Carvalho, *Um Século de Fado,* (Amadora: Ediclube, 1999), n.p.), and the anonymous, undated engraving in the photo section of Vernon's *A History of the Portuguese Fado* (n.p.).

Musical Characteristics of Fado

In order to appreciate and understand musical developments and evolution within fado, it is necessary to first have some form of standard from which variations have derived or diverged. Once this is established, it will be possible to empirically demonstrate the forms that various musical innovations and developments have taken. I wish now to discuss the individual components which, by the standards of many people involved with fado, go to create a typical fado sound. I use the term “typical” as a descriptor here in order to represent could be viewed to be standard or expected; I do not, by its use, imply or suggest any personal notion of authenticity, and the term is only associated with the idea of tradition by virtue of the fact that it is through tradition that the ensemble described below has come to be accepted as the “norm”. In this context, I use the term “typical” to denote that which the majority of practitioners would expect, as revealed by written sources, academic sources and also more mainstream sources such as tourist travel guides — as well as through firsthand experiences observing the format of, and idiosyncrasies displayed in, a wide number of live fado performances, and finally through conversations with singers, musicians, and other individuals involved with fado. I deal with notions and discourses surrounding the ideas of “tradition” and “authenticity” elsewhere in this thesis. This chapter is concerned with the development and evolution of the musical features of fado, and as such does not address subjective and personal issues in relation to such evolution, serving simply to illustrate these developments which have led to the fado that can be heard today. While it is not possible to attribute specific origins to specific musical features in fado, it is possible to attribute some features to specific individuals who are believed to have introduced them to the genre, and these individuals, such as Amália

Rodrigues and Armandinho will be discussed in the course of this chapter with reference to their particular innovations.

In any fado, whether well-known or newly-composed, the musical foreground belongs to the singer, male or female, who sings the words of the fado with no other supporting voices. He or she is accompanied by an ensemble consisting of a *guitarra portuguesa*[67] and a *viola*.[68] These three performers form what can be considered to be a complete ensemble and among them, provide all necessary musical elements of fado including lyrics, melody, counter-melody, harmonic support, rhythmic momentum and bass line. Within such a musical group there is a strict hierarchy relating to the roles of each instrument and the prominence of each part.

First and foremost, fado is a vocal genre, and it is the voice of the singer that is considered the driving force of the music. Such is the importance of the singer within fado that some authors claim that the vocalist and instrumentalists are not an ensemble, but rather the instruments are merely an accompaniment to the singer.[69] It is interesting to note that, quite often, descriptions of the qualities of the singing focus less on issues such as melody and more on the expressiveness of the voice, and the way in which such expression is conveyed through musical devices. Gallop claims that 'the vocal line of the fado is clearly conditioned by the harmonic accompaniment, chords of the tonic and dominant repeated in strictly symmetrical rotation, from which it is never divorced and

[67] Hereinafter, guitarra.
[68] *Viola* is a term used in Portuguese to describe any guitar-shaped instrument in general, but in this context, it refers specifically to a classical guitar. This instrument may alternatively be called *viola do fado* or *guitarra classico*.
[69] Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, 'The Dialogue Between Voices and Guitars in Fado Performance', in *Fado: Voices and Shadows*, ed. by Joaquim Pais de Brito (Lisbon: Electa, 1994), pp. 125–140 (p. 127).

without which indeed it would be difficult or even impossible to sing.'[70] However, one of the most striking aural features of sung fado is the way in which certain words are emphasised according to the emotion that the text has inspired in the singer, either through the use of more elaborate ornamentation, long sustained notes in rubato sections of the song, or improvisatory melismatic singing. Such emphases are usually found towards the end of a song as the story being told reaches a climax.

Typically, one would not expect a trained operatic or classical voice from a fadista, as Gray points out in response to criticism of the lyric quality of her singing: 'The sound of "a lyric voice" (uma voz lírica) links to ideas surrounding musical training which involves privilege, a lack of essence or being fadista (ser fadista) and thus to "artificiality".[71] Often, singers will try and emulate the styles of major figures of the past, with Amália Rodrigues[72] serving as the model for the majority of female singers, although others will cite Argentina Santos, Berta Cardosa and Lucília do Carmo as contributing to their own personal style. For the male singers, there is no single figurehead, there is no male Amália, but there are nonetheless certain names that come up in describing male fadistas, such as Alfredo Marceneiro and Fernando Mauricio. The result of this lack of a musical father figure is that often one will find more variety of sound among male fado singers, as each has his own particular role model, whereas it is rare to find a female singer who does not claim Amália as a major influence on her style.

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[70] Rodney Gallop, 'The Development of Folk-Song in Portugal and the Basque Country', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 61st Session (1943–1945), 61–80 (p. 70).
[71] 'Resounding History, Embodying Place', p. 77.
[72] Hereinafter, Amália.

Without a doubt, it was Amália who has left the biggest mark on the genre thus far, a performer whose unique style changed the way succeeding fadistas would interpret and perform songs, while at the same time never totally abandoning what was considered to be typical fado. The question of where tradition ends and innovation begins in her style is addressed in Chapter Three, but such was the effect of Amália's career, and such were the musical changes she introduced, that certain features that have since been adopted as standard practice will be addressed here.

Born in 1920, Amália fast became one of the best known and loved fadistas of her day; by breaking away from the traditional tascas and casas de fado, while never totally abandoning them, she became the first diva of fado, appearing in countless films and musicals as both an actress and a fadista. With her soulful, powerful vocal style she travelled the world in the latter half of the twentieth century as Portugal's greatest cultural ambassador, performing fado in Europe, North America and Asia.

Her style was firmly based on the fado of her time and before, and as a performer she was a contemporary with such other legendary names as Alfredo Marceneiro and Berta Cardosa; yet, while remaining grounded in this tradition, she gave her songs a unique touch. There are many features of Amália's performance style which are now commonplace in fado; her vocal ornamentation (*voltinhas*), which added to the emotive nature of the music and her habit of breaking into a soaring, improvised, rubato melody in the moments of heightened emotion have since been adopted as an authentic expression of emotion, and as such have been widely accepted by the majority of the fado community. Other innovations, such as her use in some songs of non-standard

instruments, a string section in *Fado Amália*, for example, have been accepted as part of a particular style and song, and are addressed later in this chapter. She performed in front of audiences of thousands with the aid of amplification, sang in languages other than Portuguese, and even took lyrics from sources such as the Portuguese poet Luís de Camões, all of which were new innovations and as such were a move away from the style of typical fado at that time. While her fidelity to tradition may be questionable, her emotions never were: 'I have so much sadness in me, I am a pessimist, a nihilist, everything fado demands in a singer, I have in me'.[73] Through all of her innovations, even those suggesting an apparent disregard for tradition, her singing was seen to embody that which made fado, *saudade*. Whether the "authentic" label is accurately applied here, or simply used owing to to her prominence as a performer in both Portugal and the wider world is an issue addressed in Chapter Four. However, I have yet to speak to a fadista who does not acknowledge Amália as a major player in the formation of fado today. Indeed, Lopes claims that 'Fado reaches its apogee in the decades from the 50s to the 60s with Amália Rodrigues. This period marks the definite internationalization of fado, being Amália as its protagonist.'[74] It should be noted that while some of the changes she made can be attributed to her own innovation, it is equally possible that other features were already present in the performance style and mannerisms of other fadistas of the time, but became most closely associated with Amália simply by virtue of her prominence, and that by incorporating these

[73] Amália Rodrigues, cited in Jon Pareles, 'Amalia Rodrigues, 79, Queen of Fado, Lisbon's Sad Songs', *New York Times* (7 October 1999) <http://www.nytimes.com/1999/10/07/arts/amalia-rodrigues-79-queen-of-fado-lisbons-sad-songs.html?scp=2&sq=queen+of+fado&st=nyt> [accessed 19 October 2007].

[74] Samuel Lopes, *Fado Portugal: 200 Years of Fado*, (Portugal: SevenMuses MusicBooks, 2011), p. 46.

features, she brought them to the attention of budding fadistas on a scale that no other fadista could manage.

The primacy of the vocal line in fado grants particular importance to the melody line, which is often the most prominent feature of fado and that which is subject to the widest range of interpretations and variations. In 2010 I had the opportunity to interview Diogo Clemente and Angelo Freire, two young, up-and-coming fado musicians who at the time were touring as instrumentalists for international fado star Mariza. When asked to name some of the features that define fado as a genre, they described fado in musical terms as follows:

> Fado has specific melodic movements and specific harmonic movements. Also, specific instruments: Portuguese guitar, classical guitar and bass. There are not many harmonic movements; it's very simple. The special aspect is the melody […] around the melody we can make some variations of the melody in a small space, within a small amount of harmonic movement.[75]

It is perhaps because of this emphasis on the melody that the vocal line is so important; the role of the voice is seen as more than merely expressing the sentiment of the song through words. Vocal techniques such as the use of falsetto, rubato and ornaments such as mordents, acciaccaturas and trills are often seen as signifiers of emotion and feeling, and therefore are taken as signifiers of authenticity of emotion. The fact that these can be mimicked and added by any competent musician or actor could be seen as detracting from this, and this is an issue which is explored in greater detail later in the thesis;

[75] *Interview with Diogo Clemente and Angelo Freire.*

but genuine or not, such features still play a major part in defining fado performance style.[76]

The voice is certainly the instrument of the musical foreground in fado, and often it is aspects of the singer's performance that is most vividly remembered, be it the words sung, the quality of the voice, or their body language and stage presence. However, fado is not a purely vocal genre, and there are certain other instruments which are identified as intrinsic to fado, and which form part of the expectations of any fado performance today.

The presence of those instruments considered typical of fado can be traced back to the 1780s with the publication of *Estudo de Guitarra em que se Expose o Meio Facil*[77] and *Arte de Viola*[78] by da Silva Leite and da Paixão Ribeiro respectively.[79] However, despite this early source on the instrument, da Silva Leite's treatise makes no reference either to fado as a genre or to techniques explicitly related to fado accompaniment. Rather, the first explicit reference connecting the guitarra with fado is dated from 1840.[80] The origin of this supposedly uniquely Portuguese instrument, the *guitarra*, is quite paradoxical. First, it is inaccurate to translate it into English as a type of guitar because it is actually a member of the cittern family. It is also not originally a Portuguese instrument, as it is descended from the late eighteenth-century instrument known as the English guitar. Most recognisable by the headstock, known as a "turkey's tail" due to the way in which the tuning "screws" fan out, the modern *guitarra* whose design has remained virtually unchanged for the past century,

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[76] For a more detailed account of these musical features, see Castelo-Branco: *The Dialogue Between Voices and Guitars in Fado Performance.*
77 Studies for the Guitarra Exposed in an Easy Way.
78 The Art of the Viola.
79 *A History of the Portuguese Fado,* p. 5.
[80] Sara Pereira, *Fado Museum 1998–2008,* (Lisbon: Museu do Fado, 2008), pp. 135–136.

has six double courses of strings with three courses tuned in unison and three courses in octaves. As with the fado itself, there are two variations of this instrument. The Coimbra model guitarra has a smaller body and shorter neck than the Lisbon model, but to compensate for this it would normally be tuned one tone lower than the '*guitarra Lisboa'*.[81] There are also minor differences in appearance which are purely cosmetic; for example, the teardrop shape on the end of the headstock of the models designed and built in the northern city of Coimbra (arguably the birthplace of a subgenre of fado) is replaced by a scroll similar to that of a violin on the Lisbon-style *guitarra*, commonly known as a *caracol*.[82]

As with the acoustic guitar in western folk music, however, there are numerous tuning systems which can be used on either model of guitarra, although José Lúcio, an organologist specialising in the varieties of Portuguese cordophones, suggests that these variations are best achieved with the same gauge string as that which is used on the Lisbon model.[83] The principal systems in use today are the Lisbon and Coimbra tunings, which are identical except that the Coimbra guitarra is tuned one tone lower than the Lisbon guitarra. In addition to these, Lúcio identifies three other tuning systems, comparable to the "open" tunings of some western guitars such as the American Dobro, the first of which he labels "natural tuning", wherein all strings are tuned to notes within the chord of E minor, and two other systems named for the style of fado with which they are associated: "Mouraria" tuning and "Fado Corrido" tuning, although the latter is identical to the standard Lisbon tuning system.[84] In addition to these

81 James Félix, *Interview with Paulo Jorge Santos*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, July 2007).
82 Snail.
83 José Lúcio, *Cordofones Portugueses*, (Porto: Areal Editores, 2000), p. 35.
84 Lúcio, p. 35.

variations of tuning systems, at the start of the chapter on guitarras, Lúcio includes photographs[85] labelled 'Cistre Português' and 'Guitarra de Cravelhas (de Severa)', which appear to be earlier models of guitarra, similar to those shown in early artistic impressions of fado musicians, and the 'Guitarra do Porto', named for Portugal's other major city, which bears a strong resemblance to the modern guitarras, albeit with a slightly smaller body. However, no further information is provided about these instruments.

While the singer is considered to be the most important participant in fado performances, the instrumental ensemble also has a clear hierarchy, at the top of which is the *guitarrista.*[86] Unlike the singer, the guitarrista is almost always male,[87] and it is to this performer that other participants look for an element of leadership and guidance. In the course of my research I often observed singers seeking the advice of the guitarrista regarding choice of melody, styles of singing and appropriate keys to match their voice, and in the breaks between performances it was not uncommon for the guitarrista and one or two singers to go off to a corner of the room and quietly rehearse a particular piece, with the instrumentalist stopping the singer in certain places and making suggestions. The guitarra is often the first instrument heard in a night of fado, beginning the proceedings with a solo instrumental piece known as a *guitarrada.* This is often a variation on a well-known fado melody in which the metallic tone of the guitarra, taking the place of the voice in a sung fado, is accompanied by the softer, regular rhythm of the viola. In a similar way to sung fado, there is a noticeable increase in the sense of urgency as the piece reaches its climax and

[85] Lúcio, p. 34.
[86] One who plays the guitarra.
[87] While there are one or two prominent female guitarristas, they are extremely rare, and there seems to be little to no encouragement for young females to learn this instrument.

conclusion; while the guitarrada begins with the exposition of the theme, usually in a relatively slow tempo and without excessive ornamentation, it gradually builds up throughout the variations gaining in velocity and technical complexity, thereby providing the guitarrista with an opportunity to display his virtuosity before once again becoming subservient to the vocalist in the following fados.

As an accompanying instrument, a great amount of importance is still placed upon the guitarra. Typically, the fado is prefaced with a short instrumental introduction, wherein the guitarrista plays an outline of the melody, usually based on the opening bars of the vocal line. There are, however, two distinct approaches to accompaniment, which are almost entirely due to the work of one man. Born in the final decade of the nineteenth century, Armando Augusto Freire was known professionally as Armandinho. His rise in the world of fado was due to both his position as manager of one of the more respected *casas de fado,* 'Luso', in Lisbon and his prominence in shaping the role of the *guitarrista* through his own innovative style of accompaniment. In his book *A History of the Portuguese Fado*, Paul Vernon summarises Armandinho as follows:

> His *guitarra* style, inspired by the nineteenth century *guitarrista* Luís Carlos da Silva, known as 'Petrolino' (a shadowy figure who recorded just once in 1904), and honed by a long association with live performance, was more complex and innovative than almost any who preceded him.[88]

In many ways, Armandinho's new approaches to the instrumental side of fado mirrored the vocal style pioneered by Amália. Rather than simply playing chord-based accompaniments, arpeggios, and set phrases designed to lie underneath

[88] *A History of the Portuguese Fado*, p. 27.

the vocal line, an approach which resulted in keeping the instrumental parts subservient to and supportive of the singer, Armandinho made his own style much more improvisatory in nature, leaving the harmonic and rhythmic support to the *viola* players. Instead, the *guitarra* became a secondary voice, providing counter melodies called *contracantos* in-between the vocal phrases in addition to setting the mood for the piece by providing a melodic introduction.

Vernon's description of a typical modern *guitarrista* highlights both Armandinho's style and the way it has since been adopted by virtually all *guitarristas* since the great innovator:

> He [the guittarista] is expected both to conserve tradition and be innovative; he must compose and improvise; he must be able to accompany a wide range of vocal talent; he must understand every nuance of the fado but not be bound by it… other *guitarristas* began emulating [Armandinho's] approach and, often his style, producing a heavily embellished sound that has now become characteristic of contemporary fado.[89]

The guitarrada, mentioned above owes its existence and popularity to Armandinho. Whether he introduced this feature into fado nights because he was such a talented guitarrista, or he is viewed as a great guitarrista because he was the first to have such a platform to display his ability, is unclear; but from the few recordings that do exist, coupled with the list of performers for whom he acted as an accompanist, it is clear that Armandinho was a performer held in high regard as a virtuosic musician capable of adapting his playing style in order to suit the needs of any given situation. Since Armandinho, there are numerous musicians who have gone on to achieve fame purely on the basis of their

[89] *A History of the Portuguese Fado*, p. 12.

technical and musical ability within this sub-genre, most notably father and son Artur and Carlos Paredes, two guitarristas from Coimbra. It is interesting to note that a number of these musicians are better known for their solo performances than for accompanying fado singers, and while there are those such as Raúl Néry and Mario Pacheco who are prominent in both fields, there are others such as António Chainho who are seen principally as solo artists, and who rarely, if ever, accompany singers. Whether the guitarrada is a legitimate part of fado, or if it has become distant and unrelated except by origin, is an issue discussed in Chapter Five.

Regarding the original forms fado took, there are three traditional categories, all of which consist of a simple harmonic scheme of alternating tonic and dominant chords, thereby allowing the singer to use either an existing melody or improvise one as their emotions dictate. Perhaps unusually for such a melancholic genre, two of these three categories are major in tonality and have a relatively upbeat tempo. As Donald Cohen puts it in *Fado Portugues* 'The *fado corrido* (running fado) and the *fado Mouraria* are both up-tempo song forms and are used for themes that, while they may be sad, nostalgic or whimsical, are rarely, if ever, the tragic, plaintive ones found in the *fado menor*.'[90] Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco suggests that one of the main characteristics which define these three forms is the repeating guitarra accompaniment, as illustrated by Raúl Néry.[91] These set accompaniments are still used today in renditions of the older fados, and also as a framework within which the singers improvise lyrics, often with two or three singers alternating verses. Nonetheless, since the time of Armandinho the improvisatory contracantos have been a major feature

[90] *Fado Português*, p. 132.
[91] See "The Dialogue Between Voices and Guitars in Fado Performance".

of the majority of fado accompaniment, allowing the individual musicians to express themselves through providing their own interpretations, using certain stock phrases to put their own signature on a piece. At first glance, however, the same could not be said about players of the other instruments considered typical in fado.

Of the typical roles involved in fado performance, that of the viola has been the most stable. While the vocal line has, thanks to artists such as Amália, become more embellished, and the guitarra line has come to reflect Armandinho's improvisatory approach to countermelody, the viola provides both a harmonic and rhythmic foundation over which everything else takes place. Typically, a standard classical guitar is used, although it is common today for steel acoustic strings to be used in place of classical nylon strings in order to enhance the volume and projection of the sound. In his book *Cordofones Portugueses,*[92] José Lúcio mentions *viola de fado* separately from viola, but gives no details regarding the distinction between the two, and seems to treat them as identical instruments, judging from the photographs and the accompanying CD. He does note that the *violão* (which he also refers to as a *viola francesa*)[93] has six strings, and that these can either be a mix of two steel and four bass strings (*bordão*), or of three nylon and three bass strings.[94] The viola player[95] typically accompanies both the singer and the guitarrista with a pattern of alternating bass note and block chords, the violista plucking the strings with their thumb and fingers, with the bass note alternating between the root and fifth note of the chord. Transitions from one chord to the next are often marked by the violista

[92] Portuguese Cordophones.
[93] Lúcio, p. 28.
[94] Lúcio, p. 27.
[95] Hereinafter, violista.

with the use of either chromatic or diatonic scales, but aside from these simple passages the chord-based accompaniment is relatively constant throughout the piece, pausing only during extended voltinhas within the final lines of the song. This style of playing is employed in both sung fado and guitarradas, and is a feature not just of fado music, but also of much of the rural Portuguese folk music, commonly referred to as *folclore*.

This consistency and stability should not be mistaken, however, for inflexibility or constraints on the performers' creativity. When asked about the scope for self expression, Tiago Tomé, a violista working in one of the newer fado venues in Lisbon (*Vossemecê*), explains:

> You're very limited as a viola player, but also there are no two players who play exactly the same. Even if you are doing the same rhythm you can play the cadence in a different way, you can do the same rhythm but make the notes have less duration or more duration. Also as you play along with other people you can also put more importance on one note or another, and that's how you express yourself in playing viola. But it's all about accompanying the singer and the guitarist, so you must give them the floor so that they can express better. Sort of giving the floor to them so that they can express themselves.[96]

When I suggested that the role of the viola in fado is more supportive, he drew attention to the fact that it is not just the viola in a supporting role, but all accompaniment instruments:

> You have your style of playing and your playing will affect the overall song and also I heard a singer saying that for her, it was 60% the musicians' role in the fado and 40% to the singer. So it's a really big importance — who is outside doesn't notice but who is doing it, who

[96] *Interview with Tiago Tomé.*

> is singing, really without a good musician they cannot express themselves as they want. Also, the good players must be along with the singer and to get to know what the singer wants to do and to be supportive of it. Supporting, but not blocking the ideas of the singer, you must be always background but supporting as much as you can, giving them the freedom, reinforcing the ideas that they are trying to give.

In other words, in supporting the vocal line the instrumentalists are assisting the singer's creativity, but simultaneously they have a certain amount of freedom to experiment, allowing them to express themselves individually and as part of the communal catharsis which is a major part of fado, as discussed later in this thesis. For now, it will suffice to suggest that if fado is a vehicle for emotion and self expression, this relative stability and uniformity of the viola line enables the violista to be a major facilitator in this cathartic act.

Aside from the viola and guitarra, there is one other instrument that may be found in fado performances which, while not seen as compulsory, is still a generally accepted part of a typical fado ensemble. This instrument, known as the *viola baixa* is, in essence a bass guitar. In keeping with the unamplified nature of fado performance, it is a form of acoustic bass guitar, but often varies slightly in appearance and build from the acoustic bass guitars commonly found within western popular music — although this variation seems to be more of an aesthetic consideration, and helps the viola baixa become more visually consistent with the other instruments in the ensemble. Musically, the role of this instrument is identical to that of the lower parts played by the violista, in that it provides simple bass lines containing, for the most part, only the root and fifth note of the chord, with short chromatic or diatonic scalic passages linking each chord. Due to the similarity with the viola line, it is common for these passages

to be played in contrary motion with those of the viola to avoid simply doubling the lines an octave lower. It is also this closeness with the viola part that has led to the viola baixa being viewed as an optional instrument; there is very little lost musically if this instrument is not present for a performance as it is perfectly possible, and accepted as part of the violista's role, to provide this bass line with the thumb while the chords are simultaneously being played with the fingers, providing harmonic colour. Like that of the viola, the musical role of the viola baixa has remained virtually unchanged since it was first introduced into fado, although there is no documentary evidence of when exactly that was. It is interesting to note, however, that despite its widespread acceptance in fado performances since at least the time of Amália, most literature on fado musicians names only one prominent baixa player: Joel Pina.

The instrument used to provide the bass line in fado is usually a fully acoustic four-string bass guitar, as opposed to the electro-acoustic models found more commonly within western popular music. It is tuned either in fourths, much like a standard bass guitar, or in fifths, similar to other Portuguese plucked string instruments such as the *bandolim*. However, some venues such as Clube de Fado in the Alfama district of Lisbon commonly substitute a standard double bass in place of the viola baixa which, despite having a different tone and appearance, and clearly belonging to the violin family rather than the guitar family, seems to receive much less criticism than some other variations to the standard fado ensemble.

Musical Developments In Fado

Having established the typical musical features of fado performance, I wish to address the changes that have taken place over the past few decades. As mentioned previously, it is not the purpose of this chapter to discuss the fidelity of these changes to the earlier models, nor is it my intention to valorise or criticise these changes; rather, it is my argument that in order to understand the changing (or unchanging) attitudes towards fado in its varying forms, one must understand the musical changes that have taken place and the events which precipitated these developments.

There are a number of variations which have been introduced to the standard instrumental line-up of fado, some more subtle than others, but all of which involve a move away from the expected acoustic, guitar-based sound towards the soundworld of other musical genres. The simplest of these variations is the addition of another instrument, which allows the musicians to retain the standard sound of fado while adding something a little different. This is seen by some to be ideal as it allows a unique rendition of a piece while retaining all of the familiar features such as the guitarra and viola accompaniment, an approach which has the attraction of preserving everything which is expected of fado, and so, in this way, remaining true to the genre. I witnessed an example of this in Tasca do Jaime in the Graça area of Lisbon. This venue, which Gray discusses in greater detail,[97] is perceived as one of the more authentic in Lisbon, free from the commercial trappings of the tourist trade and retaining the format of earlier fado sessions, wherein anyone can walk in off the street and sing with no expectation of payment. Despite this, however, the owner Jaime

[97] 'Resounding History, Embodying Place'.

often incorporates a tambourine for certain fados, both when he is singing and when certain other fadistas, who seem to be well known to him, are performing. A more prominent example of variation in the instrumental line-up can be seen in some of the recorded music of artists such as Amália and Carlos do Carmo, who regularly employed orchestral instruments, particularly from the string and woodwind families, such as in Amália's rendition of "Fado Amália"[98] and Carlos do Carmo's "Canoas do Tejo",[99] which also includes a piano and an electric guitar. The fact that such well-respected fadistas employ instruments so divergent from the typical guitars raises a number of questions about the legitimacy of either their interpretation of fado, or the beliefs held by others about the genre. Certainly there seems to be an inconsistency between that which is generally expected and that which is practised by certain major figures, and this inconsistency will be examined in greater depth, and from a number of different perspectives, in later chapters.

One other recent addition to fado worth noting at this stage does not involve other instruments as such, but rather a different approach to the performance of fado. As fado has moved away from the confines of small back-street bars and restaurants which hold no more than fifty or sixty people, and onto the world music stage, it has become necessary to take steps to allow the performances to be heard by greater numbers of listeners. Amália, for example, performed at Carnegie Hall; similarly, guitarrista Mario Pacheco performed an open-air concert with special guest singers at Queluz National Palace. Such performances would not be possible without the use of microphones and, in

[98] Various Artists, *Rough Guide to Fado*, (World Music Network, 2004), Track 9.
[99] Carlos do Carmo, *Fado Maestro*, (Universal Portugal, 2008), Track 3.

some cases, the use of electro-acoustic instruments in place of the standard acoustic models.

A modern day artist who many claim[100] is the natural successor of Amália is Mariza, a figure known as a prominent recording artist and seen by many in Europe as the new ambassador for fado. It is interesting that, even in relatively large venues where amplification and microphones are necessary, she will always choose to perform at least one song totally unamplified, either by singing particularly loudly, or by standing in the middle of the audience with her instrumentalists, in the same way as at the small *casas de fado* in Lisbon. This demonstrates the strong desire to retain links with the old ways of performing, and is also a reminder that fado was originally a genre performed in small, intimate venues where technology is not needed and emotions can be expressed without electronic means. Furthermore, after moving away from fado to more eclectic world music sounds, with Brazilian and African influences on the album '*Transparente*', Mariza has recently released a new album entitled '*Fado Tradicional*'[101]. When she performed at Warwick Arts Centre (Coventry) in 2010[102] as part of her 'Queen of Fado' tour, her instrumental lineup consisted of a traditional fado group (viola, guitarra and viola baixa[103]) with the addition of trumpet, piano and percussion. After the concert, I interviewed the guitarra and viola players and they described it as follows: 'It's a beautiful thing and it's something special of course, but it has something foreign. It's something that not so consistent… It's not authentic. It's possible that I go to Argentina and I

[100] Lusk, John, 'Portuguese Perfection', *Independent* (17 November 2006) <http://arts.independent.co.uk/music/features/article1988181.ece> [accessed 19 October 2007].

[101] 'Traditional Fado'.

[102] 8 February 2010, Warwick Arts Centre, Coventry, United Kingdom.

[103] Acoustic bass guitar.

play with the accordion in Argentina with my guitar, but it's not authentic. It's good but it's not authentic.'[104]

Similarly, in *Adega de Mesquita*, a well known *casa de fado* in the Lisbon neighbourhood of *Bairro Alto*, I witnessed a fado performance where the musicians were joined by the accordion player from the rural folk band (*ranchos folclóricos*) which was also performing that evening. When I asked the *guitarrista*, Paulo Jorge Santos, why this had happened his response was that the accordion player 'just joins in when he feels like it'[105]. Surely, even though this is not a standard instrument within fado, this harks back to the true nature of fado — the expression of one's own feelings and emotions. Santos also suggested that there are two types of fado, and despite talking extensively about the need for authenticity, he freely admitted that by performing for payment at *Adega de Mesquita*, he is involved in the commercial side and that to him it is a job, which detracts from what he feels fado is truly about. He then goes on, however, to recommend a different *casa* where he chooses to go after playing for money where he can just unwind and sing and play for his own reasons and to experience some form of catharsis.[106]

There is one final aural feature considered typical in fado performance, and seen by many as vital to the effective performance of fado, and that is silence. While I do not propose to provide an in-depth discussion of the role and value of silence here,[107] it is nevertheless a feature many have come to expect of fado performances. Indeed, silence is considered to be an essential ingredient of

[104] *Interview with Diogo Clemente and Angelo Freire.*
[105] *Interview with Paulo Jorge Santos.*
[106] *Interview with Paulo Jorge Santos.*
[107] For such an in-depth account, see 'Resounding History, Embodying Place'.

many fado performances, in order that the audience may enter more fully into the words and sentiments of the sung text, and that they may relate more fully to the emotions and experiences of the performer. Many fado houses actively enforce this silence during fado performances through a number of ways; it is not uncommon, for example, for either the performer or member of staff whose duty it is to introduce the performers to make an announcement at the start about the necessity of silence during the performances, although interestingly these announcements always revolve around the idea that it is to aid the audience, rather than out of respect for the performers. The dimming of the lights, common in virtually all fado venues in Lisbon, further reinforces the need for silent contemplation and appreciation, broken only by those few performers who encourage the audience to sing along with certain phrases. Many venues even go so far as to cease all food service while the performers are singing and playing, with the table staff, and occasionally the musicians, shushing any tourists (for it almost always is the tourists rather than the locals) whose voices and conversations rise above a whisper. There are some venues, however, particularly the newer ones that cater mainly to tourists, where the rule of silence is not enforced; when I asked one instrumentalist why this was the case in the particular venue where he was performing, I was informed that it was a house policy in this particular restaurant not to reprimand or correct any particularly loud customers for fear of offending individuals or driving away business. Although this seems to be the exception rather than the rule, there is certainly a different atmosphere in such venues. I do not wish to put forward any value judgements here; one soon understands that what may at first seem rude on the part of the performers or staff is actually necessary in order to enhance the overall experience. Just as one would not talk through a church service or a

performance of a play at the theatre, audience members are encouraged not to talk during fado performances for the same reason – to fully take in what is happening and to fully digest both the words being sung and the sentiments behind them.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have presented those features of fado that most characteristically define the genre from a musical point of view. However, it is my position that such superficial [108]characteristics are not necessarily the most important, but simply the most obvious, and therefore the most easily examined and discussed. In the following chapters I wish to explore fado from a number of different perspectives, focussing on a number of areas that have a significant influence on the way fado has been formed and re-formed throughout its history, and also on the way that fado is interpreted both by those involved as practitioners and by those with little or no prior knowledge of the genre, such as the average tourist visiting Portugal for the first time.

[108] By which I mean those characteristics most easily observed on the surface of the music.

Chapter Three

The Nature of Tradition and Tradition in Fado

Introduction

Writing in 1933, Rodney Gallop described fado lyrics as “full of exaggerated sentimentality, wallowing in self-pity, they have the poverty of expression and the hackneyed turn of phrase commonly associated with greeting cards”[109]. However, he went on to qualify this apparent criticism with the following assertion:

> [I]f they achieve nothing else, these verses show that the fado is still alive. Despite their monotony and morbidity, the artless sophistication of the words and the technical poverty of the music, it is ridiculous to dismiss these songs, with Pimentel, as "deliquescent and immoral melodies . . . to be understood and felt only by those who vegetate in the mire of crapulence." They have an attraction, difficult to analyse or explain, which may perhaps be accounted for, in part, by their peculiar blend of sincerity and sophistication, of freshness and conventionality; and they have a real intrinsic value as the expression of a racial mood and of a social environment.[110]

The opening words of this quotation illustrate the view still held by many today that the traditions of fado are under threat of dilution or total disappearance. Furthermore, that this quotation comes from such an early time in history of the genre of fado, at least as it is recognized today, indicates just how fragile and precarious traditions, whether well-established or recent, can be.

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[109] Rodney Gallop. ‘The Fado (The Portuguese Song of Fate)’, The Musical Quarterly (Vol. 19, Issue 2, Apr. 1933), pp. 199–213 (p. 212).
[110] ‘The Fado (The Portuguese Song of Fate)’, p. 213.

In this chapter I discuss the notion of tradition in both a wide sense and as it is understood specifically in relation to fado. I will draw on sources from a number of disciplines in order to present a wide view of the concept of 'tradition' before defining the concept as it is used throughout this thesis. This will allow me to discuss various features of fado which are considered by certain individuals and groups as 'traditional', and in exploring these points of view I will draw comparisons with the 'typical' features described in the previous chapter, after which I expand on the features mentioned in Chapter Two in order to include those elements which are not purely musical, such as the themes and content of fado lyrics, and the sources from which these texts are taken.

I wish to critically examine the notion of 'tradition' and its apparent value by discussing the changes which have occurred within the genre of fado over the years, and the way in which attitudes towards these developments have changed over time. I present a number of features which artists have added to fado throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and highlight both those which have been accepted whole-heartedly, those which some accept and others do not, and those which, despite the best efforts of some innovators, remain outside of what is considered to be traditional. Following on from this, I explore the concept of tradition as an evolving entity, rather than a static ideal that remains unchanging throughout time. The way in which innovations become accepted as part of a tradition will be examined with specific reference to innovators within fado and attitudes towards both these individuals and their work. A distinction will also be drawn between a prescriptive and a voluntary evolution of tradition, with reference to political propaganda and censorship to illustrate the former, and the embracing of particular styles found to be effective to illustrate the latter.

Every musical genre has its own history, often with varying amounts of agreement on certain details, but this narrative is formed by a mix of past and present. The history of a genre will, of necessity, affect the way the genre is seen today, but there is an unseen struggle to control the future of the genre – a struggle between past and present, historical tradition and modern adaptation. The question facing folk musicians today is whether there is a difference between tradition and traditional values. This dichotomy is crucial to the understanding of the evolution of musical forms, and will be illustrated by examples from the genre of fado, with reference to specific artists, their approaches to tradition or innovation, and the way which they, in turn, are viewed by others on the basis of these approaches. Throughout this chapter I consider the ways in which tradition in fado is created and recreated, evolving alongside society. Using Amália and other similar figures as an example, I explore the way in which the perception of certain musical and extra-musical features have shifted from innovative to traditional, and the resulting effects, such as a possible devaluation of tradition within the genre, and an increased homogeneity in performance style.

Finally, this chapter will conclude with an examination of the value invested into the idea of ‘traditional’ fado, and the reasons for which it is held to be so important by some, yet is disregarded by others. The importance of tradition will be placed in contrast with the importance of innovation, and the views of a number of people involved with various aspects of fado performance will be presented in order to demonstrate the multiplicity of opinions on this topic.

Establishing Tradition

By the start of the second decade of the twentieth century, fado had adopted a fairly concrete form, a mould into which various ingredients could be poured in order to produce a performance acceptable to the listeners of the time. These ingredients usually consisted of a viola, a guitarra Portuguesa, and a singer, as discussed in the previous chapter. The gender of the singer did not matter, but the intention and sincerity of their performance did. Fado came to be known as an expression of the emotion saudade.[111] These performers would generally belong to the lower strata of society, such as working class, and sang about the hardships of life, their losses in love and their regrets. However, while this description may seem to describe the expected traits of a typical fado, it is an oversimplification and is not representative of all fado; while this model may conform to that which any number of tourist guides would describe, the reality is more complex. As with any form of art or vehicle of self-expression, there are those who are content with the status quo, embracing a genre as it is, and then others who will seek to put their own spin on a pre-existing format by adapting or changing it in some way, usually in a manner that they find more conducive for their purpose, whether it be entertainment, education, or a form of catharsis.

However, in order to break from tradition, the nature of such a tradition must first be known and understood. There are a number of 'standard' features of fado performance which were, and to a lesser extent still are, constant enough to be considered a part of the fado tradition.

[111] For a more in depth discussion of saudade and its role in fado, see: Lila Ellen Gray. "Memories of Empire, Mythologies of the Soul: Fado Performance and the Shaping of Saudade", Ethnomusicology (Vol. 51, Issue 1, 2007), pp. 106–130.

Perhaps one of the most easily observable examples of tradition in fado is the subject matter forming the basis of the sung texts. In order to illustrate a fado treating typical subject matter, one can look to the song 'Bons Tempos'[112], which includes the refrain 'Cry, cry for me/ Child of the times that have gone and will not return/ Past, past and dead/ And of that world that ended, only I remain.'[113] This fado is a particularly pertinent example as it highlights the nature of saudade, but moreover, the sentiments of many regarding the way fado has changed over the past century — there is a melancholy for what once was, especially felt by those who were part of that previous generation, a group of fadistas whose number is dwindling with every passing year.

In addition to this general sense of the traditional subject matter, there are certain frequently recurring themes in the sung texts. While I do not argue that these are, or ever were, the only themes used, the majority of written fados (as opposed to those spontaneously improvised songs which often occur at some point in fado sessions) can be categorised using one or more of these themes.

The first common theme of fado, as could be reasonably expected, is saudade itself, and this can be illustrated by the song 'E Foi-se A Mocidade'[114], first made popular by Carlos Ramos. In this song we not only hear the saudade in the voice of the singer, but it is also the main theme of the lyrics. Through this song we get an idea of some of the feelings that are mixed together in saudade when one experiences that longing. We hear the voice of the singer mourning his lost childhood, something so precious that can never be returned to him:

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[112] 'Good Times'
[113] English translation in: Donald Cohen, ed., *Fado Português* (London: Wise Publications, 2003), p. 95.
[114] 'And Youth is Gone'.

I feel saudade when I pass that street
Where my youth appears to be floating still,
Enormous saudade to view again those portals
Where my childhood sleeps,
Never to wake again.
And alone at night I think I hear, full of hope,
My voice as a child, crystal clear.[115]

Other stanzas of the lyrics show the singer mourning how hard life is now and how good it was to be young: 'But today life is a long road, / a steep inclined hill in the light of reality/ my lovely dreams that smilingly flourished / have sadly departed / and youth is gone.'[116] The last three lines of this extract are repeated at the end of the song, a summation of an acute sense of loss.

Another common theme of Fado is, as with so many song genres, love. An example of this is the Fado known either as *'Vinte Anos.*'[117] Here again we can sense the *saudade* in the lyrics, and again it is a longing for something that can never be, to reclaim youth and innocence. It also speaks of the foolishness and blinding quality of love with the lines 'You betrayed the best that was in me… How I wish I could be disillusioned once again / How I wish I was twenty again, to love you again'.[118] Similar to songs of love, the repertoire of the fadista also contains numerous songs of heartbreak, for example, '*Barco Negro*',[119] which the fadista Mariza describes, before her live performance of this song, as follows:

> Imagine a woman completely dressed in black in the middle of a beach. A little bit far to sea, she sees the boat where her love is

[115] English Translation in Cohen, p. 53.
[116] English Translation in Cohen, p. 53.
[117] 'Twenty Years'.
[118] English translation in Cohen, p. 49.
[119] 'Black/Dark Boat'.

> going away. Deeply, in her soul she wants to believe that one day she's going to hold him, but at the back she hears the old woman saying to her 'He won't come back; he won't come back'. She is tired; she starts crying; she starts feeling a big pain inside, and she starts singing, like this…'[120]

This song reflects one of the worst-case scenarios of grief and heartbreak, simply because it is tinged with uncertainty. The woman on the beach is trying to stay optimistic that her love will one day return to her, yet there is still the element of doubt, much like the vagueness of *saudade*. It is a hope and a longing, but one directed to an object surrounded with ambiguity, and this causes more distress than the original situation of having to say goodbye to her lover.

'Lisboa Não Sejas Francesa'[121] is an example of a politically themed Fado, which is unusual for a song written under the authoritarian fascist government that dominated Portugal for almost half a century, but it was permitted because, rather than protesting or commenting on the political system at the time, it was based on the Napoleonic occupation of Portugal (1807–1811) and had themes that were very much nationalistic, reminding Portuguese women of their loyalty to Portuguese men. It reminds them, 'Lisbon, don't be French; you are Portuguese; you belong only to us'.[122] It was allowed by the government because it was seen to remind Portuguese people of their heritage and discouraged anti-governmental protests and revolutionary actions by emphasising the importance of loyalty to one's country. The way in which the lyrics portray Lisbon as a beautiful young girl, in turn casts Portugal as a father-

[120] Ivan Dias, dir. Mariza: Live in London. Recorded live at the Union Chapel, London on 22nd March 2003. 100 mins. DVD, EMI 7243 5 99627 9 5, 2004.
[121] 'Lisbon, Don't be French'.
[122] English translation in Cohen, p. 107.

figure at a time when family values and loyalty were being emphasised as the duty of every Portuguese person, thereby instilling a sense of national loyalty. Despite referring to this song as a fado, which it has become, it was originally written for a light opera entitled '*A Invasão*',[123] which told the story of how the Portuguese triumphed over their enemies and forced them out of the country. However, the song became so popular, owing in part to the popularity of '*Coimbra,*' another fado written by the same lyricist/composer duo (José Galhardo and Raul Ferrão) and later popularised with an English text *April in Portugal*, that it found its way into the standard fado repertoire. Such lyrics reinforce the national characteristics of folk music and are demonstrative of one of the ways in which a genre can be said to be representative of a particular nation and its people.

In a similar vein, another theme commonly found in fado, other than *saudade*, is perhaps the most common of all and is possibly one of the reasons why fado was not completely suppressed during the fascist era. Ultimately, all of the themes mentioned in this chapter can be summarised as pertaining to feelings and relationships. However, these are not limited to those between two people. Another common subject is the relationship between an individual and a city (usually Lisbon) or country (usually Portugal). There are numerous fados already in existence and many more being composed every day, and the main topic that continues to recur is Portugal and, more often than not, Lisbon. In these fados the singer sings of the beauty and appeal of their country, their city; sometimes it can be as specific as a song about a particular street in a particular neighbourhood. They sing of the features, the people who live there,

[123] 'The Invasion'.

and the way it has changed. One example of this can be seen in '*Lisboa Antiga*',[124] a song celebrating the old neighbourhoods of the Capital, comparing the city to a beautiful young woman, and mourning the things that have been lost in time never to return.[125]

These subjects of the sung texts are not, however, the only element of a given fado which could be said to display elements of tradition. The fado 'Maria Madalena' is often cited[126] as an example of a 'typical' or 'traditional' fado, due not only to the lyrical content and theme, but also to the fact that, musically speaking, it falls into the category of *fado Mouraria*, one of the three principal varieties of fado as described in Chapter Two, characterised by its major key, I-V harmonic scheme, and the ornamented arpeggiated nature of the guitarra accompaniment. One of the best examples of a recording of this is sung by Lucília do Carmo (1920–1999), a figure described by Cohen as 'one of the most respected and influential interpreters of fado'.[127] Following the success of her 1946 recording of this song, she later re-recorded it with newer technology in the 1960s. In summary, the lyrics are exhorting the listener to look with kindness upon 'someone who lost in love', and cites the example of Mary Magdalene as one who was known as a sinner, but is remembered for her love.[128] This song combines elements of loss and pain with words of consolation based on the mercy of God, making religion, specifically that of the Roman Catholic church, another common theme in fado.

[124] 'Ancient Lisbon'.
[125] Cohen, pp 12–15
[126] See Cohen, 2003, p. 132
[127] Cohen, 2003, p. 132.
[128] Cohen, 2003, p. 135.

Early fado, the music which do Carmo would have heard while growing up, was described by Gallop in 1935 as:

> [A] blend of popular and folk elements which may best be defined as the "urban folk-song" of Lisbon's poorer quarters. Here, it will be sufficient to say that the vocal line of the fado is clearly conditioned by the harmonic accompaniment, chords of the tonic and dominant repeated in strictly symmetrical rotation, from which it is never divorced and without which indeed it would be difficult or even impossible to sing.[129]

This results in a relatively stable and predictable melodic line, coupled with a limited number of possibilities for instrumental accompaniment. The relative simplicity of the musical structure here allows both performer and listener to focus more intently on the sung text without other musical distractions to draw the attention.

In a way, Lucília do Carmo represents an early stage in the transformation of fado in the last century. She cannot be described in the same terms as the original fadistas from the first decades of the century, simply because she became a well-known figure and was one of the first to be recognised as a professional fadista. However, while the sincerity or the emotions she used to fuel her performances is not in question in this thesis, one cannot escape the fact that the roots of fado were not as a job, not even as entertainment, but simply for anonymous workers, thieves, beggars and prostitutes to find a safe place in which to express themselves in order to feel some catharsis, a point of origin from which it could be argued Lucília do Carmo has departed. Nonetheless, when one examines her singing style and choice of repertoire,

[129] Rodney Gallop. “The Development of Folk-Song in Portugal and the Basque Country”, Proceedings of the Musical Assosciation (61st Session, 1934–1935), pp. 61–80 (p. 70).

one finds many of the characteristics which are held today to define traditional fado. It is also interesting to note that, much like her contemporary Alfredo Marceneiro, a figure lauded as the epitome of male fadistas, she had an active dislike for the recording process and only in later years would she allow some of her work to be preserved by this method.[130]

A reference to Lucília do Carmo as part of an older generation, however, is more than merely a description of her approach to the music and her performances, as she was also the mother of one of the most prominent figures in fado today, Carlos do Carmo. Unlike his mother, he has a large catalogue of recordings to his name, currently standing at sixty-two albums, not to mention countless television and concert appearances and, one of his earliest claims to fame, Portugal's entry to the 1976 Eurovision Song Contest with '*Flor de Verde Pinho*'[131] which, while not strictly fado, had numerous fado-based influences, such as his singing style and the use of traditional fado instrumentation, albeit alongside an orchestral accompaniment. Many of his recent recordings make explicit links with fado, with album titles such as *Fado Maestro* and songs such as *Fado da Saudade*. Similarly, when one listens to his work, one can hear the fado roots which he undoubtedly picked up from his mother and then, following the death of his father, during his time as manager of O Faia, from the fado house originally set up by his parents. However, in addition to these elements, there are also numerous features which would never have been present in fado performances of the first half of the century, such as the use of orchestral

[130] Cohen, p. 132.
[131] 'A Green Pine Flower'.

strings in '*Canoas do Tejo*'[132] or the use of vocal harmonies, as in '*Fado dos Cheirinhos*'[133].

Innovation Within A Tradition

More than Carlos do Carmo, however, there is one figure who is at the centre of any discussion of fado in general, but particularly when one considers the innovations pioneered by this figure, and the way in which she changed the genre of fado. Her name is Amália Rodrigues and she was born in 1920. As a young girl she worked to supplement her family's income, selling oranges by the waterfront in Lisbon. Once her talent for singing fado was discovered, it was not long before she was introduced to singers such as Alfredo Marceneiro, and the guitarrista and fado house manager Armandinho. Very soon she made a name for herself on the local Lisbon fado circuit and from this starting point she signed recording contracts, appeared in films, and began larger-scale performances and tours far beyond the three neighbourhoods traditionally associated with fado: *Alfama*, *Bairro Alto* and *Mouraria*.

Amália is often cited by those involved in fado today as 'mother' of fado or 'queen' of fado, with Donald Cohen stating categorically that she is 'the undisputed Queen of the fado',[134] and most, if not all, modern fadistas owe something of their personal style to the way in which she performed. She revolutionised the image that fado had and the way it was performed, and yet did not go so far as to totally abandon the historical and musical tradition within

[132] 'Canoes of the Tagus'.
[133] 'Fado of the Smells', a song listing various smells and aromas associated with Portugal and, in particular, Lisbon.
[134] Cohen, p 6.

which she was working and performing. Instead of seeking a completely new direction or changing fado beyond all recognition, she sought to convey her own interpretation – she, like other fadistas before and since, sought to use fado as a vehicle to express herself. She once stated in an interview, 'I have so much sadness in me, I am a pessimist, a nihilist, everything fado demands in a singer, I have in me'.[135]

Although the lyricists in fado are known in Portuguese as *poetas*,[136] Amália was the first to take the works of the great Portuguese national poet Luís da Camões (c.1524–1580) and use his poetry in her fados. She was well-known for commissioning and premiering various works and would often write some of them herself, thereby moving away from the constraints of the traditional repertoire, while never completely discarding those songs which she learned as a child. Furthermore, her repertoire extended to songs in the language of the country in which she was performing, such as Spanish, French and English, although it should be noted that she never claimed these to be fado. Despite these apparent breaks with tradition, her unique vocal style has since been adopted by most fado singers in some form or other. Richard Elliott highlights the view of Katia Guerreiro, a modern-day star of the fado scene: 'In early interviews, Guerreiro often spoke of the need to avoid excessive experimentation and to keep fado 'authentic' , while at the same time acknowledging that fado's most famous exponent, Amália Rodrigues, was never one to do so.'[137] The footnote to this comment then quotes Guerreiro's observations on this 'Amália was the only person in this world that could do it.

[135] Cited in Jon Pareles. "Amalia Rodrigues, 79, Queen of Fado, Lisbon's Sad Songs", The New York Times (7 October 1999).
[136] Poets.
[137] Richard Elliott. Fado and the Place of Longing: Loss, Memory and the City (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 155.

She was the queen. It's [a] very strong expression but she was the owner of fado and she could do whatever she wanted with fado because it would always be fado.'[138]

Rui Viera Néry describes Guerreiro's voice as having a 'warm, thick timbre, loaded with authentic emotion and capable of murmuring in a confessional tone one minute and crying with passionate grief the next and in which one feels no pretence but rather a powerful capacity for dramatic communication.'[139] If one were not familiar with the subject of this description, it could easily be assumed that Néry was describing the sound of Amália. Indeed, Amália was known for her use of whatever means she felt necessary in order to convey her emotions, and the way she would emphasise certain sections of the melody with voltinhas, or her tactical use of rubato towards the climax of a song, are trademarks of her style which have since become standard practice in all fado houses across Lisbon. Such was the impact of this woman that virtually every formal casa de fado[140] contains at least some imagery of her, often in a way which makes them appear almost like a shrine to this artist.

Amália's use of the works of 'great poets', such as Fernando Pessoa (1888–1935) and Camões, as a source of text heralded a time of increased emphasis placed upon the lyrics, and inspired other singers to use more traditional/'great' poets for fado,[141] In addition, it could be argued that this helped fado distance

[138] *Fado and the Place of Longing,* p. 155.
[139] *Fado and the Place of Longing*, p. 155.
[140] The distinction between formal and informal in this context is treated in greater detail in Chapter Six, but for the purposes of this discussion, a formal casa de fado can be taken to mean a venue which is specifically dedicated to fado performance, often at a professional level, whereas an informal casa de fado is one which serves another primary purpose and simply plays host to less frequent fado sessions, usually of an amateur nature.
[141] Samuel Lopes, *Fado Portugal: 200 Years of Fado*, (Portugal: SevenMuses MusicBooks, 2011), p. 46.

itself from its impoverished, uneducated background: this association with literary figures gave fado a credibility boost with intellectuals, something which the fado of Coimbra, through its association with the students and faculty of the university, already had. This lack of respectability harks back to the earlier days of fado when the genre was seen as a song of vagabonds and criminals, but through the introduction of more refined lyrics Amália, and subsequent artists, helped fado move away from such negative connotations, making it more acceptable to modern society.

Fado is, without doubt, an important element of the lives of many, and when one considers all of the spoken and unspoken rules, the importance placed by many upon belief in a particular performer or performance, and the often fixed format of any given performance event, the fado itself takes on a quasi-religious aspect with traditions leading to something approaching ritual. If this religious metaphor were to be taken further, Amália takes on the position of a saint. She was, in her life, seen as an example and also an example of things to come; through her own musical practice she formed many ideals and styles which have since become commonplace. Today, the figure of Amália is the centre of a celebrity cult, with her image used not only in relation to fado venues, but also in tourist materials, postcards, advertising, and in many other contexts. That so many claim her influence is a testament to her centrality in forming and reforming the genre, and despite her penchant for doing things differently, it seems that very few, if any, are willing to decry her for this. She now occupies the position of principal saint in the religion of fado, due to the fact that fado as a genre owes its current form largely to her. Hobsbawm claims that "'Invented tradition" is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate

certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.'[142] In this sense, as the origin point for a number of developments, Amália was responsible for inventing much of the fado tradition as it may be recognised today.

It should not be thought, however, that it was only the musicians and singers who were responsible for the formation of tradition. Being a genre which represents a particular society, it is natural for societal changes to affect the way fado was created and seen by others, and of all of the social changes which have taken place in Portugal in the past century, none was more significant than the rise and fall of the fascist dictatorship of António de Oliveira Salazar, and later, Marcelo Caetano. This regime, the *Estado Novo*,[143] imposed strict censorship laws in order to control the imagery and information that reached both the Portuguese public and also those outside of Portugal. Fado was one of the prime targets of these censorship laws, the result of which meant that any venue that wished to host a public performance of fado had to first obtain permission from the censor's office, and was required to submit a detailed list of the songs which were to be performed, the names of each performer involved and, in the case of newly written music, the lyrics for each fado in order to receive approval by government officials. The fado museum in Lisbon displays a number of application forms for this approval, including examples of song texts which were approved, and others which were denied approval due to lyrics that were seen as being contrary to the ideals which the government wished to propagate.

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[142] Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in *The Invention of Tradition,* ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1–14, (p. 1).

[143] Literally translating as 'New State', although this period of government was also known as the Second Republic.

There were many implications of this change in legislation, altering as it did the way fado could be performed and the subject matter and phraseology that could be employed when writing new songs. Following the ultimate fall of the dictatorship in 1974, the majority of these changes could be kept or discarded according to the preference of the individual performers; with no censorship laws in place, subject matter and choice and source of lyrics once again became a personal choice. However the restrictions did have one development which came about through necessity, but remained for practical and economical considerations, and that was the rise of the fado house, or *casa de fado*, a designated venue specifically for the performance of fado, which usually takes the form of a café or restaurant with a designated performance area and specific times or days when fado will take place.

The official guide to fado houses in Lisbon makes the claim that:

> Up until 1880 the environments where the fado manifests itself does not [sic] correspond to spaces specialised in its commercial use: in the streets, in the taverns, in houses of ill repute, and later on, along with these, the aristocratic salon and in the bull-runs, in the retreats, in dominical larkings, in the visits to the garden-patches, in the markets the fado is promoted in an unplanned fashion.[144]

However, despite the introduction in these early years of designated venues set aside for fado, it was the necessary professionalisation caused by the requirement for prior approval for any performance, that gave rise to the fado house as it would be recognised today. While not directly promoting the genre, the government realised the necessity of specific venues, and that by legislating

[144] Maria João Nobre and Sara Pereira, *Roteiro de Fado de Lisboa (Lisbon Fado Guide)* (Lisbon: Gir, 2001), p. 17.

for them it would allow them to retain some control over the activities which took place:

> Following these events and according to the legislation of 1927, the fabric of the fado houses in the city would be structured, and along that line, it would become acknowledged as a profession for the musicians and fado singers, giving rise to a relatively homogeneous web of houses where listening to fado could be done within a pre-determined schedule.[145]

The author of the fado guide goes on to specify that:

> the twenties and thirties witnessed the transformation of fado into a commercial business, with the managers endeavouring to reach a bourgeoisie that had developed a taste for the bohemian spaces. It is at this time that the fado salons first appear, they were sophisticated and *well frequented* spaces where sometimes, the fado was presented along with other musical expressions.[146]

This homogenisation of the fado houses was due directly to the commercialisation of fado and the need for the government to maintain control over the content of each performance, but this should not be confused with the homogenisation of musical style which, as I argue in Chapter Four, was caused indirectly by the commercialisation through the cult of the celebrity or star performer. Nonetheless, the widespread introduction of formalised venues and set formats of performances did eventually lead to a rather predictable experience regarding the locations where one might hear fado. Nonetheless, it could be argued that this act made fado more easily accessible, and it certainly helped make fado popular among visitors to Lisbon, especially in areas where there is a large concentration of fado houses such as *Alfama* and *Bairro Alto*.

[145] *Roteiro de Fado de Lisboa*, pp. 17–18.
[146] *Roteiro de Fado de Lisboa*, pp. 19–20.

It is my position that the evolution of the casa de fado tradition, that is, the formalisation and standardisation of fado performance, led to the rise of other traditions, such as the way in which fado venues are decorated, the style of clothing worn by the performers, the development of a core canon of repertoire, and also the introduction of *folclore*[147] performances during fado sessions, as discussed below. As such, the casa de fado can be seen as the origin point, alongside certain influential figures such as Amália, of much of today's fado, especially the variety known beyond the borders of Portugal.

A further development relating to casas de fado, and one of particular interest to later discussions of commercialisation and authenticity, is the desire to advertise both the music and the venue as traditional or typical. This point is made in the introduction of the fado guide where the author states that such venues were commonplace by the 1940s, and that this period marked a turning point in the way that commercial fado was advertised:

> If in a first stage the salons were heralded as *sophisticated* and *familiar*, from the forties onwards the houses assume themselves as *typical*, believing in the existence of an attractive component in this aspect, capable of alluring new audiences, especially tourists. Thus the new model of the typical restaurant was created, where the fado would acquire a commercial status…[148]

It was this perceived appeal of the traditional or typical that set the standard phraseology used in advertising and promoting the commercial fado venues, with words such as 'traditional' and 'authentic' used for virtually all commercial fado venues even today, despite the fact that there are large variations in

[147] Folclore is the generic name often given to rural Portuguese folk music, although in reality this genre is an amalgam of selected characteristics from a number of regional musical styles, as discussed in Chapter Four.
[148] *Roteiro de Fado de Lisboa,* p. 28.

decoration, format and performance style from one to the next. This desire for the genuine and the value of such, is discussed in greater depth in Chapter Eight. However, the increased wealth of tourists, coupled with the rise of budget holidays, have provided a great deal of business for the fado restaurants and venues, which in turn reinforces the value of the phrase and notion of *casa típica*[149] or *restaurante típica*[150], and also, in a quest to provide variety and an entertaining show, have led to the tradition of including *folclore* performances alongside fado in order to appeal to a wider audience.[151] This genre is sold to customers in these venues as authentic rural folk music and dance, thereby giving the tourist a taste of the folk music of both the city and the countryside in one evening. In reality, however, this *folclore* is another example of an invented tradition which, again, has its roots in the policies and propaganda of the Estado Novo.

When discussing the *folclore* tradition and its inclusion in the more commercial fado performances with the proprietor of a Lisbon bookshop, I am told that this genre is actually a hybrid of different regional folk genres, and therefore not representative of the music of any single region; rather, it consists of elements picked and filtered from a number of different regional formats. However, it has now become accepted in some rural areas, at least among some of those towns and villages in the southern part of the Estremadura region (the name given to the western area of Portugal in which Lisbon is located), and there are individuals and businesses beginning to emerge which are devoted to organising specific *folclore* events and performances with visiting musical

[149] Typical house.
[150] Typical restaurant.
[151] Rui Vieira Nery, 'Fado', in *Enciclopédia da Música em Portugal no Século XX (C–L),* ed. by Salwa Castelo–Branco, (Portugal: Circulo de Leitores/Temas e Debates e Autores, 2010), pp. 433–453 (p. 440).

groups from various regions of the country. Despite this, however, each region does still maintain its own unique folk dances and music, and there is a great deal of variation from one area to the other regarding instrumentation, singing, costume and dance.

Moving Away From Tradition

Having established a basic notion of tradition and the way in which it is created and perpetuated, I wish now to address the issue of those singers and artists who wish to move away from tradition in order to pursue their own personal style. I discuss this with reference to certain artists who have broken with tradition, possible reasons and justification for these new approaches, and the way in which these innovations have been received by the fado community and the public in general.

When discussing the issue of purity (in the sense of fidelity to tradition) versus innovation, Carlos do Carmo states that for many purists his music should not be considered fado, but he responds to these accusations by claiming 'I am a singer, I am not a fadista.'[152] That he could give such a response illustrates a possible view that by changing certain characteristics and features of the music, it changes the nature of the genre and therefore should no longer be considered fado. However, he goes on to clarify this by explaining his view that it is not this purity and adherence to old traditions which guarantee genuine or authentic fado, but rather it is down to the individual performer and the way in which they

[152] Virato Teles, *Carlos do Carmo, do Fado e do Mundo: Uma Conversa Em Oito Andamentos a Propósito do Prémio José Afonso 2003*, (Lisbon: Garrido Editores, 2003), p. 25.

perform, and it is this interpretation, in his view, that confers the value of a performance:

> Yes, this [stigma applied to innovators] remains. But I must tell you that I think [innovation] is healthy and I will explain why. For me there is no fado, there are fados, and forms, and aesthetics. Therefore, the richness of fado, in my view, is the contribution that each interpreter who plays or sings gives you. If this lends or brings up something [to which you can relate], then yes, it has been worth it. Now what purists have trouble understanding is that the only way I had to run a career that has already lasted forty years was this way. Because if I had followed the way of purism, today I would [merely] be the son of Lucília do Carmo ... I pray not to stop being the son of Lucília do Carmo, it has much honour! I am Carlos do Carmo. I'm both. Lucília do Carmo has her space in fado, unassailable, of great quality. Talk to any purist and he will tell you that Lucília do Carmo is considered the greatest of all. Her son is something else.[153]

Perhaps one of the most interesting elements of this quotation is the revelation that, in his opinion, it would not have been possible to pursue a career and enjoy the successes he has experienced without updating the genre and doing things in his own way. This suggests that, while the purist approach may have appeal for a particular audience, the mass-market expects new and exciting music as opposed to traditional and possibly outdated styles. Certainly, this can be seen to be the case with the other major celebrities in fado, particularly those who have enjoyed success on an international scale, such as Dulce Pontes, Mariza and Amália. He gives the specific example of Amália, stating that her music was not always held as true fado by purists at the time, but since her death people have nothing but praise for her. He calls this a ‘boundless cycle of hypocritical slander’.[154] At first this may seem like a brave comment, as my

[153] Teles, p. 25–26.
[154] Teles, p. 28.

research has shown it is unusual for anyone, especially fadistas, to make any sort of public comment which may be construed as criticism of Amália; such is the regard in which she is held. However, do Carmo's wording is still very cautious – rather than give direct criticism, he is careful to say that 'some say...', leaving the reader in some confusion as to his personal and professional opinions. Nonetheless, his comments do highlight the successes enjoyed by those who are willing to break away from some aspects of tradition, while still maintaining the central core of the genre, and left unspoken is the acknowledgement that those singers who are considered more traditional in their style, while appreciated, are often known only among the inner circle of the fado community, highlighting a clear divide between the two camps.

In a book which was published to celebrate two hundred years of fado (a dubious claim, however, given the uncertain origins of the genre), Lopes suggests that 'for many, [fado] stayed in the 60s. Evolution, progress and change are always difficult challenges […] the truth is that fado continues with a strong vitality and catching the interest of a growing number of admirers around the world.'[155] The fact that this era coincides with the emergence of early fado celebrities reinforces the view of some such as do Carmo that commercialisation led fado from its perceived traditional [or purist] origins and into the realm of a new genre which, while related, cannot be seen as true fado. Conversely, Lopes argues, in a similar way to do Carmo, that it is this innovation and flexibility regarding tradition which allows a genre to progress and meet the needs of the people involved in it: 'It is true that fado has been going away from its roots and subsequent tradition, similar to what has

[155] Lopes, p. 81.

happened with other genres such as tango, flamenco and many others. However, this has been the natural form of fado to reinvent itself, attracting new audiences and surviving, thus ensuring its continuity.'[156] By evolving, he claims, fado is given space to continue growing in popularity and recognition.

Matthew Gelbart highlights the importance of maintaining some semblance of tradition in folk music, while still allowing for the growth and development of what it means to be traditional and for flexibility in what may be classified as such: 'to be wielding (or imposing) tradition, from the time tradition was fulfilled as a cultural idea, meant to be connecting with the past in a supposedly stable way – if growth was allowed within this framework, it needed to spring "organically" from a natural and internal source.'[157] This approach seems to be popular amongst modern fado artists as it allows them to justify to themselves and their followers that, despite taking new or unique approaches to the music, they are still part of an ongoing living tradition while still maintaining continuity with previous generations of singers and musicians. Nevertheless, it does still place certain obligations upon the artist, with very specific guidelines on how this evolution of tradition should come about, and by extension, the rationale and cause of these developments.

It may be argued, however, that to believe this approach, rather than building on existing traditions, involves a conscious rejection of them thereby distancing the singer or musician from the genre to which they claim to belong. Hobsbawm suggests such an argument, although he says 'the strength and adaptability of genuine traditions is not to be confused with the "invention of tradition"'. Where

[156] Lopes, p. 81–82.
[157] Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 169.

the old ways are alive, traditions need neither be revived nor invented. Yet it may be suggested that where they are invented, it is often not because old ways are no longer available or viable, but because they are deliberately not used or adapted.'[158] However, within fado, this is not necessarily the case. It could be claimed that fado has not gone away from its roots but rather, a splinter group has – there are still many who seek to retain a traditional fado style, but this, and these practitioners, are simply less well known or popular today as people seek innovation, and updated versions of old forms as society and technology progress and advance. This does not mean that the old style ceases to exist. Just as Baroque music is still popular even when it is not played on historically modelled instruments by historically informed players, and Shakespeare is still popular despite contemporary playwrights such as Alan Bennett, the existence of an 'updated' or 'modern' interpretation of fado, one seen to have 'moved with the times' does not necessarily imply that the older forms no longer exist, nor does it detract from the popularity of the more 'traditional'. On the contrary, it could be argued that by modernising fado it becomes more accessible to a wider audience, and could therefore lead to more people becoming interested in, and growing in appreciating and understanding of, the older traditions which led to the modernised format. This certainly seems to be the view of Lopes who, regarding the continuation and/or evolution of fado, suggests that 'throughout its historical evolution, it is expected in the coming decades that fado as a performing art and musical expression gets segmented. There will certainly appear new movements, new needs of expression and consequently many new subgenres and new artists. However,

[158] 'Introduction: Inventing Tradition, in *The Invention of Tradition*, p. 8.

their way of expressing universal feelings through words or melodies, will be a feature that will remain unchanged.'[159]

It is, however, interesting to note that in Lopes' book, the chapter headings and titles of the accompanying CDs distinguish between 'Traditional Fado' and 'Contemporary Fado'. These chapters include biographies of various artists who, by their inclusion in one or the other chapter, are pigeon-holed as either traditional or contemporary. Furthermore, this division suggests that one cannot be both contemporary and traditional, but that the two are mutually exclusive.[160]

At this point I would like to highlight an important distinction that must be made regarding the role of inspirational figures in the genre. Regardless of the effects of commercialisation or the professionalisation of the genre, it cannot be doubted that certain figures, whether they be musicians or singers, had a profound effect on fado, and, by extension, so too will artists of the present and of the future. The musical contributions of artists such as Armandinho and Amália have already been highlighted in Chapter Two, and they are undoubtedly valuable. Certainly, the way their new approaches are being taken up by later generations suggests as much. However, in a genre such as fado, there are three possible reactions to new styles and approaches. First, one can simply reject these innovations as spurious and too distant from tradition to be considered valuable or useful. For those innovations which do catch on however, there are two possible motivations for incorporating such elements into one's own performance, and only the performer knows which of the two applies in their particular case. Second, some may incorporate new features, or

[159] Lopes, p. 82.
[160] Lopes, final chapters.

features made famous by their musical predecessors simply because they feel that such an approach is effective and allows them to communicate their message more clearly in their music. There are others, however, who will simply seek to imitate the style of another for any number of other reasons, whether it is out of admiration, seeking the same level of popularity, or just in order to put on a show in which the listeners are presented with the familiar. These different approaches blur the nature of tradition and raise questions about the value of such a performance style, not to mention the supposed authenticity of the performance, an issue that I will return to throughout this thesis, but particularly in Chapter Eight.

When asked about the ways in which a new feature becomes adopted as standard, such as Amália's introduction of *voltinhas* or Armandinho's use of *contracantos*, Angelo Freire and Diogo Clemente put it down to a mix of the inspirational effect of the originating artist and a personal choice based on the effectiveness of that feature:

> I think we musicians of fado, we have an artist that inspired us, but I think it's important to create our colour, our style. We have a lot of styles, a lot of inspirations, we have taken away ideas from different people and adapted to our colour, our style. I think it's not about whether the future generations accept [these innovations] or not. There always appeared new artists playing with new ways or with new techniques, but today I think we have more possibilities to work on the technique… I acquire my own knowledge and then take that forward with me.[161]

They went on to give the following comparison in order to expand on the idea of inspirational figures such as Amália and Armandinho: 'It's like the tango. Tango

[161] James Félix, *Interview with Diogo Clemente and Angelo Freire,* (Coventry: Unpublished, February 2010).

has Piazolla. Piazolla knows everything about tango, and in this music it's the same way.'[162]

Conclusions

It is the prolific nature of artists such as Amália, Mariza and Carlos do Carmo that help spread and propagate traditions and new innovations — they are some of the most easily accessible performers and theirs are the most easily accessible performances, due to their recordings, concerts, tours and television appearances. This category of performer is seen as constituting the 'big names', and, as such, their actions are seen by many, especially (but not exclusively) by those outside of the fado circle, as representative of the typical and representative of the genre, even if they have in fact departed from existing traditions. Further, it could be argued that, due to their easy accessibility, their performances and recordings are heard more often, thereby giving listeners an opportunity to 'get used to the sound' and allow it to grow on them. On the other hand, a second category of performer comprised of smaller names, such as those singers in the restaurants on the tourist circuit, may make recordings (although often at their own expense rather than under the sponsorship of any record label), but these tend to be sold only in the venues where they perform, thereby narrowing their distribution almost exclusively to tourists. The result of this is that, while they may try new approaches in their music, be they technical, lyrical or instrumental, their smaller following generally prevents these innovations catching on among other performers. This should not, however, be taken as the only reason for the reluctance of other fadistas to adopt certain

[162] *Interview with Diogo Clemente and Angelo Freire.*

styles – occasionally some experiments are rejected because they are not seen to be keeping with either the letter or the spirit of the fado tradition, and in some cases such rejection is simply a matter of taste, another subjective, value-laden criteria. Further to these-, there is the third category of the complete amateur.[163] One often finds that fadistas in this category, however, generally perform within the bounds of what they see as tried and tested traditions and in conformance with the generally-held expectations of an informed fado audience. In the case of these performers, their small following and lack of exposure does not present an impediment to the spread of new ideas because it would appear that they do not feel the need to deviate from convention and are satisfied with using the pre-existing model of fado in order to achieve their personal objectives.

Ultimately, it is my view that tradition and the traditional, while sharing the same etymological root, should not be taken to mean the same thing. Rather, tradition is quasi-ritualistic and, in general terms, involves the repetition or recurrence of a particular event or action for a particular reason. Traditional, on the other hand, is a value-laden term, which indicates that the object to which the term is ascribed embodies the essence, or perceived an essence, or perceived essence—which in this case is the essence of fado—along with all its trappings, musical and extra-musical.

It has not been my intention here to specify what exactly constitutes this essence within fado, as too much variation of opinion on this topic makes a precise definition impossible. Furthermore, for the purposes of this thesis, the

[163] The terms ‘amateur’ and ‘professional’ are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four, but for the purpose of this discussion the term should be taken to mean one who receives no payment and performs simply for their own enjoyment or other personal reason such as catharsis.

exact elements taken by individuals to make up the ‘traditional’ are secondary considerations; rather, the more important issue is the value each person places (or not) on this notion, the way in which they construct the belief that a particular performer or performance is traditional, and the value that such a performer or performance has in the eyes of that individual. It is this definition of the term ‘traditional’ which will be adhered to throughout this thesis; in brief, ‘traditional’ is to be understood as indicating the belief that a given performer or performance embodies that which the believer feels is the essence of fado performance.

Chapter Four

Commercialisation of Fado: Causes and Effects

Introduction: What is Commercialism?

In recent years there has been a significant growth of industries in the fields of retail, tourism and entertainment. While there is a multitude of effects this has had on society, it is the changes these developments have brought about in fado with which this chapter is concerned. These industries rely on this music as a product intended to serve a purpose, and often this purpose is not the emotional one it once was, but rather an economic one. There are large sections of tourist guides devoted to the culture of Portugal and specifically, Lisbon, and fado always features prominently in them, usually accompanied by recommended venues and repeated use of the words 'traditional' and 'authentic'. A browse through the World Music section of any well-stocked music shop will doubtless bring one into contact with music by Amália Rodrigues and Mariza. Fado is now known around the world as an indigenous Portuguese genre, but in the process of gaining this global recognition and popularity it has undergone many alterations that may, at first, seem superficial, but have actually precipitated deep and radical change in the nature, if not the substance, of fado performance.

When discussing the impact of outside influences on any kind of music, especially folk music, there is a temptation to focus on the metaphysical — indefinable qualities such as emotion, feeling and intention — and these are undoubtedly important issues which I address elsewhere in this thesis.

However, it is my position that in order to fully appreciate the complexities of these issues, one must first look to the music itself, as this often has an effect on the emotional side of a performance and the way in which it is perceived and received. As such, I wish to address the development of the fado industry, a term I use to encompass the way in which fado is used in, and has become a part of, both the tourist and leisure industry and the recording industry. I trace the creation and rise of this industry from its origins brought about by fascist censorship through to the thriving, and very profitable industry of today. I also examine the way in which the musical features of fado have been affected or changed in response to the creation and growth of this industry.

Today's society is one that caters to the consumer, with many products available on demand. This raises questions, however, about true value – not the amount of money something costs to purchase, but a deeper more significant value, based on the effort of the producer and the appreciation of the consumer. Fado, like most musical cultures, has become globally accessible since the advent of recording and broadcasting technology, and, as such, has grown in popularity outside the confines of Portugal. However, these advances have not been without cost. What was once a spontaneous, unique performance is now often reproduced in a recording studio, with numerous techniques employed to achieve "perfection", with the final product a track which will never change, no matter how many times one listens to it.

Similarly, there is another form of commercialisation which, it could be argued, has had an even greater impact on the face of fado than did the fascist dictatorship. One of the largest industries in the world today is the tourism industry, which forms a substantial part of the income of many countries,

Portugal included. Since the Portuguese government and tourist boards began marketing fado as a cultural product or commodity, and made into an export by artists such as Amália, many visitors to the Iberian Peninsula seek out the restaurants where they can get a taste of ‘real’ fado. Many of these restaurants advertise through tour companies and hotels, and will often advertise themselves specifically to tourists as ‘authentic’ or ‘traditional’, using fliers written in numerous languages.. However, this chapter will explore such claims in the light of the actual experience offered in these venues, and also the effects the rise and growth of these formalised fado venues have had on the genre. In the same way that a recording can replicate an exact sound over and over again, so too have the styles of many *fadistas* working in the tourist circuit become homogenised. This is due, I suggest, to a desire to “give the customers what they want or expect”, expectations informed mainly by those recordings easily available outside of Portugal.

In this chapter, I seek to discuss the idea of international stars, seen by some as cultural ambassadors, by others as paragons of the fadista subculture, and by others still as merely putting on a show for a paying audience. The effect that these artists have had on the genre is significant, but this raises the question of whether it is causing a move away from tradition, or if it is simply a stage in the evolution of the tradition, and therefore just as authentic as what one might hear in a back street *taverna* where an old man sings of his sorrows. I will also explore the way in which fado music has been adapted for other purposes, such as the stage musical of the life and story of Amália, the numerous films from the mid-twentieth century which used fado music as their soundtracks, and the work of artists such as Paulo Jorge Santos and Mariza, who seek to bring the tradition of fado into a fusion with the musical traditions of other countries.

Before this discussion continues, it is necessary to define the term ‘commercial’ in relation to fado. Kaemmer defines commercial music as ‘characterized by the activities of an agent who serves as an intermediary between the musician and the audience. The agent treats music as a commodity’.[164] While the issue of commodification is, I believe, an important one, it is the notion of an intermediary agent which I believe to be most important here. Commercial music is, for the purposes of this thesis, music which is intended to generate a revenue and is reliant on an external agent such as a restauranteur or a recording company to reach the listener. The exception to this rule would appear to be the busker in the street, apparently delivering music directly from source to listener without such an external agent. However, by performing in such a manner as to attract money, indicated usually by an open guitar case or a hat placed on the floor, buskers act as their own agent, and despite being the source of a musical performance, they have placed a buffer between the music and the listener, physically represented by the money receptacle standing between audience and performer.

Fado and Tourism

Without a doubt, the industry with the most visible and obvious connections with fado is the tourist industry. One only has to open a guidebook aimed at visitors to Portugal to find countless recommendations of fado venues, especially for those who want to experience “real” Portuguese culture and “authentic” music

[164] John E. Kaemmer, ‘Between the Event and the Tradition: A New Look at Music in Sociocultural Traditions’, *Ethnomusicology*, 24.1 (1980), 61–74 (p. 65).

and cuisine. Similarly, it is a rare hotel in Lisbon that does not have, either on its front desk or amongst numerous marketing materials, flyers and posters for a number of different fado houses. The majority of these are at the upper end of the price scale for food, and some even have a minimum spend or *couvert* charge. In order to appeal to the widest audience possible, these venues also typically host *folclore* music, that is, folk music and dancing from rural Portugal, a genre whose jaunty melodies and brightly coloured costumes are a stark contrast to the more subdued fado music performed by singers dressed in sombre suits and black shawls. While I do not intend to examine the folclore performances in any level of detail in this thesis, it is worth noting that folclore is actually an inaccurate portrayal of rural folk music. Until recent years, the music and dancing seen in such performances belonged to a number of different genres, which were mainly categorised by geographical region. Folclore as we know it today, therefore, is an amalgamation of samples of various different genres and idioms which were combined by Salazaar's government and the genre should therefore be viewed as a manufactured one.

For natives and aficionados, the venues that cater to tourists, often feeling the need to advertise their 'authenticity', reflect little of the true nature or social origins of fado, other than the songs being sung. They are an example of authenticity through apparent fidelity, yet one can still get the feeling that the performers are just that — performing as a way to make money, rather than singing to express themselves. The guitarrista mentioned above highlighted this distinction with reference to the Coimbra style of fado:

> The fado in Coimbra is mostly played by the students. They are not so much workers. Here it's more people working for it. They have to sing and play to get money, but there in Coimbra more people play

> for pleasure. It's more for serenades and to entertain people, but not in a professional way… here even if we don't have motivation we have to play because we are working. There, [Coimbra] they are studying and play for pleasure, to enjoy themselves.[165]

That the very people involved in this commercial aspect of their own cultural heritage can draw the distinction between putting on a show and the catharsis experienced through the "traditional" format in the local *tascas* surely reveals that something has gone wrong. He explains: 'I think in a way fado is how we express our feelings and even the people that don't sing and that don't work in the fado, they sometimes need to come to hear and to cry and to express their feelings.'[166]

Even the *Roteiro de Fado de Lisboa* (Guide to Lisbon Fado), published by the city in a number of bilingual editions (such as Portuguese and English) and marketed to tourists, contains a reference to the two varieties of performance venue:

> Thus we witness a contrast between the performing environments of the typical fado houses, with fixed performers, where the participation of the audience is limited — the artists themselves dare the customers, mainly tourists, to participate clapping or singing the chorus — and the environments of the amateur fado sessions, in which socialising is what makes people come.[167]

The above quotation suggests that the music found in these two varieties of fado house are equally valid cultural expressions and that the only difference is the stability of the performers and performance style. However, while the

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[165] James Félix, *Interview with Paulo Jorge Santos*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, July 2007).
[166] *Interview with Paulo Jorge Santos.*
[167] Maria João Nobre and Sara Pereira, *Roteiro de Fado de Lisboa (Lisbon Fado Guide)* (Lisbon: Gir, 2001), p. 39.

question of validity will be addressed later in this thesis, it was my experience that, while the touristic venues did indeed feature the same performers (often singing the same songs), there was a certain type of predictability to be found in those venues the author describes as amateur. While there may be some variation, regular visits to these venues would reveal to the keen observer that there is a regular body of customers who could be relied upon to come at a certain time or on a certain day. Many of them also clearly favoured specific songs, either for musical or personal reasons, and as is common with most musicians, each of these “regulars” had their own style of performing in addition to their own group of followers, mostly made up of friends either from the neighbourhood or of those they know through frequenting the venue. For example, in *Tasca do Jaime*, no weekend fado session was complete without the owner, Jaime, singing a few songs and, at times, even accompanying himself with a tambourine. While this may not be considered a traditional instrument within fado, it is clear from the reactions of the regulars that these moments are relished and enjoyed by the majority of the listeners. Similarly, following a friend’s recommendation, I visited another venue that only hosted fado once per week. When I asked my friend about the performers, I was informed that many of the singers visit that particular café after they have finished their contracted work at other fado houses, meaning that the vocalists and their arrival times could be predicted with a certain degree of accuracy depending on where they were singing earlier in the evening. The exception to this was the group of musicians who generally came from a small pool of volunteers, most of whom were known on the fado circuit. In these ways, both touristic and amateur venues can be seen to have a certain amount of stability

and routine in their performances. While the format of such sessions does leave room for spontaneity, one can generally observe certain patterns and routines.

The Rise of the Fado Business

As shown in Chapter Two, although there is an increasing amount of variety in fado performance today, thanks primarily, although not exclusively, to Amália and Armandinho, there is a central musical model around which these variations are built, which is seen as the core of fado from a purely musical perspective. Even so, in a genre so invested with meaning by both its practitioners and listeners, every detail matters, not just the musical features. According to the different narratives presented elsewhere in this thesis, fado has variously been sung on boats, on the streets, in private houses and in local bars and taverns. In all of these cases, if each narrative is to be believed, the singers and players performed fado for personal reasons, and such performances were a part of their leisure time, as opposed to their primary occupation.

However, by the end of the 1920s, one figure came to the forefront of public life in Portugal who was to have, arguably, a bigger impact on fado than any other. This person was not, as one might presume, a fado singer; he did not play the traditional instruments and he did not even like fado. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar was the head of the fascist government of Portugal, known as the *Estado Novo* (New State), for over three and a half decades, and whose governmental policies were, he claimed, for the benefit of Portugal. The main

policy we are concerned with here is the heavy censorship enforced within the arts, particularly music, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Such was his dislike of fado, that which it stood for, and those who actively promoted it, he was recorded as referring to Amália Rodrigues, also know by many as the Queen of Fado, as 'that little creature'[168]. Nevertheless, fado proved too much a part of the lives of those living in the capital for it to be completely banned; moreover, it would have been a law virtually impossible to enforce. Instead, he sought to control it and use it to the advantage of the government as a tool of propaganda, a way of promoting his ideal image of Portugal to the Portuguese people. This was achieved through a strict policy of censorship and the production of a list of certain themes which were permissible subjects, and others which were not. Furthermore, every performer and performance venue was required to obtain a licence from the censor's office, and submit a full set list including the lyrics to all songs prior to the event, thereby ensuring the government retained control of what the public would hear. This was to have a lasting effect not only on the perception and content of fado, but also on the way those involved with fado were viewed, and the way they viewed themselves, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six of this thesis. The majority of fados permitted at this time were songs such as *Casa Portuguesa* (A Portuguese House), which extols the virtues of traditional Portuguese hospitality, *Maria Madalena* (Mary Magdalene), which combines the strong Catholic ethos of the *Estado Novo* with words of comfort for those who have lost in love, or *Lisboa Antiga* (Old Lisbon), which sings of the beauty of the city of Lisbon, with verses such as: 'Lisbon, old city, vision of enchantment and

[168] Lewis, John, 'Tainted Love', *Guardian* (27 April 2007) <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2007/apr/27/worldmusic> [accessed 19 October 2007].

beauty with her lovely smile, clothed in dignity. The white veil of saudade covers your face, beautiful princess'.[169]

Songs with a political agenda were forbidden, but interestingly, the theme of poverty was not. Vernon explains this by claiming that prohibition would have been futile, as poverty was a day-to-day aspect of peoples' lives.[170] He also suggests that 'it highlights the isolationist attitudes of the Portuguese government. It did not occur to them that anyone outside of the Lusophone world would bother listening to fado'.[171] However, this is in contradiction with the oft-quoted "Three Fs", a reference to the fact that during the dictatorship of the Estado Novo it seemed that the image of Portugal shown to the rest of Europe was built upon the positive publicity that stemmed from the success of Portuguese football teams, the religious significance of the apparitions at Fátima and, thanks to the popularity Amália enjoyed around Europe, which in turn reflected well on Portugal as a country, fado. These Three Fs were to play a large part in the formation of a positive image of Portugal to much of the rest of the world due to the interest people are inclined to show in the areas of sports, religion and music. However, there were those who took a more negative view about this, such as Nuno de Aguiar, who described the 3 Fs as nothing more than a cliché which was used 'in order to draw the attention of the people away from the underdeveloped state of the country.'[172] Nonetheless, the fact that poverty-themed songs were permitted did fit in with one of the ideals Salazar was keen to promote to the citizens: that of *pobrete mas alegrete*, or

[169] Donald Cohen, ed., *Fado Português* (London: Wise Publications, 2003), p. 15.
[170] Paul Vernon, *A History of the Portuguese Fado* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1998) p. 21.
[171] *A History of the Portuguese Fado,* p. 21.
[172] João Paulino, *O Meu Sangue é Fado: De Concórdio Henriques a Nuno de Aguiar*, (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal, EGEAC & Museu do Fado: 2012), p. 125.

'poor but happy'[173] — although this was probably linked with the inescapability of the fact that the majority of the citizens were living in poverty, as suggested by Vernon above. Probably the most lasting effect of this policy was the professionalisation of the genre, not necessarily in the sense of people performing solely to make money, but rather in the sense of a strictly monitored process, in which improvisation, which had previously been the norm in order for the performers to express their feelings, was all but removed from fado due to the inability of government to monitor, control and censor such performances. This left a standard template into which pre-approved performers could sing pre-approved songs. The only freedom individuals had while singing or playing was in their delivery style, which is best highlighted by the work of Amália, a singer who began her fado career, one of the first artists to really embody the notion of a career of fado, under the strict control of the *Estado Novo* regime. Ultimately, it was these legislative measures which gave birth to the modern *casa de fados* which one can encounter in Lisbon today, and by extension, it is due to these laws that the fado business is what it is.

As mentioned above, the City of Lisbon, together with the Fado Museum and EBAHL[174] publish the *Roteiro*, a bilingual guide to fado in Lisbon, which is available in all major book shops, the fado museum, *Fabula Urbis*, a small multilingual book shop specialising in books about Lisbon and Portugal (whose owner, João, is a keen amateur musician and fado fan), and a number of tourist information points throughout the city. This book specifically focusses on fado in

[173] 'Tainted Love'.
[174] *Equipamentos dos Bairros Históricos de Lisboa*, later changed to EGEAC (*Empresa de Gestão de Equipamentos e Animação Cultural*), an urban renewal organisation dedicated to the preservation and development of the historical neighbourhoods in the city of Lisbon, which has since expanded to include the promotion of culture and cultural activities in Lisbon.

Lisbon neighbourhoods, and gives a brief history of the genre before providing what appears, at first glance, to be a comprehensive guide in which every fado venue is listed by neighbourhood, including contact information, opening times, approximate prices of a meal, and the names of the regular performers. For a number of the restaurants listed in this book, particularly the better-known ones, a brief history of the venue is also given, including information about previous sites, and the background of the owners (almost all of whom double as performers in their own venues, and tend to have been born in Lisbon, often never having lived anywhere else. The most interesting aspect of this guide is the way in which, apart being categorised by geographical location, most venues are categorised as either ‘amateur’ or ‘professional’. According to this guide, Alfama has the highest number of casas (sixteen, of which six are professional, four are amateur and six are unclassified), followed by Bairro Alto (twelve casas in total, ten of which are professional and two of which are amateur). Campolide, and Bica have two amateur venues each, with Madragoa and Baixa listed as having one amateur and one professional or unspecified venue each. Ajuda, Beato, Benfica, Campo de Ourique, Graça, Madre de Deus, Marvila, Mouraria, Picoas and Poço do Bispo each have a single amateur venue, according to the guide, whereas Alcântra, Campo de Santana, Castelo, and Pena are all advertised as having one professional casa each. In total, the book lists fifty venues to attend in order to hear fado in Lisbon, of which twenty-one are professional, twenty-two are amateur, and seven are unspecified. Interestingly, twenty-eight of these fifty casas are either in Alfama or Bairro Alto, and yet Mouraria, the third of the traditional fado neighbourhoods, has been reduced to one single fado house.

Having been published in 2001, this guide should by no means be seen as a definitive list of all the places at which one can hear fado as it is inevitable that certain venues have closed over time, while others have sprung up. However, both the way it is written and its very existence imply a number of things about fado. There is an obvious sense of pride in the fado tradition, and numerous prominent fadistas and fado experts are listed in the Acknowledgements section of the book. Focussing as it does on a single genre of music, it is much narrower in scope than the majority of tourist literature, and the bilingual nature of the book, coupled with the tone of the author, makes it clear that it is tourists at whom the publication is primarily aimed. Yet the price of the book (when I purchased my copy it was at least 20% more expensive than a simple guide book of Lisbon or a standard paperback novel), not to mention the amount of time and research that clearly went in to its production, suggest that the authors feel the subject matter is sufficiently interesting to enough people to warrant creating such a comprehensive guide with such narrow scope. I do not know whether the owners of the venues listed were expected to pay to be listed, viewing their pages as a sort of advertisement, but given that it was produced by the town council and a museum, I think that unlikely, especially as the book was to be purchased rather than given out as promotional material.

Amália and Mariza

I wish now to discuss two figures who have, in a number of important ways, become emblems of the commercial side of fado. First, I address the figure at the centre of the majority of discussions about fado and tradition, Amália Rodrigues. In my own research her name came up in virtually every interview

and discussion I had, and virtually every venue hosting fado events will have some reference to her, whether a photograph, poster, or the sound of her recordings piped into the restaurant between performances. It is without question that she is one of, if not the, most prominent fadistas in the history of the genre, and for better or worse, her career was to have a lasting effect on the evolution and future of the music, contributing to the current state of fado. Over the course of her career her numerous significant achievements helped to bring fado to millions, both within Portugal and abroad. Since her death in 1999 there have been many other prominent fadistas who followed in her footsteps, but perhaps the most significant and the most well-known is Mariza (real name: Marisa dos Reis Nunes). More than any other figure since Amália, she has worked both to bring fado to the wider world and also to expand the possibilities of the genre, incorporating a wide array of influences from beyond traditional fado in her performances. However, firm as these two individuals' beliefs may have been, there is no doubt that they should be seen as examples of commercial success within the fado world, at least from the point of view of celebrity and popularity. Rather than list the achievements of both Amália and Mariza in their careers, I prefer to examine attitudes within the fado world towards these two artists, the former seen as a sort of mother figure within the genre, and the latter often cited as her natural successor. Pacheco described Mariza as follows: 'She's the actual star in Portugal. Again, I was lucky to meet her, in fact when she was not famous, I invited her to sing in the Clube de Fado because I noticed something different and special and strong. I composed, I recorded three CDs with her, and some of the most famous songs of hers are my compositions.'[175] Interestingly, out of all of the fadistas and instrumentalists

[175] James Félix, *Interview with Mário Pacheco*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, June 2012).

with whom I spoke on the matter, Pacheco, arguably the individual most heavily involved in the commercial side of fado, was the only one to discuss Mariza purely on her own merits rather than drawing comparisons with other artists, specifically Amália. He has, during his career, worked with both of these singers so could be seen as knowing both the people and their careers better than any other person I interviewed.

Amália's style was firmly based on the fado of her time and before, contemporary with such other legendary names as Alfredo Marceneiro and Berta Cardosa. Yet while remaining grounded in this tradition, she gave her songs a unique touch, one since emulated by the majority of female fadistas. Her vocal ornamentations (voltinhas) added to the emotive nature of the music and her habit of breaking into a soaring, improvised, rubato melody in the moments of heightened emotion have been adopted by many fadistas, and are often seen as a genuine or authentic expression of emotion which have therefore been widely accepted and adopted by the majority of the fado community. It could perhaps be argued that, due to the censorship and restrictions on performance content when she was starting out, Amália took hold of those elements that she was free to adapt and put all of her energy into altering them, thus creating her own personal style, one which was suited to her own emotions and allowed her to convey her own sense of *saudade*. Indeed, this could be seen as true fidelity to the spirit of fado — taking a song, making it one's own through the use of the voice, and using it as a vehicle in order to experience some form of release, some form of catharsis. However, this fidelity and truthfulness is an ambiguous area which is discussed in greater depth in Chapter Eight.

Nonetheless, while this may have begun as Amália's own personal style, the celebrity culture that grew around her, coupled with the prominence of her recordings and concert appearances, have resulted in her style being put on a pedestal. Further, virtually every female fadista, and many male fadistas, model themselves on Amália's style — one only has to listen to Mariza performing her most famous song, *Maria Lisboa*, to hear the similarities: the way her voice quivers on certain notes, the extended ornamentation at certain points in the song, and the soaring vocal line replacing the standard melody line.

Amália's legacy consists of more than just a few technical and musical features adopted by later generations. Rather, when others speak of her they do so reverently, and they refer not just to her musicianship, but also to her personality, her stage presence and the overall impact she had on fado, music in general, and on other performers. Lopes, for example, states that after her death in 1999, 'Amália's legacy prevails; there is not one fado singer that doesn't sing her songs. She is the great muse of all generations to come, and due to her, fado, Portuguese culture, and language is known worldwide.'[176] Gray argues that 'the enlarged aura that death brings to [Amália's] person, her name, and particularly her voice, catalyzes mimetic proliferation while simultaneously encouraging other fadistas to strike new interpretive, stylistic ground finally free from the immensity of her shadow.'[177] However, she then counters this by making a suggestion which, after attending countless fado performances, I am inclined to agree with, that ''Many amateur female singers seem to use Amália's recordings as the *urtext* that they listen to as they learn to

[176] Samuel Lopes, *Fado Portugal: 200 Years of Fado*, (Portugal: SevenMuses MusicBooks, 2011), p. 67.
[177] Lila Ellen Gray, 'Resounding History, Embodying Place: Fado Performance in Lisbon, Portugal', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Duke University, 2005), p. 188.

imitate a fado “by heart”.’[178] Following on from this, in the course of the interviews which I conducted with a number of individuals involved in fado at both an amateur and a professional level, I asked them directly what they thought of Amália, leaving the interpretation of that question open to them. It is worth reproducing these responses in full as some of them go into quite a large amount of detail and they show attitudes towards Amália from a number of different perspectives ranging from someone who admits to only knowing a few of her more famous performances, to a guitarrista who worked with her in the final years of her life.

Over the course of a number of years visiting Portugal, I got to know Tiago Tomé, a *violista* in his early twenties who was, when I first met him, working playing second viola in a newly opened casa de fado in Alfama, while simultaneously working various unrelated jobs during the day. In subsequent visits I noticed he had gradually progressed to being the only violista accompanying the singers and during my most recent visit he was not only the principal violista in his particular casa de fado, but he had taken on a form of apprentice who was learning by joining in and observing, much as Tomé had been when I first encountered him. When questioned about this he informed me that, in his eyes, it was his way of giving something back to the fado community in return for giving him a means to earn a living; while he freely admitted that he still had much to learn in terms of repertoire, technique and also developing his own personal style, he still felt it was important for musicians and singers of all standards to encourage and help other budding participants. On this last occasion, he told me that he was now in a position to give up all daytime work

[178] ‘Resounding History, Embodying Place’, p. 191.

and play at the casa de fado five or six nights per week, and yet when he had finished his night's work at around midnight or one o'clock in the morning, he would often go to the late night fado venues and either play or simply listen until almost sunrise. When asked about his thoughts on Amália, he responded as follows:

> She was a great singer, I really like her. I don't know her music that much, I only know the well-known songs and some of the older stuff, I don't listen to her every day, but from what I have heard I really like her. She's got a unique way of singing and she's really Portuguese and she left her footprint, a big footprint, in fado in a positive way.[179]

This response is unusual as it avoids making sweeping generalisations about how Amália redefined fado, and rather left it as a matter of personal taste. He states that, while he likes what he has heard, his musical journey within fado has not been inundated with this single artist, influential though she may be, but rather that there are a number of high quality fadistas, ranging from world famous to individuals who are virtually unknown outside of a few small casas in Lisbon, and all of these performances have contributed to his own style and perspective.

Another figure with whom I spoke was Fernanda Proença, a female fado singer in her late fifties who attends the amateur fado sessions every Saturday and Sunday afternoon at *Tasca do Jaime* in the neighbourhood of Graça. When I first attended one of these sessions it seemed like most of the members of the audience, whom I assumed to be fairly regular, knew her and she knew them. After talking to a number of people I was informed that she is one of the best-

[179] James Félix, *Interview with Tiago Tomé*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, June 2012).

known regulars at these sessions, and that her husband has also been known to sing in various venues across Lisbon. When I spoke to her, she kept making reference to the fact that, for her, 'fadista' and 'fado singer' are integral parts of her identity, but she also informed me that it is not her career and that she has another job during the weekdays, despite mentioning that she has sung in some of the more expensive and high-end professional casas de fado in neighbourhoods such as Alfama and Bairro Alto. Throughout our conversation, she very rarely made reference to the instrumental side of fado except to explain that she only sings fado and does not play any of the instruments. Her responses when questioned about the nature of fado always related to the role and the quality of the singer, and rarely if ever touched on the way a fado is composed, played or received. As such, the conversation moved on to significant or inspirational fado singers and, when asked her opinion of Amália, she responded as follows: 'Unique. Marvellous. Wonderful. For me, Amália is simply Amália. Amália Rodrigues…'. When I pushed for more information and asked if she was an authentic fadista, Proença's response was emphatically in the affirmative, and she explained that in her personal opinion (a phrase she used to qualify many of her statements was 'for me' or 'to me'), Amália is truly traditional, and therefore, truly authentic.[180]

At the opposite end of the spectrum from Fernanda Proença is Mario Pacheco, arguably one of the most influential people involved in fado today, and certainly one of the most prominent. While I am hesitant to label him as commercially driven, it could certainly be argued that he holds a large stake in the commercial side of fado. In addition to owning and running one of Portugal's most elite and

[180] James Félix, *Interview with Fernanda Proença*, (Lisbon: Unpublished: June 2012).

high-end fado houses, *Clube de Fado*, he is also a prolific guitarrista, arranger and composer and has worked with, and in some cases even launched the professional careers of, a large proportion of today's international 'fado stars'. Many fados that he has written, such as *Cavaleiro Monge*,[181] have found their way into the standard repertoire of many performers, and he has played guitarra on countless recordings, including those of Mariza and even Amália. Pacheco is involved in virtually every aspect of fado including promoting, performing, composing and recording; he informs me that, having begun on viola, the only element of fado he is not involved in is the vocal element of performances. He is therefore in a position to give a unique perspective on Amália not only as someone who admired her work, but as someone who knew her both professionally and personally. Furthermore, with such wide and varied experiences within fado, Pacheco can perhaps provide a more all-encompassing view of the influence and after-effects of Amália and her career in the context of the genre as a whole.

When asked what he feels about Amália, his reply was:

> Well, everything! Amália, as I told you in the beginning, is, and I mean in the present as well, she is our greatest singer. I had the glory of being with her in her last fifteen years of life. I had the privilege of being with her every night; I can consider that I was the last guitarist to enter into her life. I don't consider myself Amália's guitar player. Those were others — Fontes Rocha, Carlos Goncalves. I say that I was the last guitar player to be with her and I believe that I played in the last concerts; there were four concerts. We made a record in Italy. I composed for Amália; we had almost everything ready for our future, the last CD, but unfortunately she died. I learned so much with Amália and I understood why Amália was Amália. She was a very bright woman, a very perspicacious

[181] 'The Cavalier Monk'.

> woman. Intelligent with an elegance, a natural elegance. With a unique voice that made her a unique artist in the world. Highest level.[182]

After discussing Amália, I would often ask those being interviewed about other singers. While the individual names varied according to what had already been said, more often than not the topic of Mariza would be raised. Although she is not the only fadista to have performed beyond the borders of Portugal (for example, Dulce Pontes is probably the best-known fado musician in the USA, and Carlos do Carmo represented Portugal in the Eurovision Song Contest in 1976), she is certainly the most prolific international artist performing fado in Europe. It was interesting that, often, discussions of Mariza come down to a comparison with Amália, rather than simply judging her as an artist in her own right. For example, after discussing Amália, I asked Proença her opinions on Mariza, and she told me simply that she liked her; when I questioned her further for her opinions and asked if she is an authentic fadista, I was told 'Yes, she's authentic but I prefer Amália'.[183] Similarly, I had an extended conversation with Santos regarding the modern-day international superstars of fado, asking him about the effect such touring musicians have had on the genre. Instantly, he compared these modern artists to Amália, saying that it is a good thing that they help to spread fado: 'It's like Amália. Amália was like the mother figure — she was unique. There's some people that like Mariza – they think she will be like our second mother, but I don't believe it. Even Dulce Pontes, she sings very well but the traditional fado is very difficult for them to do.'[184] After discovering that he had collaborated with a number of these stars on a project, I pressed him further on the topic of Mariza (and Dulce Pontes), asking if the fact that they

[182] *Interview with Mário Pacheco.*
[183] *Interview with Fernanda Proença.*
[184] *Interview with Paulo Jorge Santos.*

played to large crowds in concert halls and arenas detracted from their authenticity as fadistas, to which he replied:

> It isn't as intimate, but Mariza does something that I never saw in any others. At the end of her concert, she makes a fado song without amplification. Because she has to do it for so many people without amplification, they go to the middle of the crowd, it could be one thousand or it could be twenty thousand, it doesn't matter. She sings fado — real fado, traditional fado, without any amplification […] That is where she proves that she is an authentic fadista. She can really feel it, it's amazing, and I've never seen that in other "commercial" fadistas.[185]

Tomé, who had previously been quite non-committal about Amália, felt more passionately about the work of Mariza: 'For me, Mariza is one of the singers from today that I can say, it's just my opinion, that she's quite ahead of other people singing. Of course this is just my opinion, and it should only have the value of an opinion, but for me she is top quality, and what she is doing is really, really good.'[186] When I asked him if he felt she is good for fado, he responded in the affirmative:

> Good for fado also. She's putting fado out there and she's not leaving a bad impression of fado. She does her own stuff, but everyone knows fado today because of Mariza. She's outside and going with fado to the world, to every bit of the world. Everyone knows Mariza, and she's not leaving a bad impression of fado. She's a contemporary fado singer, but for me, she's really good, I really like her.[187]

It is interesting to note that both Santos and Tomé are prepared to mention the inconsistencies between the typical view of what a fadista should be and the

[185] *Interview with Paulo Jorge Santos.*
[186] *Interview with Tiago Tomé.*
[187] *Interview with Tiago Tomé.*

work that Mariza is doing. Similarly, they both seem able to reconcile these two views and make the concession that, while not everything she does is strictly recognisable as traditional fado, and while they do not always take fado in the normal directions, she is still able to show her fidelity to the genre and is, overall, a positive force working in and for fado.

The Effects of Commercialisation

As with any model considered exemplary in music, it is natural for others to seek to conform to it, and the result of such conformity can often be seen to be for the better — the desire of bass guitarists, for example, to emulate artists such as Victor Wooten and Jaco Pastorius is leading to a new awareness of this instrument and a new generation of extremely talented bassists. Similarly, classical guitarists such as Andrés Segovia were well known for their teaching abilities, which led to their own approaches and abilities being sought out and emulated. One only has to look through the biographies in music dictionaries and encyclopaedias to see the emphasis placed on a performer's or a composer's pedigree, with lines such as 'He studied under X, Y and Z [famous composers]' being common place.

However, in folk music, celebrity culture can have a very different effect. Fado is a genre founded on emotion, specifically *saudade*, which is said to be felt deep in the soul, and it is this emotion upon which fado is predicated.[188] The innovations of Amália were, by and large, her own tools for expressing her own

[188] For a detailed account of the role of *saudade* in fado, see Lila Ellen Gray, 'Memories of Empire, Mythologies of the Soul: Fado Performance and the Shaping of Saudade', *Ethnomusicology*, 51.1 (2007), 106–130.

emotions. She once stated in an interview, 'I have so much sadness in me, I am a pessimist, a nihilist, everything fado demands in a singer, I have in me'.[189] That it was an effective approach for her is unquestionable, as is the powerful aural impact it has on the listener. Furthermore, it could be claimed that this style was adopted by so many singers because it is such an effective approach. However, when it is coupled with the notion of a fado industry, an industry where restaurants advertise themselves as authentic, yet have musicians and singers retained on a contract in order to perform the same show in the same way every night, restaurants who seek to live up to the expectations of the consumer society even at the expense of spontaneity and fidelity to tradition, then the genre starts to lose its meaning. For every place in Lisbon where fado occurs spontaneously and is performed by those who love it and whose only gain from singing or playing is catharsis, there are ten or twenty where the food is overpriced and they seek to put on a show and "give the punters what they want". This is not what fado was, but sadly, for the most part, it seems to be what it is becoming. While these performances could still be called faithful, this fidelity is less to the tradition of one and a half centuries, and more to the cult of Amália. This emotional expression which was Amália's is too often poorly replicated, either in a *casa de fado* or in the recording studio. Commenting on a track by Dulce Pontes, Elliot states:

> This track[…] [was] recorded live in the studio, presumably to catch the feel of an 'authentic' fado performance. Yet, without the 'grain' and anguish that Amália and [Argentina] Santos bring to their

[189] Cited in Jon Pareles, 'Amalia Rodrigues, 79, Queen of Fado, Lisbon's Sad Songs', *New York Times* (7 October 1999) <http://www.nytimes.com/1999/10/07/arts/amalia-rodrigues-79-queen-of-fado-lisbons-sad-songs.html?scp=2&sq=queen+of+fado&st=nyt> [accessed 19 October 2007].

> renditions, the song emerges as "merely" beautiful, somehow missing the cathartic elements of the older fadistas' versions.[190]

These recordings and performances may be musically pleasing and effective, but one is forced to ask if they are truly fado. Can there be such a thing as a professional fadista, or even a professional folk musician?

There are a number of marked differences between the fado in venues which promote more 'spontaneous' performances and those which appear to be marketing themselves towards tourists, many of which become obvious after only a short while. The first difference between these two types of venue, and perhaps one of the most easily noticeable, is to do with the make up of the audience. While there are some exceptions, for the most part the audiences in the latter category of venue are made up mostly of tourists, as might be expected; however, it is interesting to note an almost complete absence of tourists within the former type of venue. While one might reasonably expect to find a few travellers in these venues of spontaneous fado, those who have made a particular effort to seek out this more original form of fado, during my time in Lisbon I frequently found myself the only non-local in such establishments. Nonetheless, one may sometimes find Portuguese people in the touristic restaurants, although after talking to them one discovers that, either they are not from Lisbon, or are locals who do not often attend fado. That regular attendees avoid such venues speaks volumes about the way such venues are viewed by the fado community, or rather, by those who see

[190] Richard Elliot, *Fado and the Place of Longing: Loss, Memory and the City* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), p. 173.

themselves as fado purists, wishing to stay faithful to what they believe is the true and authentic spirit of fado.

It is not just the performance style that has become homogenised, however. One can walk into any *casa de fado* in Lisbon and the décor will be almost identical from venue to venue, with common themes running throughout. This was first highlighted by the fado magazine of the first half of the twentieth century, *A Canção do Sul*:

> The decoration must be of popular Lisbon origin: and when it is not of a maritime character it must be of a country nature. The pots of sweet basil, and everything which can signify the adoration of flowers, or evoke the windows and verandas where the Lisbon woman waits for her Portuguese sailor when she is missing him, are all authentic symbols of the fado. God bless the decorators who are now working on the refurbishment of certain fado salons, that they may respect the essential precept of fado culture.[191]

Today, when a tourist visits Lisbon, he or she can visit any of the major fado houses and receive the same treatment in each of them. Vernon sums this up as follows:

> Here, the foreign tourist could be fed with “traditional” food, served in “traditional” surroundings while enjoying “traditional” fado. Certainly, there was nothing essentially false about any of the things on offer. The fadistas had simply repackaged themselves attractively enough to sell to an audience who wanted the quick and readily-available experience inherent in commercial tourism.[192]

[191] *A Canção do Sul* 1938, cited in *A History of the Portuguese Fado,* p. 30.
[192] *A History of the Portuguese Fado,* pp. 36–37.

Further to this, many fado houses have taken to advertising in more and more overt manners. It is entirely possible, especially during summer evenings, to walk along certain streets in Alfama and Bairro Alto and be approached by numerous touts and promoters willing to entice you into particular fado houses. Interestingly these individuals approach any passers-by and engage them initially in either English or French, rather than Portuguese, suggesting that they are clearly pitching to tourists rather than locals.

Conclusions

Once the song of the people for the people, fado is now a major tourist attraction for visitors seeking the so-called ‘real’ Portuguese culture. Similarly the ‘World Music’ sections in music shops are almost guaranteed to contain numerous examples of this Portuguese genre. However, given how far this situation is from the origins of the genre, one is forced to ask if something has been lost along the way, or if fado as it is sold the world over has anything to do with the humble beginnings of the genre in back streets and neighbourhood taverns.

The major question raised by this chapter, and also debated by scholars, is whether or not commercialisation has caused fado to be in some way diluted, diminished, or removed from its original form. The answer to this question generally depends on who is asked, but I believe that the commercialisation of fado has led to the creation of commercialised fado which ought to be viewed as a distinct (though not completely separate) phenomenon from the non-commercial variety, whether one choses to call this authentic, traditional, or any

other word which implies a fidelity to the roots of the genre. This venture has been such a success that it is now the commercial fado with which most people are familiar, and the non-commercial fado is increasingly difficult to locate, even in the historical neighbourhoods where once it could be heard on every street corner.

While it is tempting to view the situation as a kind of “paradise lost”, this explanation is simplistic. There are clearly two very different approaches to fado — at their most basic level these could be termed “amateur” and “professional” — each resulting in a different interpretation of the same genre. While these two interpretations share certain commonalities, many would argue that the differences, most of which focus on extra-musical features, are enough to claim that the commercial fado is lacking in authenticity. Nonetheless, the variety of opinions on the subject coupled with the importance of fado not only for those involved in it, regardless of their motivation, but also for the tourism and recording industries in Portugal, suggest that there is a great deal more work to be done towards developing an understanding of the role and nature of designations such as “authentic” and “traditional”.

As for the question of whether one form is “better” than the other, much of the critique of professional fado revolves around the idea that these singers and musicians have somehow “sold out”, based on the fact that fado was not originally born out of a desire for financial gain. However, in an increasingly commercial world this criticism is common and often expressed as a desire for “the good old days”. In his discussion of Country and Western music, Jensen highlights this approach:

> In social and cultural criticism, commercialization describes a historic shift in patterns of cultural production and circulation, but it does not necessarily follow that commercially mediated culture is worse than communally constructed forms […] The critique of commercialization is an integral part of a larger commentary on modernity's ills.[193]

Stevenson responds to this criticism when she states that

> [T]he commodification of musical culture need not be detrimental. Contrary to this frequent assumption, commodification of musical events can work positively for practitioners, providing them with paid work, increasing their networking opportunities and strengthening the vitality of their tradition.[194]

Nonetheless, there are still many who feel that fado has lost its way. I conclude with a quote by Mísia, another of the modern fado superstars, who highlights her desire for a return to the roots of the genre, before the onset of commercial homogenisation:

> No matter what people might think, it is those zealous amateurs who maintain the ritual and perpetuate the tradition. Fado with a capital 'F' is not Amália, Mísia or Mariza; it is this river of anonymous souls who play and sing in the tabernas [sic] […] for me, it's they who keep fado alive, not the commercial enterprise of "novo fado".[195]

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[193] Joli Jensen, *The Nashville Sound: Authenticity, Commercialization, and Country Music* (London: The Country Music Foundation Press & Vanderbilt University Press, 1998), p. 137.
[194] Lesley Stevenson, *"Scotland the Real": the Representation of Traditional Music in Scottish Tourism* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2004), p. 285.
[195] Cited in *Fado and the Place of Longing,* p. 185.

Chapter Five

The Status of Fado and Fadistas

Introduction: Fado as Culture, Fado as A Culture

In this chapter I discuss the status accorded to fado and fadistas by both society in general and those within the genre of fado. I explore the way in which perceptions of the genre and its practitioners have changed over time and the reasons for this shift, and examine issues connected with these perceptions and opinions.

The chapter begins with an examination of the way historical events have caused fado to be viewed in different lights by both those involved in the genre and also those who, while Portuguese, are not directly connected to it. This includes the way the different origin mythologies cause fado to be seen and way in which socio-political events within Portugal have affected fado's status in the eyes of the Portuguese people, due to its use and abuse by the government and the associations and connotations fado came to have in relation to the fascist rulers of the country. Following this, I address the notion of ownership of fado, presenting a number of perspectives from practitioners of the genre, and examine the way this can increase or decrease affection for, and accessibility to, the music for different individuals. Specifically, I explore the idea of fado as Portuguese, and thus tied to concepts of national identity, national pride, and Portugal's place in a global cultural context. This leads to an account of the wider world's recognition of fado as an important and valuable cultural phenomenon as represented by its elevation by UNESCO to the level of 'Intangible Cultural Heritage', thereby giving fado an additional sense of legitimacy and justification amongst world music genres and global cultures and

traditions. I briefly examine the subgenres and offshoots of the fado genre, including the instrumental form of Lisbon fado, the *guitarrada*, which often features prominently in both amateur and professional fado performances in Lisbon, and also the variety of fado found in the northern city of Coimbra, a contentious genre which often divides opinion as to whether or not it is truly fado or if it is too far removed to be considered such. The latter part of this chapter explores specific labels applied to fadistas, either by themselves or by others; specifically I discuss the notion of the international superstar, a celebrity whose origins and fame lie in their participation in a humble genre of folk music but whose achievements have taken them beyond the simple origins of fado into the realms of stardom, and I discuss the notion that this therefore removes them from the essence of what it is to be a folk musician, whether they are seen as having “sold out”. Following on from this, I examine what it means to be considered an “insider” or an “outsider” in fado, the criteria for and expectations of each category, and the differing ways in which each relates to fado at a personal and a social level.

At the outset of this chapter, I wish to highlight the distinction between fado as cultural and fado as a culture. The former suggests that the genre is representative of Portuguese society and culture as a whole, or at the very least, the society and culture of Lisbon. This is a notion addressed in Chapter Six which focusses on the connection between fado and the negotiation and formation of identity. However, the latter concept, that of fado as a distinct culture, needs further clarification, as there are a number of sub-varieties of culture, or rather, different labels applied to various cultures: mainstream, popular culture, counter culture and subculture. Arguably, any one of these terms could be used to describe fado, but it is my position that fado is both a

subculture and, at various points in its history, has been mainstream, popular culture and counter culture.

Throughout its relatively short history, fado has become many things to many people, as discussed in Chapter Seven of this thesis. However, the different functions fado has served, or the different uses to which fado has been put, have caused a noticeable evolution in the nature of fado culture. Historically (as discussed in Chapter Three), fado was used as a song of the proletariat and the criminal class as a way of voicing their displeasure and externalising their feelings regarding the way in which they have been dealt by fate. Similarly there were individuals who used fado as a song of protest, either against their social status or the political situation preventing any improvement in the quality of their life. As such, I suggest in this time fado served as an example of counterculture. Following this, there were attempts made to adopt it into the high-brow or intellectual world by gentrifying it and moving it to the salons, thereby restricting access to it to small elite groups, creating a form of subculture. The technological advances of the age, such as radio and sound recording, reversed this effect and allowed fado to become more accessible than any time before, which helped pull the genre into mainstream culture, which was reinforced by films either using fado as part of their soundtracks or those which focussed on fado as their main theme. The rise of the "international star" (such as Amália) allowed fado to break into popular culture where, to a greater extent, it has remained for the past fifty years. Despite the advent of commercial fado and the ever increasing accessibility of the music, there still remains some pockets of Lisbon society, typically centred around certain back street cafes and restaurants which pride themselves on hosting 'amateur' fado, such as at *Jaime* in Graca and *Bela*, in Alfama, where fado continues as a subculture. This is due

to the fact that the nature of these performances and venues are so drastically different from the mainstream restaurants such as the upscale *Café Luso* and *Clube de Fado*. To take this further, I propose that these venues, and the fado found inside them, hark back to the early counterculture of fado, but instead of railing against the social situation of the singers, such fado exists in part as a protest against the newly popularised form that fado has taken due to commercialisation - a definite stand against modernisation, singing fado as it used to be sung. Since the commercial and touristic fado has become the norm in Portugal, the continued existence of 'traditional' style fado is a form of rebellion against the status quo of the modern materialistic society. Nonetheless, fado is now undoubtedly a form of mainstream culture as it has been adopted by a large number of people and accepted not just by the Portuguese but people all over the world.

Historical Status of Fado

Throughout the history of the genre fado has enjoyed a mixed reception among the general population of Portugal, ranging from hatred and dismissal to embracing and lauding as a true expression of Portuguese culture. These changing opinions have generally come about from a mix of socio-political conditions in the country, the social distance between those who perform fado and those who are commentating on it, and also the purposes for which fado is being used at any given time. In the second half of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth century fado was strongly associated with the lower working class, prostitutes, criminals and drunks. As Portugal was a largely illiterate nation at that time, commentators generally came from higher up the social ladder than those performing the music and their associates, and as such

seem to have a general attitude of disdain for fado, with one writer describing it as “a song of rogues, a hymn to crime, an ode to vice, an encouragement to moral depravity […] an unhealthy emanation from the centres of corruption, from the infamous habitations of the scum of society”,[196] and another dismissing the music’s “deliquescent and immoral melodies […] to be understood and felt only by those who vegetate in the mire of crapulence”.[197]

As the twentieth century progressed, the educated classes made an effort to appropriate fado as their own, in an attempt to raise the status of the music and so manufacture an expression of Portuguese culture which they saw as a fit representation of themselves. Fado was adapted in such a way as to make it suitable as salon music by its inclusion in the theatrical *revistas*[198] of the day, which in turn led to the release of popular fado songs arranged for singer and piano. This practice has continued even to today in an effort to make fado performance as accessible to as wide an audience as possible; examples of this include *Fado Português*[199], a book of popular and well known fado songs presented as lyrics, melody line and guitar chords, in addition to English translations of the lyrics and a brief history of each song and prominent performers and an accompanying CD, and also *Ramalhete de Fados*[200], a self published book edited by amateur musician and bookshop owner João Pimentel, which presents ‘only fados published in the XIX century that […] have virtually disappeared from the repertoire of modern singers’[201], arranged for

[196] Cited in Rodney Gallop, *Portugal: A Book of Folkways* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), p. 248.
[197] Cited in *Portugal: A Book of Folkways*, p. 265.
[198] Theatrical revues.
[199] Donald Cohen, ed., *Fado Português* (London: Wise Publications, 2003).
[200] João Pimentel, *Ramalhete de Fados: Colecção de Fados de todos os tempos. I Série*, (Lisbon: Fabula Urbis, 2011).
[201] Pimentel, p. 1.

voice and piano. The publication of these scores, both in the past and today, shows a desire to disseminate fado music to well educated musicians by arranging the songs for the piano, an instrument often considered more refined and genteel than instruments of the guitar family.

During the fascist dictatorship, which lasted from 1933 until 1974 fado was appropriated by the government for political purposes,[202] which again changed the way the music and culture was viewed by the people. At various times during this period (also known as the Second Republic), fado was censored by the government out of fear that it would be used to reveal too much about the harsh living conditions of the Portuguese people, homogenised and commercialised in an effort to control it, and used as propaganda to promote the ideals of the authoritarian government. This naturally led to a division among the people; there were those who, out of love for the genre or love of their country (or simply because they saw no other option) embraced these new approaches to fado and performed in such a way as to garner the approval of the government, there were those who rebelled against these restrictions and manipulations and continued to perform in the way that they always had, merely taking precautions and thereby creating an underground fado movement, and there were those who saw fado as another tool of oppression and thus came to resent the genre.

Following the Carnation Revolution on 25 April 1974, this resentment grew, particularly among those who had suffered under Salazar and his successor Caetano. Due to the links forged (and forced) between the government and fado, fado came to be seen as simply a remnant of a former era, one best

[202] This topic is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six.

forgotten. Just as people were keen to move on from the dictatorship, they sought to cast off anything that had associations with the way things had been for more than forty years. However, the work of artists such as Amália, with her familiar voice and genial stage presence helped break this curse. Figures such as Amália and Carlos do Carmo, who represented Portugal in the Eurovision Song Contest shortly after the fall of the Second Republic with a song which, while not strictly fado, contained some very definite fado influences and idioms, became cultural ambassadors, going out into the world and portraying Portugal and the Portuguese people in a positive light, creating international goodwill towards this newly reborn nation. This possibly contributed to the way that Amália was viewed and revered, both during the course of her life and especially since her death. As discussed elsewhere in this thesis, many view her with reverence and respect, hailing her as the mother of modern fado, an individual whose performances endure even today as examples of all that "authentic" and "traditional" fado should be, despite the fact that she took more liberties with the musical and poetic content of the music than any individual before her. Her career is often viewed with rose tinted spectacles, the sheer force of her personality and musical style either allowing commentators to look past her aberrant performance style or blinding them to it.

However, for better or worse, it is Amália who is held up as the gold standard by many in fado, and this has led to many modern day artists and would-be interpreters of fado, especially female singers, being forced to live and perform in her shadow. Mariza[203], Dulce Pontes[204] and Mísia[205] have all had

[203] John Lusk, 'Portuguese Perfection', *Independent* (17 November 2006) <http://arts.independent.co.uk/music/features/article1988181.ece> [accessed 19 October 2007].

comparisons with Amália drawn by commentators at some point in their careers, and as successful as these singers may be, it seems they are always destined to be viewed as contemporaries or descendants of Amália with the latter's legacy both inspiring them and simultaneously hanging over their heads.

Ownership: Fado As Portuguese

One of the key issues affecting the way fado is viewed, by both those involved in the genre and those outside of it, is that of ownership. Music, especially when it has specific cultural or social significance, is often claimed to belong to a particular group and therefore is ascribed greater value when viewed in this context. The difficulty with such claims of ownership, however, is where there are two or more conflicting claims. In order to further investigate the different points of view I spoke about this issue to a number of different practitioners, both amateur and professional. Their varied responses demonstrate that, even among those who appear to engage with fado in the same way or on the same level, there is no clear agreement.

Of all of the responses I received, that which appears to indicate the strongest possessive sentiment was given by Fernanda Proença, an amateur singer who is a regular performer and audience member at Tasca do Jaime. In addition to her strong feelings regarding authenticity and the elements which must be present in order for fado to bear that name, she insisted very strongly that 'fado

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[204] Jon Pareles, 'A New Style for Portugal's Old Fado, but the Songs are Still Full of Emotion', *New York Times* (12 May 2007) <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/05/12/arts/music/12pont.html> [accessed 19 October 2007].

[205] Richard Elliot, *Fado and the Place of Longing: Loss, Memory and the City* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), p. 148.

belongs to the fadistas'.[206] This view, while it may at first seem very narrow, is a powerful reflection of her own feelings about fado and her own motivations for singing. For example, when asked to describe what fado is, she tells me that, for her, it is everything; moreover, while discussing her introduction to the genre I asked her how she learned, to which she replied 'I was born with it – I have the soul of a fadista.'[207] It is clear, then, that by claiming fado belongs to the fadistas, she is actually claiming for herself something which she holds dear, that which has become an integral part of her life, that which is embedded in her routines, her outlook and her identity. Interestingly, before I visited this particular venue, I was discussing it with another acquaintance with a great knowledge of fado and Portuguese tradition, and he advised me that there would likely be a woman in her late fifties singing there, that many other people know and admire, who has a really traditional style. After attending two consecutive fado sessions at Tasca do Jaime, and seeing Proença involved in both, I gave a description of her to my acquaintance and he confirmed that it was she that he told me about and that she has been a regular at Tasca do Jaime for as long as he could remember, sometimes with her husband who also sang, but even when he didn't go she would still be present.

Another musician with whom I spoke is Tiago Tomé, a violista who plays in one of the newer commercial fado venues. The son of a professional guitarrista, violista and singer, he recently made the transition from performing fado as a way to supplement the income from his day job into his full time career. This was achieved, he tells me, through a sort of apprenticeship wherein he began as a secondary viola player on certain nights of the week, learning through

[206] James Félix, *Interview with Fernanda Proença*, (Lisbon: Unpublished: June 2012).
[207] *Interview with Fernanda Proença.*

participating and observing with a more experienced player, before moving up to playing second viola every night and, eventually, being the sole violista at the venue. More recently he has taken on an 'apprentice' of his own who is now in the same position Tomé was a few years ago. Tomé has a great passion for fado as is evident after just a few minutes talking to him, and he was more than willing to make suggestions of other fado venues where the atmosphere is more informal and the performances are closer in style to those of the old days, even to the point of arranging to meet me, introducing me to his friends, and taking me from venue to venue in the small hours of the morning. When I asked Tomé who fado belonged to, he told me that he felt it belonged primarily to the Portuguese people, but in essence it belongs to anyone who likes it.[208] I find it interesting that he chose to talk about anyone who likes fado, rather than anyone who appreciates or understands fado, but this I believe is a reflection of his own humility as, despite his great amount of knowledge and passion, he often expressed his own uncertainty regarding elements of fado such as the origin of fado or the qualities of good fado. It seems that, while he has an opinion on such matters, he is ready to accept that the opinions of others may differ from his and he is prepared to respect those other approaches. In this, he seems to be in the minority among those with whom I spoke as all others answered my questions and discussed fado with a tone of self-assured knowledge and authority, seeing themselves as experts by virtue of their own strongly held beliefs. This observation is not intended as a criticism in any way of either Tomé or of the other interviewees, towards all of whom I am very grateful for their contributions to this research, but I merely wish to highlight that for many, passion and strongly held beliefs are equated with absolute

[208] James Félix, *Interview with Tiago Tomé*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, June 2012).

knowledge, which can lead to disagreement with others whose beliefs, and as such whose truths, differ.

Mario Pacheco is arguably one of the most prominent figures in fado today, and is at the forefront of commercial fado, dividing his time as he does between his own solo performance and recording career, acting as owner and manager of Clube de Fado, one of the best known fado venues in Portugal, acting as a touring and recording accompanist for artists such as Mariza, and his work as a composer of new fado music and guitarradas, either for his own performance or for other artists, most notably the song *Cavaleiro Monge.*[209] As with my earlier remarks, however, I do not mean this commentary as a criticism, rather, the contribution of such a prominent businessman in the world of fado only serves to broaden the perspective of my research and, as such, provides a valuable insight into the world of fado. The professional nature of his relationship with fado, however, does nothing to lessen his passion for the music. When I questioned him at the end of the interview regarding what fado means to him personally, having already discussed the musical and business aspects of the genre, he describes fado as follows:

> Well fado is my life. Fado, my life was always, fado was always present in my life. I have a family, it's not easy sometimes to love fado and to love family. There is sometimes when one takes the time of the other, but all my feelings are in composing, in playing, in changing the strings of the guitar, in changing guitars, in tuning guitars, in rehearsing, making CDs, making concerts, playing here many nights. So… [shrugs], I told you, fado is my life. I have two special things in my life, it's fado and my family. That's it. Untouchable.[210]

[209] The Cavalier Monk.
[210] James Félix, *Interview with Mário Pacheco*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, June 2012).

Ever aware of fado's cultural standing, both historically and in the present, however, his response to the question "To whom does fado belong?" highlighted both the universal appeal of the genre and the recent recognition it has received on a worldwide scale:

> Well, nowadays it belongs to humanity because it is part of the UNESCO heritage! Fado belongs to… to those who are interested, to those first. And then to those who are discovering fado, like you. If you are interested, if you are able to listen, some people are not able to listen, but if you are able to listen, fado belongs to you also. As I told you, fado is Portuguese, no doubts about that. Of course with many influences like old music, but born here, it belongs to the Portuguese people mainly, and we, I and I believe most of the artists, we like to show to the world the music of a very small country, but with a very long history.[211]

Despite his current status as a fado celebrity, Pacheco's beginnings in the genre were very similar to that of Tomé. When asked how he learned, he first highlighted that, just like Tomé, he grew up around fado but only started to explore it himself when he was about fifteen years old, at which point he started to play 'for myself, inside the small world of fado'.[212] He then goes on to tell me that his fado education came mainly from his father:

> I studied also because I first played classical guitar, then I played classical guitar for fado, as you know in Portugal we call the classical guitar or Spanish guitar *viola*, so I played professionally for 15 years, first beginning accompanying my father and then the other great guitarists, then I began to compose and I decided to play solo my compositions.[213]

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[211] *Interview with Mário Pacheco.*
[212] *Interview with Mário Pacheco.*
[213] *Interview with Mário Pacheco.*

Two other individuals who, despite their relatively young age, have risen to prominence in the world of commercial fado are Angelo Freire and Diogo Clemente, who I spoke with when they were touring the UK as accompanists for Mariza. Freire linked the notion of ownership directly with the origins of fado, first highlighting the strong connection between the genre and the Portuguese people, but then drawing on Lisbon's ethnically diverse history which stemmed from its time as a major maritime port, he claims that fado can be for everyone:

> The beginning of fado is... Lisboa was a place where people from the country would come and work. From the area around Lisboa they would come into the centre and work, so at the end of the day they would get together in secret places and the way they have of relieving their pain and the worries of life was singing, and that's why the stories of fado talk about the lives of people. The reason why they these people were in those places wasn't just for a singer to sing to his public or audience, it was a common way of relieving that pain. There was an expression that they don't use any more but they used to use which is 'let's sing a small fado song to sleep so that we can calm down… it's for everybody.[214]

Clemente went on to agree with this claiming that 'All the people is the fado [sic]. The fado is the listener, the singer, the musician.'[215] In this way, while acknowledging the appeal of fado to anyone, Clemente still retains some concept of ownership by those involved in the music in a more direct way. When discussing his musical background, he highlights the centrality of fado in both of their musical backgrounds: 'I play guitar, I play a little bit of bass, but my music, our music, mine and Angelo's, is fado. Pure fado. Our language and everything what happens around that, is with that base. We were born in fado. After that, we studied in the conservatory to read and write and compose, it

[214] James Félix, *Interview with Diogo Clemente and Angelo Freire,* (Coventry: Unpublished, February 2010).
[215] *Interview with Diogo Clemente and Angelo Freire.*

takes some musical information, but fado is our music.'[216] They go on to explain that they originally studied classical music, with Freire also playing guitarra, viola, bass guitar and piano, but from this starting point they moved into playing fado more exclusively.

Ultimately fado, like any other cultural phenomenon, cannot truly be said to have an owner. However, the lack of true ownership does not preclude the formation of strong affinities with the music. Rather, individuals and groups negotiate their own relationships with the music, constructing meaning and significance on a personal level and forming varying levels of closeness with the genre according to their own feelings and needs. Undoubtedly fado, on account of its origins and history, is linked with Portuguese culture and identity and, having evolved in tandem with Portuguese society, can be seen as representative of certain elements of that same society. However, despite individuals' wishes to the contrary, to claim that one group, or even one culture, "owns" fado is as preposterous as claiming to "own" opera or jazz music. Music, especially those musics associated with specific cultural or ethnic groups, should be shared in order that all may enjoy and appreciate its richness.

Fado In The World

The recognition and sharing of musical cultures is an important aspect of todays multicultural world, in which both migration and technology remove virtually all barriers. The increasing popularity of "world music" is a testament to people's desire to learn and understand features of other cultures, in addition to their ability to appreciate such nuances, whether this is due to a genuine wish to

[216] *Interview with Diogo Clemente and Angelo Freire.*

participate in other cultures or a simple desire to experience the “exotic”. There have been many factors affecting fado’s reception outside of Portugal, mostly due to the efforts of individual performers, however there has also been one major event which has forever changed fado’s status on the world stage.

In recent years, fado, and its cultural significance, has been formally recognised by UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), who have pronounced that fado is an example of ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage’. In order to fully appreciate the nature of this label, below is the full definition of Intangible Cultural Heritage as given by UNESCO in a leaflet on the topic:

> There are things that we regard as important to preserve for future generations. They may be significant due to their present or possible economic value, but also because they create a certain emotion within us, or because they make us feel as though we belong to something - a country, a tradition, a way of life[…]
> The importance of intangible cultural heritage is not the cultural manifestation itself but rather the wealth of knowledge and skills that is transmitted through it from one generation to the next. The social and economic value of this transmission of knowledge is relevant for minority groups and for mainstream social groups within a State, and is as important for developing States as for developed ones.
> Intangible cultural heritage is:
> **Traditional, contemporary and living at the same time**: intangible cultural heritage does not only represent inherited traditions from the past but also contemporary rural and urban practices in which diverse cultural groups take part;
> **Inclusive:** we may share expressions of intangible cultural heritage that are similar to those practised by others. Whether they are from the neighbouring village, from a city on the opposite side of the world, or have been adapted by peoples who have migrated and settled in a different region, they all are intangible cultural heritage: they have been passed from one generation to another, have evolved in response to their environments and they contribute to giving us a sense of identity and continuity, providing a link from our past, through the present, and into our future […] it contributes to social cohesion, encouraging a sense of identity and responsibility which

> helps individuals to feel part of one or different communities and to feel part of society at large.
> **Representative:** intangible cultural heritage is not merely valued as a cultural good, on a comparative basis, for its exclusivity or its exceptional value. It thrives on its basis in communities and depends on those whose knowledge of traditions, skills and customs are passed on to the rest of the community, from generation to generation, or to other communities;
> **Community-based:** intangible cultural heritage can only be heritage when it is recognized as such by the communities, groups or individuals that create, maintain and transmit it - without their recognition, nobody else can decide for them that a given expression or practice is their heritage.[217]

Since this formal international recognition has become official, it is commonplace while walking around the streets of Lisbon to see UNESCO's pronouncement used in the advertising of recordings and performances. Indeed, many of the musicians and fado aficionados with whom I spoke were both aware and proud of this recognition, as illustrated by above quotation by Pacheco. In terms of the significance of this recognition for fado as a genre, the most obvious area which this affects is the commercial fado business. Wider recognition around the world inevitably leads to greater numbers of tourists and visitors wishing to experience this valuable cultural phenomenon, not to mention increased sales of recordings throughout the world. However, a further advantage to the genre, perhaps not immediately obvious, is that the UNESCO recognition now opens the door to preservation orders for sites of particular significance related to the genre. While I am currently unaware of any such applications, I believe this could include historical performance venues and locations closely associated with prominent figures in fado's history. Such an order would not be unprecedented as the house in which Amália lived for the

[217] UNESCO, What Is *Intangible Cultural Heritage?,* (France: UNESCO, 2011), pp. 2–3.

final years of her life had, within a very short period following her death, been converted to a museum which has been rated number '122 of 427 things to do in Lisbon' by tourist website Trip Advisor.[218]

Fado Variations

I wish now to briefly discuss two forms of music which some claim, as I will demonstrate, to be varieties of fado but others feel are divorced from the genre. The first of these is an instrumental genre, the *guitarrada*. Defined by Salwa El Shawan Castelo-Branco as 'a purely instrumental composition of virtuosic character, in the ambit of *fado de Lisboa* and *canção do Coimbra.*'[219] These show pieces are almost always performed at the beginning of a fado session (both amateur and professional) and sometimes at other points during the night, and are seen as an opportunity for the house musicians to display their talents without the confines of the role of accompanist. However, their inclusion in these performances is not enough alone to classify them as fado; although they use the same instruments, the singer is missing and so too, therefore, is the text. When I questioned Tomé about the role of the guitarrada in fado performances he assured me that, even though they are a variation on the standard fado, they are nonetheless related to the genre and a part of the tradition: 'They are fado, not sung, but played. It's the same. It's like, if you listen to it you can still see that it's fado, it's a story in notes you can feel that

[218] http://www.tripadvisor.com.sg/Attraction_Review-g189158–d505382–Reviews-Fundacao_Amalia_Rodrigues_Casa_Museu-Lisbon_Lisbon_District_Central_Portugal.html [accessed 14 March 2015]

[219] Salwa El-Shawan Castelo–Branco, 'Guitarrada', in *Enciclopédia da Música em Portugal no Século XX (C–L),* ed. by Salwa Castelo–Branco, (Portugal: Circulo de Leitores/Temas e Debates e Autores, 2010), p. 603.

some are sad, some are happy, some are… […] it's still fado.'[220] Castelo-Branco's description of the guitarrada also drew comparisons with the *canção do Coimbra,* also known by some as *fado do Coimbra*, in other words, Coimbra's version of fado, and it is this appellation which causes a great deal of contention among fadistas.

Fado do Coimbra[221] has a much clearer history than the Lisbon fado, as it was created when the students and teachers of the University of Coimbra (established in 1290, making it the oldest university in Portugal) began to experiment with fado. As a song previously confined to the lower classes of society, this appropriation necessitated some adaptions to make it suitable for the more educated classes, and it quickly changed form to become more of a ballad, often used as a form of gentrified serenade, as opposed to an expression of the gritty realities of poverty and crime. A variation on the guitarra was also implemented to be used in this music, resulting in an instrument with a slightly larger body which was tuned a tone lower than the *guitarra de Lisboa*, making for a more sonorous tone which soon proved popular both in Coimbra and back in Lisbon.

However, as with other innovations and variations on fado, opinion is divided as to whether the music and context is too far removed for it to be truly considered fado anymore, or whether its roots in Lisbon are sufficient for it to still be called such. When I questioned individuals about the role of fado do Coimbra it seems there were as many opinions as there were responses. Fernanda Proença, for

[220] *Interview with Tiago Tomé.*
[221] While I use this term, it is seen as controversial by some as will be demonstrated. However, this is a widely recognised term and one which I use out of ease, rather than as an expression of personal opinion regarding its links with Lisbon's fado.

example, simply stated 'Yes. It's different fado, but yes it's still fado.'[222] Similarly, Santos insisted that not only is it still fado but it is authentic fado, and the only noticeable difference is the purpose of the music:

> I think both are authentic. The Fado in Coimbra is mostly played by the students. They are not so much workers. Here it's more people working for it. They have to sing and play to get money, but there in Coimbra more people play for pleasure. It's more for serenades and to entertain people, but not in a professional way […] here even if we don't have motivation we have to play because we are working. There, [Coimbra] they are studying and play for pleasure, to enjoy themselves. They do also sing lyrics that have the same themes as the Lisboa Fado.[223]

It is interesting to note that the fado which is most readily accessible outside of Portugal is that of Lisbon, and beyond where a performer may have been born, it is extremely rare for any singers involved in fado do Coimbra to appear on a stage outside of Portugal. Certainly no artists have ever reached the heights of Amália or Mariza by performing in this genre. Similarly, there are far fewer CDs of this music available, either in Portugal or abroad, which I believe is a reflection of Santos' comments about the increasingly commercial nature of fado in Lisbon, especially when compared with Coimbra.

At the opposite end of the scale, all of the musicians who tour performing fado abroad with whom I spoke felt very strongly that fado do Coimbra is an entirely different genre. When I asked Mariza's musicians how they felt about 'the fado one finds in Coimbra,' I was swiftly corrected: 'Coimbra doesn't have fado, it has ballads.' When I enquired further about this opinion I was told in no uncertain terms that it should not be considered fado. Freire referred to his earlier

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[222] *Interview with Fernanda Proença.*
[223] James Félix, *Interview with Paulo Jorge Santos*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, July 2007).

description of fado, grounding his opinion in the musical features of the genre, claiming that elements such as melody and harmony were too dissimilar for the two forms to be considered together, whereas Clemente simply stated that the two are entirely different genres, giving the examples 'Rock is not fado; jazz is not fado; ballada de Coimbra is not fado.'[224] This opinion parallels his opinion on the use of other instruments and external influences in fado performances, which he states 'It's a beautiful thing and it's something special of course, but it has something foreign. It's something that not so consistent.'[225]

Similarly, Pacheco also denied the existence of such a thing as fado do Coimbra, but attributing it to geographical and social reasons. He claimed that 'Fado is from Lisbon. Because the fado in Coimbra, because we must say Song of Coimbra, *Ballada de Coimbra*, *Canção do Coimbra*, and because it has the Portuguese guitar and many people, even the Portuguese, call that song fado. It's not fado, fado is from Lisbon. It's another thing, and I must say that I love the Coimbra song, I adore the Coimbra guitar players…'[226] At this point I question him about his choice of guitarra, as I notice he uses a model in the Coimbra style, and he tells me that this is because he likes the increased sonority, but as he plays fado he plays it with the standard Lisbon tuning, although he also admits his preference for the visual aesthetics of the Coimbra guitarra.[227]

Opinion then is divided regarding the nature of this music of northern Portugal. Of all of the musicians with whom I spoke, both formally and informally, Tomé

[224] *Interview with Diogo Clemente and Angelo Freire.*
[225] *Interview with Diogo Clemente and Angelo Freire.*
[226] *Interview with Mário Pacheco.*
[227] *Interview with Mário Pacheco.*

was the only one to express uncertainty, or an unwillingness to commit, on the matter. When questioned about the authenticity of fado do Coimbra, he stated:

> That, I cannot say much, because I don't know much about Coimbra fado. As I told you, I don't listen to a lot of Coimbra fado, it doesn't reach me that much. I don't know why, maybe it's out of fashion, you don't listen to it on the radio or on the TV, I've never been to Coimbra… I don't know, it doesn't reach me. I think it's another way of expression - not like the fado in Lisbon. It's more… another kind of feeling, another kind of lyrics, other kinds of stories.[228]

When I pressed him on this last point and asked if it was even classed as fado at all, he gave the following analogy: 'I don't know… maybe it is, but it's like a brother to the Lisbon fado, they're kind of brothers. They come from the same parents but they are different, they have different personalities, you can tell they are brothers if you see them, but they are a little different.'[229] While non-committal, I believe this to be an apt simile to describe the relationship between the two genres; it allows for differences in interpretation while simultaneously acknowledging the common genesis of the music, thereby leaving the listener to form their own opinion on the matter, and thereby negotiate their own relationship with the music with which they feel connected.

The Celebrity in Folk Music

While the status of fadistas may vary according to their station in life, their musical ability and even the venues at which they perform, there is one category of performer seen as an entirely separate breed to both the amateur

[228] *Interview with Tiago Tomé.*
[229] *Interview with Tiago Tomé.*

fadista singing in venues such as Jaime and the professional performing on a contractual basis at Café Luso. Although this small group of performers may be seen as closer to the latter group, there is still a vast amount of difference in the perceptions of this third group, which consist of individuals who have generally, at some point, been members of both the amateur and the professional fado circle. However, their success in these arenas has led them to bigger things and they are now international superstars, ambassadors for fado and for Portugal taking their culture and their music beyond the borders of Portugal and, often, Europe and performing in prestigious venues such as Carnegie Hall (as Amália did) and Central Park (Mariza). The rise of such figures did more than merely bring fado to a wider audience outside of Portugal, however.

A contributory factor to the rise of the fado business, as suggested in Chapter Four, is the draw of the celebrity. The recording industry has continued to grow since technology first made the reproduction of musical performances possible, and fado has been no exception to this. What first began as a small industry appealing only to residents of Lisbon familiar with the genre and with enough disposable income to afford the necessary equipment (which was indeed a small population given the demographic of fado appreciators in the early years of the genre) has grown into a worldwide phenomenon, helped in part by the recent surge of interest in world music, coupled with the increasing accessibility of both studio recordings and amateur performances (for example, those uploaded on sites such as YouTube, Bandcamp and SoundCloud) and the affordability of holidays to destinations such as Lisbon. However, the recording industry thrives on the idea of the celebrity, with the majority of consumers more likely to purchase music by performers with whom they are already familiar. These performers gradually build up a fan base and, in time, rise to the status of

stardom, often (though not always) beginning with notoriety in their own country which then extends to other parts of the world, both through distribution of recorded material and concert tours. Lopes highlights this phenomenon as first taking place during the latter half of the fascist dictatorship: 'In 1957, with the start of the broadcasts of Radio Television Portugal until 1974, fado is being broadcast regularly on the screen, which allows the association of [the] image of the singers [with] their music, contributing to a greater popularity and dimension of fadistas, attributing to many the dimensions of stardom.'[230] This has continued until today, perpetuated by television talent shows and the annual fado competition *Grande Noite do Fado* and if anything, the cult of stardom has grown.

The idea of a celebrity within folk music may at first seem paradoxical, depending on one's definition of folk music and the criterion by which it is judged. However, with the borders of genres expanding and changing on a daily basis, the two concepts may not be as incompatible as they first seem, as numerous international stars have risen from folk music, most obviously artists such as Bob Dylan who helped redefine genres. Other examples of artists who, it could be argued, have stayed closer to their folk roots rather than branching out into other genres include The Dubliners, Eliza Carthy and Ladysmith Black Mambazo. Similarly, today the term 'folk', at least within the United Kingdom, seems to encompass a wide range of artists such as The Unthanks, Show of Hands and Martin Simpson whose performance style and subject matter resemble British folksong, while simultaneously bringing new elements to and creating new songs for the genre. In this sense, therefore, a superstar within

[230] Samuel Lopes, *Fado Portugal: 200 Years of Fado*, (Portugal: SevenMuses MusicBooks, 2011), pp. 50–51.

folk music may be seen as a positive force, bringing the music to a wider audience and helping make a niche market more readily accessible to then man on the street.

Insider or Outsider?

A further class of identity can be assigned to those involved in fado, regardless of the nature of this involvement. Unlike those other forms of identity mentioned within this chapter, however, this dialectic is made up of two categories that one cannot choose to identify as, but rather, one is assigned as one or the other. The distinction between ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’, or ‘emic’ and ‘etic’ respectively, is a recurring theme in many ethnomusicological studies, as identity is connected to a sense of belonging. When one subscribes to certain beliefs, or makes a conscious decision to act in accordance with, or against, certain expectations, one is making a personal statement, identifying with a particular group, whether this identification is based upon musical tastes, style of clothing, religious or political beliefs, or life experiences. In general, insiders are viewed as knowledgeable of that particular group, and often act as a sort of spokesperson for the group, acting as an intermediary to bridge the gap between the collective insiders and outsiders. In fado, however, the notion of an insider implies much more than this. While they may be considered knowledgeable about issues connected with fado, one can often find that much of this ‘knowledge’ is in fact opinion based on personal experience, and as such these supposed truths will vary from person to person. The reason for this lies in the way this knowledge has been accrued. Whereas the insiders of some groups may have studied the traditions and nature of their group, either formally

or informally, the majority of fado knowledge stems from personal experience. One would not consider someone who formally studied fado and its related issues, yet has never been involved in the genre in a practical way, as an insider, as such knowledge counts for very little without the experience to support it. As such, one often finds that fado insiders are a sort of revered elder, with the younger generation looking up to them and deferring to their greater amount of experience over a longer period of time. In my conversations with various people involved with fado, each one was keen to point out that they had either been involved with fado, or had some familiarity with fado, since a very young age. Often their responses, as discussed in Chapter Five, were either that they were born with fado in them and it has always been a part of them, such as Fernanda Proença, or that they had grown up surrounded by fado, usually due to either involvement with fado or a love of fado on the part of their parents, and that when they were old enough they chose to involve themselves personally, such as Mario Pacheco and Tiago Tomé.

Unlike many social or cultural groups, the appellation of ‘insider’ in fado is just as likely to apply to amateurs as professionals. However, when it comes to attending fado performances as a listener, many insiders avoid the professional as much as possible and seek the amateur, one who acts as a mediator rather than a performer, whereas the uninformed/outsiders seek the professional or, in many cases, seek the authentic, but discover that the only fado they can find or easily access is the professional. This attitude is paralleled in the difficulty of finding truly ‘amateur’ fado houses in Lisbon. It appears that almost all published information, from tourist guides to fliers in hotel receptions, are designed to direct anybody seeking fado to the commercial venues. While this may at first seem like simple marketing, it could also be argued that it is this

strategy which helps to keep amateur fado true to its roots. Just as one often hears of people who do not wish their idyllic villages to be publicised for fear of a large influx of outsiders spoiling it, so too might those individuals who own and run small amateur fado venues avoid advertising their establishments, preferring to keep a smaller clientele who will respect those values which are held to be important in such places.

As a consequence of this, there are certain privileges which are not easily available to those considered 'outsiders'. The most obvious of these is the knowledge of those small, hidden venues mentioned above - while these are not kept a secret, they are incredibly hard to find and one would often overlook them, as documented by Vernon:

> On the day following my arrival, I met a lottery-ticket salesman on the street in Roçio […] after some cross-conversation in broken English, I finally convinced him that I wanted to see 'the real fado', not any of the tourist versions, and he directed me to the Taverna do Barata […] even with instructions, it took some finding; there was nothing whatever to indicate that number 10 Rua dos Mouros was a fado house. I stood outside a little uneasily in the muggy October evening, trying to decide which of two identical but unmarked doors to go through. I didn't want to burst uninvited into someone's living room. When I finally chose a door and entered, I knew I had found the right place.'[231]

Another privilege of being an 'insider' is access to, and support and encouragement of, more experienced singers, noted numerous times by Gray: 'As the man sings, a respected male fadista stands near the door watching

[231] Paul Vernon, *A History of the Portuguese Fado* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1998), p. 39.

intently and occasionally prompts him with various words of encouragement,'[232] and later referring to the same performer:

> The instrumentalists have a few words with him, asking how it went and giving him some tips for the next time. As he exits the performance space, men pat him on the back, some women give him *beijinhos* (small kisses on each cheek), someone says *parabéns* (congratulations). He walks to the man who was standing near the door giving him encouragement; they embrace and the man says, "I am his godfather (*padrinho*) of fado.[233]

The final benefit available to the insider may not be immediately obvious, and indeed there may be some who disregard this as unnecessary or irrelevant, but once one is viewed as 'fadista', the opinions others form will be coloured by this, ironically allowing more musical freedom without risking censure from the community. A classic example of this is Amália, who was musically and theatrically a revolutionary in the fado world, trying things which had never been done before and performing in ways and styles which were alien to the genre, yet she was and still is viewed as the apogee of fado style and convention. Virtually every fado venue today contains an image of her, every music shop in Lisbon sells her albums, and almost all musicians and singers with whom I have spoken consider her a formative influence and, in some cases, consider her style to be a form of musical compass. Many of the things she did were unorthodox and there may be those who label her style as inauthentic, yet because of her status within the fado community and the services she provided to music, very few fadistas will speak of her in a negative way.

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[232] Lila Ellen Gray, 'Resounding History, Embodying Place: Fado Performance in Lisbon, Portugal', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Duke University, 2005), p. 51.
[233] *Resounding History, Embodying Place*, p. 52.

Weisethaunet and Lindberg make the claim that 'the performer's insights into human affairs are recognised as "true" only to the extent that they are collectively shared.' [234] This could explain why outsiders seem unable to distinguish the authentic from the inauthentic - if the experiences are seen as culturally specific, such as the notion that saudade is a uniquely Portuguese emotion, then surely only members of that culture can recognise these truths and experiences as genuine. This leaves two possibilities regarding the outsider - either he or she is ignorant of the nature of these communicated truths and experiences, or they unconsciously look past the criterion of communicated truths due to an expectation that, as an outsider they will be unable to relate to them, leading to a situation where the outsider might think "this song does not relate to my culture, and therefore cannot relate to my emotions and experiences, so I must look to other factors within the music in order to appreciate it while ignoring the disparity between the performed emotions and my own."

This discussion of the labels insider and outsider raises a number of questions regarding the value of these labels, and also the implications for those who find themselves apparently in one or other of the categories. The first of these is whether the outsider is capable of understanding and entering into genre as much as the insider? If fado belongs to the Portuguese people, or the fadistas, the outsiders may be viewed as extraneous; at best, unnecessary spectators who lack understanding, and at worst, unwelcome interlopers, trespassing in a quasi-sacred ritual wherein aspects of one's life and personality are laid bare before all present. However, this assumes that fado is purely about the

[234] Hans Weisethaunet, and Ulf Lindbergf, 'Authenticity Revisited: The Rock Critic and the Changing Real', *Popular Music and Society,* 33.4 (2010), 465–485 (pp. 477–478).

connection between the performer and the performance, and this does not appear to be the case. Fado performance is not only about the introspective self examination, but also the extrospective sharing of emotions and experiences; it is a genre in which the audience is as important as the performer. While it is true that an outsider may not fully appreciate and share in every detail of the performed story, by virtue of being human they will inevitably be able to appreciate certain elements, whether the expression in the voice, the body language of the performer, or the increased volume at moments of emotional climax.

As with most dialectical pairs, the main problem with the insider/outsider debate is the perceived polarity; the notion that one is categorically either an insider or an outsider is a flawed assumption. It implies the possibility that an individual taking their first steps into the genre is equal in both knowledge and ignorance to one who has learned “almost enough” to be considered an insider. It is my position, therefore, that insider and outsider are arbitrary terms as the moment an individual makes a decision to engage with the genre, by listening, watching, discussing or even reading, they have started on a path to knowledge and every fado-related experience brings further enlightenment. Every performance witnessed will bring some new insight into the genre, and as such it is only the individual who is completely ignorant of fado’s existence who may be considered to be truly outside.

Conclusions

It is without doubt that fado has evolved since its birth, and as such the perceptions of the music and those who make it must also have developed. Vernon describes the first stage of this evolution of status as follows:

> As fado settled into the mainstream of Lisbon's workaday life, the popular perception of the fadista's role subtly altered. Still regarded by many as rough and of loose morals, the term fadista nevertheless became more closely associated with the music itself. Whereas, 50 years earlier, the fadista had been viewed principally as a knife-wielding bandit who lived by criminal codes, by about 1900 the perception was more one of a colourful low-life bon viveur, closely associated with prostitution, drinking and, most especially, the fado.[235]

Over the course of the twentieth century social and political upheaval affected the genre in numerous significant ways, altering the performer and audience demographic, the way it was performed and even the sonic characteristics of the songs. The potential negative repercussions of these changes are highlighted by Lange who suggests that technological advances have had a detrimental effect on the authenticity of folk music leading to a homogenisation which blurred the lines between various discrete folk genres:

> [R]ecently, folk music began to be "discovered" in a manner dangerous to its integrity, when gramophone recording was followed by indiscriminate broadcasting, by films and now by television. With recording began the migration of folk singers to the capitals. Very soon, these legitimate representatives of folk music became transformed, almost imperceptibly, from amateurs, or professionals in a very limited sense of the word, into real professionals living by the exploitation of their wares[…] This process of economic betterment has resulted in the almost total migration of the most talented performers, who, in contact with urban music, modify and transform their own small repertoires, and augment them with pieces from other regions and even from other countries.'[236]

While the causes of these changed perceptions of fado and fadistas have been a mix of reactionary against unwelcome changes, and in sympathy with the

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[235] *A History of the Portuguese Fado*, p. 19.
[236] Francisco Curt Lange, 'Investigation and Preservation of Authentic Folk Music in Latin America', *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, 7 (1955), pp. 20–21.

natural evolution of a genre, it is not surprising that fado is viewed in different lights by different groups. Assuming fado is a form of folk music, it is by its very nature a genre centred on people and their lives, and just as opinions about different groups change over time, so too will opinions about their cultural entities. Although fado today is a well-known and recognised form of musical expression, it can never be all things to all people. However, it is enough that it is different things to different people, and as long as individuals are permitted freedom of thought and expression, this will be enough to ensure it continues for as long as it is wanted.

Chapter Six

The Identity of the Fadista

Once…
The old singer sang dreams,
With that voice that God gave her and is greater,
And I learned with her what the fado was:
Passion, destiny of this great love.

I heard there the voice of fado,
And dreamt that one day I would sing it too,
And went through night until the end of day
Hearing the voice of us that said:

Silence! 'cause the future brings saudades
When we sing about the past,
It's the voice of a nation we're hearing
In that back table at the fado's house.[237]

Introduction

The song of Portugal. The Portuguese blues. The soul of the Portuguese people. To some it is a way of life, to others it is a way to make a living. There are those who seek it as a diversion while on holiday in Lisbon, and yet others who prefer to view it as a way to express themselves in the company, not of foreigners, but of like-minded individuals with shared experiences. Fado has been called many things in the past 150 years, as figures from musicologists to travel writers have tried to define what makes this form of music so special. It is my view that the answer to this lies not within the music or lyrics themselves—at least, not directly. To understand fado it is necessary to look behind these features towards the performers, the listeners, the producers and consumers.

[237] '*Casa do Fado'* in Rafael Fraga and Augusto Macedo, *Carlos do Carmo Songbook (Bilingual Edition)*, (Lisbon: Edições: Nelson de Matos, 2008), p. 158.

Peter Spencer makes the claim that 'the bond that a vernacular music has with its particular subculture is something that can be felt even by those outside of the subculture'.[238] To understand the true nature and value of fado, therefore, it is necessary to look behind these musical features towards the performers, the listeners, the producers and the consumers. This is not a new approach, but it is particularly problematic when one views the history of the genre, as unlike many rural folk musics which were sung, for instance, by "country-folk" and have always been sung by "country-folk" and perhaps always will be sung by "country-folk", there is a large amount of change in the fado demographics over the past century and a half, and it is this variety which I intend to address at the outset of this chapter. Using the discussion of the changing social and cultural status of fado presented in the previous chapter as a basis, this chapter explores the way in which individuals relate to the genre, specifically focussing on ways in which individual and collective identities are created and maintained through engagement with, and immersion in, fado. I begin this discussion by tracing the way in which perceptions of those associated with fado have changed over the past one and a half centuries, and the way fado has been associated with specific social classes. This will lead in to an in-depth examination of the way different individuals engage with an identity, specifically the identity of the fadista, and the effect that these different levels of engagement have on the process of identification. I then draw upon written sources and information given by various fado practitioners in order to identify and define a number of different sub-categories of identity within the fadista subculture, highlighting the role each of them plays within fado and discussing

[238] Cited in Timothy D. Taylor, *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 27.

various approaches regarding the concept of identity formation within a given cultural formation.

In this chapter I hope to highlight the main changes in the make up of the fado sub-culture, the causes of these changes, and the changes in perception thus precipitated. In doing so I will expand on the current state of fado as seen through the eyes of those for whom it has great significance and thereby highlight fado's role in Portuguese society as a whole and, by extension, its place in the musical world.

The Fadista In Society

Throughout this chapter I refer to fadistas, but this term requires clarification at the outset. While some commentators use the term exclusively to identify the performers of fado, I use it in the wider sense, to refer to the entire fado-related subculture which is seen by many to include the singers, instrumentalists, composers, poets (the name given to those who write the lyrics used in fado) and the receptive audience. However, as I hope to make clear, the audience mentioned here does not necessarily include those who seek fado as a tourist attraction or who see the albums as an example of exotic "world music."

In order to illustrate the nature of the fadista subculture, I wish first to refer to the myth which introduced the figure of the fadista; a tale made up of uncertain proportions of fact and fable, and one which was to become the standard portrayal of fado singers for the first half-century of fado as we know it. The story is that of Maria Severa, whose story is summarised in Chapter Two of this

thesis.[239] Such was the impact of this young woman's short life that it was retold in the first Portuguese sound-film, *A Severa* (1931). This story is the earliest account of a named person involved with fado, and as such, it played a major part in establishing the identity of the fadista, one which endures as an ideal even today. While not a definitive account of the origins of fado as a musical form — the existence of any such account is debated — the story of Severa could be viewed in relation to Eric Hobsbawm's assertion that invented traditions 'normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past'.[240] In this case, Severa is the origin point of the notion of a fadista tradition, and even to this day many fadistas claim that the black shawls traditionally worn by female fado singers are mourning garments in memory of this mythologized figure.

While there are certain elements of this story which may have been romanticised over time, it nevertheless illustrates to whom fado originally belonged — it was not the song of the upper classes, but rather was performed by beggars, thieves, prostitutes and paupers. Furthermore, this association with the lower strata of society gave rise to an additional association within fado: it was seen as belonging in, and to, the three poorer neighbourhoods of Lisbon, namely Mouraria, Alfama and Bairro Alto.[241] This connection served to perpetuate the view that fado was, in the words of José Maciel Ribeiro Fontes, "a song of rogues, a hymn to crime, an ode to vice, an encouragement to moral depravity […] an unhealthy emanation from the centres of corruption, from the

[239] See pp. 47–48.
[240] Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 1.
[241] Incidentally, these three neighbourhoods—once avoided by anyone who could possibly do so—are the areas of Lisbon which have changed the least in the past century, and seem to hold the most appeal for visitors as "historical", "picturesque" and "authentic" areas.

infamous habitations of the scum of society".[242] Alberto Pimentel dismissed the music's "deliquescent and immoral melodies […] to be understood and felt only by those who vegetate in the mire of crapulence".[243] This association grew primarily out of the fact that the songs were not performed by the educated classes, but rather — depending on the creation myth one chooses to believe — by labourers and sailors on the ships and in the docks, or by thieves, prostitutes and others who had turned to a life of crime. Indeed, the lyrical themes of these early fados usually focussed on the lot of the singers, covering poverty, domestic discord, alcohol and crime. The music was used by the fadistas as a way of grieving over their position in society and their inability to change any of this. Indeed, the word fado is thought to come from the Latin word *fatum*, meaning fate; however, there is some evidence that fado was named because it was sung by fadistas (literally meaning fated), suggesting that the term "fadista" was in use prior to the genre, to describe unsavoury characters with whom fate had dealt harshly. Whatever the truth, both suggestions indicate the music's strong connection with the notion of fate.

Another common association, particularly in the early days of fado, was with blind beggars. Paul Vernon posits the governmental provision of money-boxes for the blind as the cause of this:

> Blind beggars, who could find no other work and who received nothing from the government save an official black wooden begging box, regularly sang and played guitarra on the streets for a few escudos — a practice which could still be found as late as the 1980s — and their role in the dissemination of the fado has been a key one.

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[242] Cited in Rodney Gallop, *Portugal: A Book of Folkways* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), p. 248.
[243] Cited in *Portugal: A Book of Folkways*, p. 265.

Certainly, there are numerous references to blind musicians involved with fado at the start of the twentieth century, and many books contain photographs or drawings of blind musicians with fado-related instruments.[244] While there are a number of references to fado being sung by blind musicians, there is nothing to suggest that they were involved in the origins of the genre. Rather, they were partially responsible for its spread, both throughout Lisbon and in the surrounding towns and countryside. They were also often guided by family members or, more commonly, young orphans, who supplemented their income from performing by selling sheet music.[245] That the music was performed by beggars served to perpetuate the association of fado with the lower classes. However, it should be noted that the repertoire of these beggars was not limited to fado; today one can still hear blind beggars on the streets of Lisbon and, more often than not, they sing music more akin to the rural folk songs of Portugal.

By the opening decades of the twentieth century, fado had become more widespread in the aforementioned Lisbon neighbourhoods. So too, had the use of the term “fadista” to identify the subculture. Vernon summarizes this situation as follows:

> As fado settled into the mainstream of Lisbon’s workaday life, the popular perception of the fadista’s role subtly altered. Still regarded by many as rough and of loose morals, the term fadista nevertheless became more closely associated with the music itself. Whereas, fifty years earlier, the fadista had been viewed principally as a knife-wielding bandit who lived by criminal codes, by about 1900 the

[244] See, for example, *Descalços* (Rui Viera Nery. *Para Uma Historia do Fado,* (Lisbon: Público-Corda Seca, 2004), p. 124), *Cegos Cantadores* (Ruben de Carvalho, *Um Século de Fado,* (Amadora: Ediclube, 1999), n.p.), and the anonymous, undated engraving in the photo section of Vernon’s *A History of the Portuguese Fado* (Vernon, n.p.).
[245] *A History of the Portuguese Fado*, p. 18.

> perception was more one of a colourful low-life *bon viveur*, closely associated with prostitution, drinking and, most especially, the fado.[246]

As with any pastime or diversion which becomes popular, a series of magazines and publications came into circulation which focussed on aspects of fado, including new lyrics, biographies of early figures within the genre, guidance on where the more organized fado evenings were taking place, and advice on how to decorate fado houses. The production of these magazines, however, had little relevance to the people for whom fado was a way of life due to their high illiteracy rate, and served mostly to bring the music to the attention of the intellectual classes. For this new audience, it was solely a musical phenomenon; they would not claim to belong to the fadista subculture, due to the negative connotations the label carried. By 1923 there were two opposing camps, one claiming, as they always had done, that it was the music of the people and should therefore be sung in the taverns, and the other wishing to claim fado as what Vernon calls the 'self-conscious art music of the upper classes',[247] in which case it should be reserved for the drawing room. This second group also gained support from the theatre, as it was by then quite common to put on plays, also called *revistas* (revues), which contained popular fado songs. In order to promote these performances, sheet music was sold which was scored for voice and piano— an instrument unheard of among the more traditional fado line-up of Portuguese *guitarra*, classical guitar (also called a *viola*) and occasionally the *viola baixa*, a form of acoustic bass guitar.

[246] *A History of the Portuguese Fado*, p. 19.
[247] *A History of the Portuguese Fado*, p. 20.

The Fadista and Fascism

However, 1926 saw the rise of Salazar, the fascist dictator who would rule Portugal with an iron fist for decades. His government's strict policy of censorship put a stop to any such debates, as articles sowing any seeds of discord among the populace were forbidden. This left fado to its original creators, the lower and working classes — although the effects of censorship would soon change the nature of fado performances and, by extension, the type of people who participated in them.

The policy of censorship extended to what could and could not be performed live, but this had less of an effect on the content of much fado. The censor's office required all performers and performance venues to be licensed, and before any performance a full set list had to be submitted and approved, including song titles, names of composers and performers, and lyrics of all items to be sung or played. Failure to comply would result in a visit from the Policia Internacional e Defesa do Estado (PIDE), who acted as Salazar's secret police. Perhaps surprisingly, songs covering poverty and prostitution were not censored. Vernon puts this down to the fact that these were aspects of everyday life for the average Lisboetta in these neighbourhoods; but he also claims that it 'highlights the isolationist attitudes of the Portuguese government. It did not occur to them that anyone outside of the Lusophone[248] world would bother listening to fado'.[249] I propose, further, that these themes tied in with the government's attempts to promote a *pobre mas alegrete* ("poor but happy") ideology, rather than tackling what was seen as inevitable poverty.

[248] Portuguese-speaking.
[249] *A History of the Portuguese Fado*, p. 21.

One could argue that the government's attitudes and strict legislation caused something of a rebirth of fado in its original form, both as a musical genre and in terms of its links with the lifestyle of the fadista. Just as early fado was associated with criminality, and to be a fadista implied a certain unsavoury element to one's character, indeed many fadistas of the twentieth century became criminals. Now, however, rather than prostitution and thievery, the nature of this criminality was political: by performing in a way or place other than those sanctioned by law, the fadista, by default, became a form of political rebel, disregarding governmental policies out of a feeling of injustice. By restricting fado performances, it was felt that the dictatorship was restricting fado itself, and by extension, self-expression. Often, this was taken further; out of sight of the censors, singers were free to protest against the political situation. More often, however, they used their music to speak out against the results of that situation: the poverty and sense of inevitability and predestination.

Despite the way that many fadistas used their music to rebel against the stringent governmental policies, fado still came to be seen as a form of fascist propaganda, and as such became a scapegoat for much of the negative feelings after the fall of the regime in 1974, as discussed in Chapter Five. Once again the status of the fadista was sullied in the eyes of Portuguese society as a whole, and it would be many years before it was once again seen as an acceptable and respectable genre, due in no small part to the rise in interest in world music towards the latter years of the twentieth century.

One of the most significant events in the history of fado, as discussed in Chapter Four, is the strict policy of censorship and governmental control

imposed by the Estado Novo regime during the twentieth century. While there were many who submitted to these new laws, there were many who chose to react against the restrictions placed upon the genre, and there formed a sort of division between the state-approved, formalised fado in which the ideals of the regime were upheld, and an underground fado scene where those who could not, or would not, receive the state mandate, continued to meet and sing the fados which they chose to in the manner that they chose to. Fadista Nuno de Aguiar, in his memoirs, describes a surprise raid by the PIDE on a private house while one of these secretive fado sessions was taking place, during which the PIDE demanded entry after being tipped off and the musicians had to hurry to hide their instruments while the owner of the house stalled the police at the door, insisting that 'there is nothing here — this is a serious house full of serious people'.[250] The effect of this move underground could be seen, in part, to revive the old stereotypes and associations wherein fadistas and those who were drawn to fado were seen as a form of criminal counter-culture, inasmuch as the participants in these clandestine fado sessions had made a deliberate decision to go against the prescribed laws and instead continue their activities in spite of the threat of being arrested. However, rather than being depicted as enemies of the common people and a danger to the individual, these political criminals were enemies of the state, and as such, a threat to society as a whole.

Following the description of the PIDE raid, Nuno de Aguiar makes direct reference to what is known as the 'Three Fs', that is fado, football and Fátima. While this is a commonly cited example of the sort of material Salazar and his

[250] João Paulino, *O Meu Sangue é Fado: De Concórdio Henriques a Nuno de Aguiar*, (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal, EGEAC & Museu do Fado: 2012), pp. 99–100.

government used for propaganda, Aguiar cites it as a cliché[251] of propaganda and promotion.

The restrictions placed upon fado had another effect in addition to forcing many fadistas to become "criminals." The strict guidelines laid down by the state led to the standardisation of fado performances, wherein the music was made to fit into the pre-approved performance template. This allowed the government greater control over the genre and also served to heighten the "typical, humble, homely" image of Portuguese culture which they encouraged:

> Already in the late forties the presentation of houses as typical restaurants, in part appeared due to [the] ideological approach of the Regime to the fado […] Indeed, if in a first stage the salons were heralded as *sophisticated* and *familiar*, from the forties onwards the houses assume themselves as *typical*, believing in the existence of an attractive component in this aspect, capable of alluring new audiences, especially tourists. Thus the new model of the typical restaurant was created, where the fado would acquire a commercial status…[252]

While this description may seem to fit well with contemporary experiences of fado performances, especially when visiting Portugal as a tourist, the drastic changes are most noticeable when compared with descriptions of earlier fado performances:

> Up until 1880 the environments where the fado manifests itself does not correspond to spaces specialised in its commercial use: in the streets, in the taverns, in houses of ill repute, and later on, along with these, the aristocratic salon and in the bull-runs, in the retreats, in

[251] Paulino, p. 125.
[252] Maria João Nobre, and Sara Pereira, *Roteiro de Fado de Lisboa (Lisbon Fado Guide)* (Lisbon: Gir, 2001), p. 28.

> dominical larkings, in the visits to the garden-patches, in the markets the fado is promoted in an unplanned fashion.[253]

In restricting fado, its practitioners, and its role in society, Salazar and his government propagated an image of Portugal and the Portuguese people, which they felt would reflect best on them from both social and economic standpoints. The identity they sought to disseminate was one of "poor but happy," with an emphasis on an attitude which did not require material wealth in order to be satisfied. This was a precautionary measure in an unstable European climate which saw, through the course of the dictatorship, numerous other fascist dictators such as Franco, Stalin and Mussolini rise and fall, the Second World War (in which Portugal remained neutral), numerous civil wars and uprisings, the formation of the United Nations, and a great deal of economic instability. The Portuguese identity thus portrayed, while based to a certain extent on fact, is nonetheless a false identity as it was artificially constructed and engineered to portray a particular image for a particular purpose, as opposed to one which forms organically out of a society and its culture. In this way neither culture nor society reflected one another as would normally be the case, but rather new forms of culture were engineered in order to reflect and promote a specific idealised social identity. In this way, the government created propaganda that, as Chomsky claims, 'falsifies history'[254] in order to 'control thought and manufacture consent.'[255]

Clearly, then, the regulation and standardisation allowed the Estado Novo almost total control over the messages disseminated about life in Portugal

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[253] Nobre and Pereira, p. 17.
[254] Noam Chomsky, *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda*, 2nd edn, (USA: Seven Stories Press, 2002), p. 35.
[255] Chomsky, p. 39.

under their rule, but it should not be thought that these messages were entirely based on falsehood. The regime used fado as an instrument of propaganda, but a more accurate description of this form of propaganda, according to Harry G. Frankfurt, is 'bullshit' on the part of Salazar and his government, as it is based on truth, rather than a complete fabrication:

> Since bullshit need not be false, it differs from lies in its misrepresentational intent. The bullshitter may not deceive us, or even intend to do so, either about the facts or about what he takes the facts to be. What he does necessarily attempt to deceive us about is his enterprise. His only indispensably distinctive characteristic is that in a certain way he misrepresents what he is up to.[256]

However, this misrepresentation is seen as worse than a total lie as '[the bullshitter] does not reject the authority of the truth, as the liar does, and oppose himself to it. He pays no attention to it at all. By virtue of this, bullshit is a greater enemy of the truth than lies are.'[257]

Towards the end of the fascist regime, William Simon describes the social and political situation as follows:

> After forty years of "paternalistic" fascism and "corporativism" in all walks of life, only a few embers of revolt exist. In Lisbon's cafes, and fado houses, where the plaintive song of a defeated people is heard, they wait, as they wait in Spain, for "the old one" to die. And nobody knows what will happen then.[258]

Such a quote illustrates not only the effect Salazar and his policies had on the mindset of the people, even during the years of the decline of fascism, but also

[256] Harry G. Frankfurt, *On Bullshit*, Kindle Edition, (USA: Princeton University Press: 2000), n.p.
[257] Frankfurt, n.p.
[258] William Simon, 'An Opinion from Lisbon', *The North American Review*, 252.2 (1967), 31–34 (p. 34).

the centrality of fado in these issues, even as perceived by an outsider such as Simon.

Following the fall of the fascist regime in 1974, many people claimed that, due to the way the genre had been manipulated by the government and used as propaganda, fado was therefore tied to the dictatorship and a period of history that many Portuguese people were keen to forget and put behind them. As such, it fell out of vogue for a number of years, remaining popular mostly among those who were already involved in performing or who were already regular attendees of fado sessions in various capacities. Even today it is not uncommon for an audience at a fado session, particularly the informal 'amateur' sessions, to consist mostly of other fado singers who come both to listen and to wait for their turn to sing.

Thomas Turino makes the claim that '[m]usic and dance are key to identity formation because they are often public presentations of the deepest feelings and qualities that make a group unique'.[259] It is the prominence of such feelings which convey such importance upon not just the fully formed identity, but also the process of formation itself. It is not merely the claim to be a fadista which matters, but rather, the journey one has taken to reach that point. Many individuals with whom I have spoken allude to the vastness of the nature of the fadista, that it is not simply a label but brings with it a large amount of baggage and implications, including a particular state of mind, a particular outlook on life, and a particular choice of vehicle for expressing these qualities, that is, fado.

[259] Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (London: University of Chicago press, 2008), p. 2.

Each of these elements also has further implications for the perception of identity, both by the individual concerned and by other observers.

As such, it is obvious that fado serves two purposes with relation to identity. Primarily it helps people negotiate their own identity as either Portuguese or, more specifically, Lisboettas, but it has also led to a specific identity surrounding fado — the identity of the fadista, used in this case in a specific context to mean one involved with the genre of fado, which by extension links with the more general identity of the fadista as “the fated,” i.e. the notion of the fadista in the historical sense rather than the musical sense.

Fado and Identity Formation

Much discussion of fado centres around topics such as the type of person who participates in fado. However, a number of performers with whom I have spoken have told me about positive experiences they have had of performers from parts of the world other than Portugal, most commonly Japan. While it is obvious that these people are not Portuguese, either by virtue of ethnicity or nationality, the comments made about them suggest that they nonetheless embrace many of the characteristics held to be important to fado. Similarly, when one looks at the lives of certain performers one realises there is, in many cases, a move away from fado being the song only of those who have had a hard life, and it is increasingly embraced and performed by middle-class working professionals. Nonetheless, these performers would still incorporate fado in defining their own identity. There is the implication therefore that one can use fado to express an identity without necessarily subscribing to the specific identity of fadista — therefore, I propose that there are different levels of identification, or different

levels of engagement with an identity. With reference to fado and fadistas I suggest that these different levels of engagement, which should be viewed as subcategories within a given identity, can be defined as being held by practitioners, believers, listeners, supporters, informed appreciators and uninformed appreciators. I wish to emphasise, however, that these labels are not mutually exclusive – it is possible for an individual to subscribe to, or find themselves categorised by, more than one of these identities at the same time.

In broad terms, I propose these different identities may be categorised as the practitioner, the believer, the listener, the supporter, the informed appreciator and the uninformed appreciator. While these categories may seem self explanatory, I wish to illustrate them briefly with an example of each. A practitioner is an individual who actively participates in the performative aspect of fado, as either a singer or an instrumentalist (or in some cases, both); the believer is an individual who enters into fado beyond the musical dimension and who sees it as an a form of personal expression, one whose performances would often be described by others as “soulful” or “authentic”. In contrast, a listener is a member of the audience who enjoys the performances without feeling the need to participate in any other way, and a supporter is one who encourages those involved in fado, either by hosting fado events or, commonly, giving advice to fado performers, especially young or inexperienced performers. Supporters are commonly fadistas themselves, although this is not always the case and they may simply be particularly passionate listeners or believers. Finally, the informed and uninformed appreciators both attend fado performances and enjoy the fado culture, the difference being that the uninformed appreciator is unable to enter as fully into the nature of the music due to their lack of knowledge or experience. Commonly, one would find tourists

in this latter category, especially those who have been directed to various commercial venues after asking for an authentic experience.

As mentioned above, these six categories are by no means mutually exclusive (with the exception of the final two) and one will often encounter individuals who are simultaneously practitioners, believers, listeners, supporters and informed appreciators. The uninformed appreciator, unlike the others, is the only one to have no other category and this will remain so until (and if) they "graduate" from uninformed to informed.

There are of course other identity pairings that focus on different aspects of fado and are usually seen as dichotomies when discussing aspects of the fadista identity. The first of these pairings is that of amateur and professional, labels common to all forms of music-making. It is a curious fact that, within a genre which is seen as so personal to both the performer and the listener, people should seek out "professionals". Elliott suggests the reason for this is that 'the music is about the people [audience] themselves, but they desire to see others [performers and named individuals] representing them wishing to see themselves represented by those privileged, highlighted and floodlit actors[…] the request for representation of the community […] comes from within the community itself.'[260] It is this need for representation which first gave birth to the genre, whether the desire is for representation of the individual, the community, or the emotions experienced by these entities. These labels are discussed further in Chapter Seven, but for the purposes of this chapter it is sufficient to say that it is my belief that the two terms are mistakenly paired

[260] Richard Elliot, *Fado and the Place of Longing: Loss, Memory and the City* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), p. 89.

together, but in fact describe elements of two different aspects of fado, and as such ought not to be viewed as polarised positions. For the purposes of the present chapter, I use the term “professional” simply to denote an individual who earns a living (or supplements his or her income) by performing fado, usually on a contractual basis. Conversely, the identities associated with innovation or remaining true to tradition are harder to reconcile, and while they may co-exist within the same individual, may not truly be found together in any given performance, as discussed in Chapter Eight. There are then further sub-categories of identity within fado, but these are more superficial, such as the distinction between a singer, a guitarrista and a violista. This particular example is then made more problematic when the lines are blurred, for example, by an individual who plays an instrument and sings simultaneously, which, while not the norm, is still relatively common. Alternatively, one may often find individuals who play an instrument in one commercial venue, but then go to a more informal fado house in order to sing later that same night. Furthermore, in some of the more touristic venues, especially with the better-known songs, audience participation is encouraged in some refrains (even if in the form of "lalala"). This then begs the question, does this complicity of the audience, this participation, therefore grant the audience member access to a new identity, or is it simply part of the expectation of an audience member in such venues? Also, while today the instrumentalists and the singers are usually separate figures, as mentioned above, this was not always the case, and in the early days of fado it was commonplace for blind wandering beggars to sing and accompany themselves simultaneously.

The Fadista Today: Professional Amateurs?

In recent years, the negative feeling towards fado left over from the dictatorship seem to have disappeared, and people have gone beyond labelling fado as a tool of oppression or blaming the genre for promoting the ideologies of the Estado Novo. Those who sing fado are no longer seen as co-conspirators with those who would oppress the people, but are regarded more as artists and poets. This change in perspective is due largely to a new form of fadista identity which came out of the changes made by Salazar and his government to the way fado was performed, and while the participants of the more formalised, sanctioned fado sessions were seen by some at the time as selling out, this format is more in line with the attitudes and priorities of many in the modern world. Although it could be thought a mixed blessing, the strict regulations and restrictions placed upon fado gave rise to a new phenomenon which continues to develop today, that of a fado industry, which combines aspects of the recording industry, the performance industry, the broadcasting industry, and the tourist industry. This, in turn, necessitated the professionalisation of a form of what is essentially urban folk music. While this may seem like a paradox, I would argue that, rather than abandoning a tradition, it allowed for diversification, with two distinct identities emerging, thereby allowing both the continuation and evolution of fado as a musical and social tradition. I suggest that these separate identities led to two forms of fado which are distinct, yet not diametrically opposed, and that they are negotiated based not upon musical considerations, but based instead upon idealistic approaches to fado on the part of the individual. I term these two identities, and by extension the two sub-categories of fado, professional and amateur, but these are terms which must be clarified.

Firstly, I argue that, rather than being placed at opposite ends of a single scale, whereby the amateur is the “authentic” and the professional is the false or disingenuous, these labels describe two different orders or characteristics, and so to contrast the two would be similar to contrasting a piece of music with a painting — while there may be some commonality of theme and idea, they are still two very different and distinct things. The term “professional” is defined both as ‘following an occupation as a means of livelihood or for gain’ and ‘following as a business an occupation ordinarily engaged in as a pastime’.[261] At a simplistic level, therefore, a professional fadista could be defined by the fact that they receive payment for a performance.[262] The term “amateur”, on the other hand, is a complex and loaded one, but in this context I use the label to imply sincerity, passion and specific intentions. If a fadista who ticks these boxes happens to get paid for his or her performance, that is incidental. As such, it is possible for a fadista to be an “amateur professional” without this being a contradiction in terms.

Many fadistas I have spoken to could fall into this category as, despite the monetary return they may receive, one gets the impression that their first devotion is to the fado, rather than to the pay cheque. Many of these individuals have a regular day job (some examples of fadistas with whom I have spoken include a taxi driver, a banker, photographer and a waiter), and have a standing arrangement with certain casas to perform on certain nights in a regular slot. Often these figures come to be associated with certain venues and their names and photographs are used in marketing material for the restaurant in question, but despite the fact that this is not their main source of income, it is still one of

[261] http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/professional?s=t accessed 30 May 2013.
[262] A more in depth analysis of the term professional may be found in Chapter Seven.

the ways they make their living. Certain fadistas (both singers and instrumentalists) I have spoken to have even taken to using social networking websites such as Facebook to promote upcoming events in which they are participating, and others regularly have photographs of themselves performing (often in their particular contracted venue) on their profile pages.

It is not uncommon, however, to find these same individuals participating in the open fado sessions held in a more informal environment, often away from the tourist-oriented restaurants on the main streets. In these sessions, anyone who wants to can sing, and perform a set number of songs (usually three or four) with each singer performing in the order that they arrive at the venue. These performers expect no financial compensation, but sing because they want to sing or, as some people I spoke with put it, because they need to sing. One example of this is a guitarra player I spoke with while he was performing in one of the most prominent (but very tourist-oriented) fado restaurants in Bairro Alto, who openly informed me of another establishment nearby to which he and many others who work in these touristic restaurants often go late at night, usually after they have finished their paid performance work, where they can simply sing and play fado into the early morning. He informs me that this is “real” fado and that it is the only place where one can really experience what fado is; he points out that, while these smaller amateur venues do attract some tourists, ‘they are there in a different way’, by which he means they are not there to attend a commercial performance, but rather are there simply to observe and immerse themselves in fado, within an atmosphere which is respectful of the tradition, the music, and the personal nature of each song. Similarly, another venue exists in Alfama which I first found in the company of another professional fado musician who informed me that it is not a fado house,

but rather a small cafe which only holds fado sessions one day a week and he encouraged me to go there with him. In the course of subsequent conversations he informed me that he often goes there and, while he does not sing, he occasionally plays viola with other instrumentalists (who, at this particular venue, consist of whoever turns up rather than specific musicians) and knows many of the people who go regularly to sing. Despite the fact that he does not get out of his regular performance venue until almost one o'clock in the morning, he goes to this particular café almost every Tuesday in order to listen to fado of all varieties and qualities and immerse himself in a genre to which he has also devoted his professional life. When visiting this venue on later occasions, usually after attending another fado session at the more commercial casas, I started to see performers I recognised from other venues around Lisbon who, in a similar way to the previous two individuals, went there after their contracted performances were finished in order to either sing or sometimes just listen. One particular evening, I had befriended a couple of Polish tourists in another fado restaurant and suggested they come with me to experience this amateur venue. After about an hour they both started talking to me about how different this venue was and how, as much as they liked the previous restaurant (*Esquina de Alfama,* which I also feel is one of the better commercial venues), it was nothing in comparison with this amateur fado they were now experiencing.

There are a number of venues offering such amateur fado sessions in Lisbon, wherein the singers and the songs they choose to perform are spontaneous and cannot be predicted from one day to the next, although I came to learn that each venue had certain 'regulars' who could be relied upon to come to virtually every session, sit in the same place and order the same drinks. However, although these venues exist, it seems that they are far less well-known than

their more formalised counterparts, except amongst fado "insiders." It is highly unlikely, for example, that one would find such a venue by accident as, for the most part, such venues are not devoted to fado the majority of the time — they are simply neighbourhood cafés, bars and recreational clubs where, at certain times, like-minded individuals gather for the purpose of singing, playing and listening to fado. As such, these venues are not advertised in any tourist guides or hotel lobbies, and only a small number are even mentioned in Lisbon's official fado guide.[263] In many cases, they have no outward signs of their connection with fado, as exemplified by the café mentioned above — if one did not know of its existence, it is quite easy to walk past it without realising it is even a café (especially when it is closed), and the only reference to fado during its normal operating hours is a small handwritten poster on an inside wall proclaiming 'Fado here, Tuesday night from 22.00'. Other venues may contain one or two items of fado-related decoration, such as a portrait of Amália, *azulejos*[264] with the text of some well-known fado, or even a guitarra hanging on the wall, but these features cannot be taken to indicate a direct affiliation with fado performance. Rather, it is perhaps a sign of just how much a part of Portuguese identity fado has become that such decorations are commonplace in a wide variety of locations in and around Lisbon, including shops, restaurants and many other places which have no connection with fado whatsoever. Further to this, as mentioned in Chapter Three, many of the more obvious (i.e. the specifically dedicated) fado venues often eschew excessive fado-themed decorations, instead opting for the more traditional themes of maritime scenes, city scenes and bullfighting. In this way, fado as a theme for decoration, seems

[263] *Roteiro de Fado de Lisboa.*
[264] A form of traditional Portuguese painted ceramic tiles used as decoration, usually consisting of a picture or writing in blue paint or ink on a white tile, but there also exist examples of more elaborate, full colour paintings, usually of Portuguese urban or maritime scenes.

to have become divorced from fado as a musical genre or social practice, and has been subsumed into a general Portuguese style, which can only be attributed to the position fado is seen to hold within the creation and communication of Portuguese identity.

For many, there is a clear link between identity and the authenticity (or perceived authenticity) of a given performance, song, or interpretation. Turino argues that this is the case, not just in musical genres, but in all arts thought to represent a specific culture or group:

> In the reception of certain genres, people make evaluations based on the presence or absence of dicent[265] indices, signs of authenticity […] in the art used to express existing identities, this dicent or causal relationship between the sign and its object is often considered important — we expect the authentic representation of a given social group or cultural position in art to have been directly affected by membership and experiences in that group or position.[266]

Guitarrista Paulo Jorge Santos asserted that, in his view, this is certainly the case within fado when he stated that 'you can't sing a sad fado if you are very happy, you know. And if you've lost a lover, you can't sing a happy fado'.[267] That this opinion was volunteered when he was simply asked what he felt were the underlying themes of the genre highlights the prominence and importance of this belief to many fadistas. However, the genuineness of these emotions and experiences should not, as some may claim, be viewed as uniquely Portuguese, as highlighted by Gray:

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[265] A sign which represents its object apparently as it really exists.
[266] *Music As Social Life*, p. 107.
[267] James Félix, *Interview with Paulo Jorge Santos*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, July 2007).

> I sit across the table from an amateur fadista named Olga, singing to her under my breath, trying out a fado I am learning for my upcoming audition at the fado museum. Interrupting my singing, she says, "I could hit you, I could kill you, but you will never have a Portuguese soul." "But we have souls too," I say. (Since when have the Portuguese had a monopoly on soulfulness?)[268]

She highlights the narrow-minded approach taken by some zealous fadistas, which implies that to sing fado one must have experienced certain emotions and, moreover, one must have experienced them in the Portuguese way. However, a slightly more refined version of such a suggestion would involve the notion of saudade, which is often seen as uniquely Portuguese. Nonetheless, this suggestion still implies that there is some genetic or psychological feature which allows Portuguese people, or those who identify as such, to feel an emotion that is unheard of in any other culture. While it may be true that the term cannot be translated into other languages such as English, this does not necessarily meant that such a feeling is incompatible with other ethnic identities. Ultimately, any phenomenon, be it an emotion, an experience, a flavour or a smell, remains nameless until someone identifies and labels it; could not the same be true of saudade, that it is experienced by all but has yet to be given a name by any other than the Portuguese? Similarly, one wonders if saudade, that untranslatable melancholic Portuguese term, is the same as *duende*, that untranslatable melancholic Spanish term, or indeed any number of other emotions tied to cultural musics.

[268] Lila Ellen Gray, 'Memories of Empire, Mythologies of the Soul: Fado Performance and the Shaping of Saudade', *Ethnomusicology*, 51.1 (2007), 106–130 (p. 111).

Fado and National Identity

When asked about the nature of fado, every practitioner with whom I spoke made reference to fado as being something uniquely Portuguese. There seems to be a consensus among fado singers and musicians that fado is Portuguese in nature, rather than simply by virtue of its supposed geographical origin. This is an important distinction, because, while the majority of the well-known figures in fado are Portuguese, there are one or two notable exceptions. For example, when asked if it matters that Mariza, who came to Portugal from Mozambique when she was a child, was not born in Portugal, Tiago Tomé suggested that the country of one's birth need not be the deciding factor:

> I don't think it matters. She was born in a colony of Portugal, and also I think she was, I'm not sure about this, but I think she grew up in an old neighbourhood, Mouraria, of Portugal. She's got a Portuguese way of being, she is Portuguese no matter where she was born. My mother also wasn't born in Portugal she was born in Mozambique also. A lot of people were born outside of Portugal. I don't know, even if you go to those places there is a Portuguese footprint there, a big footprint also. If you go there the people still speak Portuguese. If you listen to the people's music there, they sing in Portuguese, they have a Portuguese influence. I don't know if the music in the past influenced Portuguese music also.[269]

This response is quite revealing about attitudes towards the Portuguese element of fado (or indeed the fado-related aspects reflected by the label "Portuguese"). On the one hand, Tomé asserts that the country of one's birth is irrelevant when it comes to singing fado; on the other, however, he still makes frequent reference to Portuguese nature, and while his view of what defines these Portuguese characteristics is less strict than a purely geographical

[269] James Félix, *Interview with Tiago Tomé*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, June 2012).

approach, it nevertheless makes explicit the need for some element of 'Portuguese-ness' to be present in order for fado to exist.

This leaves the possibility that people could subscribe to an identity, which is not necessarily their own, through empathy or simply by choice. However, identifying with, or subscribing to, a particular identity or group does not necessarily guarantee acceptance by the pre-existing members. There is still the question of what exactly is used to define identity. For example, is acceptance or recognition of an individual by others within a group necessary, or can it simply be a personal belief? I propose that these two approaches do not in fact relate to the same thing. Rather, terms such as Portuguese and fadista refer to an identity assigned in part by circumstance (such as one's country of birth), but mostly by oneself, due to sympathies with or attraction to a particular group. The notion of acceptance, then, relates to status, which must be viewed as a category independent of personal identity. Descriptions of status might include terms such as insider, outsider, authentic and expert. While such notions were discussed in Chapter Five, I feel that it is important in the present discussion to note the distinction.

Conclusions

It is evident that fado is strongly linked with numerous facets of identity, and it is my position, and the position of those fadistas with whom I have spoken, that the identity (or identities) associated with fado stems from more than a simple fondness for the music. Rather, the notion of the fadista is a cultural emblem, and the term brings with it a great amount of baggage; where once it referred to a selection of undesirable characteristics and habits, it has evolved along with

society and is now held by many to be a badge of honour. Stevenson, in her discussion of Scottish traditional music, asserts that 'musical identities do not simply reflect existing cultural identities and spatial territories. Nor are they simply in existence, waiting to be discovered. Instead, they are actively constructed through a process of cultural selection'.[270] It is this active process of construction and reconstruction which has resulted in this subculture, one to which many aspire to belong, and one which has caused a great deal of fascination to outsiders, due both to the heightened emotional awareness a fadista is thought to have and also to the tangible links with fado, a distinctly recognisable representation of an aspect of Portuguese culture.

[270] Lesley Stevenson, *"Scotland the Real": the Representation of Traditional Music in Scottish Tourism* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2004), p. 270.

Chapter Seven

Fado and Its Functional Value

Introduction

Alan Merriam, in his analysis of the social and cultural functions of musical participation and performance, states categorically that '[M]usic seems clearly to be involved with emotion and to be a vehicle for its expression, whether such emotion be special (obscenity, censure, etc.) or general.'[271] Such is the centrality of emotion within the genre of fado music that the main factor used to determine a "good" performance is often the set of perceived emotions which have driven the fadista to sing; it is their expression of internal qualities which is deemed important, rather than the external features of the performance. While external trappings such as body language and clothing may be indicators of the singer's internal feelings, it is through the delivery of the sung lyrics that the performer will be appreciated. The problem for many listeners of fado is that such emotions cannot usually be invented or brought out for a particular performance at a specified time, but rather the fado is to be an expression of the present, perhaps with reference to events of the past.

In this chapter, I discuss the role emotion plays in fado, both as a motivational force to perform and a perceived signifier of authenticity for the listeners. I present examples of the different forms this emotion can take in order to demonstrate the perceived importance of this feature in the music, and I examine a number of opinions on the role and importance of emotional motivation in fado performances.

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[271] Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1964, repr. 1980), p. 219.

Fado is seen as the means through which a person can temporarily separate themselves from everything else going on in their lives and the lives of those around them. When a person stands up to sing a fado, they are not thinking about what they did at work during the day or what they need to do in the next few days; rather they are engulfed by the quasi-sacred act of performing fado. Just as psychiatrists get patients to talk about their problems and feelings in order to begin the journey to recovery, the singer gives voice to their soul and their innermost tortures are given voice, thereby exorcising them and purifying their minds and hearts. However, this is not always the case, as there are countless performers who see a fado performance as just that: a performance, often with the end result of earning a wage. This is a constant complication when attempting to assess authenticity relating to emotion, and the divide between fado as personal catharsis and fado as a way of making a living will be explored in depth.

One key term which will be discussed here has no direct translation in English, but the Portuguese concept of *saudade* is nonetheless an important feature of fado, and is often held to be the defining emotion in an authentic fado. It is often believed by the Portuguese people that this emotion is unique to them, a product of the socio-political history of their nation. This adds an interesting element to the nature/nurture debate, fuelling the discussion of whether fado can truly be taught and learned, or if it can only exist in those born with it in their soul (*fado na alma)*. I explore the notion of saudade and the views surrounding its part in the performance of fado and the formation of the fadista identity, with a view to demonstrate the way in which fado becomes a vehicle for emotional communication, both for the performer and the listener.

The other question to be addressed in this discussion of the emotional content of fado is that of “whose emotion?”. It is often claimed that fado is not solely about the release and expression of the performers’ emotions, but also the emotions of the audience. The audience is seen as playing an equally vital part in the cathartic nature of good fado, and as such, an important question to be addressed here is whether such an experience involves the expression of shared emotions, or if the emphasis is on each individual exploring their own feelings.

To some, music is a way of life and as such these individuals will see the emotional nature of fado as their primary driving force; but to others, it is a way to make a living. While there are countless people who choose to have an involvement with music performance for commercial or financial reasons, there are many more who play or sing, write, or perform simply for themselves. Traditionally, this assertion is represented by the dichotomy of the “amateur” versus the “professional”. This supposedly antithetical pair is presented as two extreme positions with little consideration of possible overlap or degrees of amateurism or professionalism. I then discuss the amateur/professional relationship not as a contrariety, but rather as descriptors of different things, thus allowing both terms to be applied to the same performer or performance. By exploring issues such as whether the changing hands of money disqualifies one from the category of “amateur’”and the views held by prominent performers of fado today, I seek to investigate the notion of value in music, specifically the relationship between material value and personal value. The motivations of professional and amateur performers, and the attitudes towards these performers and their music, will be examined in relation to notions of authenticity and value to both the performer and the listener. Through this

discussion, I hope to demonstrate that, rather than being diametrically opposed, the terms “professional” and “amateur” can be used together without contradiction, each describing a particular facet of a performance.

Fado: Performed Emotion

Fado has often been used as a commentary on issues pertaining to the lives of the everyday people and this includes things that affect them from the past (such as historical struggles and lost love) and things acting upon their lives in the present, (such as love, religion and their relationships with other people). In short, fado is seen as a way for an individual to express both personal feelings and collective sentiment, a purpose for which it seems ideally suited. Individual performers are able to tailor their style to fully represent their own feelings, and audiences are left the freedom to form their own interpretations of any given song — with each listener taking away something slightly different, yet incredibly personal, from a performance.

Virtually all of those with whom I spoke claimed, to greater or lesser extents, that for them one of the primary driving forces to perform fado, and also one of the greatest benefits of performing it, is the range of emotional expression possible. Merriam points out that

> An important function of music, then, is the opportunity it gives for a variety of emotional expressions — the release of otherwise unexpressible [sic] thoughts and ideas, the correlation of a wide variety of emotions and music, the opportunity to “let off steam” and perhaps to resolve social conflicts, the explosion of creativity itself, and the group expression of hostilities.[272]

[272] Merriam, pp. 222–223.

Similarly, Goldman states that 'according to [Tolstoy's classic arousal theory], an artist feels a certain emotion and communicates it to an audience by arousing the same state in them via the artwork.'[273] Indeed, Seeger asserts that 'to understand the effects of music on an audience, it is necessary to understand the ways musical performances affect performers and audience.'[274] As such, the effects of a performance, particularly the emotional effects, are to be seen as vital in assessing the function and value of fado, especially when one removes financial value from the equation.

The concept of feeling the emotions one is singing about is central to any good fado performance. Santos makes the claim that '[Y]ou can't sing a sad fado if you are very happy, you know, and if you've lost a lover, you can't sing a happy fado'[275]. These emotions cover a wide range of feelings and situations and are not, as one might assume from a cursory listening to a selection of fado music, all centred around the melancholic. However, above all other emotions, fado is generally held to be centred around one specific notion.

This one unifying concept throughout the entire genre of fado is known in Portuguese as *saudade*. While it is often described as a form of soulful longing or yearning, this definition only begins to scratch the surface of what *saudade* really encompasses and what it means to the Portuguese people. In a discussion of the various suggested origins, Gray claims that, from the perspective of the Portuguese people, '… almost always, fado is from Lisboa, fado is sung with a Portuguese soul, fado is ours and is about the longing of

[273] Alan Goldman, 'Emotions in Music (A Postscript)', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 53.1 (1995), 59–69 (p. 59).
[274] Seeger cited in Philip V. Bohlman, and Bruno Nettl, eds, *Comparative Musicology and the Anthropology of Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 348.
[275] James Félix, *Interview with Paulo Jorge Santos*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, July 2007).

saudade, expressing what is lost and might never be found, what never has been but might be'.[276] She goes on to describe *saudade* as an '"originary trope" for feeling which enables expression as a fadista'.[277] This is reflected in and illustrated by many of the theories of the origin of fado:

> Fado was born from the spirit of *ventura* (fate, destiny, risk) of the Portuguese people who through the Discoveries gave new worlds to the world. Or fado was born from the *saudade* of those who remained for those who left or from the *saudade* of those who left for those whom they left behind. And perhaps from there, fado was born as a song of tears (*choro*), a song of *saudade*, a song of distance. Perhaps the people who sang it felt closer to those who were far away.[278]

Here we can see how *saudade* represents the longing of a people for something unsure, something possible yet not certain. *Saudade* as a Portuguese characteristic is often linked to history and that history almost certainly links with one or suggestion or another of the origins of fado itself. It is held, for example, that the fado was born in Mouraria, one of the oldest districts of Lisboa which takes its name from the number of immigrants that settled there,[279] and that the *saudade* conveyed in fado is the longing of these immigrants and settlers for their homeland which they left so long ago — while yet still feeling strong emotional, if not geographical, links with their birthplace.

Not all definitions of *saudade*, however, focus only on the Portuguese, despite the general consensus that it is almost uniquely a Portuguese characteristic. Rodney Gallop defines *saudade* as follows: 'In a word, saudade is yearning;

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[276] Lila Ellen Gray, 'Memories of Empire, Mythologies of the Soul: Fado Performance and the Shaping of Saudade', *Ethnomusicology*, 51.1 (2007), 106–130 (p. 107).
[277] Gray, p. 108.
[278] Maria José Melo, cited in Gray, p. 120.
[279] The name Mouraria is literally pointing to the fact that it was the Moorish quarter of the city.

yearning for something so indefinite as to be indefinable; an unrestrained indulgence in yearning. It couples the vague longings of the Celt for the unattainable with a Latin sense of reality which induces realisation that it *is* unattainable, and with the resultant discouragement and resignation'.[280] It is, nonetheless, a poignant and acute feeling of yearning, yet simultaneously vague and distant: 'The famous saudade of the Portuguese is a vague and constant desire for something that does not and probably cannot exist, for something other than the present, a turning towards the past or towards the future; not an active discontent but an indolent dreaming wistfulness'.[281]

Saudade, Meu Amor?[282] is a short bilingual story by Gilda Nunes Barata, focussing on themes of loss, sadness and nostalgia through the main characters of a baby seagull, part of a loving family, and an orphaned baby raven 'who had no mother, had no baby's bottle, had no milk, had no tenderness. His name was Saudade, because he was missing his mother very much and was living a sadly [sic] life'.[283] This story begins with a short introduction by the author and concludes with a brief postscript including both her reflections and thoughts on the notion of saudade, and an explanation for teachers and parents who wish to introduce this short story to their students or children. As a story book for both adults and children, the narrative includes both a happy ending and a darker alternative ending hidden away in a footnote. The former reads 'the black raven far away smiles in his sleep and has found

[280] Rodney Gallop, cited in Paul Vernon, *A History of the Portuguese Fado* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1998), p. 3.
[281] Aubrey Bell, cited in Vernon, p. 3.
[282] Saudade, My Love?
[283] Gilda Nunes Barata, *Saudade, Meu Amor? (Saudade, My Love?),* (Lisbon: Quebra Nozes, 2011), n.p.

happiness at long last…'[284] and the latter '… while asleep, the raven concocted an evil intention: to transform the little seagull into a frog, the mother-seagull into an eagle and the blanket into a vulture that would eat them both under the moonlight.'[285] However, in the preface, Barata chooses to highlight the potential and often overlooked positive elements of saudade, which she links directly with fado (the only time she makes reference to the musical genre): 'Fado (saudade), does not only contain a feeling of loss, it also contains hope, the promise of light, the future joy of receiving the satisfaction of an happiness still to come.'[286]

When speculating about the nature of saudade and the notion that it is uniquely Portuguese, she suggests that saudade, by its very nature, is to a certain extent indefinable and may be so vague at times as to defy any attempts to rationalise or describe it:

> I do not know if saudade is an exclusive Portuguese feeling since souls have no geography. Sometimes I search for the object of my saudade as someone looking for a breath of fresh air or for something that does not exist. I believe that fountains, brooks, flowers, birds, and all of the sentient beings can feel saudade. There are people I have not lost and that I miss already…[287]

Despite Barata's uncertainty, there are numerous opinions on the definition and characteristics of saudade, and there are many who would claim that it is a distinctly Portuguese emotion, inextricably tied to the history of the country and the difficulties faced by the Portuguese through history. Such a phenomenon as saudade is an intense feeling on an individual level, but when multiplied millions

[284] Barata, n.p.
[285] Barata, n.p.
[286] Barata, Introduction, n.p.
[287] Barata, Author Biography, n.p.

of times as part of a supposed national characteristic, it is natural and indeed necessary that it finds an outlet., While this feeling has been expressed through poetry and literature since the sixteenth century as illustrated by João Leal in his account of the phenomenon,[288] it is often held that saudade is most clearly expressed through the medium of fado. Vernon illustrates this when he describes fado as 'a coping mechanism that the Portuguese have employed, arguably for over a century and a half, as a means of making sense of life's quirks'.[289] Olga de Sousa explains, 'We are born into the fado. Fado is a state of the soul; fados are dramas of which almost all are sad, fado has to be sung with the heart, you need to feel nostalgia'.[290]

Of course, the emotional content of fado inevitably has an effect on the performance. It can manifest itself visually, through the performer's body language, and also audibly, if for instance the singer's voice betrays some tragedy or sadness — which is a powerful way not only of enhancing the emotions felt by the singer, but also of heightening the emotional effect on the receptive audience member. Gray describes how 'aesthetic appreciation merges with heightened feeling in a moment of sound and the soulfulness of the aural is made visibly public, thus social in the form of the tear'.[291] These tears, she claims, mix the aesthetic and the emotional, and this in turn illustrates the combination which goes to make up fado. It is a form of music and therefore maintains the aesthetic dimension, being a form of art that is enjoyed by many; indeed, enjoyment is the primary purpose of most music in the western world.

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[288] João Leal, 'The Making of *Saudade*: National Identity and Ethnic Psychology in Portugal', in *Roots and Rituals: The Construction of Ethnic Identities*, ed. By Ton Dekker, John Helslot and C. Wijers (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 2000), pp. 267–287.
[289] Paul Vernon, 'Chasing the Fado', *Folk Roots*, 13.9 (1992), 28–31 (p. 28).
[290] Olga de Sousa, cited in Gray, p. 121.
[291] Gray, p. 117.

However, fado also has the primary purpose as an outlet for emotion and sentiment, in particular as a vehicle for expressing the uncertain quality of *saudade*, and tears are the natural response to any heightened form of emotion. In the context of this genre, talk of the music and songs of fado evoking tears is often regarded as one of the highest compliments. While a fadista may perform particularly emotional songs on the verge of tears, they must exercise a great amount of self control in order to avoid actually breaking down and crying, as to do such a thing would be to disrupt the flow of the fado, and this in turn would have a detrimental effect on the fado for all involved. Gray highlights this when she explains that 'Singers do speak of the catharsis they achieve by singing fado, but this is a highly stylized catharsis sustained within the strict confines of form; the voice might tremble upon a cry but must not break sobbing'.[292]

It should be noted that fado is not simply the domain of tragedy and misery. There are, for example, numerous other themes found in the lyrics, such as the city of Lisbon and other nationalistic themes. One of the dominant features in many fados is the concept of love, as seen from numerous perspectives. An example of this is the fado known either as *'Vinte Anos'*[293] or *'O Meu Primeiro Amor.'*[294] Here again we can sense the *saudade* in the lyrics, and again it is a longing for something that can never be, to reclaim youth and innocence. It also speaks of the foolishness and blinding quality of love with the lines 'You betrayed the best that was in me… How I wish I could be disillusioned once again. How I wish I was twenty again, to love you again'.[295] In order to portray all aspects of love, however, it is often paired with heartbreak, with many songs

[292] Gray, p. 118.
[293] Twenty Years.
[294] My First Love.
[295] Donald Cohen, ed., *Fado Português* (London: Wise Publications, 2003), p. 49.

devoted to exploring the after-effects of love when a relationship is over or some force separates the two lovers. These songs, such as *Fado da Defesa,* whose lyrics mourn a lover sent on a journey:

> But one day you left,
> And a cold and sad wind
> Swept away the spring
> And now fall came,
> And the abandoned leaves
> Died, waiting for you.
>
> Some nights the moonlight
> Traces an ocean path
> For you to return to me.
> But the voyage is so long,
> That I only see you as a mirage
> In a dream that never ends.[296]

As such a powerful emotional experience, it is perhaps unsurprising that the repertoire of the fadista contains so many songs of heartbreak. A further example of this is *Barco Negro*,[297] which the fadista Mariza describes, before her live performance of this song, as follows:

> Imagine a woman completely dressed in black in the middle of a beach. A little bit far to sea, she sees the boat where her love is going away. Deeply, in her soul she wants to believe that one day she's going to hold him, but at the back she hears the old woman saying to her 'He won't come back; he won't come back'. She is tired; she starts crying; she starts feeling a big pain inside, and she starts singing, like this:…[298]

[296] Cohen, English Translation, p. 101.
[297] 'Black/Dark Boat'.
[298] Ivan Dias, dir. *Mariza: Live in London*. Recorded live at the Union Chapel, London on 22nd March 2003. 100 mins. DVD, EMI 7243 5 99627 9 5, 2004.

This song reflects one of the worst case scenarios of grief and heartbreak, simply because it is tinged with uncertainty. The woman on the beach is trying to stay optimistic that her love will one day return to her, yet there is still the element of doubt, much like the vagueness of *saudade*. It is a hope and a longing, but one directed to an object surrounded with ambiguity, and this causes more distress than the original situation of having to say goodbye to her lover.

With *saudade* playing such a central role in fado, it is inevitable that one of the themes that will feature with some prominence is reminiscence; *saudade* is not just a longing for something unknown, but can also be applied to longing for something that has once been but will not be, such as lost youth or missed opportunities; it is not so much a form of regret, but merely a wish to relive or repossess things from the past. One fado in which this form of *saudade*, along with mourning for what once was yet will never be again, is '*Bons Tempos.*'[299] The singer mourns the changing times and the fact that the world seems to be leaving him behind, a fear common to all as they grow old. This song also illustrates the inclination to make fado itself the main theme of the song, and this is illustrated in the way that the singer reminisces about the 'Old *fadistas* that I don't see here anymore'.[300] This is a common feature in fado music and can be seen most clearly in *Há Muito Quem Cante o Fado*[301] in which the singer explains that to be a fadista takes more than just singing a fado, and that one is

[299] 'Good Times', also known as '*Bons Tempos Antigas*' (Good Old Times).
[300] Cohen, p. 95.
[301] 'There Are Many Who Sing Fado'.

required to 'feel everything that is sung' and 'have your soul tied to your throat'.[302]

It is important to note that the emotion of a particular fado is not just the jurisdiction of the performer, but everyone involved in the fado, whether they are singing, listening or playing the instruments. Goldman points out that '[I]f there is to be genuine expression [of emotion], then must there not be someone who is expressing something he feels in a way that affects the person to whom it is expressed?'[303] It is the singer who is expressing his or her own emotions and feelings of *saudade* through their choice of songs, the way in which they stand, move and sing: 'The fadista often sings the more melancholic songs with eyes closed, with her head thrown back, her hands at times interlocked in front of her and at others gesturing expressively, the torso in a stillness rapt with a focus that directs all attention to the sound and expression of her voice'.[304]

This emotional release is not confined solely to the singers, however, just as the creative process is not restricted to the composer. When a person goes to listen to fado, they become participants, albeit passive participants, in the emotional experience. While listening to fado, and becoming a sounding board for the singer's angst, it is not uncommon for someone to become so caught in the emotion that they themselves are moved to tears; they cry for the singer and they cry for themselves. Another possibility is that by listening to someone else's problems, the listener realises that theirs are not as severe as they previously thought; fado serves as a reminder that there is always somebody worse off than oneself, but at the same time allows the listener to join

[302] Cohen, p. 113.
[303] Goldman, p. 59.
[304] Gray, p. 111.

themselves with the singer, sharing the emotional peaks and troughs of happy and sad songs, which in turn reflect high and low points in one's life. A parallel of this approachwhich places emphasis upon the social value of a music may be seen in Feld's research into the music of the Kaluli, as he asserts that Kaluli men 'stressed the social rather than individual motivation of song poetics. There is always collective sorrow it seems, because of the underlying assumption that audience members will empathize with whomever is moved to tears.'[305]

There is, of course, another potential emotional benefit for those who participate in fado performances. Often one finds that the desire to sing fado is not isolated, and the notion does not spring into an individual's head without some sort of prior exposure. Numerous performers told me of the way they were exposed to fado and its passionate mode of emotional expression at a young age. This early exposure to fado serves not only to introduce young people to the genre, but also serves to strengthen bonds between family members by granting them common interests and activities in which they can participate together. These connections between two people may also stem either from the simple shared interest or a sense of shared memory and experience, especially when the two individuals have a similar emotional reaction to the songs. Tiago Tomé explained how he used fado as a way of bonding with his father when I asked how old he was when he first began his involvement in fado:

> It depends. Involved voluntarily? Voluntarily, maybe when I was 16, but by the hands of my father, as I remember existing, he was taking me to fado places, but I didn't like it. At that time I just wanted to run around, and it was really quiet for me… no no, it wasn't for me […] When I chose to… when I felt like… when I started to understand the

[305] Steven Feld, 'Sound Structure as Social Structure', *Ethnomusicology*, 28.3 (1984), 383–409 (p. 393).

> fado and to understand the feelings, what the lyrics were, to feel some connection with me also. That's when I began to want to get more inside of it, more deep and to learn how it goes, mainly because I also wanted to play with my father, and that was the reason.[306]

My personal experience of and interest fado also began as a result of paternal influence: when I was a child, my father (who is Portuguese) used to play recordings of artists such as Amália and other lesser-known singers around the house and in the car, and as I grew older I became curious about the story behind this music. This was reinforced during a holiday in Portugal when we attended a fado night in what I now know to be one of the more commercial venues in Bairro Alto. It was around this time I also began to play the guitar seriously, so my interest in music in general was greatly heightened, and the performance at *A Severa* was the moment I feel I first fell in love with the music.

In a similar manner to Tomé, Mario Pacheco also cites his father as his first influence in fado. He told me that his father 'was a guitar player, so since childhood I was in contact with this music, with the greatest fado singers and players'[307], but like Tomé it was not until the middle of his teenage years when he began to play fado himself. While he had been receiving tuition in music prior to this, it was his father's guidance and tutoring that guided him down this particular path. I asked about how he learned and whether he was taught by his father and he replied:

> For fado, [I learned] mainly from my father. I studied also because I first played classical guitar, then I played classical guitar for fado, as you know in Portugal we call the classical guitar or Spanish guitar

[306] James Félix, *Interview with Tiago Tomé*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, June 2012).
[307] James Félix, *Interview with Mário Pacheco*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, June 2012).

> *viola*, so I played professionally for 15 years, first beginning accompanying my father and then the other great guitarists, then I began to compose and I decided to play solo my compositions.[308]

In this sense, then, fado can be seen to serve the same purpose that many other musical genres serve, that is bringing individuals together and binding them with the pleasure of making music with one another.

Fado As A Social Activity

In addition to any notion of personal gain through the performance of fado, be it emotional or financial, there is a strong emphasis placed by many authors, as discussed above, on fado as a social phenomenon — which therefore suggests social value. In this spirit I suggest that at times performing fado may be an act of altruism in which the singer (or instrumentalist) does not perform for any personal reasons, but rather in order to allow others to experience the heights of emotion so closely associated with the music. This suggestion may be seen as a response to criticisms of certain fadistas who are seen to be 'fake', in other words those who are thought to perform without fully feeling the emotions or the message of the music — a list which might include amateur fadistas who have not yet refined their musical skill to a sufficient degree and also commercial fadistas who are often thought to be in it only for the money. The official guide to fado in Lisbon asserts that 'going to the fados can mean the discovery of unique moments, of sharing, of intimacy with the experiences of living and the secrets that Lisbon sings through the voice of fado.'[309] It is entirely conceivable that such intimacy may, at times, be confined only to the listener, especially one

[308] *Interview with Mário Pacheco.*
[309] Maria João Nobre, and Sara Pereira, *Roteiro de Fado de Lisboa (Lisbon Fado Guide)* (Lisbon: Gir, 2001), p. 41.

who is unfamiliar with fado such as tourists who have never before experienced a live performance. I have on more than one occasion attended a fado performance in which I felt nothing and got the impression that the performer was simply going through the motions in order to put on a show and take home their pay, but other guests in the same venue with whom I spoke (often visitors on their fist visit to Lisbon) felt entirely differently and were moved in various ways by the same performance. Despite Santos' claim that one must feel the emotions while performing in order to convincingly communicate them to the listener, I suggest that as a highly personal and individual element of fado. The emotional content of a song or a performance cannot be described in general terms with any degree of accuracy, but rather is negotiated by each individual performer and audience member. Further, the selfless act of performing in order to facilitate the emotional response and release of another may in fact heighten the emotional value of the event, rather than diminishing it due to a lack of feeling on the part of the singer. This negates the latter part of the claim that 'the music enacts a symbolic and personal relationship between the performer (artist), the fan, and the other fans, whilst the perceived intervention of faceless commercial mediation deprives the fan of the idea that the experience is personalised and thus authentic.'[310] The question of authenticity is discussed in Chapter Eight, but here it is important to highlight that it is the emotional experience of fado which is viewed as important, regardless of whose emotions and whose experience it is. While there may be agreement on certain aspects of fado, there is no certainty that any two people will interpret the same performance in the same way. Goldman assers that 'it is plausible […] that we

[310] Elizabeth Eva Leach, 'Vicars of 'Wannabe': Authenticity and the Spice Girls*',* in *Critical Essays in Popular Musicology*, ed. by Allan F. Moore, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 542–565 (p. 543).

naturally react both sympathetically and empathically to the recognition of human emotional states. Thus, for example, we might react to the recognition of sadness with either sadness of our own or pity or both.'[311]The way in which one relates to a fado as an emotionally charged experience, therefore, is not something which can be prescribed or predicted, rather it is a process influenced by the individual experiences, beliefs and personalities of each performer or listener.

The Amateur/Professional Relationship

Discussions of fado, or indeed any form of folk music, often include reference to two polarised groups: the amateur and the professional. Many writers[312] imply that these labels exist in opposition to one another and are not only mutually exclusive, but are also the only options available: that is, a performer is either one or the other, and there can be no grey area or sliding scale in such discussions. However it is my position that not only is this assumption inaccurate, but also that the two terms are unrelated to one another. While the term amateur was redefined in detail in Chapter Six, wherein I assert that it is a label which I view as pertaining to personal motivation and one which implies a certain sincerity founded upon specific intentions, its supposed counterpart has yet to be clarified in this thesis.

Alan Merriam, in his seminal work *The Anthropology of Music* discusses the nature of the professional as follows:

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[311] Goldman, p. 63.
[312] See, for example, Sam Hinton,, 'The Singer of Folksongs and His Conscience', n *The American Folk Scene: Dimensions of the Folksong Revival*, ed. by David A. DeTurk and A. Poulin, Jr, (New York: Dell Publishing, 1967), pp. 67–71 (p. 69).

> If every group holds the music abilities of some of its members to be greater than that of others, it follows that in some groups such individuals must stand out more sharply than in others. Here we begin to approach professionalism, which is usually defined in terms of whether the musician is paid for and supported economically by his skill. If our criterion be economic, however, there must be a number of degrees of professionalism; in fact, professionalism seems to run along a continuum from payment in occasional gifts at one end to complete economic support through music at the other. It is difficult to know at what point professionalism begins and ends…[313]

Here he not only states his belief that there are numerous forms of 'professional' when discussing music, but he also suggests that the professional should be defined as one who receives some sort of material compensation for his or her work. He highlights the potential problem of a single definition of the professional as follows: 'If we were to assume that professionalism means total devotion to the profession of music and the receipt of total economic income from music, there would be few individuals in any society who could truly be called "professional".'[314] For the purposes of this thesis, then, all references to professional fadistas, unless otherwise stated, should be understood in the context of Merriam's definition.

However, he goes on to qualify this definition by adding a further requirement:

> All musicians, then, are specialists, and some musicians are professionals, though the degrees of professionalism vary. There is, however, another criterion of major importance, and this concerns the acceptance of the individual as a specialist or professional. In other words, the "true" specialist is a social specialist; he must be acknowledged as a musician by the members of the society of which he is a part […] although the individual may regard himself as a professional, he is not truly so unless other members of the society

[313] Merriam, pp. 124–125.
[314] Merriam, p. 125.

> acknowledge his claim and accord him the role and status he seeks for himself […] Complete acceptance, however, depends upon public recognition of the musician as a musician, whether or not this is accompanied by any sort of payment, and the granting by society of the privilege of behaving as a musician is expected to behave.[315]

It is my position that this extra criterion, that one be recognised as a professional and therefore an expert by society, and the notion that this overrules any notion of payment, are erroneous. My research has led me to believe that social recognition has no connection with professionalism in the sense which it is meant in this thesis. The receipt of compensation is sufficient to warrant the label, and does not in fact rely on the recognition of anyone other than the two individuals involved in the transaction. Thus, I do not use the term "professional" to imply any particular degree of musical competency, nor does it suggest a particular level of knowledge of the genre or a certain amount of prior experience. Rather, it simply represents the exchange of services (singing or playing fado) for payment of some sort, and as such may be seen as a motivating force driving the fadista to perform at certain times or in a certain venue.

While in day to day life one might consider the term "professional" to be a compliment, it is viewed as a negative feature in discussions of folk music. It implies a distance between the performer and the roots of the genre, and moreover implies a distance between the performer and the listener, creating a situation of "us and them". Similarly, a criticism commonly levelled at individuals who have made a career out of performing folk music is that by accepting payment they have sold out, a view reminiscent in fado of the situation during

[315] Merriam, p. 125.

the Estado Novo, where for a performer to continue their work legally they were forced to comply with the governmental restrictions. By doing so they could be seen to have sided with the government over the people. However, in his examination of Scottish folk music and its relationship with the tourist industry, Stevenson defends the professional performer (and indeed the professional performance), making the claim that '[T]he commodified nature of a musical performance need not render the experience meaningless for either performers or audiences'.[316] He goes on to quote Cohen's view that, rather than betraying the assumed origins of the music, a professional is merely displaying their pride in the music, as 'folk musicians, who play for money to an external audience, may be excited by the opportunity to present their art and proud to display their competence. There is no reason to assume that their music lost all meaning for them, merely because they have been paid for performing it. It would be absurd to argue that all popular music is meaningless for the artists because it is commercialised'."[317] This proposed acceptance of the professional does not, however, imply that professional music is unchanged; rather it indicates that the exchange of money or other remuneration need not render it an invalid expression.

Material and Personal Value

Given that fado may be performed for both personal and financial reasons, it is sometimes necessary, as demonstrated above, simultaneously to address the balance between the personal value and the material value. While the material

[316] Lesley Stevenson, *"Scotland the Real": the Representation of Traditional Music in Scottish Tourism* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2004), p. 172.
[317] Cohen cited in Stevenson, p. 172.

value may be obvious from the discussion above on the professional fadista, personal value must be viewed as going beyond simple catharsis. While I do not wish to diminish the importance of self-expression and the therapeutic value of performing an emotionally-relevant fado, it must be noted that there are a number of other factors to be considered when examining fado's function and value to the individual.

Martin Stokes highlights the importance of music's ability to help assert one's position within society, thereby reinforcing their individual and communal identities:

> Performance does not simply convey cultural messages already "known". On the contrary, it reorganises and manipulates everyday experiences of social reality, blurs, elides, ironises and sometimes subverts common sense categories and markers. Above all, performance is a vital tool in the hands of performers themselves in socially acknowledged games of prestige and power.[318]

This approach prioritises the potential for self-expression and communication through musical performance, thereby allowing the individual to adapt his or her performance in accordance with their own needs while simultaneously maintaining the socially-recognised structures and conventions of the genre. This is particularly pertinent to the present discussion on fado's functional value as it allows for both individual and shared benefits to stem from the same performance, contribution to the building of a relationship between performer and listeners, but also between society and the performer.

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[318] Martin Stokes, 'Place, Exchange and Meaning: Black Sea Musicians in the West of Ireland'. in *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place,* ed. by Martin Stokes, (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1997), pp. 91–116 (p. 97).

This value is further supported by the research undertaken by Alan Lomax. Feld summarises Lomax's findings as follows: '… from the point of view of its social function, the primary effect of music is to give the listener a feeling of security, for it symbolizes the place where he was born, his earliest childhood, satisfactions, his religious experience, his pleasure in community doings, his courtship and his work - any or all of these personality shaping experiences.'[319] Certainly this description seems to resonate with the fadistas with whom I spoke, and echoes of this belief can be found throughout the literature on fado, which invariably connects fado with Portuguese culture, and also in the song texts themselves:

For you, I die to pieces
City of my torment
I was born and grew here
I am a friend of your wind

Therefore I say, Lisbon my friend
Each street is a tense vein
Where the ballad runs
Of my voice that is immense.[320]

Kaemmer takes the notion of musical value further in his discourse on what he calls a taxonomy of "music complexes", wherein he proposes that music can have value and significance in both an individualistic and a communal context. An individualistic music complex, he suggests, is: 'composed of musical events that take place because of the motivation of the performer himself[…] this category also includes activity in which the performer is not simply enjoying the music but is using it for personal nonmusical goals, as the use of love songs or

[319] Feld, p. 405.
[320] Rosa da Noite, in Rafael Fraga and Augusto Macedo, *Carlos do Carmo Songbook (Bilingual Edition)*, (Lisbon: Edições: Nelson de Matos, 2008), p. 84.

lullabies[…] the individualistic music complex would not otherwise include music, were it not for the motivations of the performer himself.'[321] He then contrasts this with the communal music complex, which 'includes music events involving several people, all of whom are actively taking part in the event with little distinction between the role of performer and that of audience[…] the communal music complexes include those events that take place primarily for musical reasons, as well as those in which the music plays a secondary role.'[322] The value of this theory, in Kaemmer's opinion, is the distinction drawn between the individualistic and the communal sense of value. He makes the claim that '[T]he distinction of music complexes is important because the operation of socio-musical processes may vary according to the social relationships characterizing particular complexes.'[323] However, while his descriptions of the two complexes have merit, this final point falls short as it fails to take into account the possibility that the same performance may satisfy both the individualistic and the communal desire for value simultaneously. An example is a performance in which the singer has the opportunity to release their own emotions and express their feelings on a particular subject, and the audience simultaneously gains benefits through relating to the sung emotion and perhaps understanding their own feelings better — an experience which, while reaching the individual, results in social unity through shared circumstances. I propose, therefore, that a third musical complex be added to this taxonomy: the convergent complex, in which meaning and value is initially negotiated an an individualistic level but, by virtue of the similarities between the various individuals present, a new form of value develops on a social level in a similar

[321] John E. Kaemmer, 'Between the Event and the Tradition: A New Look at Music in Sociocultural Traditions', *Ethnomusicology*, 24.1 (1980), 61–74 (p. 64).
[322] Kaemmer, p. 64.
[323] Kaemmer, p. 69.

process to Ernest Bormann's symbolic convergence theory, as described by Gerald L. Pepper.[324]

Cultural Promotion and Dissemination

In addition to the internal social values, that is, the values of the music and the performances within the society in which it is being performed (such as a shared sense of identity and cohesiveness), fado must also be seen to have external social value, benefits which society as a whole obtains from outside of itself as a result of fado and fado performances. When examining fado, there can be two major advantages which Portuguese society gains from the music, both of which are common to a number of folk genres with a strong link to specific geographical locations.

The first is economic benefit; while this is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four it is also relevant to the present discussion of benefits and value. As fado gains popularity, Lisbon becomes an obvious destination for tourists to visit in order to hear what they believe to be authentic fado at the source. One only has to look in any souvenir shop in Lisbon to find postcards, fridge magnets and even apparel with fado-themed decorations such as pictures of Amália or the design of the guitarra, not to mention a wide range of professional recordings. Such products highlight both the link between fado and Lisbon and the appeal of this relationship to the tourist wishing to experience Portuguese culture and take back a memento of their time in the capital. While I would not claim that fado is the primary draw for most tourists, it is nevertheless a popular pursuit for

[324] Gerald L. Pepper, *Communicating in Organizations: A Cultural Approach*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1995), pp. 18–24.

visitors, reinforced by the large amounts of advertising in hotel lobbies and those areas with a particularly high density of tourists such as the pedestrian streets around *Baixa Chiado* and *Rossio*. In some cases it must also be assumed that the opportunity to experience fado may be the deciding factor when tourists are planning which area to visit. As such, fado can be seen to bring in revenue for Lisbon's economy, not just by means of the fado business itself but also the other incidental expenses and outlays any tourist has.

The second social benefit is that of cultural promotion and dissemination. One only has to look at the way Amália and others of her ilk helped the national image of Portugal following the fall of the Estado Novo to see the positive effect such cultural ambassadors can have. Amália performed in virtually every continent, not just as a singer but as a representative of the Portuguese people., She was recognised as such by the government, who bestowed on her numerous accolades, including induction into two orders of knights (she received the Grand Cross or the Order of Saint James of the Sword and the Grand Cross of the Order of Prince Henry the Navigator) and upon her death she received a state funeral and the government declared three days of national mourning.

The positive publicity and general goodwill generated by celebrity figures is an important aspect of global culture today, and while it may be seen to be a double edged sword with poor behaviour by celebrities often reflecting negatively on their home country, there seems to have been no such negativity concerning fadistas. A comparison may be drawn between the diplomatic positivity brought about by fado and Cooley's description of music festivals aimed at tourists, which become ritualistic as they 'are symbolic representations

of objects, beliefs, or truths of special significance to a group' and 'they are transformative or effective […] as in other rituals, participants are transformed, or an entire group's relationship to nature is transformed'[325]. In the case of fado, the group for whom there is ritualistic significance is the Portuguese people and the truths of special significance are the emotions performed, both the emotions of the individual and the emotions of a people which are tied to the history and roots of the genre.

Conclusions

Fado, like any genre of music, is performed for a variety of reasons, and as such serves a variety of purposes, each of which allow the participant to derive different forms of value. For some this value is financial, both for those who supplement their income by performing in the evenings after work and those who are able to make a career purely out of their involvement in fado. Others see fado as their personal form of therapy, a way in which they can externalise and express their feelings; this may be taken further when these feelings and experienced are shared with others, providing not only a sense of release but also a feeling of belonging, solidarity and a reinforcement of their place in a society of like-minded individuals. There are still others who perform fado purely for the joy of participating in musical activity, enjoying the feeling of standing in front of an audience and holding their attention through musical performance, or the friendship and bonds that come from playing as part of an ensemble. Throughout this thesis I have used the term "performer" to describe the singers and instrumentalists involved in fado, and the more general term "participant" to

[325] Timothy J. Cooley, 'Folk Festival as Modern Ritual in the Polish Tatra Mountains', *The World of Music*, 41.3 (1999), pp. 31–55 (p. 31).

encompass both these performers and the audience. However, in the light of the above discussion of the functional value of fado and the different benefits each individual gains from their involvement, perhaps these terms are too specific. “Performer”, for example, implies one who is putting on a show for another and describes only the individual’s role in the music, while overlooking the role the music may play in the life of the individual. Similarly, “participant” seems a rather clinical term; while fado is seen as a participatory genre in which the audience are as much a part of the genre as the musicians, it suggests the individual’s presence at a performance in one role or another and does not discuss how the music affects and changes them or how the individual relates to the music, the singers, the instrumentalists or the other listeners. A more accurate term would be “experiencer” as this term leaves open the possibility for the formation of personal meaning based on the individuals’ experiences of the event.

It is the negotiation of personal and social meaning which is central to the conception of authenticity, and the idea of meaning, including notions discussed in this chapter such as emotion and both material and personal gain and value, is often one of the principal criteria used when determining authenticity, as discussed in Chapter Eight.

Chapter Eight

The Nature and Value of Authenticity

Not everyone is a fadista who wants to be,
Just because one day they sing a fado.
To be a fadista is to have your soul
Tied to your throat.

"No one should doubt anyone,"
Goes an old saying
"There are many who sing fado
But few who sing it well."

And I am firm in this point of view,
That you can believe.
A fadista is born a fadista,
Not everyone is a fadista who wants to be.

To be a fadista is to have expression
To feel everything that is sung.
To be a fadista is to tie the heart and soul
To the throat.[326]

Introduction: The Relative Nature of Authenticity

There are those who would diminish the role of societal influences in the determination of authenticity and instead place the emphasis on the relationship which the individual forms with the work. Fornäs[327] suggests that the individual concerned in this relationship is the author, but the construction of this relationship is contingent on both the author and the recipient. Therefore authenticity is to be viewed as ascribed, rather than inherent, a view also taken

[326] ''*Há Muito Quem Cante O Fado',* English Translation, Donald Cohen, ed., *Fado Português* (London: Wise Publications, 2003), p. 113.
[327] See Hans Weisethaunet and Ulf Lindberg, 'Authenticity Revisited: The Rock Critic and the Changing Real', *Popular Music and Society*, 33.4 (2010), 465–485 (pp. 465–466).

by Heidegger who describes the nature of authenticity as being 'responsible for (or to be the author of) one's own self, as part of the history of one's community.' [328] This theory puts equal emphasis of the role of the individual and the role of society in forming a judgement of authenticity, and is qualified by Weisethaunet and Lindberg who make the claim that authenticity is 'an act of self construction through an other', and that 'to perceive a performance as "authentic" it is not therefore an entirely personal matter; the performer's insights into human affairs are recognised as "true" only to the extent that they are collectively shared.'[329]

The role of society and cultural experiences in authenticity is one which many authors have touched on, with varying degrees of importance placed on it. Saygun states that the criteria for an authentic example of folk music is 'to be able to locate a folk tune in its own environment'[330] but this approach encounters problems, even more so today with the rise of globalisation, where often subtle influences from outside cultures can alter and morph a musical tradition over a period of time and make it difficult to define what this "own environment" is. This is particularly problematic when discussing genres such as fado where there is so much uncertainty about the origins of the genre, as highlighted in Chapter Two, with accounts varying to the extent that there is a variance of up to 500 years regarding the date when the tradition began, and the fact that this urban folk music, often thought of as being born of thieves and prostitutes, may actually have originated on a ship of homesick explorers

[328] See Weisethaunet and Lindberg (2010), p. 466.
[329] Weisethaunet and Lindberg (2010), pp. 477–478.
[330] Ahmed Adnan Saygun, 'Authenticity in Folk Music', *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, 3 (1951), 7–10 (p. 9).

according to some accounts.[331] Another difficulty with such an approach, which is symptomatic of the modern age, is the effects of commercialisation in its various forms, a phenomenon discussed in Chapter Four. Middleton highlights this link when he describes authenticity as being 'closely dependant on commodity fetishism,'[332] and one of the aims of my research has been to investigate the way in which the recording and tourist industries blur the definitions of authenticity in order to recreate fado as a marketable product. This led one author to cynically suggest that 'with all these quick-buck experts lousing up the field with their snivelling tricks, bogus *expertise*, and transparent pretenses […] to the point where nobody can stand the smell from several thousand miles away, folklore is probably going to be a dead-letter soon.'[333]

Hinton[334] makes the claim that there can be no such thing as professional folk musicians, as the demands placed upon the performer, such as intonation and timing, and the expectation for the performer to give his or her own interpretation of a work, are an impediment to the performance of authentic folk music:

> My innovations therefore are spurious, not being part of any folk tradition. A true folksong can tell us something about the culture that produced it; but any changes that I make are related not to a culture, but to me, and the resulting song will tell more about my own habits and prejudices than about the folk who made the song. It is clear, then, that my changing a song will impair its authenticity.[335]

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[331] See Paul Vernon, *A History of the Portuguese Fado* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1998), p. 5.
[332] Middleton, cited in Weisethaunet and Lindberg (2010), p. 467.
[333] G. Legman, 'Folksongs, Fakelore, and Cash', in *The American Folk Scene: Dimensions of the Folksong Revival*, ed. by David A. DeTurk and A. Poulin, Jr, (New York: Dell Publishing, 1967), pp. 314–325 (p. 325).
[334] Sam Hinton, 'The Singer of Folksongs and His Conscience', in *The American Folk Scene: Dimensions of the Folksong Revival*, ed. by David A. DeTurk and A. Poulin, Jr, (New York: Dell Publishing, 1967), pp. 67–71.
[335] Hinton, p. 69.

This represents one extreme of an argument which has as its antithesis the notion that folk music, particularly fado, is all about self expression.

The importance of individual experience, on the other hand, can be seen in the comments of an audience member quoted by Gray: 'My eyes are closed and I am listening; the person next to me whispers to her friend across the table, "Look how she is *feeling* the fado."'[336] This emotional content of music, the sense the singing is acting as a form of catharsis, is often cited as the true essence of authenticity. Moore[337] proposes an entire model based around three forms of authenticity depending on whose emotion the performer is conveying: that of themselves, the audience, or the composer (first, second, and third person authenticity respectively), but his approach is so dependent on the conveyance of emotion through a performance that it fails to address other possible contributory factors such as instrumentation, performance style, and performance content (such as the performer's choice of repertoire and the lyrical content of the songs). Therefore this model can only be applied to 'authenticity of emotion', and even then is highly subjective. Gray highlights the role of emotion in determining authenticity with reference to the way that certain fadistas are reduced to tears during their own performance: 'These tears index both a private emotional/aesthetic experience and a moment of shared sociality; they point to the power of musical experience to be simultaneously felt as both intensely subjective and social.'[338] Nonetheless, it should be noted that this is not permitted to get in the way of the song itself, and does not detract from the musical nature of fado: 'Singers do speak of the catharsis they achieve by

[336] Lila Ellen Gray, 'Memories of Empire, Mythologies of the Soul: Fado Performance and the Shaping of Saudade', *Ethnomusicology*, 51.1 (2007), 106–130, (p. 115).
[337] Allan Moore, 'Authenticity as Authentication', *Popular Music*, 21.2 (2002), 209–223.
[338] 'Memories of Empire, Mythologies of the Soul', p. 117.

singing fado, but this is a highly stylised catharsis sustained within the strict confines of form; the voice might tremble upon a cry but must not break sobbing.'[339] A different approach to this, more akin to Moore's second and third person authenticity, is taken by Hinton who, after concluding that as a professional musician concerned with issues such as accuracy he could not sing authentic folk music, makes the claim that he could still preserve 'the emotional content. My desire is to arouse in the audience emotions similar to those felt by the "original" folk audience.'[340] However, this claim is made just lines after he denounced mere imitation of another's 'authentic' style, claiming that 'unless the performer has an extraordinary sense of dialect and of musical expression, the imitation will not be a faithful one […] If a folk song loses its sincerity, it loses its most poignant attribute — and it ceases to be a folk song.'[341] Nonetheless, there are still those who would give the impression of maintaining those features considered authentic, and this problem is highlighted by Derek Scott who points out that 'performers with no personal commitment to authenticity were recognised as having within their semiotic power the ability to create an illusion of authenticity.'[342] He goes on to compare this with what some authors call strategic inauthenticity, wherein a performer deliberately rejects notions of authenticity in order to 'emphasise a constructed persona'.[343]

There are numerous problems in using the word "authentic" when discussing folk music, or indeed, any form of music, be it jazz, popular or orchestral. The first is the problem of conformity: when an audience specifies those

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[339] 'Memories of Empire, Mythologies of the Soul', p. 118.
[340] Hinton, p. 69.
[341] Hinton, p. 69.
[342] Derek B. Scott, 'Introduction', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Musicology*, ed. by Derek B. Scott (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 1–24 (p. 3).
[343] Scott, p. 4.

characteristics which define an authentic performance, there is the risk that a performer will be so preoccupied trying to meet these standards and "tick the boxes", that they end up missing the true reason that they are performing that music to begin with: 'they [create] a "cult of authenticity", a thicket of expectations and valuations.' [344] The problem with this is illustrated by the guitarrista Paulo Jorge Santos: 'You can't sing a sad fado if you are very happy, you know. And if you've lost a lover, you can't sing a happy fado.'[345]

It is my position, however, that the difficulties are not with the concept of authenticity, but with the models and definitions currently available. O'Reilly highlights the narrow view that many take when determining the presence, or even the necessary attributes, of authenticity, noting that authenticity is seen as being part of the music alone, regardless of the context and 'the packaging that frames the music.'[346] This represents the antithesis of my approach to this research, as it tries to quantify features in order to empirically measure the authenticity within a given piece of music or performance. It is clear from my conversations with various people involved with fado, in addition to conversations and interviews undertaken by other researchers and reproduced in various sources,[347] that such a quantitative approach is not possible when dealing with issues such as authenticity due to the subjectivity involved in making such value judgements, and also the wide variety of opinions and beliefs relating to authenticity.

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[344] Filene, cited in Rory Crutchfield, 'Discovering Authenticity? Harry Smith's *Anthology of American Folk Music*', *Popular Music History*, 4.1 (2009), 5–21, (p. 10).
[345] James Félix, *Interview with Paulo Jorge Santos*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, July 2007).
[346] O'Reilly, cited in Weisethaunet and Lindberg, p. 15.
[347] Such as Gray: 'Memories of Empire, Mythologies of the Soul, and Vernon: *A History of the Portuguese Fado*.

Influences on the Definition and Interpretation of Authenticity

A key concept in any discussion of authenticity must be belief. The range of responses given to questions regarding authenticity in fado suggests that there can be no single set of rules upon which there is total agreement. Therefore, authenticity, or the perception of authenticity, should not be seen as absolute and the criteria for determining authenticity should not be seen as prescriptive. Rather, individuals will assess these factors for themselves, and more often than not this comes down to a single factor: belief. Any opinion an observer or a participant forms regarding a particular fado performance must be based on experience, and the most often-cited aspect of this experience was the need to believe in the performance.

Derek Scott[348] notes that 'many people feel a need to *believe* in some kind of music making […] and authentic music may be defined as the music that has the effect of making you believe in its truthfulness.' While this statement may be the most accessible definition of the term, it says nothing about the nature of authentic music; it remains superficially descriptive without identifying the deeper characteristics which evoke this sense of truthfulness, or the features whether musical or extra-musical, which are signifiers of this genuineness. This is due, as noted above, to the subjective way in which the term is often used. Scott does raise the point that authenticity is linked to truthfulness, or at least, the apparent presence and perception of truthfulness, and while this "truth" is also subjective, it is an important notion as the truthfulness of a performance will help impart meaning, both for the listener and, as long as it is a genuine truthfulness rather than a falsified appearance of truthfulness, for the performer.

[348] Scott, p. 4.

This sense of meaning is one of the key concepts linked to authenticity in folk music. In order to explore this, I am adopting the sociological phenomenological theory of meaning in music as promulgated by Schutz, later built on by Berger and Luckmann.[349] Schutz argues that meaning is created when a stream of experience (*durée*) is broken by reflection, which in turn is shaped by associations with shared experiences. As such, this theory relies upon the individual's reaction with both the music and with society, thereby fitting in with traditionally-held ideas about fado's role in society and its power to speak to and for the individual. Schutz expands on this concept by arguing that music can be regarded as having separate rules and meanings from the everyday world while still relating to it, and that it involves sharing a flux of experiences 'through a vivid present in common'.[350] This concept of meaning as related to authenticity is reflected in the model of symbolic interactionism as first proposed by Herbert Blumer, which incorporates three basic assumptions: that human beings act towards things based on the meaning of the thing for them; that the meaning of these things derives from and arises out of social interaction with others; and that meanings are handled in and modified through a personal interpretative process.[351]

In order to understand the music of a people, it is necessary to understand the cultural heritage which ties that music to the society in which it was created, a notion which is highlighted by Peterson's definition of the term: '[A]uthenticity is not inherent in the object or event that is designated authentic but is a socially

[349] Ruth M. Stone, *Theory for Ethnomusicology* (New Jersey: Pearson Education, 2008), p. 166.
[350] Stone, p. 168.
[351] Blumer, cited in Uwe Flick, *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*, 4th edn, (London: Sage, 2009), p. 2.

agreed-upon construct in which the past is, to a degree, remembered.'[352] This contrasts with both the emic and etic approaches highlighted by NKetia who asserts that 'the folk music of a country may represent not only a heritage of individual items of music but also music that speaks its own kind of language, music that has a distinctive vocabulary of its own.'[353] Because of this code of sorts, the outsider may fail to fully grasp this musical dialect, or may be incapable of relating to the sentiments of those involved in perpetuating the tradition, whereas the insider may not be able to look beyond his or her own cultural beliefs and heritage with sufficient objectivity.

There are those who would diminish the role of societal influences in the determination of authenticity and instead place the emphasis on the relationship which the individual forms with the work. Fornäs[354] suggests that the individual concerned in this relationship is the author, but the construction of this relationship is contingent on both the author and the recipient. Therefore authenticity is ascribed, rather than inherent, a view also taken by Heidegger who describes the nature of authenticity as being 'responsible for (or to be the author of) one's own self, as part of the history of one's community.'[355] This theory puts equal emphasis of the role of the individual and the role of society in forming a judgement of authenticity, and is qualified by Weisethaunet and Lindberg who make the claim that authenticity is 'an act of self construction through an other', and that 'to perceive a performance as "authentic" it is not

[352] Peterson, cited in Rory Crutchfield, 'Discovering Authenticity? Harry Smith's *Anthology of American Folk Music*', *Popular Music History*, 4.1 (2009), 5–21 (p. 7).
[353] J. H. Kwabena NKetia, 'The Place of Authentic Folk Music in Education', *Music Educators Journal*, 54.3 (1967), 40–42, 129–131, 133 (p. 42).
[354] Cited in Weisethaunet and Lindberg, pp. 465–466.
[355] Heidegger cited in Weisethaunet and Lindberg, p. 466.

therefore an entirely personal matter; the performer's insights into human affairs are recognised as "true" only to the extent that they are collectively shared.'[356]

The concept central to my research into fado is that of authenticity, one of the most contested terms in music and one which has come to mean a great many things for a great many people. It is my intention to explore these different meanings within the context of fado in order to provide a deeper understanding of what characteristics are taken to contribute to apparent authenticity. The research presented in this thesis highlights the importance of authenticity within the genre of fado and, by extension, folk music in general — and it is in this chapter that this concept will be explored in greater depth, culminating in the proposal of a new model of authenticity within the context of fado and popular folk music in general.

Cooley asserts that '"authenticity" is not something out there to be discovered; authenticity is a concept that is made — constructed in a process called "authentication." Like music, it is a cultural construct imbued with meaning,[357] a statement that seems well suited to the idea of authenticity within fado, a genre in which there are numerous opinions and beliefs surrounding the idea of the authentic. The notion of authenticity in music seems as problematic to define as fado itself. My approach, therefore, has been to try and gain a deeper understanding of the characteristics which cause a listener or performer to recognise a performance as authentic, and it is my hypothesis that these characteristics are not purely musical, but also lie in features of the performance such as the location, the intention of the performer, and even the experiences

[356] Weisethaunet and Lindberg, pp. 477–478.
[357] Timothy J. Cooley, 'Folk Festival as Modern Ritual in the Polish Tatra Mountains', *The World of Music*, 41.3 (1999), pp. 31–55 (p. 40).

and situations which have brought the singer or instrumentalist to that particular performance. In the course of this chapter I explore the notion of authenticity both through the work of previous authors and through my own research and conversations with those who make judgements of authenticity.

In speaking with those who consider themselves to have a superior knowledge of fado, by virtue of their performing and listening experiences, their life experiences, or simply by dint of the identity they assume as *Lisboettas* (residents of Lisbon), it becomes clear that there is a belief that authenticity is something that can be recognised and agreed upon by anyone with a knowledge of the genre, as proposed by Weisethaunet and Lindberg. While there is still some variation of opinion as to what constitutes an "authentic" fado performance, on the whole it is thought that fado should have an element of, if not spontaneity, then at least freedom from contractual arrangements and corporate pre-meditation. One *guitarrista* working in a prominent *casa de fado* in the *Bairro Alto* neighbourhood of Lisbon which is popular amongst tourists describes the difference as follows: 'We have two kinds of fado place. This one [his place of work] is a restaurant with a show and so on and the other fado, the traditional fado where you can find anyone singing, from Mariza to a Japanese guy —it's where fado happens! Here it's more commercial.'[358] His use of the word 'happens' in this context implies a spontaneity which one would not experience in the more commercial venues, in which all performances are prearranged and repeated most nights. When questioned further about this comment, he recommended the venue *A Tasca Do Chico*, the *casa* to which he had previously referred, claiming, 'You have to see with your own eyes and

[358] *Interview with Paulo Jorge Santos.*

hear with your own ears what real fado is. It's so different, more than you can imagine. It's completely different. You have many foreigners there, but they are in a way that they are not here. You should go there.'[359]

This comment, with its implication that commercial fado is somehow less authentic than amateur fado, is representative of a commonly held belief. Jensen claims that '[t]o call something authentic is to say that it is "real", implying that it is also sincere, trustworthy, spontaneous,'[360] and as commercial fado is pre-arranged it therefore could not be seen to be spontaneous. He then takes this further with the assertion that '*Commercialization* implies that something once done for other reasons is now being done for money. "Commercialization," an epithet, suggests the antithesis of authenticity […] commercialization turns the natural into the artificial, the organic into the fabricated,'[361] and later suggests that, if commercial music is a produced product and this is the antithesis of authentic, then 'a presumption of organic origins helps to mark the genre as authentic.'[362] Such a view is expressed in Portuguese musicology by Lexa who makes the claim that 'it is principally in the songs and dances connected with agriculture, that the most authentically Portuguese music persists,'[363] implying that only the rural music of Portugal which has escaped commercialisation and professionalisation deserves to be called authentic. As with most theories of authenticity, however, this approach only takes into consideration a narrow range of differentials, and as I hope to demonstrate this fails to do justice to the values invested into the term.

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[359] *Interview with Paulo Jorge Santos.*
[360] Joli Jensen, *The Nashville Sound: Authenticity, Commercialization, and Country Music* (London: The Country Music Foundation Press & Vanderbilt University Press, 1998), p. 7.
[361] Jensen, p. 7.
[362] Jensen, p. 10.
[363] Armando Leca, 'The Historical Stratification of Portuguese Folk Music', *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, 7 (1955), 21–22, (p.22).

Problems Caused in the Name of Authenticity

Before discussing the nature of authenticity, I wish to highlight some of the potential problems which authenticity may bring about; the idea of the authentic has become a sort of target for which performers often feel the need to aim, and similarly many listeners seek out the authentic and prize it above all other performances regardless of other considerations.

One of the biggest criticisms that could be levelled at any fadista is that of artificiality, in other words stating that their performance is lacking authenticity and as such has little or no merit. This is especially common when discussing the more commercial form of fado which is often staged in such a way as to be accessible for the consumer. In his discussion of American country and western music, Jensen presents an example which may be seen as parallel to the same situation in fado in which he argues that such staging need not detract from the authenticity of a performance due to its symbolic and representational characteristics: 'the country music "look" is of course no more or less authentic than any other stage costumes or performance venue ,— it is a symbolic construction […] it is a construction designed to reference a particular cultural world, one that may or may not be where fans and performers actually live.'[364] This is an opposing view to that of Stevenson who claims that 'authenticity was of little concern to economic entrepreneurs: it is apparent that guidebook authors did not use historical verisimilitude as a critical standard, for they variously marketed spurious folksong associations and "imitation ballads".'[365]

[364] Jensen, p. 11.
[365] Lesley Stevenson, *"Scotland the Real": the Representation of Traditional Music in Scottish Tourism* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2004), p. 66.

Whether or not these issues diminish the authenticity of a given performance, it seems that performers still endeavour to present a front of authenticity, whether this is genuine or simply a facade, allowing the audience to believe in their renditions. In his discussion of the way in which emotion is expressed, Merriam cites the following description of audible and visual manifestations of sadness:

> When a human being, especially a female, is given over to agonised grief, she emits a series of high-pitched, long, sustained, wailing notes. Even grown men sound like little children when they howl in sorrow. Then the head is thrown back, the jaw thrust forward, the soft palate is pulled down and back, the throat is constricted so that a small column of air under high pressure shoots upward and vibrates the hard palate and the heavily charged sinus. An easy personal experiment will convince anyone that this is the best way to howl or wail. Then, If you open your eyes slightly (for they will automatically close if you are really howling), you will see the brows knitted, the face and neck flushed, the facial muscles knotted under the eyes, and the throat distended with the strain of producing this high pitched wail.[366]

That such an accurate description may be made, and that it mirrors so closely much of the kinesic qualities of many fado performances, demonstrates that it is possible for any effective actor to mimic both the auditory qualities of a wail and the body language of the grief-stricken in order to convince others of their apparent sadness. This makes judgements about the legitimacy of such emotions in the performer virtually impossible.

That there are individuals willing to put on such an insincere act reflects the importance placed upon apparent authenticity by both producers and consumers and, in the case of singers performing such an act in the commercial

[366] Hewes cited in Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1964, repr. 1980), p. 110.

fado venues, is a result of the modern culture of commodity fetishism: consumers will pay more for "the real thing" and a convincing performance and will invariably choose to patronise venues with a reputation for this over less expensive venues with less convincing performers. This increased emphasis on the material value of a performance has led to a heightened awareness of the importance of authenticity and, by extension, the personal and social value of fado.

Titon suggests, however, that such actors are needed for tourist music, and tourists must suspend disbelief in order to experience the music,[367] although he gives no justification for this position, nor does he state why the tourist may not experience the truly authentic rather than the apparent authentic. The increased emphasis by outsiders on the manufacturing and marketing of ostensibly authentic music, both relating to live performances and recorded music, has reacted in a demand from within cultures for music which does not place authenticity as an end-point but instead does not abandon its roots and stays true to the genre.

The Possible Forms of Authenticity

In discussions of authenticity, there appears to be a disparity in what is considered authentic by different individuals or groups. In his book on the topic of authenticity, Potter questions whether there is any difference in the value of authentic work of art and one that merely seems authentic.[368] Certainly, if the

[367] Jeff Todd Titon, '"The Real Thing": Tourism, Authenticity, and Pilgrimage among the Old Regular Baptists at the 1997 Smithsonian Folklife Festival', *The World of Music,* 41.3 (1999), pp. 115–139) p. 136.
[368] Andrew Potter, *The Authenticity Hoax: How We Get Lost Finding Ourselves,* (Canada: McClelland & Stewart Ltd.: 2010), p. 78.

authenticity is believable and believed the work of art in question would have the same effect upon the recipient, who in the case of fado is the listener. However such an approach fails to take in to account the producers of the music; while the listener may, in his or her ignorance, receive all of the benefits of attending an authentic performance it is the producer who is the only one truly aware of the deception receives nothing more than financial reward and, perhaps, a feeling of artistic pride in their convincing performance. In a genre such as fado, however, this is tantamount to saying there is no real value for the performer, and so it must be concluded that any performance whose authenticity is not genuine is of lesser value than a performance which is truly authentic for both producer and recipient.

The problem with this approach is the lack of definition of authenticity. This is not to say that an individual is unable to define the characteristics of an authentic or inauthentic performance, but rather that there are as many different sets of criteria as there are people with an opinion. Despite the desire for authenticity and the numerous heated discussions relating to it, there can never be a single set of criteria for authenticity upon which all can agree. It might seem, therefore, like an impossible task to create a definition that satisfies all parties, but I now suggest that we go beyond trying to define authenticity. Based on the wide variety of literature on the subject coupled with my own research, I propose that, while the definition varies from person to person, there are constants to be found in a number of concepts which inform one's preconceptions of authenticity. These concepts will replace the search for a single definition and thus allow the formation of an opinion on any given performance.

Taxonomy of Authenticity

When examining the notion of authenticity I would argue that there are fourteen key categories which must be considered. I refer here to the authenticity of a fado performance, rather than a fado song or a specific piece of music. This includes the individual performance, incorporating the character of the performer, the individual components of the song and music, and all other related aspects which have come to be the subject of these judgements. The reason for this holistic perspective is that one may perform an authentic fado in an inauthentic manner, but if the song is not authentic to begin with then neither will be the performance. Individual songs may relate to individual categories in the taxonomy but the song itself is only a single part of the experience and the taxonomy as a whole describes authenticity as a whole. While none of these will apply in all situations they are, nevertheless, useful categories which incorporate the major views on what it means for a fado performance to be authentic. Typically, the label of authenticity will not be used if the performance only meets one of these criteria – authenticity is seen by the fado community as a combination of a number of factors, all of which come under one of the following categories and can be divided into Authenticity of Conformity and Authenticity of Perception as follows:

Authenticity of Conformity

1. Historical Authenticity
2. Textual Authenticity
3. Musical Authenticity
4. Contextual Authenticity
5. Emotional Authenticity
6. Intentional Authenticity

Authenticity of Perception

1. Apparent Authenticity
2. Inherent Authenticity
3. Ascribed Authenticity
4. Claimed Authenticity
5. Dependent Authenticity
6. Personal/Internal Authenticity
7. Fabricated Authenticity
8. Transferable Authenticity

The first six categories of authenticity, which come under the group heading 'Authenticity of Conformity' (which includes historical, textual, musical, contextual, emotional, and intentional) refer to a notion of compliance to some preconceived expectation. Historical authenticity suggests that the performance adheres to a pre-existing model, and may often be said to seem traditional in terms of "how it has always been done", and is reflected in the way that Castelo Branco and Toscano couple the idea of the authentic with the term 'archaic',[369] with the term "archaic" highlighting the inextricable link between authenticity and cultural heritage. Textual authenticity relates to the texts used for a performance, specifically whether or not a song is performed with the original lyrics, whether the language used is correct (in the case of fado, this is Portuguese) and whether the source of the text is deemed appropriate. An example of a challenge to textual authenticity is given in Chapter Three in the discussion of Amália's use of poems by Camões as a basis for fado lyrics,

[369] Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco and Maria Manuela Toscano, '"In Search of a Lost World": An Overview of Documentation and Research on the Traditional Music of Portugal', Yearbook for Traditional Music, 20 (1988), 158–192 (p. 175).

which marked a departure from tradition. Musical authenticity concerns itself with conforming to certain sonic expectations of the genre, which would include melody, harmony, instrumentation and ornamentation. Examples which challenge the notion of a musically-authentic fado performance include renditions on non-traditional instruments such as the piano or accordion, or fados with an excessive number of modulations. The fourth category of conformity is contextual authenticity, which may be seen as encompassing all other physical expectations of a performance including the apparel of a performer (whether or not the female singer wears a black shawl, for example) and the location of the performance. Contentious performances in this category might include those which take place outside of Portugal or those held in large venues such as concert halls or stadiums.

These four categories of authenticity are, once established, relatively empirical and can be measured against a specific set of criteria. However, the remaining two categories of Authenticity of Conformity are much harder to measure and generally require a greater recourse to Authenticity of Perception, but are ultimately unknowable by any but the individual in question. Emotional authenticity is often cited as a prerequisite of any good fado performance and implies a fidelity to one's emotions, either at the time of writing or at the time of performing. This category may also include fidelity to (or empathy with) the emotions of an other, such as the original composer or lyricist. The final category of Authenticity of Conformity which often comes up in discussions of fado is intentional authenticity, which may best be described as honesty: the notion that a performance conforms with the general expectations of intention and motivation which led to the rendition in question. An example of a possible threat to intentional authenticity may be seen in the claim that an individual is

‘only in it for the money’ or has ‘sold out’. Out off all the categories of Authenticity of Conformity, intentional authenticity is most likely to conflict with other notions of authenticity, as pure intentions may, in some cases, lead to challenging conventions in other ways, such as using different instrumentation, wearing unorthodox clothing, or performing in an unusual location. It is often under the guise of intentional authenticity that many other innovations and non–traditional elements are overlooked.

The next group of categories in the Taxonomy fall under Authenticity of Perception. Whereas categories with Authenticity of Conformity may be measured in some way or other, Authenticity of Perception is concerned with approaches to authenticity which are more indeterminate and personal, and is divided into the categories of apparent, inherent, ascribed, claimed, dependent, personal (or internal), fabricated and transferable authenticity. These categories aid in the understanding of authenticity as a whole and enable wider and more nuanced discussion of a topic in which matters are not black and white.

While some of these categories describe characteristics of authenticity, the first four serve merely to classify the claim of authenticity based on its source. Apparent authenticity is that which is perceived based solely on the conformity of the performance to expectations, and as such is the only characteristic in this taxonomy which would always relate to any element of Authenticity of Conformity. Inherent authenticity implies that the performance is deemed authentic based purely on the presence of a certain predefined characteristic which automatically guarantees authenticity – it may be argued, for example, that saudade is an indicator of inherent authenticity, although the majority of fadistas would make the claim that saudade alone is not enough and other

features relating to Authenticity of Conformity must also be present. In addition to these, a performance may be declared authentic through either ascribed authenticity or claimed authenticity, the difference being that the former is a label given by a listener or other observer of the performance, whereas the latter is based on the testimony of either the originator, whether that be the performer, composer or other creator (such as the manager of a performance venue). The next three categories under Authenticity of Perception describe the nature of a claim of authenticity. Dependent authenticity describes authenticity which is only recognised under certain circumstances, usually the fulfilment of particular criteria. As such virtually all claims of authenticity could be seen as falling under this heading, although there are those who feel that certain performers, such as Amália, have a certain characteristic such that anything they produce is instantly authentic by virtue of their background, experiences or personal beliefs — making a single criterion sufficient. Personal authenticity, or internal authenticity, is that which is felt and believed by the performer; it is an authenticity related to the singer or musician's own beliefs and one in which they see their intentions and motivations as pure. The opposite of this can be seen in the performer who, for whatever reason, is simply putting on a show. This leads to the idea of fabricated authenticity, which describes a deliberate falsification of authenticity; the performer sees the categories within Authenticity of Conformity as targets, which they deliberately try to include in their performance thereby giving the appearance of authenticity for the benefit of the audience, but which is actually a façade created by a skilled actor and performer. The final category in Authenticity of Perception is transferable authenticity, a descriptor used for a performance which, due to a combination of certain elements listed above, allows a performance to remain authentic even

when certain elements, such as venue or instrumentation, are changed. A possible example of this would be the perception of an international superstar who, despite performing in a large concert hall, decides to remove all amplification and microphones and perform a fado in the "traditional" manner, a gesture commonly associated with Mariza.

The Notion of Transferable authenticity

I wish now to discuss one single category from the above taxonomy in greater detail. The final category in the Taxonomy of Authenticity is transferable authenticity, which I suggest is a function of one's personal hierarchy within the taxonomy. It relates to the idea that a performance may still be valid and authentic even if some elements are not as one would expect in an authentic performance, such as a changed venue or the addition of an unorthodox instrument.

One important point to keep in mind is that the way in which a musical genre and its features are viewed is not fixed and will change over time. This is particularly noticeable with regard to perceptions of authenticity as expectations tend to evolve alongside social and technological progress, all of which impinges on the beliefs and values of the observer.

Taylor suggests that authenticity is the avoidance of selling out, in other words avoiding a departure from assumed origins[370], a notion he calls 'authenticity of primality', in which there is a link with an unbroken chain of tradition.[371] The

[370] Timmothy D. Taylor, *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets* (London: Routledge, 1997), p.23.
[371] Taylor, p. 26.

problem with this approach, however, is that it does not allow for any deviation from the model which he calls 'tradition'; it makes the assumption that music must remain the same in order to remain authentic, without considering any other features which may contribute to a perception of authenticity. Further, it assumes that from the moment of its creation a musical style or genre is unchanging, a notion that fails to take into account the creative inclinations of most musicians and the experimentation and freedom of interpretation which this inevitably brings about, particularly in the early days of a genre's existence.

In his essay discussing the way in which a musical style is formed, Byrneside asserts that 'during its formative process a new style somehow detaches itself from its predecessor and, wittingly or unwittingly, emerges as a reaction to the older style,'[372] a phenomenon which he attributes to the fact that 'music is a human activity, and the particular shape that a musical style assumes must be understood not only in the abstract, but in terms of the sociology of the composers of and the audience for that style.'[373] This statement reminds us that music does not come into being of itself, but rather is created by humans and, as such, is subject to the same temporal changes and evolution as any other aspect of human life, such as society, culture and belief.

It is because of the mutable nature of the creative and expressive arts which stem from human nature that there is no single set of criteria for determining an authentic fado performance, as each opinion is a product of personal experience, circumstances, belief and even age. The Taxonomy of Authenticity presented above therefore gives the commentator the flexibility to take such

[372] Ronald Byrneside, 'The Formation of Musical Style: Early Rock', in *Critical Essays in Popular Musicology*, ed. by Allan F. Moore, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 542–565 (p. 219).
[373] Byrnside, p. 219.

factors into account, respecting the idea that musical styles and tastes will change over time and acknowledging that, while this may prevent an attribution of authenticity for some, it does not necessarily rule out the possibility of an authentic performance that is a product of its own time. Here, Jensen's commentary on country and western music provides a useful assertion regarding the natural evolution of a genre:

> [W]hat we find when we examine the period is not a case of spontaneous, real music becoming processed and fake. We find instead a stylistic shift, a change in instrumentation, worked from *within* the country music industry […] not the imposition of commercial traits on a previous authentic form. Rather […] a shift in the economic and symbolic contexts of the music.[374]

Such contrasting views regarding the emphasis placed upon different signs of authenticity give rise to the question of what I term transferable authenticity. From this point, I explore this notion, to discover if, in the eyes of the listener or performer, such a thing can exist, or if the authenticity of a given performance is as much tied to the context in which it takes place as it is to its content; or, to put it another way, whether a performance can be called authentic even if it fails to "tick all the boxes" by virtue of the strength and legitimacy of its other characteristics. This is a contentious notion which some may argue cannot possibly exist within fado, depending on which elements of the Taxonomy of Authenticity they use to determine authenticity. For example, Wiora makes the following statement:

> I suggest that the term "authentic folk music" should be defined thus: music that is sung or played by members of the basic stratum of society and is customary and familiar to them, bearing in mind that

[374] Jensen, p. 161.

> there are differences of degree and that the degree of the authenticity of a song is dependent on the extent to which the folk co-operate by producing or refashioning the song, and the extent to which they love it as their own.[375]

Despite the apparent freedom stemming from the "differences of degree", such a view, if accepted, would make the notion of transferable authenticity a logical impossibility, as once one of these key elements is altered the performance would be rendered instantly inauthentic. This sentiment is echoed by Saygun for whom authenticity is tied both to the people and location of a particular culture.[376] However there are those who feel that, within the taxonomy, certain categories rank higher than others in terms of importance, and that the presence of certain features are essential in order to deem a performance authentic whereas other characteristics are seen as desirable, but non-essential. An example of this can be seen in Santos' assertion that by simply turning off any electronic amplification, the status of Mariza's performance shifts from inauthentic to authentic.[377] Similarly, Pacheco makes it clear in his comments that he is passionate about good fado and authentic fado, yet the standard instrumental ensemble in his restaurant (and many recordings) includes a double bass rather than a viola baixa. He tells me that good fado requires, above all 'good interpreters. Mostly all the [performers] must be honest because they are really good singers, really good players, but even a not so good singer, a not-so-good player, can give you the emotion of fado, or the emotions of fado. So honesty is the most important requirement for a good fado

[375] Walter Wiora, 'Concerning the Conception of Authentic Folk Music', *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, 1 (1949), 14–19 (p. 16).
[376] Saygun, p. 9.
[377] *Interview with Paulo Jorge Santos.*

performance.'[378] This implies, then, that it is this honesty which reigns supreme when considering authenticity. Despite this, he goes on to qualify his point by adding that there are other criteria to be considered:

> It includes good lyrics, good music, good interpretations and when I say good I mean honest — honest musicians, honest singers. Well, then appears another view. It's the quality of the poems, the lyrics, because we can talk about poems because Portugal is a country of poets, classical poets, and also the lyrics of the street poets, the people with no special education but they have the capacity to look to at a building or to look to the river and to imagine a movie that you put in words that we can sing and play because we have to talk about the Portuguese guitar, my lover, and for me, the guitars, the music of the Portuguese guitar, we have to smell the sea and the river and the others of the city of Lisbon, and that makes, for me, fado.[379]

Despite this, there are others within the fado profession who freely volunteer the opinion that, once they begin to change this or that element for the benefit of a show, that the authenticity simply vanishes. Diogo Clemente, for example, acknowledges the difference between the artistic merit of a performance and the authenticity when discussing the inclusion of instruments such as percussion, trumpet and piano: 'It's a beautiful thing and it's something special of course, but it has something foreign. It's something that's not so consistent…' and goes on to describe this 'like a jam'.[380] However, his replies to other questions also reveal a hierarchy of authenticity determinants. When questioned about the performance venue (following a concert at the 1500-capacity Butterworth Hall at Warwick Arts Centre, Coventry), he informs me that for him as a fadista he feels the ambience is more important than the physical

[378] James Félix, *Interview with Mário Pacheco*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, June 2012).
[379] *Interview with Mário Pacheco.*
[380] James Félix, *Interview with Diogo Clemente and Angelo Freire,* (Coventry: Unpublished, February 2010).

location, citing the ideal venue as a tasca in Lisbon in which the ambience is easily created ‘so it’s more easy to make fado’, but the main difficulty with performing fado on stage is the presence of headphones and microphones. However, he says of such large venues, ‘Here, if I can find some very good ambience and people who like fado, it’s easy. But in Lisbon, if I find people that don’t like fado it’s not so easy.’ This implies that authenticity is constructed not through a relationship between people and space, nor is it dependent on the relationship between people and the physical trappings of a performance, but rather it is based on a combination of individual feelings and social relationships which are formed in the moment of, and for the duration of, each performance, and that such relationships are affected and manipulated by the musical and physical elements of that performance as listed in the taxonomy above.

Clearly there can be no agreement on questions relating to imprecise and loaded terms such as authenticity or tradition, but this does not render such terms invalid or without meaning, neither does it imply that these concepts are unimportant. On the contrary, it is this imprecise nature which makes them so important, as it is through a personal understanding of these that one is able to relate to fado — as a musical form, a cultural expression, or as a means of communication It is the individual nature of each interpretation that makes the term “authentic” so vital to the understanding of any folk genre about which people are passionate.

Responsibilities of performers

Often, certain members of a culture are seen as gatekeepers, or guardians of their own particular way of doing things, that is (in their view) the way things are

done “traditionally” or authentically. As a general rule, performers of any cultural act, such as fado, are viewed as these guardians, experts in their field, and as such are trusted to deliver an accurate portrayal and representation of that culture and its expressions. There are therefore certain responsibilities which performers are thought to have both to the culture they represent and to those who observe their performances in order that they might gain a deeper understanding of said culture. Redhead and Street summarise this when they claim that ‘the musician’s right to speak is a function of his or her integrity; that is, there is no doubt that they speak for themselves and are not the puppets of other interests.’[381] In this statement the term ‘themselves’ may be understood in both an individual sense (the performer) and a collective sense (their culture or society).

Certain expectations of authentic performers, however, may lead to the restriction of a genre’s growth and development and could be seen as having a negative impact. Titon cites the example of the Smithsonian’s Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies’ (CFPCS) notion of authenticity, pointing out that ‘requirements that authentic folk artists learn their skills in the time-honoured ways within folk communities preclude the possibility that community outsiders could ever be counted among the authentic practitioners of the folk arts.’[382] There are, of course, those in the fado community who would agree with this sentiment, such as Fernanda Pronença who claims that fado belongs only to the fadistas. This is a rare response as the majority of fadistas will at least make the concession that fado belongs to the Portuguese people as a whole, a notion

[381] Steve Redhead, and John Street, ‘Have I the Right? Legitimacy, Authenticity and Community in Folk’s Politics’, *Popular Music*, 8.2 (1989), 177–184 (p. 179).
[382] Titon, p. 124.

which Pronença denied, claiming simply, 'It's ours [the fadistas]'.[383] Nonetheless, many within fado still honour the traditional learning routes which combine observation of other performers with a form of apprenticeship, as described by Tomé. His fado education, he tells me, began with his father teaching him basic instrumental techniques such as chord positions and fingering patterns. Following this, he practised by himself 'and then I got to know a couple of guys, Zé and Chico [two experienced musicians working in the same casa de fado], both of them guitar players, and they let me be side by side with them to see how they do it and to learn the things.'[384] When I met him in my most recent visit to Lisbon he was working as principal violista in that particular restaurant with another less experienced player working under his tutelage, a process Tomé described as 'paying back to the world'.[385] Neither is he the only fadista to have learned his trade in this manner; Mariza gives a similar account of watching and listening to fadistas while growing up,[386] and Pacheco also claims to have learned through a combination of advice from, and playing with, his father. The advantage of this over formal tuition, which is offered in certain locations, such as Lisbon's Fado Museum, is that it allows the performers to experience more than just the technique, but also the atmosphere and ambience of a real fado performance. Certain technical skills would be required, such as a working knowledge of harmony or basic guitarra ability, but otherwise it is through performing fado that a fadista is thought to be educated and trained. The freedom for the individual to apply his or her technical ability has been emphasised throughout the history of fado in order to encourage the

[383] James Félix, *Interview with Fernanda Proença*, (Lisbon: Unpublished: June 2012).
[384] James Félix, *Interview with Tiago Tomé*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, June 2012).
[385] *Interview with Tiago Tomé.*
[386] Lusk, John, 'Portuguese Perfection', *Independent* (17 November 2006) <http://arts.independent.co.uk/music/features/article1988181.ece> [accessed 19 October 2007].

musicians to find their own voice and personal style, and there is evidence of this as early as 1796, as seen in the manuscript of António da Silva Leite, *Estudo da Guitarra*,[387] in which the general technique of required to play the guitarra is covered, but there is no mention of any specific genre or style. It is also a common sight, especially in the less commercial venues, to see experienced performers, both musicians and singers giving advice to less experienced performers in between songs, often using specific examples from the latter's performance as teaching aids. Certain fadistas with whom I spoke even went so far as to state that fado cannot be taught and that they never "learned" per se, but rather were born with *fado na alma*[388] and as such it is an intrinsic characteristic, one which was not taught and needs only the correct approach to externalise, a response also documented by Gray[389] in her own research into fado. This view implies a certain sense of predestination and the notion that one cannot choose to be a fadista, a view which provides a reflection of the early beliefs regarding the origin of the words fado and fadista as relating to fate.

Conclusions

Potter suggests that the authenticity to which people refer when discussing music is expressive authenticity, a form of authenticity which he claims 'is concerned not with facts but with values. When we ask whether a work is authentic in this sense, we are being asked to judge the degrees of fit between an artist's true self and the work he or she has created, or between an artistic

[387] José Lúcio, *Cordofones Portugueses*, (Porto: Areal Editores, 2000), p. 36.
[388] Fado in the soul.
[389] Gray, 'Memories of Empire, Mythologies of the Soul'.

work and the community or culture it purports to represent.'[390] Such a value judgement is important in conceiving a way of relating with a music, and by extension, with another culture. Authenticity 'is a discursive trope of great persuasive power. It focuses a way of talking about music, a way of saying to outsiders and insiders alike "this is what is really significant about this music", "this is the music that makes us different from other people".'[391] Ultimately, authenticity is a measure of value and, in the eyes of the beholder, a representation of a people through its music. It is certainly a contested term, as highlighted by Redhead and Street who correctly point out that 'ideas like "roots" and "authenticity" are clearly ideological constructs which rest on doubtful musical and political assumptions. Or at least, they raise more questions than they answer.'[392] However, these questions allow the enquirer to gain a deeper understanding; questions relating to what is and is not authentic, how a performance reflects historical and cultural traditions, and the significance of different elements of a performance will all inform the observer's opinion of that culture, in addition to allowing them to appreciate the musical performance beyond its aesthetic qualities. Even those performances which merely seem to be authentic, those in which the performer claims authenticity, may be seen to have value in the sense that they represent to the outsider certain expectations and characteristics associated with the genre, as defined in the Taxonomy of Authenticity. Whether such a performance of claimed authenticity is equal in value to a performance of internal authenticity is, and will

[390] Potter, p. 79.
[391] Martin Stokes, 'Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music'. in *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place,* ed. by Martin Stokes, (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1997), pp. 1–28 (p. 7).
[392] Redhead and Street, p. 182.

continue to be, a point of much debate to be considered and decided only by each individual.

Chapter Nine

Conclusions

At the back, there's a table where I sit
And it has beautiful stories to tell
Fado spent there entire evenings
Hearing us, our voices always singing

When the guitar gave the tone to the night
It was the moment to fulfil the ritual
Ballads which talked of fates
Wanting to learn from life, what is gfood what is bad

Once…
The old singer sang dreams
With that voice that God gave her and is greater
And I learned with her what the fado was
Passion, destiny of this great love

I heard there the voice of fado
And dreamt that one day I would sing it too
And went through the night until the end of day
Hearing the voice of us that said

Silence! 'cause the future brings saudades
When we sing about the past
It's the voice of a nation we're hearing
In that back table at the fado's house.[393]

Fado has been described in numerous ways, but the text of *Casa do Fado* summarises the major (extra–musical) characteristics fado is often claimed to possess: beautiful stories, ballads of fate, a God-given nature, songs of passion and destiny, a relationship to saudade, historical significance and representation of a nation. Each of these descriptors aids in the understanding of what fado is, but each is also subject to further judgements — and it is these

[393] Casa do Fado, in Rafael Fraga and Augusto Macedo, *Carlos do Carmo Songbook (Bilingual Edition)*, (Lisbon: Edições: Nelson de Matos, 2008), p.158.

judgements which will affirm or deny the authenticity of any given performance. Such judgements are vital in building a relationship between the individual and the music, and even the inauthentic retains the power to affect the individual in certain ways.

However, it must be realised that “authenticity” is not one fixed point of view, nor is it defined by one or two specific criteria which can be empirically measured. Rather, it is multi faceted, relativistic and personal. The importance is placed upon the concept of authenticity at a group level but on the belief in the authenticity of a performance at an individual level; therefore while many will agree that authenticity is important, the definition and criteria used to determine or identify this authenticity will vary from person to person. Furthermore, the amount of importance placed upon the concept varies between individuals, which explains how and why some people are willing to either disregard it or falsify it, give the apparent appearance of authenticity. The matter is further complicated by the tension between the notion of tradition, fidelity to tradition, and the concept of innovation and the evolution of the genre. Again, much like many aspects of authenticity, this can only be determined by each individual based on their views and beliefs.

How best to understand authenticity? At its simplest it may be described as fidelity to some standard or other, conforming to expectations and conventions of a given genre or culture. However, the very nature of human experience makes exact replication impossible and no matter how much one might try to preserve the “old way” of doing things, society, history and emotion inevitably get in the way of these attempts and a tradition will, more often than not, evolve over time. One of the more interesting perspectives comes from a young

musician who is one of fado's rising stars today. He explains authentic fado as follows:

> It's like an apple. You have THE apple, and with this apple, with this genetic code, you can make everything. A lot of apples: red, yellow. But THIS is the apple. Everything happens, but the apple is still here, and we need this apple because it's the essence. We need this apple. I need to play and sing and write. It's important because the apple has the story.[394]

This view seems to be an extremely versatile position, similar to Plato's famous allegory of the cave, in which shadows are seen, but these are imperfect copies of the perfect or ideal forms which are passing in front of the fire. The authentic is the ideal form of fado for many, but at times it may not be possible, due to conflicting emotions or a change in circumstance. Tiago Tomé gave the following example when asked what makes fado authentic:

> I think it's mainly about the singer. It's about the feeling of the singer and the sincerity of the singer. If the singer is singing something that he's been through or something that's connected to him — I think it's mainly because of this. It's what makes it authentic because if you see it, fado is a telling of a story, so if the story is not true it doesn't feel that authentic, it doesn't feel that real. For me, that's what makes fado authentic — the story, and the telling of the story.[395]

Similarly, Paulo Jorge Santos' assertion that that 'You can't sing a sad fado if you are very happy, you know. And if you've lost a lover, you can't sing a happy fado.'[396] suggests the centrality of sincerity of personal feelings to authenticity. However, for better or worse, fado is more than a personal experience; it has become big business for both the tourist and recording industries. There are

[394] James Félix, *Interview with Diogo Clemente and Angelo Freire,* (Coventry: Unpublished, February 2010).
[395] James Félix, *Interview with Tiago Tomé*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, June 2012).
[396] James Félix, *Interview with Paulo Jorge Santos*, (Lisbon: Unpublished, July 2007).

those whose livelihoods now depend on performing fado on cue, on making the listeners believe the emotions about which they sing, the stories they tell through their voice or guitar. When one is faced with such a situation, it becomes much more difficult to take a hardline stance on fado, to claim that one should either perform authentic fado or not perform fado at all. Tourists are told to patronise the high end establishments such as *Cafe Luso* and *Clube de Fado*, and throughout the year they cross the thresholds of such restaurants with the expectation of a show which, according to the marketing material in their hotel, is authentic and of Portuguese origin. Perhaps the best a performer can do in such a situation is stand up in front of the audience and put on the most believable show they are capable of. When the urge to sing for personal catharsis strikes, there are numerous venues in which they can find release, but when one has made a career from singing sad songs, no matter how happy one may feel, the moment the lights go down one must put on the show which is expected.

Perhaps, then, there ought to be two categories of fado: the first is that which the world at large has come to know, the music and format found on countless CDs and in numerous restaurants throughout Lisbon, wherein one knows what to expect from a night of fado, and if one returns to the same venue on subsequent occasions, there will be very little variation of artists, repertoire or atmosphere. This is fado for the world, the clean face of fado which is taken as a symbol of Lisbon and of Portugal, the music of a nation and its people. This is then placed in contrast with the second form of fado. To the practitioners and aficionados of this second form, it is authentic; to a tourist ignorant of the richness of the history and variation within the genre, it is amateur; to an untrained listener it is raw, perhaps powerful, but certainly unique. It is this

second form which proves more elusive to the tourist; such gatherings are rarely, if ever, advertised; and while they may have a tried and tested format regarding individual performances and some participants who could be considered “regulars”, anyone who turns up and wants to sing can do so, and they sing the songs they feel like singing in their own personal style. There are no concerns about imitating this or that famous singer, no notion of putting on a show. Rather, the singer joins with the audience, traditional performer-audience barriers are broken down, and by singing of common emotions a relationship forms between performer and listener, a relationship wherein joy and pain are shared, a form of group therapy whereby one benefits both from expressing one’s own emotions and seeing others express theirs. When asked what fado means to him personally, Tomé told me:

> It’s like a way of relieving emotions that need to be relieved. Sometimes as a musician, sometimes listening to fado I kind of… you kind of feel that your problems are shared with other people. It’s like normal and also you get connected with other people and it’s like a good emotion for you. Even if it’s sad, you kind of feel… people need to cry, we all need to cry sometimes, we need to relieve our emotions. We need to share them with everybody — the sad things, the happy things, we live all together. For me it’s that also, it’s a way of expression.[397]

If the first form of fado is the song of a nation and of its people, this second form, the “authentic” fado, is the song of a person, of each individual person who sings it, plays it, or listens to it. It is not a group performance, it is not any sort of performance; it is a personal experience, one of honesty and expression, one where what is inside a person is allowed to come out. It is the expression of emotions and of a person’s soul, warts and all.

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[397] *Interview with Tiago Tomé.*

If one accepts that there are these two different forms, it is not appropriate to use the same system of judgement and criteria for both. Turino suggests that 'situations of participatory music making are not just informal or amateur, that is, *lesser* versions of the "real music" made by the pros but that, in fact, they are something else — a different form of art and activity entirely — and that they should be conceptualized and valued as such.'[398] Authenticity is ultimately a personal judgement, and it is only right that this is ascribed on a personal level, on an individual level. Does it matter if commercial is not authentic? Maybe to some, but many tourists may not enjoy the casual, raw style of "authentic" fado such as *Bela* or *Tasca do Jaime;* they would prefer the more refined, purified show put on by tourist restaurants, all that is aesthetically good and pleasing about fado, without seeing the remnants of its troubled past. Just as one would not go somewhere on holiday and choose to visit the slums and shanty towns, people want the authentic, but in a moderated format.

In Chapter Five, I suggested a new approach to the notion of insider and outsider. I argued that these are not part of a simple binary dialectic, but rather exist on a sliding scale in which the more one experiences of a genre, the more one can enter into it. The position of an individual on this scale will have an effect on their conception of value and authenticity. If attending a performance as an insider, or as an experienced practitioner, one looks for and receives a different set of feedback compared to one attending as an outsider, or tourist. For one it is a personal almost ritualistic experience with which to engage, and for another it is an aesthetic experience, a performance, or an artefact of a foreign culture. As the two individuals participate with different goals in mind,

[398] Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (London: University of Chicago press, 2008), p. 25.

and take different things away from the performance, surely they will form their judgements based on different criteria. Where the fadista may look for a feeling of chills down the spine and an empathy with the performer, the tourist will look for good singing and a pleasant evening of entertainment coupled, usually, with local food and drink. While the outsider may claim to seek the authentic, their notion of authenticity is formed by very different forces to that of the insider.

Such differences of opinion are especially prominent when one considers the contrast between the commercial venues and the lesser-known tascas which occasionally host amateur fado sessions.

The question often raised is whether or not the existence of commercial fado has a negative effect on the genre. Positive outcomes of its existence include the fact that it allows people to make a living, it brings fado and an interest in Portuguese culture to the outside world, and it draws in tourism, which is beneficial for the Portuguese economy. While it may not give a completely accurate impression of the genre in the eyes of certain commentators, the majority of these venues and the performances taking place do still satisfy a number of the prerequisites of fado. In an age where a large number of photographs in the media are edited and touched up, and where the information we receive is mediated by processes and filters in order to not offend or cause distress, this may be viewed as a form of socially-sanctioned censorship under a different name. Many of the performers realise that what they are doing is putting on a show and providing a service, that what they do may fall short of the ideals that some, maybe even themselves, have of “true”, “real”, ‘“traditional” or “authentic” fado. But perhaps this commercial fado can still be called “typical”. As mentioned Chapter Two, the term “typical” is free from the

ideological baggage that accompanies those other adjectives: when taken to indicate the presence of expected characteristics, for many it is these filtered performances as found on CDs and in these restaurants which form the expectations. As such, it could be argued that it is this commercial form of fado which is the “typical”; even having a certain degree of insider knowledge I found it difficult during my time in Portugal to find fado of a non-commercial nature, but one only has to walk through the streets of neighbourhoods such as Alfama and Bairro Alto after dark to be inundated with venues specialising in commercial fado. These venues are more easily accessible, and it seems that not only are there more of them, but they also host performances more regularly. Coupled with the fact that many shops and cafes throughout Lisbon have the CDs of artists such as Amália and Mariza playing, and that one cannot avoid hearing the professional strains of fado while visiting the city, surely this has become the typical fado of Lisbon. Stokes asserts that ‘it is not difficult for anybody involved in the music of “other cultures” to think of uneasy moments in which the music we hear (on CD or on stage) appears to be nothing more than a model, a replica of some “real” situation, with a real context and real meaning elsewhere.’[399] It is important, therefore, for the seeker of authenticity to bear this in mind – while an individual performance may not seem authentic, by virtue of its placement within the context of the genre of fado, it is at the very least representative of the authentic.

Throughout this thesis, I have tried to refrain from making value judgements on the authenticity of particular performances as I felt the need to establish what

[399] Stokes, Martin, ‘Place, Exchange and Meaning: Black Sea Musicians in the West of Ireland’. in *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place,* ed. by Martin Stokes, (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1997), pp. 91–116 (p. 98).

authenticity is from the point of view of the various individuals connected with fado, even if only by virtue of their identity as being of Portuguese origin. This is also due to the impression that one gets talking to those involved more directly with the genre, that only the authentic has value, and that all other forms are merely useless shadows on the wall of the cave. Despite this, it is impossible to create a definitive list of criteria that all will agree determine an authentic or inauthentic fado. Therefore, it is neither viable nor reasonable to suggest any absolute standard of authenticity; there can be no universal system to measure the authenticity of a particular performer or performance. However, despite this, we can look to its markers as listed in the Taxonomy of Authenticity in Chapter Eight in order to obtain a multi-faceted view of those elements deemed important.

Ultimately, such judgements are personal and individual, and while this means there will be disagreement from person to person, caused by any number of factors, it is my view that this is not necessarily a negative outcome. In examining the way in which value is ascribed to art, Leach advises that 'since artistic value is normally imputed to one side of a dialectically related pair of oppositional terms, two principal strategies exist by which to ascribe value to the music you love, find interesting, or want to study: either show how it merits the positive term of the valorising pair (if necessary redefining the specific markers of that term), or attack the narrative underlying the binary itself.'[400] Throughout this thesis I have explored the notions of amateur and professional, authentic and inauthentic, and it is my position that many of these terms have been

[400] Elizabeth Eva Leach, 'Vicars of 'Wannabe': Authenticity and the Spice Girls*',* in *Critical Essays in Popular Musicology*, ed. by Allan F. Moore, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 542–565 (p. 542).

misused or misunderstood in discussions of folk music, due largely to the assumption that they present binary positions with no middle ground.

I also suggest that transferable authenticity should be viewed as an aspect, and even a product of the evolution of tradition. Potter makes the claim that 'a healthy culture is like a healthy person: it is constantly changing, growing, and evolving, yet something persists through these changes, a ballast that keeps it upright and recognizable no matter how much it is buffeted by the transformative winds of change.'[401] While not accepted by all, the concept of transferable authenticity is a valid one, especially when authenticity is concerned with metaphysical — if the intention is the primary criterion then as long as it is still present or intact, other factors such as location and instruments are irrelevant. Similarly, if criteria for authenticity are centred around musical features of a performance then analysis of the emotions driving the performers to sing or play (if indeed there are any beyond showmanship) is redundant. In cases where authenticity is based on a number of these ideas, as is usually the case, then the individual must determine a hierarchy within the Taxonomy of Authenticity in order to determine their own meaning and significance. This of course allows for a situation in which a performance may be seen as simultaneously authentic and inauthentic due to a difference of opinion between experiencers, but as authenticity is an ascribed characteristic rather than an inherent one, this need not be a problem, nor even a contradiction.

Transferable authenticity is a valid concept insofar as authenticity is valid, as authenticity must be negotiated by the individual according to their own criteria.

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[401] Andrew Potter, *The Authenticity Hoax: How We Get Lost Finding Ourselves,* (Canada: McClelland & Stewart Ltd.: 2010), p. 203.

What is authentic for one may not be authentic for another, but that is not the point of authenticity. Rather, authenticity is a deeply personal issue, and by engaging with this concept, one could be seen to move, at least temporarily, from emic to etic, or to put it another way, by engaging with the cultural phenomena one is momentarily joined with that culture and, at that point in time, has become a part of it. While this does not give the individual the same knowledge and experience as one who has been involved with fado for many decades, it does give them the right to make their own decisions and form their own judgements. Whether or not these judgements are in accordance with those of others is irrelevant, at least as far as the individual is concerned.

In assessing the value of authenticity one must examine its purpose. Leach cites Frith's claim that 'we should be examining… not how true a piece of music is to something else, but how it sets up the idea of "truth" in the first place – successful pop music is music which defines its own aesthetic standard.'[402] While the second part of this statement is valid, I wish to suggest that ultimately, authenticity is a valuable label inasmuch as it contributes to the creation of meaning; however, it is not authenticity alone that gives fado its value, but the meaning constructed by the performer and the individual's relationship with it. Rodney Gallop, for example, summarises that the appeal and value of Portuguese music lies within its accessibility: 'As a general rule, the Portuguese songs may be said to lack the remote quality of the Celtic, the simple poignancy of the English, the despair of the Slav and the fire and passion of the Spanish music. They are fresh and charming, unpretentious and intimate, less remote

[402] Leach, p. 559.

than most folk music from the music of courts and cities.'[403] If it is only this accessibility which gives fado value to an individual then it must still be considered to have value, even if not by virtue of its authenticity. These are all, however, subjective issues which can only be determined by that individual, and where they have considered this and formed a personal judgement in the light of their own experience, any attempts to convince them otherwise are at best futile and at worst potentially emotionally-distressing and upsetting.

Both Portuguese society and human society all over the world are continually evolving and developing, and as such so too is fado, no matter how much individuals may wish it were otherwise. While these changes may not be perceived by the senses, fado is a genre with which individuals and groups connect and negotiate meaning, and as such evolution is inevitable. This comes about not necessarily through changes in the costumes worn or the musical characteristics or the venues in which fado is performed, but rather the genre, which takes its meaning and significance from its relationship with the individual performers and listeners, changing because the mindset of these people changes. As society evolves and our world changes, the way we see things, those things which we hold as valuable, and even the way we think about things that we enjoy, will change. It is in the perception of individuals that the real development of fado exists, and much as history may have given to fado, it is only the present which has the power to shape its future.

[403] Rodney Gallop, 'The Folk Music of Portugal: II', *Music and Letters,* 14.4 (1933), 343–354 (p. 349).

The fado that is sung with feeling and expression,
That has a guitar to weep,
That brings to the voice a cry so pained.
And in the air,
The voice of a sobbing guitar.
Fado is always the same
It's always fado
That sets sad souls to dreaming.[404]

[404] Meu Bairro Alto (English Translation), Donald Cohen, ed., *Fado Português* (London: Wise Publications, 2003), p. 57.

Glossary of Portuguese Terms

Alfama: A neighbourhood in Lisbon; one of three neighbourhoods traditionally associated with fado.

Bairro Alto: A neighbourhood in Lisbon; one of three neighbourhoods traditionally associated with fado.

Caracol: Snail. The name given to the decorative scroll on the head of Lisbon-style guitarras.

Casa de Fado: A café or restaurant which hosts fado performances.

Coimbra: A northern city in Portugal, the second largest in the country.

Contracantos: The improvisatory counter melodie played by the guitarra in response to each vocal line.

Guitarra: Also known as a *guitarra portuguesa*, the Portugese guitar, a member of the cittern family with six double courses, traditionally the principal instrument in fado and guitarradas. Two varieties of guitarra exist, the Lisbon style and the Coimbra style; while the differences between the two are mainly aesthetic, the Coimbra style guitarra is generally tuned one whole tone lower than the Lisbon style instrument.

Guitarrada: An instrumental genre, usually based on musical themes from sung fado, in which the guitarrista is given freedom to display his or her virtuosity.

Guitarrista: An individual who plays the guitarra.

Lisboa: The Portuguese name for Lisbon.

Lisboetta: A native or inhabitant of Lisbon.

Mouraria: A neighbourhood in Lisbon; one of three neighbourhoods traditionally associated with fado.

Revista: A theatrical revue.

Saudade: An emotion with no direct translation into English, but one which contains elements of melancholy, yearning and uncertainty.

Unhas: False nails, usually made of a synthetic material, used by guitarristas to brighten the tone quality of the instrument and to aid in playing fast or tremolo passages.

Viola: A classical guitar, usually strung with nylon strings but occasionally strung with steel strings.

Viola Baixa: An acoustic bass guitar, either tuned in fourths or fifths.

Violista: An individual who plays the viola (see above).

Voltinhas: Vocal ornaments during passages of extreme emotion, including mordents, trills, turns, and occasionally improvised rubato melodic lines.

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