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

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Abstract

My thesis concentrates on the study of the symbolic construction of the Portuguese nation and the field of popular entertainment between 1865 and 1908, concentrating on various musical practices and their association with a changing theatrical panorama. It addresses the emergence of new forms of music theatre (the operetta and the revista) played a key role in creating a privileged space for the display and representation of modernity, a process in which the notion of the cultural nation-state was embedded. The establishment of a bourgeois public sphere induced relevant changes in the cultural market in Portugal during the period of this thesis, when several journalistic typologies that relied on industrial mechanised processes of production and focused on the actual narration of facts emerged. Moreover, this thesis examines the theatrical life in Lisbon in a period when the processes of urban expansion were closely associated with paradigms of modernity as it was perceived at the time, producing new spaces in the urban fabric.

This thesis also addresses the presence of an articulated system for the dissemination of musical commodities (such as postcards, sheet music or sound recordings) and the role the commodity form played in that system, striving to portray that phenomenon as a process in which aspects such as technology, class, and gender were embedded. Furthermore, my thesis examines the development of a heterogeneous network of approaches and disciplines that were being established with scientific intents that contributed to the reshaping the coeval perspectives of Portugal as a symbolic nation-state, in which the collection and publication of music from predominantly rural contexts was integrated.
Acknowledgements

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Introduction

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

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

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¹ Alfredo Mesquita, “Chronica occidental”, O Occidente, nº 1048, 10th February 1908, 26.
Most of the publications of reference dealing with the history of the *revista* in Portugal were edited in the late 1970s and in the early 1980s and, despite addressing the musical aspects of the genre, did not examine them thoroughly. Therefore, one of the main contributions of my research is a musicological study of the *revista* in the period when the genre was encoded and became hegemonic in Lisbon’s theatres. Moreover, it is possible to detect a rising interest in the musicological study of the Portuguese entertainment market, as the research project on the musical comedy in that country from 1849 to 1900 that has been developing in CESEM (a centre based in the Universidade Nova de Lisboa) attests. However, the aspect that strikes me the most in the extant scholarship on the operetta and the *revista* is that the significance of these genres in the Portuguese theatrical scene tends not to appear reflected in most of the available musicological bibliography. This may be explained by the role that musicology has played in the encoding and reproduction of a bipolar relation between art (embodied by the operatic theatre and the public concert) and entertainment (predominantly associated with forms of spectacle perceived as “popular”, such as the *revista*), an issue that is addressed in this thesis.

Until recently, historical approaches to nineteenth century Portuguese music have concentrated on the study of opera and concert music whilst neglecting the popular entertainment market of the time. However, my work aims to show that the segmentation of art and entertainment in the Portuguese context during the period 1865–1908 is highly problematic, given the blurred distinction between these realms as well as the complex superimposition of numerous agents in place in Lisbon’s theatrical scene of the time. For example, several instrumentalists who performed in the Real Teatro de S. Carlos (Lisbon’s opera house) were also composers of operettas and *revistas*, a fact that points to the existence of a porosity between the realms of art and entertainment in the period covered by thesis. Conversely, the incorporation of elements that were associated with representations of the vernacular in operatic narratives points not only to the emergence of an operatic aesthetic that draws from naturalistic

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paradigms, but also to the role the popular began to play in the cultural imaginary of the segment of the entertainment market then presented as art.

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

My thesis focuses on the analysis of Lisbon’s theatrical market between 1865 and 1908 in order to study the complex relation between the symbolic construction of a nation and the field of popular entertainment during that period. I have selected Lisbon as a case study for this work because that city has the symbolic weight of being the country’s capital where an intense theatrical activity (both in its subsidised and

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unsubsidised forms) had developed during the period this thesis is concerned with. Moreover, the city underwent a significant process of urban development that resonates with several issues this work aims to discuss, namely the complex interaction between public and private spaces, the foregrounding of the representational value of various commodities through the rationalisation of space, and the attempt to superimpose what were perceived as traits of modern capital in Lisbon’s urban fabric of the time. In that process, a planned modern urban layer intertwined with other layers and everyday practices that were already in place at the time, further complicating an intricate interaction between space, culture, and everyday life.

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

The chronological limits for this thesis were drawn up to include a set of events that had a significant impact in several strata of the Portuguese society of the time. I have selected the year 1865 because it was the first year in which the newspaper Diário de notícias, the first generalist periodical published through a mechanised industrial process in Portugal, was edited. That publication was established in December 1864 and contributed both to the development of a specific editorial line and to the establishment of various marketing strategies in the context of the press of the time, aspects that were key in reshaping the Portuguese public sphere. Moreover, starting in the late 1860s there were important chronological markers associated with the expansion of Lisbon’s theatrical activity, such as the construction of several spaces and the incorporation of operetta and revista repertoires in the entertainment market of the city.
Towards the end of the nineteenth century the partition of Africa among the European colonial countries and the international financial crisis were associated with two key events that shook the Portuguese society of the time: the British Ultimatum of 1890 (the apex of an ongoing differendum between Portugal and Britain involving the demarcation of borders of the African colonies of both countries) and the declaration of partial default by Portugal in 1892. These occurrences were symbolically promoted as signs of national decadence and effectively used by the republican movement of the time to criticise the Portuguese monarchist regime and to increase its own voting. I have selected 1908 as the end date of the period covered in this thesis due to several events that happened in that year, such as the regicide, an event that precipitated the fall of the Portuguese monarchy in 1910. Furthermore, the first daily newspaper associated with the workers movement, *A greve*, was created in 1908 and, on that year, the score of Viana da Mota’s symphony *À Pátria* (a key work in the Portuguese panorama of art music of the time that had been premièred in Porto in 1897) was edited in Brazil. From this selection it is possible to understand that this thesis presents historical time as a multilayered and discontinuous entity in which particular events have distinct levels of relevance for several sectors of the social space; the thesis thus adopts a strategy that aims to complicate the establishment of a single linear narrative based on the perception of historical time as a homogeneous entity and its main events as universal.

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

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emergence of a national space, the first chapter of my thesis concentrates on the analysis of the heterogeneous field of the Portuguese press between 1865 and 1908.

**Periodicals, Politics and Iconography**

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

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


publications connected within a company (such as the group that included *O século*, *Ilustração portugueza* e *Modas e bordados*, among others) point to an expansion of the editorial business in Portugal in the period this thesis concerns.

Moreover, the first chapter of the thesis addresses the establishment of several newspapers that focused mainly (or significantly) on musical subjects, a process that began in the 1860s (such as *Crónica dos teatros*, *Amphion*, *Arte musical*), analysing their contents and their role in the development of a discourse about music in the Portuguese public sphere of the time. However, most of the periodicals that concentrated mainly on musical subjects were short-lived and intermittent, a fact that indicates their difficult implementation in a minuscule area of a small-scale market. Nevertheless, their establishment and the frequent publication of articles concerning musical activities in generalist publications point to a relevant change operated in the field of periodicals of the time, integrating music as a relevant topic in public discourse.

Alongside the various approaches to written repertoires of the past and of the present and an emerging ethnology that collected music from rural areas of the country, several writers/journalists contributed to the establishment of a historiographical narrative of Lisbon’s popular urban genre fado. In the early years of the twentieth century authors such as Pinto de Carvalho or Alberto Pimentel published what became two important sources for the study of these repertoires – *História do fado* and *A triste canção do sul*, respectively.

Another important issue for several spheres of cultural production in Portugal was the development of an iconographic culture towards the end of the nineteenth century, when objects such as posters, illustrated postcards, and photographs were incorporated in everyday life, a move that was reflected in the coeval periodical press. This process was associated with the dissemination of technologies such as photography and halftone printing techniques that were developed at the time and reshaped the global panorama of the printing press. The presence of iconographic objects in the Portuguese periodicals during a significant part of the nineteenth century was multiform, ranging from technically rudimentary engravings to photographs. For instance, until the 1880s most of the press relied on engravings but the dissemination of photographic reproduction techniques towards the end of the nineteenth century was rapidly incorporated in the coeval periodicals. This shift from a text-based periodical press to a panorama that fostered the inclusion of images in several publications promoted the
iconisation of a selective group of agents in Portuguese society: politicians, military officers, writers, actors, singers or composers, symptomatic of the establishment of a transnational system in which the production and dissemination of imagery became a key element to the promotion of artists, as the third chapter of this thesis develops.

Methodologically speaking, the first chapter of this thesis is based on a survey of periodicals belonging to the National Library of Portugal and to the Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa that were published during the period covered by this thesis. The analysis of both texts and images in a number of heterogeneous periodicals contributed to the establishment of the general framework in which the journalistic field operated at the time and to the formulation of several hypothesis concerning their readership and role. Furthermore, the chapter analyses a selection of the surveyed contents focusing on the various levels of musical activity and their association with the sociability routines of several specific social strata of Lisbon’s society, such as frequenting the theatre. The thesis also examines several foreign periodicals of the time in order to situate the local press in a broader context and to address specific issues that were constitutively developed in an international framework, such as the relevance of French (namely Parisian) culture to several segments of Portuguese society or the diplomatic conflict with Britain in the 1890s.

Urban Space, Theatrical Entertainment and Sociability

“The audience goes to the theatre to spend an evening. Here [in Lisbon] the theatre is not a curiosity of the spirit, it is a Sunday leisure.” This remark by the writer Eça de Queirós serves to introduce one of the key observations of my work, that the theatre occupied a prominent place occupied in the sociability routines of several segments of Lisbon’s population, an issue that is extensively discussed in the second chapter of this thesis. The chapter concentrates on the study of theatrical life in Lisbon from 1865 to 1908, a period in which the processes of urban expansion were closely associated with paradigms of modernity as it was perceived at the time, producing new spaces in the urban fabric. Some of these spaces were directly connected with the emergence of a

11 Ramalho Ortigão and Eça de Queirós, As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes, (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1872), 53.
market for cultural goods (in which theatrical and musical activities are included), an important element for the understanding of the development of the entertainment sector undertaken by several entrepreneurs in the period this thesis studies.

In this process the notion of space is embedded in the mechanisms of consumption, as the work by Styre and Engberg on Benjamin’s Arcades attests. For them, in Paris during the Second Empire “consumption becomes an aesthetic experience; space and consumption are merged in the spatial practice producing spaces of consumption.”12 Drawing from this assertion, the spatialisation of consumption is a key feature for the study of the emergence of a new perspective on urban planning that strives to rationalise both public and private spaces in a way that emphasises the representational value of commodities through specific strategies of display. Therefore, “consumption is always spatial: it is based on the spatial-aesthetic arrangement, associations, and display of commodities in social space.”13

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

Furthermore, the aforementioned chapter concentrates on the study of the flowing dynamic associated with the in the presentation of unsubsidised types of theatrical spectacles in Lisbon, such as the operetta (and zarzuela) and the revista. In terms of operetta and zarzuela, most of the performances were associated with theatres that relied heavily on imported materials, depending on translations for the performance of plays that were able to communicate with their audience. For that purpose, French and Viennese operettas and Spanish zarzuelas were translated and musically adapted to suit both the company’s group of actors/singers and to maximise the impact of the

13 Styhre and Engberg, op. cit., 121.
libretto to a Portuguese-speaking audience. Conversely, the chapter examines several operettas authored by Portuguese composers and librettists, relating them to the emergent paradigm of the modern nation.

Subsequently, the chapter focuses on the establishment of the *revista* in Lisbon’s theatres, a genre whose plasticity allowed for the genre to rapidly incorporate the present (in terms of situations, characters, music, choreography and visual presentation) in its narratives, a key aspect in the hegemonic role played by this genre in the Portuguese entertainment market from the last decades of the nineteenth century to the 1960s. Furthermore, the *revista* included, absorbed and metabolised everyday life, translating it into a specific imaginary in which several of its tropes were recurrently revisited by the playwrights, encoding a set of conventions that were frequently presented in Lisbon’s theatres at the time. This recurrent imagery contributed to the creation and naturalisation of a “composite image” of Portuguese (mostly) urban society that can be associated with the concept of the modern symbolic nation. In this sense, popular entertainment can be understood as a prominent field for the dissemination of national (or nationalist) ideas.

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

The development of a transnational tendency for the establishment of an entertainment market centred in popular theatre genres is an interesting component for the study the period this thesis addresses. Hence, the process of creation of the “popular” at the time is an issue that stands conspicuously in the foreground of the discourse about cultural goods. The segmentation of spaces, repertoires, and audiences in Lisbon’s theatrical market points to the presence of a bipolarity between art (embodied by the operatic theatre and the public concert) and entertainment (predominantly associated with forms of spectacle perceived as “popular,” such as the revista). This bipolar segmentation of the market for cultural goods has been present in public discourse since, at least, the second half of the nineteenth century, and can be related with transnational processes of cultural legitimation of several social groups in a time when both the universe for these goods and the numbers of its intended consumers were in rapid expansion. This introduces the idea of the emergence of a field of popular culture in the nineteenth century, a space that can be closely associated with the rise of mass consumption of goods and with the rise of specific forms of entertainment in which theatre and music were embedded.

Furthermore, the study of the processes through which the vernacular is aestheticised (and commodified) is essential for the understanding of the emergence of the space in which popular culture operates. For example, the way “popular characters” were depicted in the naturalistic theatre performed in Lisbon’s theatres of that time can prove to be enlightening for the analysis of that process. Conversely, composers of operettas and revistas employed strategies in the creation of their plays that superimposed performative layers of heterogeneous elements that would refer to several and distinct symbolic universes (associated with specific social and aesthetic spaces and

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14 O Occidente, nº 458, 11th September 1891, 206.
practices of consumption), allowing for a composite image of modern Portugal to be crafted, performed, and naturalised.\textsuperscript{16}

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

Both operetta and \textit{revista} epitomise one of the major methodological issues that emerge with the study of this sort of repertoire: the nature of the sources. In these genres, most of the surviving sources (apart from a few specific collections) are printed materials associated with the shows, especially the \textit{coplas} and the printed sheet music of several extracts. Nevertheless, some musical and textual manuscripts concerning a few shows have been preserved, but this is not the norm in Portugal. These sorts of problems are inherent to the study of several ephemeral genres associated with the entertainment market of the time and demand a specific methodological approach that aims to reconstruct the symbolic and material universe in which these repertoires operated instead of attempting to recreate the totality of the spectacle. In that approach, the focus of research concentrated on the collections of the National Music Theatre (in Lisbon) and of the National Library of Portugal.

\textbf{Commodities, Technology and Everyday Life}

According to Scott, one of the reasons for the rapid circulation of popular repertoires during the nineteenth century (such as the waltz, black minstrelsy or the operetta) was

the presence of an “organized means of dissemination” and the fact that some music “became available in a commodity form designed for exchange” at the time.\textsuperscript{17} The discussion of both these issues, the presence of an articulated system for the dissemination of musical commodities and the role the commodity form played in that system, forms the core of the third and fourth chapters of this thesis. In his analysis of the Victorian era, Picker presents that period as being associated with the transformation of what was considered by the Romantics as a sublime experience “into a quantifiable and marketable object or thing, a sonic commodity, in the form of a printed work, a performance, or, ultimately, an audio recording.”\textsuperscript{18} My work aims to display the tendency presented by Picker in the coeval Portuguese context by examining the circulation of several commodities in Lisbon’s entertainment market. Moreover, this thesis strives to portray that phenomenon as a process in which aspects such as technology, class, and gender were embedded, a move that raises several methodological issues. For instance, a significant amount of the bibliography analysing this process has been mainly developed in Anglo-American contexts and its application to Portugal, a country with a distinct cultural fabric, proves to be highly problematic. Nevertheless, various aspects of that discussion appear to be present, in several degrees, in the coeval Portuguese context, an issue that is addressed in these chapters.

In the period covered by this thesis several goods were marketed as a complement to each other, pointing to the presence of an articulated entertainment system in which the same theatrical show (itself a cultural good) generated a set of associated commodities that extended the scope of that universe to the city’s streets as well as to domestic spaces, thus incorporating the musical theatre repertoire into various contexts of everyday life. In the context of this thesis, the process of commodification of music was essential for the dissemination of that repertoire be it in its libretto, sheet music or sound recording formats. In addition, theatrical performances generated goods (such as posters or postcards) that were mostly associated with the direct advertising strategies of their entrepreneurs. Chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis focus on the process through which these repertoires circulated, an ongoing trend operating in the transnational entertainment market of that time. This is a line of thought that has been recently developed in Portugal by me, Leonor Losa, and Gonçalo Oliveira, all of us

having published several case studies on the topic, albeit focusing on different historical contexts. Thus, my work contributes to the expansion of the current knowledge about the subject because its scale is much broader than the previously mentioned publications and concentrates on a distinct historical period. Furthermore, the period covered by this thesis encompasses the local encoding of theatrical genres such as the *revista*, the expansion of Lisbon’s entertainment market through the incorporation of popular theatre into the sociability routines of several segments of the city’s population, and the introduction of phonography in Portugal, a process that reshaped the musical market of the time.

The third chapter of the thesis examines the role played by domesticity and activities such as collecting as well as reproducing repertoires in the form of sheet music during late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Portugal, a crucial aspect in the development of the entertainment market of the time. The established link between musical repertoires and the privileged instrument for its reproduction, the piano, occupied a relevant place in the sociability process of various social segments of the population, condensing issues such as gender and class. If, on the one hand, the establishment of spaces in which genres such as the operetta and the *revista* were performed contributed to and reflected the expansion of theatregoing audiences, on the other hand, the trade in goods such as *coplas* or sheet music promoted the consumption of theatrical repertoires in domestic spaces and their associated contexts of sociability. Consequently, the circulation of repertoires through several media promoted the ubiquitous presence of theatrical music in everyday life. Furthermore, this aspect brings to the foregrounding of a complex dynamic between continuity and change of these repertoires. Although the same musical piece was performed in several environments, it had to be accommodated to its intended context, audience, and medium. This aspect emerges clearly when dealing with piano works based on theatrical melodies or when analysing the way phonography, especially in the period of the acoustic recording that this work addresses, introduced relevant changes to the sonic materials themselves.

This allows me to introduce the main focus of the fourth chapter of this thesis: the process of the commodification of music and its relation to the development of

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technologies for sound and music recording and reproduction, such as the phonograph, the gramophone, or the player piano. These innovations introduced relevant changes in Lisbon’s entertainment market of the time and pose interesting theoretical questions on the storage media and their specific materiality. Conversely, the positioning of these emergent media in a market that, at the time, relied mainly on local sheet music retailers and importers (many of them accumulating that role with the trade of musical instruments) is also a key aspect for the analysis of the dynamics associated with the production, reproduction, and dissemination of theatrical repertoires. Furthermore, the chapter concentrates on the introduction of mechanical music in the Portuguese market in its two main forms, mechanical instruments and phonography, and aims to discuss its cultural implications. At the time, the possibility of music reproduction, portrayed as an embodiment of modernity, helped to reconfigure domestic space and time around new technologies, such as the player piano or the gramophone, allowing for a redistribution of cultural capital in the emergent networks.

However, mechanical instruments and phonographic products occupy distinct spaces in the market for cultural goods of the time. According to Suisman, “if both the player-piano and phonograph were forms of inscription, they diverged in what they inscribed – and this divergence illuminates the complementary ways the two technologies contributed to the underlying constitution of modern society.” Thus, he places phonography as a capturing and conveying “a specific instance of musical labor (or other sound-making activity)” whilst mechanical instruments store “information and instructions on how to make music.” Moreover, the role mechanical instruments played in the reproduction and circulation of repertoires through several realms can be interpreted as an important feature in the entertainment market of the time. In his comparison of the piano player and the phonograph (two coeval innovations), Taylor argues that the former, a “seemingly less sophisticated technology provides a better site to address the question of the commodification of music.” This perspective is shared by Suisman, for whom “even more than the piano and the phonograph, it is the player-piano that best symbolizes the close relation between music machines and industrial

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21 Ibid.
manufacturing – and not just by homology.”

Although the cited bibliography concentrates on the player piano, my thesis also examines the role that instruments such as the barrel organ or the church bells played in the sociability rituals of everyday life, noting that the reconfiguration of Lisbon’s sonic everyday fabric through the introduction of mechanical instruments was not circumscribed to the domestic realm.

The development and dissemination of phonographic technologies during the period of this thesis added the issue the commodification of sound itself to this discussion and introduced relevant changes in the coeval market for cultural goods. The complex dialectic of the local and the global plays a constitutive role in the establishment of a phonographic market in Portugal during the first years of the twentieth century, where both local entrepreneurs and multinational companies developed their business. For instance, in the first decade of the twentieth century the main European recording companies (such as the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, associated with British-based The Gramophone Company, or the French-based Pathé) established stores in Portugal that traded exclusively on their own products. The implementation of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone in Portugal was accompanied by a significant investment in advertising in periodicals, an issue that is addressed in the first chapter of this thesis. For the study of this complex issue, namely the action of The Gramophone Company in Portugal between 1903 and 1908, I have consulted valuable primary sources belonging to the EMI Archives extant in the British Library, such as catalogues and recording sheets. Conversely, the implementation strategy of recording companies such as Beka, Dacapo, Parlophone, Homokord, and Odeon (that were progressively integrated the German group Lindström from 1908 onwards) was significantly different from the ones adopted by both Pathé and the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, and consisted in using previously established traders as local agents and their commercial venues as selling points. Moreover, due to the Portuguese dependance of imported goods and technicians, local traders were

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26 Losa, op. cit., 633 and Losa and Belchior, op. cit., 7.
motivated to establish a symbiotic relation with several foreign companies in order to record and publish their discs, thus creating their local catalogue.

Science, Alterity and Traditional Music

The last chapter of the thesis examines the development of a heterogeneous network of approaches and disciplines that were being established with scientific intents that contributed to the reshaping the coeval perspectives of Portugal as a symbolic nation-state. From the last third of the nineteenth century onwards the establishment of a broad field of studies, such as geography, geology, archaeology, ethnology, philology, and folklore studies played a key role in the process of establishing a notion of the Portuguese nation that was promoted as being solidly grounded in scientific data. For the study of this process, my thesis addresses the work of a heterogeneous constellation of individuals who drew on distinct epistemological frameworks (such as positivism, pre-evolutionary diffusionism, and evolutionism) in order to study specific aspects of vernacular culture throughout the period of this thesis. In the development of this endeavour there was a significant shift of the notion of popular culture during the period this thesis covers. The initial focus of the work of several notorious ethnologists were textual materials (such as folk tales), which may indicate the presence of a Romantic and Herderian concept of nationalism at the time, a paradigm that interacted with the positivist trends that were disseminated in Portugal from the 1870s onwards. Moreover, this approach tended to perceive popular culture as a trace of the past (portrayed within an ethnogenealogical perspective), and was mainly grounded in the capture of what was perceived as the “authentic tradition,” what was peculiar, picturesque, or unusual.27

However, the panorama of Portuguese anthropology underwent a significant change in the last decade of the nineteenth century, favouring a less textual approach to popular culture and expanding its scope beyond popular literature to include aspects such as art, architecture, technologies, and forms of economic and social life.28 Moreover, the rising interest in material culture that occurred towards the end of the nineteenth century was fundamental for the recognition of archaeology and ethnology as

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

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

\textsuperscript{29} Orvar Löfgren, “Scenes from a troubled marriage: Swedish ethnology and material culture studies”, \textit{Journal of Material Culture}, 2 (1997), 111.
\textsuperscript{30} Gonçalo Duro dos Santos, \textit{A escola de antropologia de Coimbra, 1885–1950} (Lisbon: Imprensa das Ciências Sociais, 2005), 77.
The last chapter of my thesis also analyses the study, collection and publication of music from predominantly rural contexts as a constitutive segment to the efforts of Portuguese ethnology of the time. However, when comparing the amount of attention given to song texts with the collections of music it is possible to argue that the latter was not a central element in the constitution of that field. Nevertheless, several works containing Portuguese traditional music that later became key sources for the study of that universe and for groups of ethnographic revivification were edited during the period this thesis concerns. My thesis examines these publications, focusing on and discussing the inherent politics of repertoire selection, transcription, and commercialisation. In this sense, it aims to pursue the pioneering work started in the 1980s by Salwa Castelo-Branco and Manuela Toscano on traditional Portuguese music. In a groundbreaking article published in 1988, Castelo-Branco and Toscano trace a historical panorama of the process of collecting and editing traditional music in Portugal, contributing to the establishment of a narrative about the establishment of ethnomusicology in Portugal.  

However, this thesis privileges a synchronic perspective of this phenomenon, comparing and integrating it in the domestic entertainment market of the time, alongside repertoires such as the songs drawn from the *revista*. This move can be sustained by the fact that most of the collections published in the period this thesis concerns consisted in tonal harmonisations of traditional music repertoires that shared the conventions associated with the edited sheet music formats, an issue that is further discussed in the third chapter of the thesis. Moreover, several traditional songs collected and published between 1865 and 1908 were recorded by the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, an occurrence that is symptomatic of the ambiguous status of the editions of traditional music of the time, objects that were situated in the interstitial space between the commodity forms of the entertainment market and the coeval and emergent ethnological scientific endeavour.

Due to the heterogeneity of the materials examined, my work draws on distinct methodologies and bodies of theory to address several points and reflects both the interdisciplinary approach that grounds it and the discontinuity and fragmentary nature

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

of establishing a symbolically efficient concept of the modern cultural nation-state in Portugal. To produce a comprehensive study of cultural spheres requires a transdisciplinary approach to the materials and their integration using a diverse array of types of sources and methodologies. In my work, I have privileged primary sources (archival, bibliographical, iconographic, and discographic) in order to study practices of production, mediation and consumption of cultural goods in the Portuguese society of the time. Moreover, these sources are approached as multiple traces of a fragmentary past that need to be interpreted and contextualised, avoiding a predominantly historicist reading that aims to vividly reconstruct a specific context in a continuous and coherent fashion. With this move, my thesis contributes to the critique of a modern and evolutionist perspective on history, a knowledge that tends to be presented as “a narrative of the victor who legitimizes his victory by presenting the previous development as the linear continuum leading to his own final triumph.”

This work aims to include the popular segments of Lisbon’s society in the discussion of various strategies associated with the promotion and development of the Portuguese nation state between 1865 and 1908. By focusing on popular repertoires, my thesis stresses cultural phenomena that were integrated in the everyday life of a significant number of individuals, many of them living in social spaces whose history remains yet to be written.

Technological innovations, aesthetic, political, and economic changes provide a fertile ground in which to analyse the reshaping of various established fields of cultural production into a symbiotically articulated system that produced a heterogeneous array of commodities that included several elements associated with the Portuguese nation. Moreover, these materials were progressively interwoven in the fabric of the everyday life of Lisbon’s population during the period my thesis concerns, creating an efficient symbolic order in which the modern nation-state operates. Hence, the development of a discourse of nation-building that focuses on the commonality of several factors (such as cultural or ethnic background) can be discussed as a key element for the grounding of the Portuguese nation in other institutions than the organisations associated with the Constitutional Monarchy, an operation that opened the space for the replacement of that political system by a regime inspired by the French Third Republic in 1910.

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Furthermore, the symbolic construction of Portugal during the period of this thesis is presented as a complex process in which several heterogeneous (and sometimes, incompatible) perspectives were articulated in a specific symbolic order that strove to attract the investment and promote the attachment of several sectors of the Portuguese society.

However, one of the dangers of this type of analysis can be the reduction of identity to its discursive form, a stance that is highly problematic because of its insufficiency in accounting for phenomena that escape both the mechanisms of creating an attachment to a specific symbolic order and the historicity of that identity, a process in which enjoyment plays a major role as the affective kernel of identification.\textsuperscript{35} Therefore, in the construction and presentation of a nation, the selection of national symbols had to be twofold: they must be efficient for the “people” to attach to them through a kernel of enjoyment and they must be open enough to contain ambiguity and to be continuously re-encoded in order to achieve that efficiency.\textsuperscript{36} Consequently, one of the main contributions of this thesis is the analysis of several sectors of the market of cultural goods of the time, especially of popular music theatre, as part of an operation that aimed to naturalise the symbolic order of the Portuguese nation through entertainment, a strategy that can be associated with the promotion of personal investment in the process of identification and construction of a collective identity.\textsuperscript{37}


\textsuperscript{37} Stavrakakis and Chrysoloras, \textit{op. cit.}. 21
Chapter 1. Periodicals, Music and Society in Portugal from 1820 to 1908

Introduction

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

Another aspect this chapter will address is the specific legislation regarding the press during this period. The legal framework in which journalists operated is essential to understand the process of creating a public opinion. One general trait of this sort of document is its tendency to establish boundaries, an extremely relevant characteristic for the understanding of the context of their promulgation. However, hermeneutic analysis of these texts (promoted by some historiographical empiricist methodologies) can be misleading, since they require also the study of practices and conventions during the period in which they were enacted as a complementary analytical tool. Taking for granted the idea that a body of legislation mirrors practice is problematic because of the relevance of specific (i.e. geographic and chronological) interpretations for the enforcement of legislation. This can be perceived in the first years of Cabralismo (the

political period from 1842 to 1846), during which there was a tightening of limitations to the freedom of the press on the ground, albeit not accompanied by a substantial change in legislation.

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

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

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2 Jurgen Habermas, *op. cit.*
between both these aspects (the conceptual and the material) approached from a perspective indebted to cultural materialism.  

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

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

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broader social field. In a context that relied on the written press to communicate and disseminate representations and symbols of reality, the study of the journalistic field as a privileged social constructor of reality is paramount.

The journalistic field demonstrates its own logic and relation of forces. One the one hand, periodicals and their journalists accumulated symbolic capital, a process inherent to their constitutive presence in the public sphere, which encourages a particular kind of consumption rite (a *habitus*) among their readers. On the other hand, this consumption rite is connected to a delimitation of universes of discourse and to a segmentation of the public. So, most political newspapers constructed contents that appealed to and reflected the lifestyle of the higher social strata. The manipulation of the process of encoding information within a specific discursive universe is associated with the dissemination of a hierarchy of meanings. This essentially reproduces the hegemonic discourse of a particular socio-political cultural formation. However, due to the relative fluidity and the absence of any real “administration” of the process of decoding, an important space for the attribution of meanings by the receivers (who enact a relative vis-à-vis the never-achieved monopoly of meanings promoted by the encoders), still remains.

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

The systematisation of reality through a metonymic process of representation, in which particular elements are selected to represent the whole, is embedded in an

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18 Ibid.
inherent logic of power reproduction and circulation. Consequently, power relations play an important role in the working of a discursive network.\textsuperscript{20} The translation of several kinds of capital into symbolic capital via the press is what is at stake here. It points to the circulation of power in the representation strategies promoted by periodicals.\textsuperscript{21} Conversely, there was an important shift in the Portuguese public sphere in the last third of the nineteenth century. If the monopoly of the representations in the public space until then was concentrated in privileged and literate social groups, the emergence of a workers press during this period evidences the entry of lower social strata into the public sphere. This expansion of the public sphere can be explained by the extension of literacy amongst workers, the increase of labour associations and the existence of a demand for the emergence of a specific new target audience (and thus a new market) in the Portuguese press. The establishment of a representational system of workers by workers is a qualitative addition to the cultural sphere. On the one hand, literate workers published articles concerning their specific issues in their own terms, representing a symbolically constructed working class. On the other hand, their newspaper formats and the discourse style were similar to those associated to the upper social segments. To achieve respectability, the workers’ press tended to emulate widely read newspapers mixing a specific content with a journalistic jargon well established in the last third of the nineteenth-century.

One of the most relevant aspects for the study of the Portuguese press is the coexistence of more than one professional role in the same individual (who could simultaneously act as journalist, writer or politician). What is striking about liberalism in Portugal is the significant increase of newspapers focusing in particular on political subjects, and this is connected to the creation of a parliamentary system and the establishment of a relatively free press. Furthermore, these events created a sphere for discussion that was much limited in earlier periods. Until the stabilisation of the political system after the \textit{Regeneração} (1851), most of the press legislation focused on political newspapers (that acted as influential agents in the political and economical fields).\textsuperscript{22} The primarily political newspaper (that also contained sections about subjects

\begin{itemize}
\itemBourdieu, \textit{Language and Symbolic Power} (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).
\itemJosé Miguel Sardica, “A vida partidária portuguesa nos primeiros anos da Regeneração”, \textit{Análise social}, 32/143-144 (1997), 747–777.
\end{itemize}
such as music, theatre, literature and an advertising section) was the most commonplace form in which the printed press was consumed for an important sector of society. In terms of agency, nation-wide newspapers such as *A Revolução de Setembro* (established in 1840) and *O comércio do Porto* (established in 1854) relied on a small number of journalists but maintained a wider network of content providers for their issues.

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

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

In late 1864, the establishment of the *Diário de notícias* (the first generalist periodical published through a mechanised industrial process) clearly changed the Portuguese journalistic field. Tengarrinha connects the establishment of the *Diário de notícias* (first published on the 29th December 1864) with the start of the industrial phase of the Portuguese press.²⁴ The use of steam-powered printing presses contributed to increased production, therefore facilitating a larger profit margin for its proprietors while using the

²³ Sardica, op. cit.
²⁴José Tengarrinha, “A fase industrial da imprensa”, *História da imprensa periódica portuguesa* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1989), 213–263. In the period this thesis concerns several relevant studies and inventories about the periodical press in Portugal and its colonies were published, such as Brito Aranha, *Subsídios para a história do jornalismo nas províncias ultramarinas portuguezas* (Lisbon: Imp. Nacional, 1885); Aranha et al., *Rapport de la Section Portugaise, 1er Congrès International de la Presse, Anvers* (Lisbon: Imprimerie Universelle, 1894); Aranha, *Mouvement de la presse périodique en Portugal de 1894 a 1899* (Lisbon: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900); Bento Carqueja, *A liberdade de imprensa* (Porto, Typographia do “Commercio do Porto”, 1893).
same printing matrix. As a consequence of both the interaction between technological change and the expansion of a market for news, the *Diário de notícias* became the foremost national newspaper of that period.

This process encloses a complex set of sociocultural dynamics. First, the mechanised and industrialised process of production allowed for the *Diário de notícias* to be sold at a much lower price than other national newspapers. Consequently, this was translated into lower costs for publishing advertisements in the newspaper and encouraged the widening of the reading public.\(^{25}\) The establishment of a network of direct sellers, the *ardinhas* (paperboys), whose cries were woven into the sound fabric of the city, was also important to the expansion of the newspaper’s distribution.\(^{26}\) Later in the century, the introduction of the rotating printing press (in 1890) and of the mechanical composition (in 1896) by this newspaper were key moments in the industrialisation of the Portuguese press more broadly.\(^{27}\) Another relevant change is clearly stated in the periodical’s title. *Diário de notícias* (literally “Daily of News” or “News Daily”) concentrated on narrating facts, so its focus on informative matters rather than commentaries and its political neutrality contrasted with a sphere mostly consisting of political newspapers. This ideological strive for ‘neutrality’ and ‘objectivity’ is deeply connected to the expansion of *Diário de notícias*’s market and was a crucial aspect emphasised by its first director, Eduardo Coelho (1835–89) in the early editions of the newspaper.\(^{28}\)

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

\(^{25}\) Tengarrinha,”*A fase industrial da imprensa*”, 222.

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


positivism constitutes a good example), with the myth of the apolitical as a conveyer of unbiased information, the “brute facts.”

The legitimation of a newspaper based upon its apparent neutrality and objectivity while being embedded in a free market ideology can be problematic. According to Bourdieu, the journalistic field tends to privilege the positioning of agents and institutions that are closely bound to the market, so that, in the public sphere, wide consumption confers democratic legitimacy to commercial logic, devaluing specific knowledge produced by specialist areas and undermining the autonomy of the different fields of cultural production. Conversely, several social sectors (such as the bourgeoisie) relied on a climate of political calm to develop their business and to prosper, an element that can frame the power of the newspapers in presenting a certain version of reality to its readers.

The Emergence of a Theatrical Press

The emergence of a segment of the press focused primarily on theatrical activity is an important area in the study of cultural representations in the Portuguese public sphere. Most of this press during the whole of the nineteenth century was episodic and short-lived. On the one hand, several daily newspapers published articles on theatrical activity (including opera) in their serials. On the other hand, this typology of periodical remains an important source for historiographical research. One of the most enduring efforts in publishing this type of magazine was *Chronica dos teatros*. This periodical was established in September 1861 with an issue twice a month. Its central journalist was the same Eduardo Coelho who, with Tomás Quintino Antunes, established and directed *Diário de notícias* from 1864 to 1886. Coelho was responsible for the publication until its last number, published in July 1880, showing that journalists at the time accumulated roles in several periodicals of different publication frequency and subject matter.

The main focus of these periodicals was on reviewing and discussing the theatrical scene in its broadest sense, evaluating aspects such as specific performances, managerial strategies or literary texts. In the volatility of the Portuguese market for

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theatrical periodicals there were several publications, such as *Album theatrical*, that focused on printing theatrical plays to be represented in domestic or voluntary societies’ settings. The promotion of amateur theatrical practice is an essential aspect in the circuits of sociability of several segments of society and in understanding the interchange between professional and amateur fields of cultural production during late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The understanding of the accumulation of roles in the journalistic, literary and theatrical field is essential for the interpretation of the dynamics of the production of texts in the Portuguese cultural market. Several journalists were also recurrent playwrights, especially for the popular entertainment theatre, focused mainly on both of its predominant genres: *revista* and operetta. For example, Eduardo Coelho wrote the *revista A sombra de 1859*, premièred at Teatro da Rua dos Condes in 1860. *Revista* is the translation of the French *Revue*, a theatrical genre that presented sequential sketches linked by the role of the *compère* (an actor/commentator that was responsible for the continuity of the play). It included dialogue, song, dance and instrumental music. Initially inspired by the *Revue de fin d’anée*, a seasonal theatrical genre in which past year events were satirically revised, it soon established itself as the yearlong and foremost genre in the Portuguese theatrical scene. One of the most successful promoters and impresarios of the genre in Portugal was António de Sousa Bastos (1844–1911). Bastos was the impresario of several theatres and companies in Portugal and Brazil, dominating the theatrical market in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Apart from those activities, he wrote and translated several plays, published a dictionary of Portuguese theatre and was a renowned journalist, especially in theatrical periodicals, such as *O palco: hebdomário theatrical* (that himself directed, 1863), *A arte dramática: folha instructiva, critica, e noticiosa* (1875–78) and *Tim tim por tim tim: assumptos theatrais* (1889–93).

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32 Published in Lisbon, 1872.
33 According to Tengarrinha, the first periodicals publishing theatrical plays in Portugal were established in the second half of the eighteenth century and were connected to the rise of a salon culture in the late Ancien Régime. Nevertheless, the cultural settings where this practice took place in the late nineteenth-century (regarding both the press and the theatre) were distinct. See Tengarrinha, *História da imprensa periódica portuguesa*, 52.
This interpenetration of spheres is a common cultural process in Lisbon during the entire time-span of this thesis. Individuals such as Eduardo Schwalbach (1860–1946), Luís Galhardo (1874–1929), André Brun (1881–1926) or Artur Arriegas (1883–1924) contributed to the dynamics that operated in the musical theatre field (especially revista and operetta) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Schwalbach worked as a journalist for several newspapers, such as Diário da manhã (1876–84), Diário ilustrado (1872–1911), having established A tarde (1889–1905). Of German descent, Schwalbach was also a playwright, becoming the foremost author for revista in the transition between the two centuries. His other activities also included the translation of several plays and the role of inspector of the Conservatório Real de Lisboa (from 1896 to his retirement), Portugal’s state school for the teaching of music, drama and dance.

Another relevant aspect of the early twentieth century is the presentation of specific fado narratives in the theatrical sphere, based on a process of aesthetisation of the vernacular. The writer and journalist Júlio Dantas (1876–1962) wrote the drama A Severa, premièred at the Teatro D. Amélia in the 25th January 1901. The plot was a fictional reconstruction of the nineteenth-century Mouraria district involving the first narrative myth in fado: the relationship between Maria Severa (played in the première by the actress Ângela Pinto) and Conde de Vimioso (the Count of Vimioso, renamed in Dantas’ play as Conde de Marialva and performed by the actor Augusto Rosa). Later, Dantas converted it into a novel, which was published in the same year. In order to convey a more realist narrative, Dantas builds his story using linguistic traits characteristic of popular segments of society, stylising their jargon as a way of constructing the Other within national boundaries. This metonymic appropriation of the vernacular by writers can be associated with two aspects concerning the artistic production of that time. First, it was connected to the rise of a realistic-type aesthetics, in which the vernacular played a key role. This view facilitated the ideological manoeuvre of attributing respectability to the vernacular by its incorporation into a “respectable” cultural market. Nevertheless, that incorporation and legitimisation was

38 Luiz Francisco Rebello, op. cit., 111.
39 Júlio Dantas, A Severa: drama em quatro actos (Lisbon: M. Gomes, 1901).
40 Júlio Dantas, A Severa: romance original (Lisbon: Francisco Pastor, 1901).
41 See, for example, the literary works of Fialho d’Almeida and of Raúl Brandão or some paintings of José Malhoa.
based on an aestheticising process of selection, processing the vernacular and transforming it into a suitable entertainment for the consumers of those commodities.

Although most of his publications regarding fado fall in the second decade of the twentieth century, Artur Arriegas was already a successful playwright in the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries. He was an active republican that contributed to the promotion of fado in the public sphere, especially in his contributions to several periodicals, such as *A canção de Portugal - o Fado* (established in 1916) and *O faduncho* (established in 1917), and in writing several books about the genre, one of which was published in 1907. The book *A canção da minha terra: fados* included a preamble by the playwright D. João da Câmara (1852–1908) in which he stated the relevance of the urban space as a *topos* for poetry. The book included several poems in *quadra glosada em décimas*, a poetic form frequently used in fado. This form consists of a four-line *mote* followed by four ten-line stanzas in which a specific relation between the *mote* and the *glosas* is established – for example, the third ten-line stanza ends with the third line of the *mote*. Most of the poems focus on love-related themes, but “O caçador” (The Hunter) presents social critique, reflecting Arriegas’ republican views.

**Illustration, Media and the Public Sphere**

In the early 1840s, several periodicals began to include illustrations through the process of woodblock engraving. Some of the most notorious illustrated periodicals were: *Illustrated London News* (London, established in 1842), *L’Illustration* (Paris, 1843–1944), *Illustrierte Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1843–1940) and *Harper’s Weekly* (New York, 1857–1916). This modification happened in Portugal during the last third of the nineteenth century. Until that time, most newspapers only published rudimentary illustrations, mostly in the advertising section. With the dissemination of techniques for the reproduction of images, several magazines which emphasised illustration were established in Portugal, such as *A ilustração portuguesa: revista litterária e artística* (1884–90), *O Occidente: revista illustrada de Portugal e do estrangeiro* (1878–1909) or


O António Maria (1879–98). In a similar fashion, several newspapers published illustrations, such as Diário ilustrado (1872–1911), but usually more space allocated to illustration was available in the aforementioned magazines.

The creation of a growing market for illustrated periodicals marks an expansion in the text-based public sphere by incorporating analogue images in a digital universe.\(^\text{45}\) When discussing photography, Roland Barthes remarked “the image is not the reality but at least it is its perfect analogon.”\(^\text{46}\) Conversely, authors depict language as a digital code that translates reality into a system of signification.\(^\text{47}\) Hence, the process of including illustrations (although not yet photographic images) in the newspapers stresses the ideological presentation of reality through the press. With the development of techniques for the reproduction of illustration, the public sphere tends to iconisation. As Kittler has noted, technology can be an agent for changing our perception of the world.\(^\text{48}\) Although he focused on the change of the discourse networks from 1800 to 1900, due to the development of recording technologies (that substitute the human nervous system) and writing technologies (such as the typewriter),\(^\text{49}\) Kittler pays little attention to the change between text- and image-based communicative processes. In the process of creating a symbolic order that demands voluntary attachment, an iconographic shift marks an important change in the relationship between symbol and receiver. On the one hand, it promotes a specific type of proximity between distant entities. On the other hand, it may increase the distance between them by reinforcing the aura of the symbol: “the aura opens up distance only the more effectively to insinuate intimacy.”\(^\text{50}\) These processes occur in parallel motion, creating an ambivalent relationship towards the symbolic order, whose ambiguous boundaries can be explored in order to maximise symbolic efficiency.\(^\text{51}\) The relationship distance/proximity in the public sphere is crucial for understanding the circulation of meanings and the crystallisation of specific hierarchies.

The illustrated press in this period was extremely relevant in creating a national graphic space. For instance, the magazine O Ocidente frequently published illustrations


\(^{47}\) Barthes, “Rhetoric of the image”, in Barthes, *op. cit.*, 41.


of several Portuguese sites and monuments as well as colonial landscapes. The representation of colonial aspects is widely connected to new scientific and political paradigms regarding the emergence of a public awareness of the empire. As in other European countries, the creation of the Sociedade de Geografia (Geographic Society, established in 1875) and the promotion of expeditions to the interior of Africa, at a time when European colonial powers were enforcing a new perspective on colonialism, was central for the incorporation of colonial ideology in the public sphere through the press. Another important aspect regarding the encounter with the Other is the development of the social sciences, especially anthropology and sociology. In late 1880, the ninth edition of the International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology was held in Lisbon and its proceedings were extensively covered by *O Ocidente*. Moreover, several participants of that congress were caricatured in the satyrical press of the time, especially in the 30 September 1880 issue of *O António Maria*.

One specific case regarding the representation of the Portuguese African colonies in the periodical press of the time was the publishing of an extensive reportage (a new genre of article to emerge in the press during this period, alongside the interview) of the cartographic expedition from Benguela (coastal Angola) to the interior of the continent conducted by the Navy officers Hermenegildo Capelo (1841–1917) and Roberto Ivens (1850–98). This expedition took place in 1877–80 and was widely documented in the magazine *O Ocidente*, that published several illustrations of the journey. An illustration of two African women, for example, was based on a photograph taken by the explorers. This means the use of a new kind of media for the visual documentation of events. Nevertheless, at the time, all illustrations had to be

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

56 *O António Maria*, nº 70 (30th September 1880).

engraved in order to be printed in a periodical.\textsuperscript{58} So, most of them are still the result of an engraver’s work based on a drawing or photography.

Another example of how colonial attitudes were promoted and embedded in the public sphere as some sort of “natural” event (an issue that will be addressed in the fifth chapter of this thesis) can be seen in a specific issue of \textit{O Ocidente}. In that publication, there is the cover image of the Pinhal de Leiria under the title “Picturesque Portugal”, several illustrations regarding the news such as the floods of the Douro River or the cross of D. Sancho I and a reproduction of a painting by a Portuguese artist.\textsuperscript{59} These illustrations were clearly related to the merging of natural landscape and historical elements in the construction of Portuguese heritage, a central aspect for the creation of a symbolic nation. In the same issue an image of the Town Council of S. Vicente, in Cape-Verde, was also printed.\textsuperscript{60} Moreover, the presence of the empire is evidenced by the portraying of administrative buildings in the colonies on the same page as a review of the book \textit{A raça negra, sob o ponto de vista da civilização da África} (The Black Race Through the Point of View of the Civilisation of Africa) was published.\textsuperscript{61} That book was written by António Francisco Nogueira and takes anthropometric, ethnological, and historiographical data in order to understand the civilising process of the black man in the Portuguese colony of Angola, a phenomenon that can be analysed as an incorporation of the colonialist ideology and its promotion in relation to the Other.\textsuperscript{62}

In the process of the depiction of colonial aspects, avoiding violence other than symbolic violence remained a key issue, which promoted the incorporation of colonialism into the symbolic order of both the coloniser and the colonised.\textsuperscript{63} It is thus possible to connect the colonial mentality with the creation of a symbolic nation because “probably the construction of an Other in the colonial world was part of the process of constructing the Same in the homeland.”\textsuperscript{64} At this time, the symbolic encoding of Portugal as a nation was deeply connected to two geographic and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{58} Gervais, \textit{op. cit.}, 99–100.
\item \textsuperscript{59} \textit{O Ocidente}, nº 78, 21\textsuperscript{a} February, 1881.
\item \textsuperscript{60} \textit{Ibid.}, 48.
\item \textsuperscript{61} \textit{Ibid.}
\item \textsuperscript{62} António Francisco Nogueira, \textit{A raça negra sob o ponto de vista da civilização da África: usos e costumes de alguns povos gentílicos do interior de Mossamedes e as colonias portuguezas} (Lisbon: Typ. Nova Minerva, 1880).
\item \textsuperscript{64} Miguel Vale de Almeida, “Anthropology and ethnography of the Portuguese-speaking empire” in Prem Poddar, Rajeev S. Patke and Lars Jensen \textit{A Historical Companion to Postcolonial Literature. Continental Europe and its Empires} (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 435–439.
\end{itemize}
ideological axes: the transnational ideology embedded in nationalism and the emergence of a symbolically effective colonialist ideology in the late nineteenth century. On the one hand, Portugal was immersed in the transnational process of establishing nations throughout Europe and the Americas (the symbolic construction of the Same in its Western world). On the other hand, colonialism played a major role in the external relations of Portugal and in its integration in a worldwide political and economic order as well in defining the geographical and symbolic boundaries of the nation. In this way, the “construction of an Other in the colonial world” and the construction of “the Same in the homeland” were two sides of the same coin.

Media and National(ist) Celebration

One central event for the construction of the Same in the homeland was the 1880 celebration of the tricentennial of Luís de Camões’ death. The mythical construction of a nostalgic past based on metonymic selection of aspects regarding a specific golden era for Portugal (the Expansion) will crystallise a populist discourse which will be frequently revisited and re-encoded throughout Portuguese history.65 The celebration of this particular event established itself as a model that other civic gatherings should aspire to. The creation of celebrations regarding national signifiers of the cultural realm as part of civic rituals plays an important role in performing nationality.66 In France, the centennials of the deaths of Rousseau and Voltaire (in 1878) were celebrated as national festivities in a time when the recently established Third Republic was positioning itself as the ideological successor of the First Republic.67

In Portugal, a committee of several men of letters connected to the journalistic field organised the celebrations that culminated in a “civic procession” on 10th June 1880. The committee included Teófilo Braga (philologist and ethnologist who developed a political career as a republican, becoming president of the provisional government after the establishment of the Portuguese Republic in 1910 and President of the Portuguese Republic in 1915, 1843–1924), Ramalho Ortigão (writer and journalist, 1836–1915), Eduardo Coelho (director of Diário de notícias), Luciano Cordeiro

(journalist and politician, 1844–1900), Jaime Batalha Reis (agronomist, journalist and writer, 1847–1925), or Sebastião Magalhães Lima (journalist, 1851–1928). Several of the aforementioned agents were, at the time, associated with the emergent republican movement, an aspect that Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro (1846–1905) caricatured in his periodical *O António Maria* by depicting Camões wearing a Phrygian cap.\(^6^8\) That celebration extended to other Portuguese cities, such as Coimbra or Porto and, on that day, the magazine *O Ocidente* issued a supplement focused exclusively on this anniversary.\(^6^9\) The same publication presented the celebration as a civic and patriotic work that could wake the Portuguese public spirit and make the people understand modern social ideals.\(^7^0\)

Two years later, Ramalho Ortigão evaluated the outcome of the celebrations in his periodical *As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes*.\(^7^1\) *As farpas* were a monthly periodical written by Ramalho Ortigão and Eça de Queirós (1845–1900) that established itself as one of the foremost commentators of Portuguese public life since its first edition in 1871. These two writers were of tremendous relevance for the Portuguese press. Both of them wrote extensively in periodicals and their novel *O mistério da estrada de Sintra* was first published as a series of anonymous letters to *Diário de notícias* (as a serial in the form of an epistolary novel) from July to September 1870. This marks an important symbolic event in the dissemination of naturalistic aesthetic paradigms by the so-called *Geração de 70*.\(^7^2\) In his text about the Camões celebration, Ortigão analyses the outcome of the entire process and manifests his dissatisfaction with it. He links the celebrations to the creation of reformist trends within the monarchy’s institutional framework, encapsulated in an idea of progress to which the press (in its broadest terms) and the associative movement should contribute.\(^7^3\)

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\(^6^8\) *O António Maria*, nº 55, 17th June 1880, 197.  
\(^6^9\) *O Ocidente*, Suplemento ao nº 59, 10th June 1880.  
\(^7^0\) *Ibid.*, nº 63, 1st August 1880, 125.  
\(^7^2\) Nevertheless, the dissemination of naturalism in Portugal was a complicated issue that involved geographical, chronological and ideological processes associated with the aesthetic dialectic relation between romanticism and naturalism, such as the so-called “Questão Coimbrã” illustrates. Later on, the periodical press also reflected the emergence of *fin-de-siècle* aesthetic movements, such as symbolism or decadentism. See, for example, *O António Maria*, 13th May 1892, 451.  
\(^7^3\) Ortigão and Queirós, *Ibid.*
However, preceding the cited text in *As farpas*, Ortigão reflects on Portugal as a nation.\(^{74}\) He states that nationality should be bound by one coherent national idea and does not find it in Portugal during that time. Ortigão then analyses the four aspects he believes to be constitutive of the “collective mentality” of a people: religion, politics, morals and art.\(^{75}\) Ortigão also argues that the Camões celebrations were promoted in order to provide a national symbol to unite an incoherent society.\(^{76}\)

Another important aspect of *As farpas* is its satirical content. Satire played an important role in the Portuguese press throughout the nineteenth century. Starting in the 70s, the publication of *As farpas* and several periodicals focused particularly on caricatures and this changed the press panorama in Portugal. In a period of relative political stability and freedom of press, the iconisation of the public sphere was also extended to satirical publications. The work of Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro, especially in his weekly publication *O António Maria* (1879–85 and 1891–98) contributed tremendously to this change, encoding in a satirical way some of the mythological imagery associated with Portugal during the period of its publication.\(^{77}\) Apart from his own publications (such as, *Pontos nos ii*, 1885–91 or *A paródia*, 1900–07 – the last of which incorporated colour in its pages), Bordalo published his graphic work in other periodicals, illustrated several books and was an acknowledged ceramicist, establishing a ceramic factory in Caldas da Rainha in 1884. Furthermore, he was an amateur actor and was closely involved in the design of costumes for several theatrical productions.

**Voicing the Workers Through the Press**

As intimated earlier in this chapter, the rise of a workers’ press in the Portugal of the last third of the nineteenth century is a phenomenon that profoundly reconfigured the journalistic field.\(^{78}\) The emergence of a new public sphere that parallels the bourgeois...
public sphere and relies on analogous mechanisms for the support of specific systems of values promotes an expansion of the journalistic field and a shift in the discursive universe. Nevertheless, the term “workers’ press” appears problematic and its boundaries have proven difficult to establish. This specific sphere is constituted by a heterogeneous set of publications, such as newspapers, magazines or leaflets, promoted by agents positioned in various social settings. This raises the issue of demarcating boundaries between periodicals exclusively published by workers, periodicals promoted by other agents in the social fabric (such as Catholic bourgeois) and their intended readership. Although boundaries in this sub-field are blurred during this time given the operative organic nature of the field, the rise of the workers’ press implies a substantial transformation of the journalistic field. This emergence is related to the establishment of a co-operative movement in Portugal during the last third of the nineteenth century (attested by the first legislation regarding this phenomenon, a foundational law aimed specifically for co-operative societies) and to the expansion of mutualism. The latter developed as an organisational practice in order to replace ancien régime confraternities of workers (such as guilds) and represented an important transformation in the political economy of labour. Despite its existence since 1839, the first legislation specifically focused on mutual assistance societies was produced in 1891.79 The focus on legislation to demonstrate the rise of co-operative and mutualist phenomena should not be interpreted through a simple causal chain, but the production of particular legislation is connected to a change and expansion of that universe, in need of regulation that accounts for its own specific issues.

Setting the boundaries for a workers’ press by focusing on the agency of publishing can also be problematic. Coexisting with periodicals written by and for workers (such as the official newspapers of workers societies), several publications aiming at working-class readership were edited by a heterogeneous array of individuals belonging to different social spheres. Theorising class raises important issues regarding the ever-changing dynamics of social space and the internalisation of practices. One of the theories of class most prominent is this research was developed by Pierre Bourdieu who expanded the Marxian definition of class, in which the term is exclusively delimited by the role a specific group develops within the processes of production.80

79 Laura Larcher Graça, Propriedade e agricultura: evolução do modelo dominante de sindicalismo agrário em Portugal (Lisbon: Conselho Económico e Social, 1999), 15, 27.
his article, Bourdieu stresses the relevance of relationships as opposed to substantiality, emphasising the constructive process of “class” as concept. Furthermore, the focus of the multidimensionality of social space and the role of symbolic power within it proves to be a valuable contribution for this study. Conversely, the relation of that social space with other social spaces is also central for this research, which will approach the issue of class through its framing as a floating signifier.\(^81\) Two key aspects in Bourdieu’s theorising of class are the concepts of field (described earlier) and *habitus*. Bearing in mind his implicit acknowledgement of homophily as the predominant network relation, class can be analysed as a field, in which “shared dispositions result from the internalization of shared conditions of existence, which Bourdieu presents as shared relations to the different forms of capital, but which also implies homophilous social networks.”\(^82\) The predominance of homophily in network relations can be traced back to Bourdieu’s ethnological work, in which he points out the role of the homogeneous mode of production of the *habitus* in the uniformisation of the dispositions and interests of a social group.\(^83\) Hence, homophily implicitly stands, in Bourdieu’s thought, as the basis for commonality, the element that plays the predominant role in the genesis of groups.\(^84\)

“Bourdieu’s theory of subject formation focuses on the internalization and embodiment of hierarchical social relations, and the ways in which socialized individuals actively reproduce those social relations.”\(^85\) Furthermore, Bourdieu described *habitus* as “systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures.”\(^86\) Thus, his concept of *habitus* parallels Lacan’s idea of the incorporation into the symbolic order and Bourdieu’s idea of symbolic capital relates to the presence of the symbolic order in Lacan.\(^87\) Furthermore, for both theorists, recognition and misrecognition stand as the kernel of social interaction. For Bourdieu, “symbolic capital is a credit; it is the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose

\(^{82}\) Wendy Bottero, “Relationality and social interaction”, *The British Journal of Sociology* 60/2 (2009), 414.
\(^{84}\) Bourdieu, “The social space and the genesis of groups”, *Theory and Society*, 14/6 (1985), 723–744.
\(^{86}\) Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 72.
\(^{87}\) For a discussion regarding the problematic interaction between Bourdieu’s and Lacan’s theories see George Steinmetz, *op. cit.*
recognition.” and “symbolic efficacy depends on the degree to which the vision proposed is founded in reality.”

On the other hand, for Lacan, the realm of the Symbolic is where the Ego-Ideal is situated: “the point of my symbolic identification, the point in the big Other from which I observe (and judge) myself.”

However, in linking reality with the symbolic order, the Lacanian thinker Slavoj Žižek states the separation of Symbolic and Real cannot be overcome because the Symbolic is that ontological barrier.

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

The symbolic efficiency of a broad concept such as class relies upon its possibility to change and enclose new meanings that promote the attachment of the individuals to that specific idea. That attachment is enacted through a surplus of meaning, stressing the communicative aspects of identity. Moreover, for Lacan “the subject’s identity is based on a failed interpellation. There is an excess or surplus of
meaning produced by this failed encounter with the symbolic – a radical void between
the identity and meaning, which the subject inhabits."95 The idea of class as a floating
signifier relates to several semantic shifts regarding the titles of workers’ publications
throughout the period of this study. For example, the term “artist” (artista) was
frequently included in newspaper titles during most of the nineteenth century.
Afterwards, the titles incorporated terms such as “worker” (operário), frequently used
in the second half of that century, and “proletarian”, a more frequent move towards the
end of the century.96 So, in this case, changes of vocabulary are deeply connected to the
reconfiguration of social space, enhancing their symbolic efficiency. Dealing with a
broad concept such as class, that encompasses a world-view, the signifier remains
unchanged while its meanings are constantly re-encoded by social actors.

By stressing the constructed and relational characters of class, Bourdieu portrays
it as a heterogeneous collective that is grouped around several discursive elements.97
This discursive approach allows for internal agency in the definition of the social space,
as outlined, for example, in the work of E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English
Working Class.98 In this respect, class substantiates a complex concept based in both
material conditions and discursive practices. Furthermore, material conditions are often
used to legitimate a discursive homogenising practice in order to promote a constructed
“class consciousness.” For example, Raymond Williams situates the development of a
language of class, in the English context, during the early nineteenth century, pointing to
the reorganisation of society after the Industrial Revolution.99 Nevertheless, he related
the term class to two different entities: an economic category and an ideological
formation, emphasising the unclear distinction among the “variable meanings of
class.”100

The process involved in the homogenisation of a heterogeneous segment of
social space can be described as hegemony through metonymic appropriation of floating
signifiers, a process that will be explained further along. In this particular case, there are
two hegemonic processes operating: external hegemony and internal hegemony.
According to Gramsci, hegemony is a dynamic process that parallels political

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95 Saul Newman, Power and Politics in Poststructuralist Thought (NY: Routledge, 2005), 57.
96 Vítor de Sá, “Problemas e perspectivas num inventário da imprensa operária portuguesa”, Análise
100 Ibid., 68.
domination in the sphere of civil society. Building on this concept, Laclau and Mouffe have argued that “social objectivity is constructed through acts of power” and they present hegemony as, precisely, the mutual collapse between objectivity and power. Furthermore, Laclau and Mouffe theorised a non-essentialist view of hegemony, contributing to the flexibilisation of its usage to a realm in which power “should not be conceived as an external relation taking place between two preconstituted identities [thus associated with the Kautskian dichotomy between the working class and the bourgeoisie, for example], but rather as constituting the identities themselves.” For example, the dialectic regarding the negotiation of discourses between the rulers and the other social strata can be seen as the classic Gramscian approach to the process of hegemony. Conversely, the construction of a social objectivity within the class is also obtained through a hegemonic process (therefore, an act of power) that strives to incorporate of discursive formations in the habitus of a specific social space. Furthermore, it can be argued that, in both cases, the sharing of meanings is an articulated ideological process based on strategies of distinction. One appropriate example of the type of internal hegemonic processes connected to the construction of the working class is the frequent publication of moralistic texts in workers newspapers, promoting an ethic that strove for social respectability. Despite the mutability embedded in the dynamic workers’ movement, the common ground in the universe of workers periodicals seems to be the pre-eminence of links to class collectives (associations or unions, for example) and the ongoing process of indoctrination through reading.

103 Laclau and Mouffe, op. cit., 23.
104 Mouffe, op. cit., 99.
The main geographical spaces for the publishing of workers periodicals were industrial centres, such as Lisbon, Porto, Coimbra and in towns and villages with emergent industrial activities. Despite its initial places of publication, during the last decades of the nineteenth century, this type of periodical was disseminated throughout the national territory. To complicate the issue of class, in several urban centres several periodicals connected both to an affluent lower middle-class and to a white-collar proletariat were edited. These groups’ boundaries seem blurred and difficult to effectively set and frame, due to their positioning in the material/discursive economy. On the one hand, the group shares some material elements with the “traditional” working class. On the other hand, it articulates those elements with the adoption of *habitus* discursively related to a projected and constructed bourgeois space, in a strategic process mainly based on emulation.\(^{109}\)

However, this procedure of appropriation of signs associated with other social segments is not a passive or simple one because it involves an re-negotiation of meanings through which those elements are incorporated into a symbolically efficient system of signification.\(^{110}\) Professional categories such as teachers (although in some publications pedagogy and didactics were at the forefront of the edited content), shopkeepers, civil servants and postal workers published several periodicals in this sub-field.\(^{111}\) On the other hand, activities linked to industrial labour (traditionally constructed as the core of the working class), such as metalworkers, railroaders, typographers, leatherworkers or carpenters were widely represented in this discursive universe.\(^{112}\) On a related note, the establishment of several clubs created sociability spaces that facilitated the constitution of workers networks and the dissemination of political agendas. According to Mónica, republican clubs tended to be dominated by shopkeepers and civil servants whilst socialist clubs were mainly frequented by “respectable workers.”\(^{113}\)

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\(^{112}\) *Ibid.*

This leads to a problematisation of artisanship during this period, demonstrating the heterogeneity of the concept of “working class” and its use as a floating signifier. Even amongst industrial workers, there were distinctions regarding their activity. For example, occupations such as hat-making or glassmaking needed highly qualified workers that, despite being integrated in an industrial process of production, still retained the manual artisanship of their trade, while the mechanisation of industries led to the emergence of an undifferentiated proletariat.\footnote{114} This distinction is based on the notion of a specific trade crystallised in terms of an acquired cultural capital associated with specialised manual labour.\footnote{115}

Migration also played an important role in defining urban spaces in cities that were in the process of industrialisation, especially with the need for the creation of workers accommodation since the 1870s. The reconfiguration of urban landscape in neighbourhoods (such as Alcântara, Graça, Xabregas or Poço do Bispo, that were situated in the vicinities of important spaces of the industrial activity) through the construction of pátios and vilas, is a relevant element in this process.\footnote{116} At an initial stage, workers were accommodated in previously existing spaces, such as converted palaces or convents, where the individual rooms were rent and the environment was obviously insalubrious due to the inadequacy of the facilities.\footnote{117} Afterwards, several private agents (entrepreneurs, industrials or co-operatives) started to purchase lands specifically for the building of worker’s accommodation.\footnote{118} Regarding this aspect, physical and cultural space merge in a narrative of class, sociability and \textit{habitus}.\footnote{119} Due to migration, these neighbourhoods became privileged sites for the contact between Portuguese regional cultures and for the emergence of specific traits of a vernacular culture, frequently aestheticised in periodicals and in literature.\footnote{120} This aestheticisation of the vernacular is a common trait for Western literature during this period, especially when it comes to the works of writers that focused on the “realistic” depiction of lower

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{114}{Mónica, \textit{Artesãos e operários: indústria, capitalismo e classe operária em Portugal} (Lisbon: Instituto de Ciências Sociais, 1986) and Íñigo García-Bryce, “From artisan to worker: the language of class during the age of liberalism in Peru, 1858–79”, \textit{Social History}, 30/4 (2005), 463–480.}
\footnote{116}{About these types of housing and urbanism in Lisbon see Nuno Teotónio Pereira, “Pátios e vilas de Lisboa, 1870–1930: a promoção privada do alojamento operário”, \textit{Análise social}, 29/127 (1994), 509–524.}
\footnote{117}{Ibid., 511.}
\footnote{118}{Ibid.}
\footnote{119}{Henri Lefebvre, \textit{The Production of Space} (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1991).}
\footnote{120}{See, for instance Fialho d’Almeida, \textit{Contos} (Porto/Braga: Livraria Chardron, 1881) or Abel Botelho, \textit{Amanhã!} (Porto: Livraria Chardron, 1902).}
\end{footnotes}
social strata. The movement in contrary motion is also a relevant aspect regarding this process. For example, Émile Zola’s (1840–1902) iconic status was reversely appropriated by working class publications in Portugal during the beginnings of the twentieth century. A newspaper entitled Germinal was published in Setúbal (1903–11) and Emílio Zola was used as pseudonym in periodicals such as A voz do operário.\textsuperscript{121}

\textit{A voz do operário} (literally “The Worker’s Voice” or “The Voice of the Worker”) presents itself as an interesting case-study regarding the emergence of a workers press in Portugal, despite the atypicality of the process of its establishment. Established in 1879 as the weekly periodical of the Associação de Socorros Mútuos União Fraternal dos Operários do Tabaco (Fraternal Union of the Tobacco Workers Mutual Assistance Association), the newspaper appealed to other professional classes from its inception.\textsuperscript{122} Its first main redactor, Custódio Brás Pacheco (1828–83), soon established himself as a remarkable working class journalist, both a voice of a largely illiterate community and a privileged constructor of the working class, acting as a homogenising mediator. Of socialist tendency, the newspaper was unaffiliated with any Portuguese political party, despite the activity of several of its agents in the Portuguese Socialist Party.\textsuperscript{123} In order to survive and maintain efficiency, \textit{A voz do operário} originated a co-operative society in 13\textsuperscript{th} February 1883, the Sociedade Cooperativa A Voz do Operário, subsequently represented in the Possibilist International Workers Congress (held in Paris, 1889). This society became an important space for sociability and a promoter of schooling for the working class, maintaining its own schools. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, \textit{A voz do operário} reflected in its pages the rise of anarcho-syndicalism in Portugal and the institution grew remarkably during the First Republic (1910–26), expanding its schooling system and maintaining a library.

As a newspaper, \textit{A voz do operário} is similar to several other publications edited in Portugal during that time. Despite the emergence of illustrated periodicals, the newspaper relied almost entirely on typesetting for its edition, publishing a few small images in the adverts section. This section is valuable to understand the readership of newspapers, because it is aimed for a specific public. If, in other newspapers, are advertised piano lessons or fashion items, \textit{A voz do operário} published advertisements

\textsuperscript{121} de Sá, \textit{op. cit.}, 845 and \textit{A voz do operário}, nº 1464, 17\textsuperscript{th} November 1907, 1.
\textsuperscript{123} \textit{Ibid.}, 691.
regarding sewing machines, drugstores, midwives or medicines (for cough or intestinal worms, for example). Although centred in Lisbon, the newspaper publishes news regarding several aspects of the labourer’s life and promotes events held by a growing number of workers societies emerging throughout Portugal in the last decades of the nineteenth century. To the growth of this sort of societies it is associated the rise in the establishment of amateur marching bands (the bandas). Browsing through several numbers of *A voz do operário*, it is possible to notice that phenomenon, crucial for the emerging typologies of civic and political events, the rally. In 1908, the first daily workers newspaper was published in Lisbon, *A greve* (The Strike). The first number was issued on the 18 March, the same day when the Paris Commune was declared in 1871, therefore, a symbolic date for the workers’ movement. The publication survived only four months as a daily newspaper and its property was then transferred to an association of typographers that transformed it into a biweekly newspaper. Nevertheless, *A voz do operário* publicised the forthcoming publication of this daily newspaper as an important event for the workers.

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

Gramsci portrays a type of intellectual, the organic intellectual, as being embedded in the productive system and playing an important role in the negotiation of

124 See, for example, *A voz do operário*, nº 1464, 17th November 1907, 2.
126 *A voz do operário*, nº 1477, 16th February 1908, 1.
hegemony (the process by which political domination is extended to civil society). Hence, the organic intellectual is created by the establishment of social groups with specific demands, afterward articulated with demands from other social agents, establishing a equivalential relation between them and “making the emergence of the ‘people’ possible.” Therefore, the hegemonic function of the organic intellectual focuses on the unification of those demands in order to promote the transformation of a “vaguely solidary” equivalential relation “into a stable system of signification.” Accordingly, the task of the mediator is to promote the incorporation of a fragmented reality in a specific symbolic order by constructing, promoting and disseminating a particular narrative.

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

The practice of fado associated with the dissemination of class ideology in working class settings is a relevant aspect in the history of the genre, especially in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the next. Fado singers such as João Black (João Salustiano Monteiro, 1872–1955), Francisco Viana (1885–?), Fortunato Coimbra, or Avelino de Sousa (1880–1946) performed regularly in workers’ societies, spreading those repertoires throughout the country. João Black was also an important journalist, working for O Século (from 1892) and publishing a pedagogical column about fado’s textual repertoire (‘A carteira de um operário’) in A voz do operário from 1905 to 1920.

130 Gramsci, op.cit.
132 Ibid., 74.
136 See, for instance, A voz do operário, nº 1464, 17th November 1907, 3.
Apart from his singing activity, Avelino de Sousa was a typographer (one of the most active segments of the working class in accessing the public sphere through periodicals) and dedicated most of his life to the promotion and defence of fado through his writings. Despite the fact that its publication date exceeds the chronological framework for this research, Avelino de Sousa’s book *O fado e os seus censores* is one important source regarding the polemics in which the genre was implicated during a remarkable period of its existence.\(^{138}\) The book consists in a series of articles published in *A voz do operário*, in which the Sousa defended fado against some of its detractors employing a working class perspective, associating the genre with progressiveness and with the education of the illiterate people.\(^{139}\) To the metonymic connotation of fado with marginal (and even degenerate) milieus and performers, Avelino de Sousa juxtaposes its practice by a class of respectable, honest and hardworking citizens, a portrait characteristic of moralising tendencies enacted within the working class at this time.\(^{140}\)

João Black and Avelino de Sousa, together with Carlos Harrington (a singer and poet that would later be responsible for publishing one of the first periodicals on fado,\(^{141}\) 1870–1916), were the foremost poets and singers associated with the working class during that period. Their propagandistic way of promoting political ideals through fado contributed to the dissemination of that genre in several social settings, associating repertoires with an indoctrination process of the working class.\(^{142}\) In 1892, Carlos Harrington published a book where he tried to record the poems of his fado improvisations (consisting of the *quadra glosada em décimas* structure).\(^{143}\) In Artur Arriega’s book, most of the poems have a sentimental thematic, except for “Desgraçada!...”, which analyses the motives that lead poor women to prostitution as one of the few income sources for them, performing social critique.\(^{144}\) A few years later, several of his poems were published in a small book, possibly edited without the


\(^{141}\) *O Fado*, First published in Lisbon, 16th April 1910.

\(^{142}\) To further investigate the dynamics of workers fado and its process of dissemination see Paulo Lima, *O fado operário no Alentejo, séculos XIX–XX: o contexto do profanista Manuel José Santinhos* (Vila Verde: Tradisom, 2004).

\(^{143}\) Carlos Harrington, *Improvisos (Fados)* (Lisbon: Typographia Costa Braga, 1892).

This book consists of several poems with a two-line mote and only one ten-line stanza. The lines of the mote correspond to the fourth and tenth lines of the stanza, respectively. Other formal structure used is the quadra glosada em quadras in which a four-line mote is followed by four four-line stanzas that use lines from the mote. In this form, the book included a poem that focuses on fado as the expression of the “national soul”, a central aspect regarding the symbolic history of the genre.\(^{146}\)

**Music Periodicals in Portugal: Printed Music and Historiography**

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

Aspects of sociability regarding music were the main focus of the generalist periodicals published in Portugal throughout the nineteenth century. Most of the journalistic production concerning music in the press focused on music criticism and a

\(^{145}\) Harrington, Versos de Carlos Harrington, para guitarra, orchestra ou piano (Lisbon: Impr. Lucas, 1907).

\(^{146}\) Ibid., 8 and Rui Ramos, Emergência do fado no contexto do “reaporteguesamento” de Portugal, finais do século XX princípios do século XX, Communication presented at the International Congress Fado: Percursos e Perspectivas, Lisbon, 18th June 2008.
few biographical articles on composers and performers. However, from the last third of the nineteenth century onwards, the study of music was an emerging discipline amongst the establishment of several scientific domains under objectivistic and positivistic paradigms. The activity of people such as Ernesto Vieira (1848–1915), Joaquim de Vasconcelos (1849–1936), or Michel’angelo Lambertini (1862–1920) created a new area, focused on the construction of a narrative heritage for the history of Portuguese music. This process developed not unlikely other fields of cultural production, such as history of literature. Paralleling the emergent contribution of those agents to periodicals, their effort also resulted on the edition of several musical dictionaries and biographical works, authored by individuals with heterogeneous backgrounds, such as Ernesto Vieira or Joaquim de Vasconcelos.

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

147 See, for instance, Carlos Lobo, “Marcos Portugal” in O Occidente, nº 84, 21st April 1881, 92–94.
composer, 1850–1907) with a libretto by Henrique Lopes de Mendonça (poet, playwright and military 1856–1931).\textsuperscript{149}

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

**Towards a Historiography of the Vernacular: Fado and Journalism**

Alongside the study that focused on written repertoires of the past and an emerging ethnology collecting music from rural areas in the early years of the twentieth century, several writers/journalists contributed to the establishing of a historiographical narrative of Lisbon’s popular urban genre fado. In 1903, the chronicler and journalist for *Almanaque Portugal-Brasil*, Pinto de Carvalho (1858–1930), published his *História do fado*.\textsuperscript{150} He begins the book by stating that national characters and customs are best noticeable through a country’s popular songs. Approaching several philological theories of literature, Carvalho links the origins of the genre to sailors up to the 1840s, when it began to be incorporated in the *habitus* of the marginal *fadista*.\textsuperscript{151} At the time, fado was associated to a lifestyle of drinking, smoking and brawling in dark and unclean sites, frequently associated with prostitution, sociability poles of attraction for marginal

\textsuperscript{149} *A arte musical*, nº 4, 28th February 1899, 34.

\textsuperscript{150} Pinto de Carvalho, *História do fado* (Lisbon: Empreza da História de Portugal, 1903).

\textsuperscript{151} For an account of the *fadista* as a marginal character associated with criminality see, for example, Ramalho Ortigão and Eça de Queirós, *As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes*, vol.2 (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1878), 30–40 and Júlio de Castilho, *Lisboa antiga* (Lisbon: Antiga casa Bertrand, José Bastos, 1904), 150–152.
sectors of society.152 Afterwards, Pinto de Carvalho embarks on a historical urban ethnography through the Mouraria neighbourhood to focus on the mythology regarding Maria Severa Honofriana (1820–46), A Severa. In this excursion, Carvalho describes several spaces, such as the tavern or the horta, the clothing of women fadistas and their social integration with different segments of society, for example.153

Carvalho presents two stages in fado separated in 1868–69. The first of them relates to the period when the genre was performed by the popular segments in the city of Lisbon (the popular and spontaneous stage). The second stage began with the incorporation of fado in salon sociability, designated by Carvalho as the aristocratic and literary phase.154 For that specific year of separation, Carvalho recurs to an organological feature: at that turning point, the guitar was incorporated in salon practices and the piano relegated to popular entertainment sites.155 He then explains musical and poetical practices of the genre and draws a historiographical chronology of vocal and instrumental performers, pointing to the expansion of the genre outside Lisbon and to the emergence of socialist fados.156 The História do fado also includes a list of fados and extensive reproduction of lyrics to illustrate the Carvalho’s main points. História do fado is still a valuable source for fado historiography and its main points related to this research are the relationship between popular music and national character and the process of incorporation of a vernacular music genre into other performative contexts. The popularisation of the vernacular through a metonymic process of hegemony enacted by organic intellectuals that act as aestheticising mediators is extremely relevant for this thesis.157

Metonymy forms the basis for another historiographic book on fado written by a journalist. In 1904, Alberto Pimentel (1849–1925) published A triste canção do sul: subsídios para a história do fado.158 In this book, he metonymically presents fado as the song that accounts for the entire south of Portugal, ignoring the plurality of the musical practices in that region and emphasising an urban popular genre by disregarding rural

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153 Pinto de Carvalho, op.cit., 45–69.
154 Ibid., 79.
155 Ibid.
156 Despite the relevance of fados with political content at the time, Carvalho depicts this practice as early as 1848. See Ilustração portugueza, nº 51, 11th February 1907, 170.
158 Alberto Pimentel, A triste canção do sul: subsídios para a história do Fado (Lisbon: Livraria Central, 1904).
music practices. The following year, Pimentel published his *As alegres canções do norte*, where he bases the differences between the character of northern and southern music in Portugal on ethnicity and environment. Furthermore, he opposes a “spontaneous” choral musical practice by peasants in the North to a soloist-inflected song of the cities. Pimentel quotes a substantial section of the entry “Fado” of the musical dictionary published by Ernesto Vieira in order to delimit the initial practice of that genre to the city of Lisbon. In that article, Vieira dismisses the possible Arab origin of fado and circumscribes its original practice to the city of Lisbon. Despite Coimbra being also an important centre for that genre, Vieira sustains that fado practice in that city was due to the influx of migrant students from Lisbon. Another relevant aspect emphasised by Pimentel is the urban environment where fado developed, very dissimilar from the music of rural matrixes performed in the outskirts of Lisbon and Coimbra. Pimentel argues that the diffusion of fado throughout the country resulted of a fad and states that, nevertheless, the regional repertoires were not absorbed during the process.

In a similar manner to Pinto de Carvalho, Alberto Pimentel reproduces several fado lyrics throughout the book, but, unlike Carvalho, also includes musical notation examples. Pimentel also refers to several publications regarding fado lyrics and music as indicators of the dissemination of that genre. Furthermore, he focuses on the semantic universe of lyrics and the poetic techniques used and problematises the mythology regarding A Severa, a trope frequently re-enacted, especially in the first third of the twentieth century. Finally, Pimentel publishes a survey of fados focusing on three main axes: printed music, theatrical productions and the *Cancioneiro de músicas populares*, a three-volume ethnological work that published harmonisations of collected songs. This shows a unified vision of fado, still undivided by contexts of performance or formal and musical traits, a taxonomy that later began to be applied to the compositions in that genre. However, relying on commercial printed music as a source for some sort of authenticity regarding fado repertoires can be a naive approach. On the

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162 Ibid., 21–22.
163 Ibid., 68–70.
other hand, by analysing Pimentel’s survey, there is an underlying process by which fado was being transformed from vernacular to popular during that time. Other relevant issue that both Pinto de Carvalho and Pimentel point to is the inclusion of fados in the works of Western classical tradition composers working in Portugal then, stylising popular repertoires.

Although Pimentel’s main contribution for the history of fado was his monographic work published in 1904, several of his texts included extended references to the genre. In his Fotografias de Lisboa (Photographs of Lisbon), first published in 1874, Pimentel included a chapter about fado. Interestingly enough, the title of the book reveals the rising symbolic relevance of photography as an accurate representation of reality, an issue that will be developed further along in this chapter of the thesis. Fotografias de Lisboa consists in a collection of small texts portraying several aspects of the life in Lisbon and is presented almost as a series of photographic slides of that city. In one of the chapters, Pimentel remarks the relevance of fado as a popular genre and portrays the guitar as the foremost instrument in the performance of that genre. Furthermore, he states the appropriation of fado by other social strata as an “invasion of the people’s rights” and the inadequacy of the piano as a conveyor for vernacular genres. In that small text, Pimentel portrays fado as the “anthem of misfortune/disgrace (desgraça), the romance of the obscure sorrows, the epic poem of the people.”

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

166 Ibid.
167 Ibid., 77.
168 Ibid., 73.
Commonality and Difference in Nation-constructing Discourses: Sameness and Otherness

Promoting nationalism by aiming for a cohering of “the people” around a common symbolic construction is a central trait in media discourse during this period. This discourse can be seen as a hegemonic negotiation process within a certain community, resulting in an apparent emergence of internalised consensus. Relating the Laclau’s theory of demands and Bourdieu’s theory of social space, the establishment of an equivalential relation of demands can be used to expand the operationality of a floating signifier (in this case, the nation) by articulating elements associated with different social spaces.\textsuperscript{170} Referring again to Bourdieu’s implicit acknowledgement of homophily as the predominant network relation,\textsuperscript{171} this articulation contributes to enhance the symbolic efficiency of the signifier by facilitating the extension of social networks beyond that predominance.

However, the notion of commonality is problematic, especially when dealing with the operative realm of “common sense.” In order to question the apparently spontaneous and unproblematic emergence of “common sense”, Antonio Gramsci remarks that “common sense is not something rigid and stationary, but is in continuous transformation, becoming enriched with scientific notions and philosophical opinions that have entered into common circulation [...] Common sense creates the folklore of the future, a relatively rigidified phase of popular knowledge in a given time and place.”\textsuperscript{172} This fluid view situates common sense as a dynamic middle ground between folklore on the one hand and science and philosophy on the other. Another valuable contribution for the study of common sense as a historically and geographically contained social construct was developed by Clifford Geertz.\textsuperscript{173} Instead of focusing on the immediacy of experience, Geertz states common sense to be an articulated system of thought that is not spontaneous nor directly drawn upon from experience, but a mediated interpretation of experience.\textsuperscript{174}

\textsuperscript{171} Wendy Bottero, “Relationality and social interaction”, \textit{The British Journal of Sociology} 60/2 (2009), 399–420.
\textsuperscript{172} Antonio Gramsci, \textit{Selections from cultural writings} (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1985), 421.
\textsuperscript{174} \textit{Ibid.}, 76.
If intrinsic factors like commonality play an important role in defining symbolically the ideal of a nation, extrinsic constraints and the way they interfere with the populist internalisation processes of nationalism can be of extreme importance in relocating identity. “National identification is an exemplary case of how an external border is reflected into an internal limit. Of course, the first step towards the identity of the nation is defined through differences from other nations, via an external border.”

One particular event regarding this specific construction/constriction of national identity related to the encounter with the Other was the British Ultimatum of January 11th 1890, the apex of an ongoing differendum between Portugal and Britain involving the demarcation of borders in the African colonies of both countries.

The British Ultimatum and its acceptance by Portuguese authorities stirred a political campaign promoted by some newspapers to create an unfavourable public opinion regarding the government, which resigned afterwards. This shows that political newspapers connected to specific factions were still represented and conducted effective strategies in the Portuguese public sphere, despite a tendency towards neutrality enacted by some periodicals. On the other hand, the attribution of responsibility to that specific government was seen as a way of safeguarding national interest. Nevertheless, republican agents (who, for the first time, were represented in parliament after the elections of 1878) progressively shifted the emphasis of this crisis from government towards regime. Although focusing initially on exploring the anti-British hatred generated by several episodes regarding colonial policy (in which the Ultimatum was one amongst many events that stirred patriotic reactions amongst several Portuguese social groups), the republicans took advantage of their recently expanded symbolic capital to orient their criticisms towards the monarchic system itself. For them, the outcome of this process was a blow to national ideals that was related to the inefficiency of monarchic institutions. This promoted a cleavage between

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175 Žižek, *For They Know Not What They Do* (London/NY: Verso, 2008), 110.
177 In relation to the promotion of nationalism through media during a period of instability see Kenneth O. Morgan, “The Boer War and the media (1899–1902)”, *Twentieth Century British History*, 13/1 (2002), 1–16.
179 Teixeira, *op. cit.*, 703. The growth of republicanism in Portugal was, by no means, a continuous and simple process of increasing social influence (both electoral and symbolic), but a complex issue, such as it is stated in Fernando Catroga, *O republicanismo em Portugal* (Lisbon: Editorial Notícias, 2000), 65.
180 Catroga, *op.cit.*, 77.
King and Motherland, essential for the questioning of the regime and to a republicanism of the country.\textsuperscript{181} Despite the rise of the republican vote, especially in Lisbon, in the aftermath of the Ultimatum, their voting declined throughout the rest of the nineteenth century and this tendency was only inverted after 1906, displaying the complexity of the regime issues discussed in Portugal during this time.\textsuperscript{182}

The Ultimatum as a symbolic traumatic event raised awareness towards the Empire during a time when colonialism was being embedded within a nationalist framework. Conversely, the solution for that event demarcated the geographical and symbolic boundaries of the Portuguese empire. That political crisis was an important impulse for creative representations, where the satirical periodicals on both sides thrived.\textsuperscript{183} On the other hand, severe repression of the press suspended several periodicals in the aftermath of the negotiations with Britain and of the failed republican revolt in Porto on 31\textsuperscript{st} January 1891.\textsuperscript{184} One of those cases was \textit{Pontos nos ii}, directed and illustrated by Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro, last published on February 5\textsuperscript{th} 1891. Along with Bordalo Pinheiro, the republican artist Tomás Júlio Leal da Câmara (1876–1948) was deeply influential in this process, having illustrated several books and edited or collaborated with several periodicals, such as \textit{A corja: semanario de caricaturas} (1898) or \textit{A marselheza: supllemento de caricaturas} (1897–98). Due to the political persecution he emigrated in 1898 and worked for several periodicals in the countries he inhabited (Spain, France and Belgium), having returned to Portugal after the fall of the monarchy (on the 5\textsuperscript{th} October 1910).\textsuperscript{185}

As stated earlier, the limitation of the freedom of press through legislation was complex during this time.\textsuperscript{186} The Press Law of 11 April 1907 stands out a good example of that ambiguity. In this law, the restriction of circulation and apprehension of periodicals was forbidden, except if they contained materials considered liable of criminal prosecution.\textsuperscript{187} Nevertheless, these materials included offending the royal

\textsuperscript{181} Tengarrinha, \textit{op. cit.}, 168–170 and Rui Ramos, \textit{A segunda fundação}, vol. 6 in José Mattoso (ed.), \textit{História de Portugal} (Lisbon: Circulo de Leitores, 1994).
\textsuperscript{182} Catroga, \textit{op.cit.}, 63–67 and Maria Filomena Mónica, \textit{Eça de Queirós} (Lisbon: Quetzal Editores, 2001), 275.
\textsuperscript{183} Se, for example “The latest from Portugal”, \textit{Fun}, nº 1291, 5\textsuperscript{th} February 1890, 58.
\textsuperscript{184} For a coeval narrative of the events between the British Ultimatum and the 1891 revolt see Basílio Teles, \textit{Do Ultimatum ao 31 de Janeiro: esboço d’História Política} (Porto: Bazillio Teles, 1905).
\textsuperscript{185} Victor Santos, \textit{Leal da Câmara – um caso de caricatura: a sátira na atitude política portuguesa} (Sintra: Câmara Municipal de Sintra, 1982).
\textsuperscript{186} On the repressive tendencies upheld on the press in the last years of the Portuguese monarchy see Tengarrinha, \textit{História da imprensa periódica portuguesa} (Lisbon: Caminho, 1989), 245–259.
\textsuperscript{187} \textit{Diário do Governo}, nº 81, 13\textsuperscript{th} April 1907, 189–194.
family, rulers and representatives of other nations. Furthermore, it stated that the King should not be criticised for his governments acts, stressing the separation between King and Government or between royalty and state bureaucracy, safeguarding the symbolic capital of the monarch and striving to protect him from the metonymic propagandistic process enacted by the republican media, which tended to amalgamate both king and government as agreeing and responsible parts for the political, cultural and economic situation. Nevertheless, the publication of caricatures in which King Carlos I was depicted was a frequent event in satirical newspapers. On a related aspect, the apprehension of periodicals was becoming ever more difficult due to the radical change operated in the distribution networks of newspapers since the establishment of Diário de notícias. In that time, instead of relying exclusively in fixed spaces for their sales (as did the press of the earlier part of the nineteenth century), the periodicals established complementary networks of direct sellers (the ardinas) who moved freely around their area, making more difficult their apprehension. Nevertheless, a new legislation regarding the press was published only two months later, when João Franco’s cabinet was ruling “in dictatorship.” In that decree, all manifestations that were considered a menace for security and peace were prohibited, giving power to the civil authorities to suspend them. Furthermore, any new periodical had to be sanctioned by the civil authorities of that region in order to be published. The cabinet attempted to reveal the abuses enacted by the press during that time, displaying this decree as a necessary and exceptional measure. Nevertheless, in that legislation it was clearly stated that the cabinets had to frequently apprehend publications (the most severe immediate action

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188 Diário do Governo, 189.
189 D. Carlos was recurrently portrayed in the satirical media since he was the prince heir. See, for example, O António Maria, nº 3 (Anno VII), 21st January 1885. Nevertheless, artists such as Leal da Câmara and writers such as António de Albuquerque published caricatures and texts deemed offensive for the monarch in the beginning of the 20th century. See A corja: semanario de caricaturas, nº 17, 16th October 1898, 2; Sousa Figueiredo, Ilustradores portugueses no bilhete postal (1894–1910) (Lisbon: Arte Mágica Editores, 2003), 39 and António de Albuquerque, Marquez da Bacalhôa (Lisbon: A. Albuquerque, 1908).
190 In the nineteenth-century Portugal, govern in dictatorship meant ruling by decree in the period after the dissolution of the two chambers of parliament. This was indeed an effective mechanism to allow the cabinet both to rule with less constraints and to prepare for elections, in order to create a supporting majority in the parliament. The monarch was the sole responsible for the dissolution of parliament. 


The foremost example of this practice is the march \textit{A Portuguesa}, a setting of a Henrique Lopes de Mendonça’s poem by Alfredo Keil. This march was initially edited in sheet music (for voice and piano) and distributed free of charge by its publishers, Neuparth & C.ª. The piece was arranged for several groups and performed in several theatres in Lisbon during the year of 1890, especially in events related to the reaction to the Ultimatum (such as the Great Patriotic Concert, held at Teatro de S. Carlos on the 29\textsuperscript{th} March 1890). Afterwards, it was included in Henrique Lopes de Mendonça’s play \textit{As cores da bandeira} (1891).\footnote{194}{Rui Leitão, A ambiência musical e sonora da cidade de Lisboa no ano de 1890, Master’s thesis (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2006) and Nuno Severiano Teixeira, \textit{op. cit.}, 711.\footnote{195}{Manuscript note on the first page of Alfredo Keil and Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, \textit{A Portugueza – Marcha}. Shelfmark PTBN: M.M 345/3, National Library of Portugal. See also Teixeira, “Política externa e política interna no Portugal de 1890”, 713.\footnote{196}{Laclau, \textit{On Populist Reason}, 123–124.}}}

However, due to its appropriations by republican sectors and its use by the uprising military units marching bands in the previously mentioned revolt of 31\textsuperscript{st} January 1891, public performances of \textit{A Portuguesa} by regimental bands were forbidden until the last years of the nineteenth century.\footnote{195}{Manuscript note on the first page of Alfredo Keil and Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, \textit{A Portugueza – Marcha}. Shelfmark PTBN: M.M 345/3, National Library of Portugal. See also Teixeira, “Política externa e política interna no Portugal de 1890”, 713.\footnote{196}{Laclau, \textit{On Populist Reason}, 123–124.}} This connotation with the republican movement was crucial for its adoption as the anthem of the Portuguese Republic in 1911.

Especially in the period immediately after the Ultimatum, republicanism was presented in some areas of the public sphere as a synonym for patriotism, through the process of metonymic appropriation of floating signifiers.\footnote{196}{Laclau, \textit{On Populist Reason}, 123–124.} In this campaign, the daily newspaper \textit{O século}, established in 1881 by Sebastião de Magalhães Lima (that had been a journalist for several years and was part of the committee in-charge of the
Camões celebration) was particularly influent.\textsuperscript{197} Created as an overtly republican newspaper (such as \textit{O mundo}, 1900–36, or \textit{A luta}, 1906–35),\textsuperscript{198} after the substitution of Magalhães Lima for José Joaquim da Silva Graça (1858–1931) in 1886, it became one of the most widely circulated Portuguese newspapers, competing directly with \textit{Diário de notícias}. In order to achieve that status for the newspaper, Silva Graça moved \textit{O século} to a less engaged political activity, yet maintaining its republican orientation.\textsuperscript{199} In the twentieth century, he created several publications attached to \textit{O século} in order to broaden the scope of the original newspaper, such as \textit{Ilustração portuguesa} (1903–24) or \textit{Modas e bordados: vida feminina} (1912–75).\textsuperscript{200}

\textbf{Photography, Mechanical Music and the Regicide: Media and Technology in the Beginning of the Twentieth Century}

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, a technological innovation marked its presence in the journalistic field: photography. Although photographic processes had been in use since the first third of the century (some of them indirectly providing illustration for periodicals), their regular application to the press was incorporated in the 1890s with the development of halftone reproduction, which allowed the insertion of an image without recurring to an engraver.\textsuperscript{201} For instance, the French periodical \textit{L'Illustration} started publishing regularly photographic reproductions as early as 1891.\textsuperscript{202} The iconisation of the public sphere took another step towards faithfulness of representation with this new process. Regarding a dialectical tension between the concepts of realism and authenticity, it can be argued that “photograph possesses an evidential force, and that its testimony bears not on the object but on time. From a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{197} About Magalhães Lima see Archer de Lima, \textit{Magalhães Lima e a sua obra: notas e impressões} (Lisbon: A Editora, 1911) and Maria Rita Lino Garnel, \textit{A República de Sebastião de Magalhães Lima} (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2004).
\item \textsuperscript{198} About the establishment of republican periodicals in Portugal see Tengarrinha, \textit{História da imprensa periódica portuguesa}, 234–240.
\item \textsuperscript{200} Rui Ramos, \textit{A segunda fundação}, vol. 6 in José Mattoso (ed.), \textit{História de Portugal} (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1994). 54–55.
\item \textsuperscript{201} Gervais, \textit{“L’Illustration and the birth of the French illustrated press”}, \textit{Medicographia}, 27/1 (2005), 102.
\item \textsuperscript{202} About the history of \textit{L’Illustration} see Jean-Noël Marchandieu, \textit{L’Illustration, vie et mort d’un journal, 1843–1944} (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1987).
\end{itemize}
phenomenological viewpoint, in the Photograph, the power of authentication exceeds the power of representation.”  

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

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

Little History of Photography, first published in 1931. In this text, he relates aura in photography to a correspondence between object and technology, stressing the role of the relation between the photographer and his/her technique. In Benjamin’s work, “aura and photography are not simply cast as mutually exclusive opposites but are in fact engaged in a complex process of interaction.” In his article on photography, the Benjamin described aura as a medium, which “implies a sense of distance but also of mediation and encounter.” This specific interaction plays an important role in the iconisation of a public sphere, promoting both proximity (by realistic depiction of icons) and auratic distance.

On the one hand, the wide dissemination of photography points to the integration of iconic representations in everyday consumption, apparently promoting the proximity between reader and the icon. Relating to the previously enunciated analogue/digital dichotomy, this iconic turn suggests that the readers of the newspapers could now associate the digital information they possessed with a realist (analogue) representation of it, a reduction without transformation. On the other hand, some of the representational strategies of the newspapers emphasised the Verfremdungseffekt between the image and its receiver, contributing to the crystallisation of a depiction of some individualities (such as members of royalty, politicians, actors or musicians) in which the auratic element is emphasised. In this case, the photographic representation can be seen as a residual remainder of the process of portraying the individual through the staging of their power, a characteristic Habermas associates with the representative public sphere. Later on, Benjamin proposed a concept of aura as a group of images that emerge, by the process of involuntary memory, linked to an encountered object. Furthermore, he states that photography contributes to the enlargement of the field of involuntary memory, in a sense, expanding the aura. This complex relation between several typologies of publicness acting in the same chronological and geographical

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212 Ibid., 86.
214 Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society. On the concepts of “residual” and “emergent” see Raymond Williams, “Base and superstructure in Marxist cultural theory”, in Raymond Williams, Culture and Materialism (London/ NY: Verso, 2006), 31–49.
216 Ibid., 196–197.
space shows the flexibility of the models of representation in the public sphere, expanding Habermas’s approach and presenting it in a less monolithic way.

One interesting example of the interaction of these premises is the publication of a series of photographs in *Ilustração portuguesa* in which the actor Augusto Rosa (1852–1918) declamated *O melro*, a poem by the republican Abílio Guerra Junqueiro (1850–1923).217 The graphic presentation of an actor reciting poetry in a magazine after the introduction of phonography in Portugal can be rather disconcerting. In that disposition, the actor seems to be addressing directly the public and promoting the encounter between the photograph and its receiver or between industry and subjectivity, essential to the construction of an aura through this medium. Furthermore, the complex process of iconising the public sphere through photographic means can be related to the history of how that technology was integrated into practice: “In an initial period, photography, in order to surprise, photographs the notable; but soon, by a familiar reversal, it decrees notable whatever it photographs.”218

The development of photographic techniques applied to periodicals had also an impact on the dissemination of printed music. Musical notation could be inserted in periodicals by using the same techniques for printing photographs in newspapers, instead of relying on a complex typesetting or lithographic process. So, music as image began to be introduced in some of the Portuguese magazines, such as *Ilustração portuguesa* in the beginning of the twentieth century. Most of the published music consisted of songs (for voice and piano) or works for solo piano comprising one or two pages.219 This type of edition reflects most of the published music markets in Europe during that period, with its content being similar to sheet music. The dissemination of repertoires through their inclusion in nation-wide distributed periodicals is a relevant aspect for the domestic musical practices at this time and indicates the prominence of the piano as a place of sociability, especially to an expanding intermediate social segment.

The establishment of photojournalism in Portugal in the early twentieth century as a conveyer of current news soon became an important aspect for the construction of a collective memory by presenting iconographic depiction of everyday life. Furthermore,

219 *Ilustração portuguesa*, nº29, 10th September 1906, 18–19 and nº 31, 24th September 1906, 8.
these representations established themselves not only as a technological product integrated in the industrial production of actuality but also as sources for historical research regarding this period.\textsuperscript{220} For example, the work of the photographer Joshua Benoliel (1873–1932) has been widely used in illustrating several publications.\textsuperscript{221} Photography played an important role as a spatial organiser of visual collective memory since its generalisation and its establishment as commodity. “Memory and its representations touch very significantly upon questions of identity, of nationalism, of power and authority.”\textsuperscript{222} On the other hand, the transformation of subject into object through the physical and chemical processes of photography enabled the establishment of an iconographic heritage,\textsuperscript{223} by crystallising images intended as part of the standard production of immediate news into iconic representations of a specific reality (regarding the adherence of the referent as a property of the medium itself).\textsuperscript{224} Although Benoliel photographed for several periodicals (such as \textit{O Ocidente} or \textit{Panorama}), his activity is especially intertwined with the publication of the second series of \textit{Ilustração portuguesa}, starting in 1906.\textsuperscript{225}

Just as the British Ultimatum demarcated the Portuguese empire, an also traumatic event was determinant to the end of the monarchy: the regicide of 1\textsuperscript{st} February 1908. On that afternoon, when returning from Vila Viçosa, both King Carlos and the prince heir Luís Filipe were fatally shot by two republicans in the downtown of Lisbon.\textsuperscript{226} Although the event was not photographically documented, several illustrated reconstructions were published in Portuguese and foreign press (such as \textit{Le petit journal}, \textit{Le Monde illustré}, \textit{Wiener Bilder} or \textit{Illustrated London News}).\textsuperscript{227} In another social setting, \textit{A voz do operário} published a text where the regicide was addressed, stating that, though not partaking bourgeois politics, the seriousness of the event required a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{220} See Michel de Certeau, \textit{The Practice of Everyday Life}, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).
\item \textsuperscript{222} Said, “Invention, memory, and place”, \textit{Critical Inquiry} 26/2 (2000), 176.
\item \textsuperscript{225} Emília Tavares (ed.), \textit{Joshua Benoliel, 1873–1932: repórter fotográfico} (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2005).
\item \textsuperscript{226} For a biography of King Carlos I see Rui Ramos, \textit{D. Carlos (1863–1908)} (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006).
\item \textsuperscript{227} For example, see Eduardo de Noronha, “A tragédia de Lisboa”, \textit{Serões: revista mensal ilustrada}, nº 32 (February 1908), 127–151 and \textit{Le petit journal}, nº 16474, 3\textsuperscript{rd} February 1908.
\end{itemize}
comment.\textsuperscript{228} The text stated that the focus of the newspaper was the working class (thus avoiding other issues) and expressed its disapproval of the regicide, remarking that their fight was against capitalist institutions, not men.\textsuperscript{229}

Apart from the moment of the regicide, an extensive photojournalistic coverage was set into motion. Benoliel photographed the corpses of both the victims and the perpetrators, the royal funerals and the families involved (the royal family and the sons of Manuel Buíça, one of the shooters).\textsuperscript{230} The royal funerals were also captured by another emergent media at the time: film. Several film companies (such as Companhia Cinematográfica de Portugal, Empresa Portuguesa de Cinema or Gaumont) recorded the event and exhibited their films in several sites. The symbolic efficiency of the iconography of the regicide can be attested by its frequent presentation and re-encoding in the Portuguese press.\textsuperscript{231}

The emergence of new technologies was widely disseminated through the periodicals in Portugal since the last third of the nineteenth century. For instance, \textit{O Ocidente} published a section on scientific actualities in which Edison’s phonograph was presented.\textsuperscript{232} The article focused only on the functioning of the phonograph with an illustrated schema without mentioning its functions apart from recording speech. This is coherent with the inception of the phonograph as an office tool, not specifically destined for musical purposes, but as a support for memory and an emulator of a human nervous system.\textsuperscript{233}

The journalist responsible for that illustrated article was Francisco da Fonseca Benevides (1835–1911), lecturer, scientist and historian who wrote about technological innovations in \textit{Ocidente}. Apart from some scientific and historiographical publications, his account of the Teatro de S. Carlos history is still valuable nowadays as a source for musicologists.\textsuperscript{234} Benevides also wrote an article about a transposing keyboard for the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[228] \textit{A voz do operário}, nº 1476, 9\textsuperscript{th} February 1908, 1.
\item[229] Ibid. This can also be related to the complex relationship between socialism and republicanism in Portugal since the 1870s. To frame this issue see, for example, Fernando Catroga, \textit{Antero de Quental: História, socialismo, política} (Lisbon: Editorial Noticias, 2001), 199–223.
\item[230] Emilia Tavares, \textit{op.cit.}
\item[232] \textit{O Ocidente}, nº 8, 15\textsuperscript{th} April 1878, 64.
\end{footnotes
piano.\textsuperscript{235} This device was superimposed on the original keyboard and moved according to the transposition needed. The centrality of the piano as an element for the sociability practices of a specific social segment and the relevance of singing integrated in these practices (which can be seen by analysing the edited printed music repertoires) can be useful to understand this innovation. In countries where a market for printed music was established (a process taking place since the late-eighteenth century), song transposing was a practice enacted by music publishers, associated with two key aspects: the maximising the profit by enlarging the consumer spectrum for the same repertoire (although creating two different commodities) and the specificity of the human voice as an instrument and its physical constraints.\textsuperscript{236} With this device, there was no need to transpose the sheet music in order for it to be performed, possibly facilitating its execution.

Besides phonography, another market associated with mechanical music was the player piano.\textsuperscript{237} If the phonograph allowed to record and reproduce sound, the player piano was a machine initially developed exclusively for the reproduction of music. On the other hand, its mechanism was easily adjusted to an existing technology in several Portuguese households: the piano.\textsuperscript{238} Taylor relates the development of a market for player pianos to an emergent advertising industry and to the commodification of music.\textsuperscript{239} He argues that the player piano manufacturers expanded their market by transforming one of the icons of cultural capital and respectability into a conveyor of mechanic music whose players did not need specific musical training.\textsuperscript{240}

The idea of the accessibility of the repertoires to larger sectors of the public is emphasised in an article about the Phonola, a player piano mechanism, published in \textit{O Ocidente}.\textsuperscript{241} This device was presented to the public in the Sociedade de Geografia premises in a session organised by Neuparth & Carneiro, a music store focused on pianos and printed music. In a period when the recording and gramophone manufacturing companies were promoting their own products, piano sellers incorporated mechanical reproduction technologies in their business to appeal to the

\textsuperscript{235} \textit{O Ocidente}, \textsuperscript{n°}18, 15\textsuperscript{th} September 1878, 142.
\textsuperscript{236} See, for example, David P. Schroeder, “Schubert’s ‘Einsamkeit’ and Haslinger’s ‘Weiterreise’”, \textit{Music and Letters}, 71 (1990), 352–360.
\textsuperscript{238} \textit{Ibid.}, 285.
\textsuperscript{239} \textit{Ibid.}, 285–286.
\textsuperscript{240} \textit{Ibid.}, 289.
\textsuperscript{241} \textit{O Ocidente}, \textsuperscript{n°} 942, 28\textsuperscript{th} February 1905, 46.
same public. The Phonola was based on the punctured roll technology and was added several registers through which the consumer could expressively alter the reproduction of the roll, making possible a sort of humanisation of the passive consumption of mechanical music.

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

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243 Ibid., nº 54, 14th November 1904, II or *Ilustração portuguesa*, 2nd series, nº 2, 12.
244 *Ilustração portuguesa*, 2nd series, nº4, 19th March 1906, 7.
246 *Ilustração portuguesa*, 2nd series, nº16, 11th June 1906, 6.
fashionable commodity that was, at the time, associated with modernity. In 1905, Simplex started to advertise, along with bicycles, records and talking machines, a fact that displayed an expansion of their business to other commodities/technologies, having registered a brand for their records in August 1906. That establishment also commercialised phonographic products manufactured by Odeon, according to the photographs taken of that shop in the beginnings of the twentieth century by Joshua Benoliel.

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

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

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248 The brand was registered not by Castello Branco, but by the German Charles Timm and its logo was a bicycle, just as the one printed in the advertisement. See Ministério das Obras Públicas, Comércio e Indústria. Repartição da Indústria, *Boletim da propriedade industrial*, August 1906, 316.
Chapter 2. Urban Space, Theatre and Music in Lisbon: Opera, Operetta, Zarzuela and Revista

Introduction

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

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

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2 On the production system of this theatre from 1834 to 1854 see Luísa Cymbron, A ópera em Portugal 1834–1854: o sistema produtivo e o repertório nos teatros de S. Carlos e de S. João, Ph.D. thesis (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1998).
Paris (a city where a significant number of Portuguese liberals were exiled during the absolutist reign of D. Miguel).

The interaction between French historical drama and Portuguese history surfaces, in a very clear manner, with the presence of a French theatrical company in the Teatro da Rua dos Condes from 1835 to 1837. The actor and stage director Émile Doux played a key role in the Portuguese theatrical scene, especially concerning the processes of importing French Romantic theatre (such as the plays of Victor Hugo or Alexandre Dumas) and in incorporating the emergent historicist staging paradigm in the Portuguese theatrical scene. Furthermore, he contributed to professional development of several actors and was director of several theatres (such as the Teatro do Ginásio) in Lisbon until his emigration to Brazil. Another influential figure then was the liberal writer, poet and playwright Almeida Garrett (1799–1854), who was appointed Inspector-General of the Theatres and Spectacles in 1836, a job he occupied until 1841. In that same year, the Conservatório Geral de Arte Dramática – Escola de Música e Escola de Teatro e Declamação (General Conservatoire of Drama - School of Music and School of Theatre and Declamation) was established, which Garrett directed. This institution was created as a state school for theatre and dance and incorporated the Music Conservatoire (established in 1835 and directed by the composer João Domingos Bomtempo, 1775–1842), having changed its designation to Real Conservatório de Lisboa (Royal Conservatoire of Lisbon) in 1840.

Another key aspect of the changes occurring in Lisbon’s theatrical scene was the opening of the Teatro Nacional D. Maria II in 1846 as a consequence of the new political power’s interest in theatregoing as a civilising activity. Particularly through the action of Garrett, this theatre reshaped Lisbon’s cultural market and provided a new privileged space for the presentation of drama. In that year, it opened the Teatro do Ginásio, a theatre mostly devoted to drama, but which, as in most of the other theatres, presented several types of shows. According to Sousa Bastos, the vaudeville was

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5 For a literary account on the Teatro D. Maria II up to 1875 see Júlio César Machado, Os teatros de Lisboa (Lisbon: Frenesi, 2002), 47–116.
introduced to Portugal by Émile Doux while he was directing the company of the Teatro do Ginásio. Alongside drama performances, this theatre also managed to stage several comic operas composed by António Luís Miró (1815–53), such as A marquesa or O conselho das dez. There are accounts of regular presentations of comic operas in Portuguese (although indebted to Classical and Romantic styles) in the city of Lisbon since, at least, 1841, when the Teatro da Rua dos Condes’ impresario, the Count of Farrobo, Joaquim Pedro Quintela (1801–69), Émile Doux and the composer João Guilherme Daddi (1813–87) started to present translations of opéra comique and of Italian comic operas alongside comic operas authored by Portuguese composers in this theatre. Another relevant space for the study of theatrical activity during its relatively short span of activity (from 1849 to 1859) was the Teatro de D. Fernando. This theatre’s eclectic programme displayed several relevant changes to the theatrical activity in Lisbon at this time. Presenting drama both in Portuguese and in French (much due to the role of Émile Doux) together with opéra comique and zarzuela, its subsequent financial losses underline front the volatility of the theatrical business in Lisbon in the middle of the nineteenth century. Alongside these spaces, smaller theatres were established in Lisbon during the 1850s, such as the Teatro da Floresta Egípcia or the Teatro do Calvário, most of them short-lived.

Changing the City, Reshaping the Social

When dealing with sociability patterns of specific strata of the population of Lisbon it is useful to take account of the uses of space, especially during a period of urban change. During the period 1865–1908, the urban fabric was radically altered through planning strategies associated with the creation of modern facilities within the city. As shown in the first chapter of this thesis, the industrialisation of Lisbon and the consequent need for housing for workers reconfigured the city’s landscape both by modifying existing

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10 Bastos, *op. cit.*, 331. Just as the major theatres in Lisbon, the D. Fernando advertised frequently in the press. See *A Revolução de Setembro* (1849–1857, for example).
11 This survey of regular theatrical activity in Lisbon relied heavily on the advertisements published in the press. This method is, of course, limited because it excludes spaces that did not advertise and those associated with theatrical amateur activity.
structures to suit the emergent demands and by creating new buildings. Conversely, the expansion of the city limits required a planned urbanisation of new areas and the creation of residential neighbourhoods (such as Estefânia or Campo de Ourique) to suit the demands of other segments of the housing market.\textsuperscript{12}

One of the most relevant reformulations of urban space that carried with it an important symbolic aspect was the opening of the Avenida da Liberdade, a wide avenue that linked the city centre to the new urbanised areas further north. This process implied the destruction of the Passeio Público, a public park built in the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{13} Despite the constant works to make that park more attractive, it was only during the second third of the nineteenth century that the Passeio Público became a privileged space for aristocratic and bourgeois sociability. Also during this time, a fence was built around the park, indicating, perhaps, a complex and active dialectic interaction of public and private spaces, such as pointed out in the previous chapter of this thesis. To expand on this demarcation, some clothing restrictions on the frequenters of the Passeio Público were imposed until 1852. The centrality of that urban facility for sociability can be read in \textit{O primo Basílio}, a novel by Eça de Queirós published in 1878. The couple Jorge and Luísa met in the Passeio Público on a summer evening and got married afterwards.\textsuperscript{14} Further along, the housemaid Juliana, who was blackmailing Luísa regarding her adultery with Basílio, is described as an assiduous frequenter of the Passeio Público on Sundays, where she displayed herself, proudly showing off her feet.\textsuperscript{15} In this respect, the Passeio was a meeting point for several social strata of Lisbon’s society and was clearly incorporated in their routines.

In his study on Romanticism in Portugal, José-Augusto França subsumed the everydayness of the society of Portuguese liberalism to the idea of “Passeio” (promenade) and included in it all aspects of public entertainment and “publicness”, such as theatres, cafés, the circus, the bullring and parliament.\textsuperscript{16} Thus, the


\textsuperscript{14} Eça de Queirós, \textit{O primo Basílio, episódio doméstico} (Porto/Braga: Livraria Chardron, 1878), 9.

\textsuperscript{15} “O pé era o seu orgulho, a sua mania, a sua despeza.”, Queirós, \textit{op. cit.}, 103.

\textsuperscript{16} José-Augusto França, \textit{O Romantismo em Portugal: estudo de factos socioculturais} (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1974), 364.
Passeio Público stands as a metonymic representation of bourgeois lifestyle in Lisbon during the second third of the nineteenth century. For example, in 1853 a journalist of the newspaper *A Revolução de Setembro* wrote that Lisbon’s city life spanned only from the Teatro do Ginásio (in Trindade) to the Teatro de D. Maria II (in Rossio), a relatively small area, when compared the actual size of the city. On that article, he stressed the relevance of the theatre for models of sociability fostered at this time and narrowed the city to the areas which contained its publicness (its Passeio). A few years earlier, the same newspaper stated that the opening of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos was as important for the author of the feuilleton as the opening of the parliament for the author of political articles, reinforcing the role theatres (especially the S. Carlos) played in the social dynamics of the time. The primacy of a socio-communicative model based on the exhibition of the self was proposed by Mário Vieira de Carvalho and had in the Italian theatre one of its main focus. The same author argued that, in the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, the existence of a dissolution between stage and audience favoured the exhibition of the self and the alienation of the receiver regarding the spectacle, which relied on the bel canto as the essential cultural function of the performance. This aspect of a space that privileged sociability instead of the presentation of dramatic action during operatic performances was presented by Júlio César Machado in his work on the theatres in Lisbon. In the chapter on the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, Machado stated that its audience was mainly constituted by regular attendants, displaying the role opera played in the everyday sociability of some social groups, which maintained lively conversations throughout the performance, thus incompatible with a new auditory culture associated with the rise of “absolute music” (and, therefore, of a bourgeois Enlightenment aesthetic). Furthermore, the same author stresses the programming of the theatre by equating it to recurrent attendance of the boxes: people knew both the operas and the people who attended them by heart.

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17 *A Revolução de Setembro*, nº 3245, 24th January 1853, 1.
18 Ibid., nº 2614, 7th December 1850, 1.
Associated with the demolition of the Passeio Público was the construction of the Avenida da Liberdade on the same grounds, a process that started in 1879, which allowed the expansion of the urban centre of Lisbon. Just as the Passeio Público metonymically stood for the everydayness of bourgeois life, so the Avenida da Liberdade is emblematic of its time.\(^23\) The construction of this avenue had been an intention of the city council since, at least, 1859.\(^24\) Nevertheless, it is a work that reveals the emergence of new planning strategies for the city, especially after the appointment of the engineer Frederico Ressano Garcia (1847–1911) to head the technical department of the city’s council in 1874. Ressano Garcia had studied in Lisbon and in Paris and was responsible for the planning and the construction of the new and expanded areas of Lisbon at the time.\(^25\) During the period in which he occupied his place as lead planner of the new cityscapes, Lisbon was deeply changed by the reconfiguration of the urban landscape. New neighbourhoods were built in the city and were linked to new and broad avenues (such as the Avenida da Liberdade and the Avenida das Picoas). Furthermore, a network of omnibuses and streetcars (initially using animal traction, but later on electrically powered) was created to facilitate the circulation of people inside the city.\(^26\) Another aspect regarding the transport system was the construction of several funiculars and elevators (such as the Ascensor Ouro-Carmo – nowadays known as the Elevador de Santa Justa --, the Ascensor da Bica, the Elevador do Município, the Ascensor do Lavra, and the Ascensor da Glória – the last two leading to the new Avenida da Liberdade) and the development of the railway system leading to Lisbon, especially the Sud-Express (that linked Paris to Lisbon and started operating in 1877) and the regional railways (such as the West railway and the Sintra railway, that started operating in 1887). These new facilities would seem to epitomise the trends of modernity associated with the new planning of Lisbon, especially by the integration of iron as a visible construction.


material into a modern city (see the Elevador de Santa Justa, for example) and by the definitive altering of Lisbon’s soundscape. Furthermore, this sonic realm was reshaped in the last decade of the nineteenth century with the introduction of another technology of modernity in Portugal, the automobile. As a consequence of the railway development, its integration in a wider transport planning strategy, a new railway station, the Estação da Avenida (Avenida Station, nowadays called the Rossio Railway Station) was inaugurated in 1890. Situated in the southern end of the Avenida da Liberdade, close to the city centre, this station was the terminal for several national and international trains inbound for Lisbon. Whilst studying in Paris, the engineer Ressano Garcia came into contact with the new perspectives on urbanism operating in this city, especially to its reconfiguration promoted by Georges-Eugène Haussmann (1809–91) between 1853 and 1868. In this context, the Avenida da Liberdade can be compared to the wide Parisian boulevards built according to Haussmann’s perspective. The so-called process of Haussmanisation in Paris had a tremendous impact on the urban planning at the time, and some of its aspects were adopted in the reconfiguration of Lisbon.

The modern cityscape as “a site of disambiguation and rationalisation of social space through either privatisation and atomisation (in the case of Berlin and Paris) or collectivisation (in the case of Moscow) of built space and hence also atomisation or collectivisation of the subjects who dwelt within these spaces” is a key element in the work of Walter Benjamin. In his work, Benjamin points out a tendency for a stricter

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29 Maria Helena Lisboa, Os engenheiros em Lisboa, urbanismo e arquitectura (1850–1930) (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2002), 101–140.
30 The idea of Paris as the epicentre of European cultural life and a model to emulate is very much present in Portugal during this time. See, for example, Alvaro Manuel Machado, O “francesismo” na literatura portuguesa, (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1984). Regarding the association of the Parisian boulevard with the rise of a mass culture in Paris in which entertainment and the spectacle are embedded see Vanessa R. Schwartz, Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
31 About the process of Haussmanisation see, for example, Vanessa R. Schwartz, op. cit., 16–26. Aspects of this paradigm of urbanisation were also incorporated in the reconfiguration of Rio de Janeiro in the first decade of the twentieth century. See Jaime Benchimol, Pereira Passos: um Haussmann tropical (Rio de Janeiro: Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, Turismo e Esportes, 1992) and Glória Kok, Rio de Janeiro no tempo da Av. Central (São Paulo: Bei Comunicação, 2005).
separation of the public and private spaces in Paris starting from the reign of Louis-Philippe I (1830–48). Furthermore, this separation displays the rationalisation of space as a tendency inherent in the development of modern cities. Subsequently, during the Second Empire, Paris was transformed in order to suit the needs of an imperial capital of an industrial state, much to the concerted efforts of Napoleon III and of Haussmann. During this time:

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

Furthermore, Benjamin associated Haussmann with the “rendition into stone” of what he called phantasmagoria, an image a “commodity-producing society [...] produces of itself [...] and that it customarily labels as its culture.” When discussing the commodity-form in Capital, Marx states that: “It is nothing but the definite social relation between men themselves which assumes here, for them, the fantastic [the German term Marx uses is phantasmagorisch(e)] form of a relation between things.” Thus, according to Derrida, Marx analyses “not only the phantomalisation of the commodity-form but the phantomalisation of the social bond.” Drawing heavily from Marx’s theory of phantasmagoria, in The Arcades Project Benjamin expands on that element of phantasmagoria developed by Marx that relates to the commodity-in-the-market. Benjamin shifts his emphasis to a conceptualisation of phantasmagoria associated with the commodity-in-display, thus stressing its representational value.

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34 Bill Risebero, Modern Architecture and Design: An Alternative History (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982), 79–84. Nevertheless, the strict identification of Haussmann with modernity is problematic. Despite his modernisation of the surface of the city, Matthew Gandy argues that the underground infrastructures, such as the sewage system, stood as a problematic issue during Haussmann’s urban reform. See Matthew Gandy, “The Paris sewers and the rationalization of urban space”, Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 24/1 (1999), 22–44.
35 Benjamin, op. cit., 86.
Shifting the focus from the spectacle of commodities to the process that relates capital with labour, David Harvey has argued that Haussmann’s projects were, indeed, a contribution to solving the issue of the concentration of unemployed surpluses of both capital and labour power.\textsuperscript{41} Therefore, at this time, urbanisation in Paris can be seen as a way of absorbing those surpluses, acting as a vehicle for social stabilisation.\textsuperscript{42}

Returning to the urban reconfiguration of Lisbon according to Parisian inspiration (thus related to the phantasmagoric image of modern life) and to the idea of modernity, Eça de Queirós also displayed the discontinuity between the Passeio Público and the Avenida da Liberdade in his novel \textit{Os Maias} (published in 1888). In one section of the text, the protagonist, Carlos da Maia, returning to Lisbon in 1887 after a long absence brought by the tragic outcome of his incestuous relationship, goes for a walk in the city and encounters the Passeio Público transformed into the Avenida. Interestingly enough, this new broad and bright space is presented as having heavy buildings geometrically organised and as being frequented by the modern generation of Lisbon’s men.\textsuperscript{43}

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

Extending the analogy of the then-recently built areas of Lisbon with Benjamin’s Paris, this thesis will also posit the existence of a relationship between the old neighbourhoods of Lisbon (such as Alfama or Bairro Alto) and Benjamin and Lacis’

\textsuperscript{41} David Harvey, \textit{Paris, Capital of Modernity} (London/NY: Routledge 2003), 118.
\textsuperscript{44} Lisboa, \textit{op. cit.}, 151–177.
Naples. In this short essay, Benjamin and Lacis stress the porosity of the architecture of the Southern European city, in which “building and action interpenetrate in the courtyards, arcades, and stairways,” and the “forced socialisation” imposed by poverty and the “passion for improvisation” are linked to the preservation of “the scope to become a theater of new, unforeseen constellations.” For them, another important aspect of Naples was the interpenetration of the public and private spheres, a distinction they stress when comparing that city with its Northern European peers. So, in Naples “each private attitude or act is permeated by streams of communal life.” Furthermore, “buildings are used as a popular stage. They are all divided into innumerable, simultaneously animated theaters. Balcony, courtyard, window, gateway, staircase, roof are at the same time stage and boxes.” Hence, to a rationalised concept of urban space where the public and the private is separated, characteristic of modern industrial cities, the writers see Naples as a chaotic and almost archaic city, not yet subject to the rationalisation embedded in the capitalist development. On this specific point, “the structuring boundaries of modern capitalism – between public and private, labor and leisure, personal and communal – have not yet been established.”

In his analysis of Haussmann’s Paris, however, David Harvey relates the establishment of commercial spaces and entertainment venues with precisely the flexibilisation of the boundary between public and private spaces, a limit that became porous. This statement seems to place Harvey’s and Benjamin’s perspectives in a relation of incompatibility. However, the two authors are addressing distinct types of porosity. On the one hand, Harvey emphasises a rationalisation of space that established a porosity in which the circulation of capital, people, and commodities was facilitated. Conversely, Benjamin addresses the constitutive porosity existing in the older districts of Naples (and Lisbon) based in the forced socialisation process to which their inhabitants were subjected, a consequence of their belonging to the poor segments of

47 Benjamin and Lacis, op. cit., 171.
48 Ibid., 167.
51 Harvey, Paris, Capital of Modernity, 207.
the city’s population. Therefore, the idea of porosity is used by both Benjamin and Harvey in their analysis of various and specific aspects of urban life, pointing to the presence of multilayered and shifting concepts of publicness and domesticity that cannot be consistently and directly translated into a bipolarity between public and private realms, an issue that will be addressed later in this thesis. Moreover, Boym argues that porosity is a quality present in all cities, consisting in a spatial metaphor for a numerous “variety of temporal dimensions embedded in physical space” that reflects multiple “layers of time and history, social problems, as well as ingenious techniques of urban survival” and creates “a sense of urban theatricality and intimacy.”

One example drawn from literature that points to the existence of a porosity (in Benjamin’s sense of the word) between some spaces in Lisbon during the second half of the nineteenth century is the poem *O sentimento de um ocidental* (The feeling of a Westerner) written by Cesário Verde (1855–86). Initially published in 1880 as part of a special supplement of the newspaper *Jornal de viagens* entitled *Portugal a Camões* (that paid homage to the poet Luís de Camões in the tri-centennial of his death), the poem was afterwards included in a posthumous compilation of Cesário Verde’s poetry. In this text, the subject perambulates through several spaces in Lisbon, from dusk until late at night. Each of the four sections is marked as a specific temporal signature (the “Avé Marias” – Hail Marys, the “Noite Fechada” – Dark Night, “Ao gás” – When the gas lighting is turned on and “Horas Mortas” – Late Hours). The stance of the subject in this poem can be related to Michel de Certeau’s work on everyday life, in which walking is seen as “an elementary form of this experience of the city.” That same author has stated that “the act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to the statements uttered.” Cesário’s poem can be framed by an urban experience in which “the moving about that the city multiplies and concentrates makes the city itself an immense social experience of lacking a place.”

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53 I will not attempt to make a full literary analysis of the poem, but to select a few constellations that are more related with this section. For a literary analysis see, for example, Sônia Maria de Araújo Cintra, “O sentimento dum ocidental”, de Cesário Verde: uma poética das relações espaco-temporais no “território vivido”, 2007, www.abralic.org.br/enc2007/anais/84/1682.pdf (8th October 2009).
54 About the Camões’ celebrations, please see the previous chapter of this thesis. The posthumous compilation is Cesário Verde, *O livro de Cesário Verde* (Lisbon: Typographia Elzevieriana, 1887).
57 Ibid., 97.
58 Ibid., 103.
poetic subject is a *flâneur*, a strolling spectator of urban life that “could no longer fully identify his sense of modernity with the actual empirical city of Paris [or Lisbon], nor could he celebrate it in the social types and everyday life he observed in the urban landscape.”

Although the *flâneur* has been mostly associated with the writings of Charles Baudelaire and Walter Benjamin on Paris during the Second Empire, David Harvey argues that the same character is present in Balzac’s work about the same city in the period 1830–48, and even earlier. “Balzac’s flaneur (or flaneuse) maps the city’s terrain and evokes its living qualities. The city is thereby rendered legible for us in a very distinctive way.” About the *flâneur*, Schwartz states: “As a Parisian ‘type’ the *flâneur* has been taken to exemplify the masculine and bourgeois privilege of modern public life in Paris. The *flâneur* delighted in the sight of the city and its tumultuous crowd, while allegedly remaining aloof and detached from it.” Nevertheless, the problematic association of the *flâneur* with the masculine subject has been brought into question in the past decades, as Harvey’s quote reproduced above illustrates. Furthermore, the issue of the *flâneur* as a bourgeois type has been dealt with by Schwartz, who argues that, in modern urban life, “flânerie became a cultural activity for a generalized Parisian public” and that the “*flâneur* is not so much a person as *flânerie* is a positionality of power – one through which the spectator assumes the position of being able to be part of the spectacle and yet command it at the same time.” Regarding the Musée Grevin (a waxwork museum established in Paris in 1882), Schwartz remarked that “the consumption of life as spectacle was not necessarily alienating, that *flânerie* had possibly liberating and even democratizing effects.” In another work, Schwartz stated that “*flânerie* has become so common a term to describe urban


60 Harvey, *op. cit.*, 23–57.

61 Ibid., 55.


64 Schwartz, *op. cit.*, 9, 16.

65 Ibid., 131.
spectatorship that it has begun to seem hollow.” Furthermore, the focus on the flâneur obfuscated another important spectator of Parisian modern life: the badaud (translated as onlooker, rubberneck or gawker), a character also present in the works of Benjamin. A distinction between the flâneur and the badaud was included in Victor Fournel’s book Ce qu’on voit dans les rues de Paris (published in 1867) and quoted by Benjamin in Charles Baudelaire and The Arcades Project:

The Flâneur must not be confused with the badaud; a nuance should be observed here ... The simple Flâneur ... is always in full possession of his individuality. By contrast, the individuality of the badaud disappears, absorbed by the outside world, which ravishes him, which moves him to drunkenness and ecstasy. Under the influence of the spectacle that presents itself to him, the badaud becomes an impersonal creature; he is no longer a man, he is the public, he is the crowd.

This distinction is important when dealing with the narrator of Cesário Verde’s poem whose individuality is never absorbed into the urban crowd he contemplates, thus making him a flâneur. O sentimento de um ocidental starts in the shipyards near the river, where the shipwrights are still working (hopping around the scaffoldings) and the caulkers are returning home. Further along, the narrator sees the bare-footed varinas (itinerant female fish merchants) returning to their insalubrious dwelling neighbourhoods, relating those places with the places where infections are triggered.

In the next section of the poem (“Noite Fechada”), the subject arrives at Chiado, where the social landscape changes. He hears the noises of the nearby jail, watches the turning on of the lights in the flats, observes the cafês, tobacconists, the tascas (eating houses), the tendas (small groceries) and sees the horsed patrolmen. Further along, the narrator crosses his path with the florists and the seamstresses that are leaving work, yet some of them are going to the theatres where they perform as extras or chorus girls.

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


70 Ibid., 62–64.
The third section, “Ao gás”, marks an abrupt change of the city, displaying the bourgeois women returning from their religious practices. Further along, the narrator sees shop-windows being examined by a young delinquent and cruises the fashion and fabric shops, where the suffocating smells of face powder linger through “clouds of satin.”\textsuperscript{71} The reference to gas lighting as a temporal marker is important here because it reveals a relevant boundary between day and night in the city. At the time, gas was still the main fuel for the public lighting in the city, but the late nineteenth and the earlier twentieth centuries saw electric-powered public illumination reaching a significant part of Lisbon’s centre.\textsuperscript{72} In his writings on Baudelaire, Walter Benjamin remarks that “the appearance of the street as an intérieur in which the phantasmagoria of the flâneur is concentrated is hard to separate from gas lighting.”\textsuperscript{73} At this point, the dim gas lighting seems to reinforce the phantasmagoric appearance of the commodity-in-display in the city. In \textit{O sentimento de um ocidental}, the nauseating smell of the leaking gas was set forth just as the poem started and an oppressive atmosphere can be found throughout the text. Despite the centrality occupied by a bourgeois social space, the section “Ao gás” finishes with a reference to a hoarse lottery seller and to an old man (the narrator’s former teacher of Latin), who is begging.\textsuperscript{74}

The last section of the poem moves to the gates of the private houses of wealthy people, where the subject pictures the “chaste wives” nestling “in mansions of transparent glass.”\textsuperscript{75} Afterwards, the subject walks past the taverns where drunken men sing, sees the guards of the city searching the stairways and the “immorals” wearing their robes whilst smoking on the balcony.\textsuperscript{76} The poem finishes with the stanza: “And, huge, in this irregular mass / of sepulchral buildings sized like hills / the human Pain searches the broad horizons, / and has tides, of gall, like a sinister sea!”\textsuperscript{77} Although a narrative poem, \textit{O sentimento de um ocidental} can be useful in understanding the complexity of the urban spaces in Lisbon at this time, focusing on the sequential and successive changes of the social and physical landscape, hinting at the porosity present in the old neighbourhoods of the city. In this sense, several areas of the city of Lisbon.

\textsuperscript{71} Verde, \textit{op. cit.}, 64–66.  
\textsuperscript{72} Abílio Fernandes, \textit{Lisboa e a electricidade} (Lisbon: EDP, 1992), 15–63.  
\textsuperscript{73} Benjamin, \textit{The Writer of Modern life: Essays on Charles Baudelaire}, 81.  
\textsuperscript{74} Verde, \textit{op. cit.}, 66.  
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., 67.  
\textsuperscript{77} “E, enorme, nessa massa irregular/De prédios sepulcrais, com dimensões de montes/A Dor humana busca os amplos horizontes,/E tem marés, de fel, como um sinistro mar!”, Verde, \textit{op. cit.}, 68.
had, simultaneously, common traits with both Paris and Naples, as they were presented by Walter Benjamin.

As mentioned earlier, the shift of the public lighting in Lisbon from gas or oil to electricity was uneven throughout the city, first benefiting both the newly developed areas and the districts traditionally associated with commerce and entertainment. Consequently, the first spaces to have a definitive installation of electrical lighting (from 1889) were: Chiado, Rua do Ouro, Praça D. Pedro IV (Rossio), Praça do Município, Praça dos Restauradores, and Avenida da Liberdade. This planning of lighting created a kind of delimited corridor for a specific kind of publicness in Lisbon, putting sites such as shops, theatres, public buildings, and cafés on display. Furthermore, several commercial enterprises helped the reshaping of the Chiado from the last decade of the nineteenth century onwards, especially the first multi-storey department stores in Lisbon (analogous to the French *magasins* of the time): the Grandes Armazéns do Chiado (established in 1894) and the Armazéns Grandella (established in 1907). The latter was owned by the entrepreneur Francisco Grandella (1853–1934) who, in order to supply his store, possessed also factories in Benfica (a civil parish incorporated in the city of Lisbon in 1885) and Alhandra (a village in the eastern periphery of Lisbon). To provide accommodation for workers, Grandella built a neighbourhood in Benfica (the Bairro Grandella – that also included a school, 1903), planned as a way of “reproducing the labour hierarchy in the place of habitation” promoting, thus, a paternalistic view of the workers. The Companhia dos Grandes Armazéns do Chiado was established in 1894 by two French immigrants and focused on the trade of clothes, jewellery and perfumery and lasted only three years. Nevertheless, the space in which the company operated was occupied by other businesses until the opening of the Grandes Armazéns do Chiado (a department store owned by the company Santos, Cruz & Oliveira, Lda) in 1904.

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81 For a graphic depiction of this entreprise see *O micróbio*, nº 29, 31st January 1895, 32.
The entertainment business was not immune to the changes operated in the urban landscape during the period of this thesis (1865–1908). Being a volatile activity, several theatres opened and closed in various areas of Lisbon, such as the Teatro do Salitre, which changed its name to Teatro das Variedades in 1858, and was demolished in 1879 due to the construction of the Avenida da Liberdade. Another space demolished for the building of the new avenue was the Circo Price, that presented mainly circus, although there are references to operettas and zarzuelas being also staged there. The Teatro da Rua dos Condes closed down in 1882 and a provisional theatre was built on that same ground, the Teatro Chalet da Rua dos Condes, lasting only three seasons. During the last years of the Teatro da Rua dos Condes, revistas were the most important source of income for the theatre and that same repertoire was also hegemonic in its successor, the short-lived Teatro Chalet (in which one of the most successful revistas of the seasons of 1884 and 1885, *O micróbio*, by Francisco Jacobetty, was presented). In 1888, a new theatre, the Teatro Condes, was open in the same space and concentrated on presenting operettas and revistas. Furthermore, the newspaper *O Micróbio* mentioned the existence of a café-concert in that theatre, in which “spicy songs” were performed with a “French grace.” This space belonged to Francisco Grandella and was initially run by the entrepreneurs Salvador Marques (1844-1907) and Casimiro d’Almeida. With regard to this specific location, it can be argued that this opening of three theatres on the same ground is symptomatic of the operative dynamics of a spatial *habitus* (the integration of a specific space into the routine of sociability of individuals). In retrospect, of the theatres working in the first forty years of the nineteenth century, only the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, the Teatro de D. Maria II and the

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83 For an overview of the musical theatre in Portugal during the nineteenth century see Manuel Carlos de Brito and Luísa Cymbron, *História da música portuguesa* (Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 1992), 129–137.
88 See *O micróbio*, nº 23, 16th December 1894, 182. It was not possible to determine the frequency nor the duration of this activity. However, Carlos Malheiro Dias relates the establishment of the café-concert in Lisbon with the closing of Lisbon’s main theatres during the Summer season and the opening of improvised theatres in the periphery of the city. See Carlos Malheiro Dias, *Cartas de Lisboa: terceira série* (1905–1906) (Lisbon: Livraria Clásica Editora, 1907), 262–269.
89 Bastos, *op. cit.*, 359.
Teatro do Ginásio (where the first *revistas* were presented in the 1850s) have survived and maintained regular activity throughout the nineteenth century.

In the last third of the nineteenth century, several theatres were built in Lisbon and in other towns and villages, which might indicate an expansion of the theatrical activity during that time. Despite the ephemerality of the theatrical business, a few of those new spaces were key to the expansion of the market for performances in Lisbon, especially by becoming privileged spaces for the presentation of new genres of musical theatre, which were then becoming hegemonic: the operetta and the *revista*. For example, the Teatro do Príncipe Real opened in 1865, in the district of Mouraria, and focused on melodrama and, occasionally, operetta. The Teatro da Trindade opened in 1867 as a space that could both accommodate drama, comedy and comic operas in the main hall and concerts and balls in another hall (the Salão), giving a special relevance to the presentation of operetta and *revista*. This theatre was built with the capital of a society and was directed by one of its members, Francisco Palha (1826–90), who was running the Teatro da Rua dos Condes during the season of 1866. The Teatro Taborda, situated in the Costa do Castelo and focusing especially on drama, was inaugurated in 1870. The Real Coliseu de Lisboa (mostly dedicated to circus, but also presenting opera, comic opera, operetta and *zarzuela*) opened in 1887. Furthermore, the first projections of film in Lisbon took place in that same space (from 1896 onwards) and this new type of entertainment was soon displayed in other theatres, such as the Teatro D. Amélia and in venues built mainly for its presentation, such as the Animatógrafo do Rossio (established in 1907). In 1888, the Teatro da Avenida (one of the first buildings of the Avenida da Liberdade) started its activity, which focused especially in comedies and *revistas*. The short-lived Teatro da Alegria (near the Avenida da Liberdade and dedicated to spoken theatre) was built on the same grounds of the Rua Nova da Alegria where a provisional theatre once stood, and opened in 1890. Further along that same year, the biggest venue in Lisbon, the Coliseu dos Recreios (an octagonal hall with a glass and iron dome), was open. The Coliseu premièred with a comic opera by an Italian

91 Bastos, *op. cit.*, 355.
93 Bastos, *op. cit.*, 372–373.
96 Bastos, *op. cit.*, 312, 318.
company, although its main specification was the presentation of circus shows. Nevertheless, the space also accommodated several theatrical genres (such as operetta, zarzuela and Italian opera), public concerts, film (with Edison’s projectoscope), and wrestling. In 1894, an operetta inaugurated the Teatro D. Amélia, located in Chiado, but that theatre came to present mainly drama, comedy, and cinema. By interlocking theatres and spaces of circulation and sociability, it is possible to grasp that most of the recently built theatres were still in the areas traditionally associated with leisure (such as Chiado or Trindade), but the expansion of the city with the Avenida da Liberdade also enlarged the theatrical circuit (especially with the Teatro Condes, the Teatro da Alegria, the Teatro da Avenida, and the Coliseu dos Recreios).

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

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


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


103 Moreau, op. cit., 20.
Rebello states that the Real Teatro de São Carlos, the Teatro Nacional de D. Maria II and the Teatro D. Amélia attracted the haute and middle bourgeoisie and the other theatres had a predominantly popular audience.\footnote{Rebello, op. cit., 53–54.} Associating theatres with the spectacles presented, it is possible to infer a relation between audience segmentation and theatrical genres. Therefore, opera (presented in the Real Teatro de São Carlos) and drama and high comedy (presented in the Teatro Nacional de D. Maria II and the Teatro D. Amélia) attracted the high and middle bourgeoisie (and, although Rebello does not refer to it directly, the aristocracy) and operetta, \textit{revista} and circus attracted the popular segments of Lisbon’s theatregoers.\footnote{Ibid.} Apart from the Real Teatro de São Carlos, the other Lisbon theatres had identical ticket prices among themselves, a fact that complicates a straightforward use of pricing as a gatekeeping strategy.\footnote{On ticket pricing in the Lisbon theatres in 1890 see Rui Leitão, \textit{A ambência musical e sonora da cidade de Lisboa no ano de 1890} Master’s thesis (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2006), 163–164, 307–308.} Therefore, the capacity to attract specific segments of the audience was also heavily indebted to the type of entertainment on offer in those spaces and to the agents involved in it (such as the presence of notorious actors, for example).

This section has aimed to display how, in a way similar to that used by James Clifford in his approach to Michel de Certeau’s theory of everyday life, that: “‘space’ is never ontologically given. It is discursively mapped and corporeally practiced.”\footnote{James Clifford, \textit{Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century} (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 54.} This conceptualisation of space leads me to the thought of Henri Lefebvre who concentrated “not on space as an a priori or ontological entity, but on the processes and strategies of producing space, which are by definition historical.”\footnote{Kanishka Goonewardena, \textit{et al}, “On the production of Henri Lefebvre”, in Kanishka Goonewardena, \textit{et al} (eds), \textit{Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre} (London/New York: Routledge, 2008), 9.} Regarding his groundbreaking book \textit{The Production of Space}, Deborah Pellow remarks that Lefebvre “emphasizes the symbolic meaning and significance of particular spaces, in effect how spaces are culturalized, but also how culture is spatialized, how practices are lived in space.”\footnote{Deborah Pellow, “The architecture of female seclusion in West Africa”, in Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga and Setha M. Low (eds), \textit{The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture} (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 2003), 161 and Henri Lefebvre, \textit{The Production of Space} (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1991).} Therefore, spatial and cultural practices are not only inseparable, but are inherently
intertwined with each other, processes I have been attempting to portray in the study of Lisbon’s urban reconfiguration in the period 1865–1908.

In his work *The Urban Revolution*, Lefebvre constructs a synchronic analysis of space in contemporary societies divided into three levels: the global, the mixed and the level of habiting. Although he was theorising contemporary society, due to the necessary historicity implicit in his thought, these analytical levels can be applied to other historical moments, especially if one pay close attention to their historical specificities. In his theory, the global level is presented by its association with the exercise of power (by politicians, for instance) and it relates with what he terms institutional space. By assuming that the global level “projects itself into part of the built domain: buildings, monuments, large-scaled urban projects”, it is possible to relate the planning and construction of the Avenida da Liberdade, for example, with this level. The mixed level is, for Lefebvre, the specifically urban, an intermediary level between the global and the private, where elements related to “institutions and higher-level entities” are removed from the cityscape. On this specific point, Lefebvre’s examples relate, in a particular way, to contemporary society, because he includes on that level, for example, avenues and a few institutional buildings such as city councils and parish churches. For a city with the dimension of Lisbon and the centralisation of local and national institutions in the period 1865–1908, there is a complex permeability between its global and the mixed levels, a kind of porosity between them. Finally, the level of habiting is associated by Lefebvre with the private realm, mainly housing. Again, the blurring of the threshold between public and private spaces presented in Lisbon points to a bleeding of the mixed level into the level of habiting and vice-versa. In the case of Lisbon at this time, it is possible to observe a porosity not only of spaces, but also of levels. Therefore, a hypothetical reconstruction of the produced land/soundscapes in the several levels of the city of Lisbon can only be multilayered and complex.

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110 Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 78.
111 Ibid., 79.
112 Ibid.
113 Ibid., 80.
114 Ibid., 80–81.
The Real Teatro de São Carlos and Lisbon’s Operatic Activity

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

Since its establishment, the Real Teatro de São Carlos concentrated most of the operatic performances in Portugal and was mainly focused in presenting opera in Italian. As most of the Italian theatres throughout Europe, it was run in an impresario-based model (although, in most of the seasons studied in this thesis, subsidised by the government) and employed an Italian company during its season. Being associated with the cosmopolitan entertainment of the upper social strata, its repertoire reflected the coeval transnational trends of the European entertainment market, initially concentrating its programming in opera by Italian composers, especially Rossini, Donizetti, Bellini and Italy’s foremost Italian composer of that period, Verdi. For example, in the 1864/1865 operatic season, of the seventeen operas presented, thirteen were written by the composers mentioned above. Nevertheless, in this period there was a noteworthy change in the way operatic theatres managed their repertoire. During a significant part of the nineteenth century, despite the presence of a few recurrent operas, theatrical programming also focused on novelty and on presenting premières of unknown works during the season. However, from the middle of that century, the constitution of an operatic canon (at the time consisting mostly of operas in the Italian tradition) reshaped the season structure that recurrently presented more works from that

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115 Carvalho, Eça de Queirós e Offenbach (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 1999), 29–37.
117 Ibid., 28–51.
119 For an account of Verdi’s reception in Portugal see Luisa Cymbron (ed.), Verdi em Portugal 1843–2001 (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 2001) [exhibition catalogue].
120 Benevides, op. cit., 312–313.
repertoire, with a few occasional premières of unknown works by other composers. Nonetheless, most of the relevant operatic premières in the Real Teatro de São Carlos until the 1880s were of new operas composed by living composers that were hegemonic in that canon, such as Verdi.

On the one hand, this change might be said to point to a narrowing of the operatic repertoire and to a change associated with the homogenisation, and thus commodification, of operatic performances. Conversely, this shift is crucial in order to understand the establishment of the canon as related to an informal patrimonialisation of musical materials. Due to issues of practicality, the recurrence of the presentation of operas that belonged to the canon fomented the constitution of an informal archive of operas and other related artefacts in the São Carlos, that still remains one of the most important collections for the study of music in Portugal, and is now extant in the National Library of Portugal. However, due to the informal (thus unsystematic) nature of that archive, to the changes operated in the management of the theatre by the government, and to the ephemerality of the repertoire of the operatic activity until the middle of the nineteenth century, several materials associated with a significant number of operas presented in the Real Teatro de São Carlos were lost or misplaced and never found their way into that that collection. One important issue here is a transition between a model in which the materials bought by a specific impresario were included in the inventory of the theatre (being its buyer refunded after the end of the contract) to a model in which the enterprises owned their specific materials, which obviously contributed less to the expansion of the theatre’s inventory. On that note, Sousa Bastos argued that, in Portugal, none of the theatres possessed an archive, but a collection of several manuscripts or printed materials for their own use, a fact that complicates the task for theatre and music historians. In this case, he stresses the relevance of a formal (thus systematic) approach to archives as a possible source for historians. Nevertheless, the ephemerality of the theatrical activity in Portugal as well as a mainly utilitarian perspective on these types of materials remain important issues for understanding the dynamics of the entertainment market at the time.

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122 Ibid.
Apart from the performance of full operas and ballets, that constituted the core theatrical season of the Real Teatro de São Carlos, several other typologies of spectacle were presented in that space. A relevant number of representations consisted in benefit shows for a significant number of agents associated with the theatre and with the musical life in Lisbon. This sort of spectacle consisted in a show that its profit, after all expenses paid, was to be delivered to the benefited (who could be an individual or a society, for example). Because benefits were not included in the season tickets for that theatre, their profit depended directly on specific ticket office revenue. In order to maximise profit, the repertoire chosen had to be the most appealing possible, such as the performance of commercially successful operas in their entirety or in parts (full acts or selected arias). These varied programs were similar to the heterogeneous repertoire performed in public concerts from the first part of the nineteenth century, and, if the beneficiary was an instrumentalist, generally included instrumental soloist pieces performed by him/her.

As in most of the theatres in Lisbon, whose season lasted from six to eight months, the season of the Real Teatro de São Carlos did not last the full year, usually extending from October until the following March or April. On this issue, the writer Júlio César Machado (1835–90) started his book Os teatros de Lisboa (in which the author concentrated on the activity of the São Carlos, D. Maria and Trindade) by comparing the São Carlos to a cloak, for they only served during the wintertime. Nevertheless, this span of the season allowed for the space to be used by other companies during the long summer break and for the orchestra musicians to work in other theatres. For example, the zarzuela company associated with Circo Price performed several shows in S. Carlos during May of 1866, in which works by Francisco Barbieri (1823–94), Joaquin Gaztambide (1822–70), Manuel Caballero (1835–1906), and José Rogel (1829–1901) were presented. An interesting occurrence of the use of that theatre by that same company took place during May and June of 1870. Aside from several zarzuelas by Barbieri, Gaztambide, and Emilio Arrieta (1821–94), the company performed two of Jacques Offenbach’s operettas (La vie parisienne and Barbe-Bleu) in Spanish, displaying not only the role played by that type of entertainment during that

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124 Bastos, op. cit., 58 and Benevides, op. cit., 385.
125 Machado, Os teatros de Lisboa, 11.
126 Leitão, op. cit., 60.
128 Ibid., 330.
period and its frequent presentation in translated versions, but also the fluidity of the
taxonomy of genres employed at this time, especially in this segment of the
entertainment market. Nevertheless, when comparing the zarzuela with French operetta,
Sousa Bastos emphasises the national character of the latter, especially because of its
inclusion of “popular songs,” patriotic marches, and dances such as seguidillas or
malagueñas, for example. On other occurrences, several theatrical companies (such
as the companies performing in the Teatro de D. Maria II or in the Teatro Ginásio as
well as foreign companies, for example) performed occasionally in the Real Teatro de S.
Carlos. Another seasonal entertainment provided in the several theatres and societies
in Lisbon were the carnival masked balls. For instance, in the carnival of the 1877/1878
season, the impresarios promoted four balls and three corresponding operatic
performances (being the fourth included in the regular season of the theatre), for which
they created a specific signature ticket.

This work will now discuss the changes operated in the programming of the Real
Teatro de São Carlos during the period of this thesis, focusing on the development of an
operatic canon that, alongside the predominance of Italian opera, began to regularly
incorporate the repertoires of French and German traditions in the theatre’s seasons.
Although the establishment of a transnational operatic repertoire during this period was
the most prominent feature of the programming of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, it must
be emphasised that this canon was dynamic and subject to change, both through the
integration of recently composed operas by active composers and through the
emergence of different aesthetics displayed in this field. Although heavily dominated by
Italian composers, the programming of that theatre started to include Meyerbeer’s
operas (from the late 1830s onwards) and, from the 1860s onwards, were regularly
included in the season programming works by Gounod, Halévy, Auber, Thomas,
Massenet, Délibes or Bizet, for example, displaying the dynamics inherent in the
constitution of the operatic canon at the time. Furthermore, the presentation of operas
associated with Italian verismo and the incorporation of works by German composers
(especially Wagner’s musical dramas, although Lohengrin premièred in that theatre in
1883) were key events in Lisbon’s operatic seasons of the 1890s. Nevertheless and

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129 Bastos, op. cit., 157.
131 Bastos, op. cit., 261–262 and Mário Moreau, O Teatro de S. Carlos: dois séculos de história, vol. 1
considering that the paradigm was changing in the beginning of the twentieth century, the vast majority of these operas were presented in their Italian version, stressing the Italian scope of the S. Carlos. In a sketch from the *revista A nove* (premiered in the Teatro da Avenida in the 28th of February 1909) about Lisbon’s theatres, Sousa Bastos (who wrote the *Diccionario do teatro portuguez*) stated that, in the S. Carlos of those days, people were singing in so many tongues, that, one day, they would also “sing in ox tongue.”

This clearly satirical statement not only points to linguistic issues that emerged in the opera theatre, but also places the *revista* as a commentator of the theatrical activity, a type of show that is not focused on merely displaying the actuality, but mainly on reflecting about it.

This expansion of the operatic repertoire can be seen in a frame of transnationalist reshaping of the entertainment markets during the second half (and, especially, the last third) of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the Real Teatro de S. Carlos can be an interesting case to understand the reception of French and German opera within the tradition of an Italian operatic theatre. One interesting aspect for this occurred in 1842, with respect to the presentation of two of Saverio Mercadante’s operas: *Il bravo* and *La vestale*. In an article published in the newspaper *A Revolução de Setembro*, a journalist portrayed Mercadante (who had previously worked in the Real Teatro de S. Carlos) as a composer that mixed the melodic aspects of the Italian operatic tradition with the composition techniques associated with the Viennese late Classical tradition.

On that same page, the journalist compared Mercadante with Meyerbeer who stood for, at the time and especially in Southern Europe, as the paradigm of the German operatic composition, despite his cosmopolitan activity and his contribution for the encoding of the French *grand opéra*. In the introduction of a posthumous edition of Eça de Queirós’ early writings published in the twentieth century, but referring to years of 1866 and 1867, Jaime Batalha Reis (1847–1935) critiqued this association stating, that, in Lisbon, the supreme art form was the Italian opera and that Meyerbeer’s productions, although Italian operas, were portrayed as representative of the German

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133 *A Revolução de Setembro*, nº 502, 2nd August 1842, 1.
134 About the reception of these two composers in Italy see Michael Wittmann, “Meyerbeer and Mercadante? The reception of Meyerbeer in Italy”, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 5/2 (1993), 115–132 and Fabrizio della Seta, “L’immagine di Meyerbeer nella critica italiana dell’Ottocento e l’ idea di ‘dramma musicale’”, in Maria Teresa Muraro, *L’opera tra Venezia e Parigi* (Florence: Olschki, 1988), 147–176. It is also relevant to reinforce this idea that the staging of Weber’s operas in Lisbon happened much later in the nineteenth century.
tradition. Mário Vieira de Carvalho argues that this association made by Batalha Reis of Meyerbeer with the Italian opera was not only the result of its performances in Italian, but also as a result of their adaptation to the conventions of the Italian operatic company of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos. Thus, the spectre of an Austro-German (sometimes through an oblique reference to France) musical culture is an aspect that periodically emerges throughout the nineteenth century in Portugal, with regard to both opera and instrumental music.

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

Another example of the discourse regarding Richard Wagner published in the Portuguese press was a series of articles written by Batalha Reis (under the initials V. de D.) published in O Ocidente in March and April 1883. This series of articles was published less than a month after the composer’s death and coincided with the première of Lohengrin (on the 13th of March), the first of his operas to be performed in Portugal. In some issues, Batalha Reis (an alumnus of a German school in Lisbon, the Roeder), traces a biography of the composer consistent with the myths that Wagner promoted of

135 Jaime Batalha Reis, “Introdução”, in Eça de Queirós, Prosas bárbaras (Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1912), 17.
136 Carvalho, Eça de Queirós e Offenbach, 96.
138 Ramalho Ortigão and Eça de Queirós, As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes, vol. 7 (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1876), 71–72 and Carvalho, op. cit., 76. On the parallels between Offenbach and Wagner, especially their alternatives to the then-prevalent socio-communicative system of opera consumption see Carvalho, op. cit., 121–125.
139 Adriano da Guerra Andrade, Dicionário de pseudónimos e iniciais de escritores portugueses (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 1999), 269.
140 O Ocidente, n°s 151–154, 156–157, from the 1st of March 1883 to the 1st of May 1883 and Carvalho, op. cit., 95.
himself and which were in wide circulation throughout Europe at the time.\footnote{O Occidente, nº 151, 1\textsuperscript{st} March 1883, 50–51; nº 152, 11\textsuperscript{th} March 1883, 59; nº 153, 21\textsuperscript{st} March 1883, 67 and nº 156, 21\textsuperscript{st} April 1883, 94. Richard Wagner, My life (London: Constable & Robinson Ltd, 1996).} In other issues, Batalha Reis writes about the theatre in Bayreuth and the texts of Wagner’s dramas.\footnote{O Occidente, nº 154, 1\textsuperscript{st} April 1883, 78 and nº 157, 1\textsuperscript{st} May 1883, 100–102, respectively.} By relating the presentation of the new illusionist apparatus of the theatre built in Bayreuth with a form of satisfying the “most elevated aesthetic needs of the modern spectator,” Batalha Reis emphasises the idea of the full aesthetic experience when attending a performance of a Wagnerian musical drama and promotes the dichotomy between the German art and Italian entertainment.

After the première of \textit{Lohengrin} in Lisbon, it was only during the season of 1892/1893 that were staged other Wagnerian music dramas (\textit{Lohengrin} was presented again and \textit{Der fliegende Holländer} and \textit{Tannhaüser} were given their premières).\footnote{Moreau, \textit{O Teatro de S. Carlos: dois séculos de história}, vol. 1, 128. For a review of the première of \textit{Der fliegende Holländer see A semana de Lisboa, nº 10, 5\textsuperscript{th} March 1893, 78. For a review of the première of \textit{Tannhaüser see A semana de Lisboa, nº 13, 26\textsuperscript{th} March 1893, 103.} This inclusion of Wagnerian music dramas in the seasons of the S. Carlos was related both to the incorporation of that repertoire in the programming of Italian operatic theatres (a process that started in the 1870s) and to the action of Freitas Brito, the impresario of that theatre at the time.\footnote{Nery and Castro, \textit{op.cit.}, 157.} Still on the subject of Wagner’s performance in Portugal, the première of \textit{Tristan und Isolde} was scheduled for the 1\textsuperscript{st} of February 1908. In order to attend that première, the Royal Family returned to Lisbon from Vila Viçosa, a journey that proved to be fatal: on that afternoon, King Carlos I and the Prince D. Luis were mortally shot in Lisbon. Nevertheless, after a postponement due to the regicide, \textit{Tristan und Isolde} premièred on the 10\textsuperscript{th} of February 1908.\footnote{Nery and Castro, \textit{op.cit.}, 152–153 and Brito and Cymbron, \textit{op. cit.}, 137.} In the following season (1908/1909) the S. Carlos presented Wagner’s \textit{Der Ring des Nibelungen} in German, a fact that displays not only the changes operated in the transnational theatrical repertoire at the time, but also the end of the monopoly of Italian operatic companies in the programming of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos.\footnote{Contemporânea, nº 9, March 1923, 137–141.}

An interesting article on the reception of Wagner’s music dramas not in Lisbon, but in Porto, was published by Manuel Ramos (1862–1931) in a 1923 issue of the \textit{Contemporânea} magazine.\footnote{Contemporânea, nº 9, March 1923, 137–141.} That article included an account of one of the foremost musicians in that city, Bernardo Valentim Moreira de Sá (1853–1924), regarding the full
performances of the piano reductions of Wagner’s music dramas *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* by the pianist and composer Miguel Ângelo Pereira (1843–1901) during the year of 1872. According to that indirect account, those private *soirées* were hosted by the violinist Augusto Marques Pinto (1838–88) and attended by Moreira de Sá and the musicographer Joaquim de Vasconcelos (previously mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis), amongst other musicians of that city. In this sense, Wagner’s initial reception in Portugal was not exclusively dependant on its theatrical presentations, but relied also on private circuits of sociability and on the dissemination of the composer’s theoretical works.

I would now like to focus on the performances of operas by Portuguese composers in the Real Teatro de São Carlos, discussing the idea of an emergent “national” or “nationalist” theatre (in which opera was included) during the period of this thesis. At this time, that theatre only sporadically premièred operas by Portuguese composers. This can be explained both by this relevance of a transnational operatic repertoire and by the presence of an Italian company in that theatre. For example, when the opera *L'arco di Sant'Anna*, composed by Francisco de Sá Noronha (1820–81), was staged in the S. Carlos in 1868, several singers refused to learn it because it would not be performed anywhere else. One common trait of several operas by Portuguese composers staged in the S. Carlos was their drawing inspiration from Portuguese Romantic historical novels and dramas: *L'arco di Sant'Anna* (based in the novel *O arco de Santana*, by Almeida Garrett), *Eurico* (composed by Miguel Ângelo Pereira, based in the novel *Eurico, o presbítero*, by Alexandre Herculano, and staged in 1870), *Fra Luigi di Sousa* (composed by Freitas Gazul, based in the drama *Frei Luís de Sousa*, by Almeida Garrett, premièred in 1891). This reveals the symbolic relevance of Romantic historicism for Portuguese operatic composers at the time, which indicates a complex relation between dramaturgical narratives regarding Portugal (although...
inspired by French models) and Italian operatic conventions. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that the hegemony of the historical drama in the Portuguese theatre started in the late 1830s and, despite several aesthetic shifts, remained an important typology of spectacle throughout the century, being heavily re-encoded in its last two decades to suit the emergence of the symbolic nation (a tendency Rebello associates with neo-Romanticism). Furthermore, factual rigour became a significant element in the appreciation of works of that type, an issue reflected in several coeval reviews of Meyerbeer’s *L’Africaine* (an opera that draws on Portuguese history, despite including several historical inaccuracies and inconsistencies), for example.

Another episodic case regarding the staging of Portuguese works in the S. Carlos was the performance of several of operas composed by Augusto Machado (1845–1924). Having studied in Paris, Machado returned to Portugal, where he presented three operas and several operettas during this period. His opera *Laureanne* (based in George Sand’s drama *Les beaux messieurs de Bois-Doré*) premièred in Marseille in 1883 and was staged in Lisbon the following year, in its Italian version (with the substitution of spoken dialogues for recitatives). Later on, *I Doria* (with a libretto by Antonio Ghislanzoni, 1824–93) premièred in S. Carlos in 1887 and, on the following year, *Mario Wetter* (whose librettist was Ruggero Leoncavallo) was also presented. Apart from his work as composer, Machado also co-directed the Real Teatro de S. Carlos between 1889 and 1892.

The episodic constellation of operas by Portuguese composers presented in the S. Carlos during this period had an interesting case in 1907, with the première of *Amore e perdizione*, composed by João Arroio (1861–1930) and inspired by Camilo Castelo

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157 For a coeval biography of Machado written by Jaime Batalha Reis (under the pseudonym V. de D.) see *O Occidente*, nº 148, 1st February 1883, 26–27.


160 Bastos, *Carteira do artista: apontamentos para a historia do theatro portuguez e brazileiro* (Lisbon: Antiga casa Bertrand, José Bastos, 1899), 242. For an interesting parallel between Augusto Machado and the character of the musician Cruges in *Os Maia* (by Eça de Queirós) see Carvalho, *op. cit.*, 95–100.
Branco’s novel *Amor de perdição*, published in 1862. The opera was subsequently presented in Hamburg and a German edition was published by Schott.¹⁶¹

Going back to the late 1880s, Alfredo Keil (mentioned in the previous chapter) had three of his operas presented in the Real Teatro de S. Carlos between 1888 and 1899: *Donna Bianca* (inspired by a poem by Almeida Garrett),¹⁶² *Irene* (premièred in Turin’s Teatro Regio and edited in Italy),¹⁶³ and *Serrana* (an adaptation of Camilo Castelo Branco’s short story *Como ela o amava*). *Serrana* (one of the many collaborations between Keil and Henrique Lopes de Mendonça), despite its presentation in Italian, was the first opera to be published in Portuguese and displayed as a nationalist opera at this time.¹⁶⁴ It is not surprising that the first opera that was promoted as national during that period was composed by a dilettante and not by a composer fully integrated in the productive system such as Augusto Machado, who, as a professional, had to possess the stylistic plasticity and to master the conventions of several dramatic traditions in order to work regularly in the entertainment market of Lisbon. Despite its affiliation with verismo, especially in its aestheticisation of the vernacular and the displaying of a rural (thus associated with the ideology of the authentic) community through the use of “popular melodies,” *Serrana*’s most important contribution for the display of a nationalist operatic aesthetic was probably situated in the realm of the symbolic.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, it can be read as an attempt by Keil to impose himself on the entertainment market in Lisbon by affiliating himself with a different tradition from the hegemonic Franco-Italian repertoire that was being presented in the S. Carlos at the time. Nevertheless, the press of the time wrote extensively on the opera, that was presented in the Coliseu dos Recreios only two years after its première.¹⁶⁶

The idea of a national opera parallels the strive for a national theatre in Portugal throughout the nineteenth century, being the Real Teatro de S. Carlos sometimes

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¹⁶² *Donna Bianca: drame lyrique en quatre parties et un prologue* (Paris: G. Hartmann, [1888–1890]).

¹⁶³ *Irene: leggenda mistica (dramma lirico) in quattro parti* (Lipsia: Stamperia Musical di C. G. Roder, [1893–1896]).


¹⁶⁵ For a detailed stylistic and dramaturgical analysis of *Serrana* see Luís Raimundo, “Para uma leitura dramatúrgica e estilística de *Serrana* de Alfredo Keil”, *Revista portuguesa de musicologia* 10 (2000), 227–274.

portrayed as an obstacle to the development of the theatrical activity in that country. On the one hand, that theatre’s Italian leaning favoured the presentation of the transnational repertoire instead of promoting Portuguese works. On the other hand, governmental policy endowed the S. Carlos with greater subsidies than any other theatre, namely, the Teatro Nacional D. Maria II. Therefore, the press of that time promoted the presentation of a polarity between those two spaces (and, consequently, ideologic canons). For example, the writer António Pedro Lopes de Mendonça (1825–65) stated in 1847 that the opening of the Italian compromised the development of a national theatre.167 Furthermore, in 1853 and drawing a panorama of the Portuguese theatre, Luís Augusto Palmerim (1825–93, who became director of the Conservatório Geral de Arte Dramática in 1878) stated the absence of renowned Portuguese plays by the successors of Almeida Garrett (who would die in 1854) and the prevalence of translations in the entertainment market of that time.168 Therefore, a duality between national theatre and imported models was also present in the spoken theatre during that time, complicating the ideological association between the S. Carlos with transnationalism and the D. Maria II with nationalism.169

Along the same lines, Eça de Queirós published, in As farpas, a substantial article in December of 1871 regarding theatrical activity in Lisbon.170 He starts by stating that theatrical activity was condemned due to a decay in the audience’s “spirit and intelligence” and to the economic situation of the theatres themselves.171 Queirós then stresses the prevalence of translated foreign plays in the Teatro Ginásio, Teatro do Príncipe Real and Teatro da Rua dos Condes (lacking in all of them the quality of the interpretations and of the scenic apparatus) and the representation of operettas and zarzuelas in the Teatro da Trindade by poorly trained actors/singers.172 Afterwards, the author presents the work of the Teatro D. Maria II in heroic terms, by comparing it to the painting The Raft of the Medusa, by Théodore Géricault (1791–1824), stressing the constraints associated with its activity (namely the lack of dramatic literature, the

167 A Revolução de Setembro, nº 1693, 26th October 1847, 1
168 Ibid., nº 3377, 11th July 1853, 1–2, nº 3378, 12th July 1853, 1–2, and nº 3383, 18th July 1853, 1.
170 Ramalho Ortigão and Eça de Queirós, As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes, (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1872), 48–72. Several of the issues addressed in this text were similarly approached later in the century by Fialho d’Almeida in his Actores e autores (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1925).
171 Ortigão and Queirós, op. cit., 49.
172 Ibid., 49–50.
public’s own inertia, the economic difficulties and the shortcomings in the education of actors).\textsuperscript{173}

Subsequently, Queirós presents his thoughts on the reconfiguration of theatrical activity in Lisbon: the Teatro D. Maria II would be the focus for drama, Teatro da Trindade would present comic operas, and one theatre with one company (created by the merging of the Teatro da Rua dos Condes, Teatro do Príncipe Real and Teatro Variedades) for the representation of popular theatre at cheap prices.\textsuperscript{174} To finish the article, he then attacks the Real Teatro de S. Carlos by using several tropes frequently reproduced in the press throughout the nineteenth century: this theatre as a government subsidised entertainment for the upper social strata (whereas the D. Maria II did not get such a generous support from the public revenue), and the hegemony of the Italian repertoire (based on sensualist, thus decadent, entertainment) instead of the promotion of a civilising national theatre.\textsuperscript{175} However, despite his criticism, Eça de Queirós was a frequenter of the S. Carlos and several of his works (such as \textit{Os Maias} or \textit{O primo Basílio}) contain extensive references to that theatre.\textsuperscript{176}

Presenting Stories with Music in Lisbon: Operetta and Zarzuela

Most of the operatic performances in Lisbon were concentrated in the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, which indicates a strict association between a specific venue and the repertoire presented there. With respect to other musical theatrical genres, it is not possible to develop a clear association between these features. The ephemerality of theatrical activities and the constraints embedded in the presentation of unsubsidised types of spectacle (such as the constant change of theatrical enterprises managing the venues) contributed to the existence of a flowing dynamic between agents and spaces at this time. Although in a less rigid way than in the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, some theatrical genres were still associated with specific theatres of the city. This section will focus on the presentation of a gamut of spectacles that present a coherent story and recur both to spoken dialogue and musical and choreographic elements in its narrative, such as the operetta and the zarzuela, addressing the performance of imported repertoires in

\textsuperscript{173} Ortigão and Queirós, \textit{op. cit.}, 51–52.
\textsuperscript{174} \textit{Ibid.}, 58.
\textsuperscript{175} \textit{Ibid.}, 59–72.
\textsuperscript{176} See Maria Filomena Mónica, \textit{Eça de Queirós} (Lisbon: Quetzal Editores, 2001).
Portuguese translation (and, sometimes, adaptation), a regular practice in Lisbon’s entertainment market during the period of this thesis.\textsuperscript{177}

The operetta as a theatrical genre was encoded in Paris by composers such as Hervé and Offenbach, and its emergence was associated by several authors with the period of the Second Empire and the creation of a boulevard culture in that city during the second half of the nineteenth century (deeply related with the urban reconfiguration led by Haussmann).\textsuperscript{178} The genre was, according to Andrew Lamb, “a light opera with spoken dialogue, songs and dances” and to Sousa Bastos, “a comic opera of little importance.”\textsuperscript{179} These definitions point to the operetta being a genre associated both with opera and with a “light” entertainment market.

As mentioned earlier, the reconfiguration of Lisbon from the last third of the nineteenth century reframed the circuits of sociability and entertainment. Nevertheless, most of the theatres were still concentrated on areas such as Chiado and Trindade, traditionally associated with commerce and entertainment. Despite the regular presentation of opéra comique and zarzuela in Lisbon during the first half of the nineteenth century, the expansion of the entertainment market through the establishment on new theatres can be interpreted as a stylistic discontinuity. This aspect is also associated to the creation of a space for the consumption of the then recently encoded genres such as the operetta and the revista, initially imported from Paris. One of the most important symbolic markers for this change was the première of Offenbach’s \textit{La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein} in Lisbon.\textsuperscript{180} This operetta was presented in the Teatro do Príncipe Real on the 29\textsuperscript{th} of February 1868 in its Portuguese version (\textit{A Grã-duquesa}... \textsuperscript{177} I will use the term “operetta” to designate a narrative genre where music and song have prominent roles, aside from spoken dialogue. At this time in Portugal, this sort of spectacles could also have designations such as ópera cómica (comic opera), ópera burlesca (burlesque opera) or comédia lírica (lyric comedy), for example.
\textsuperscript{180} Carvalho, op. cit. Sousa Bastos states that one of Offenbach’s operettas was translated and performed in the Teatro Ginásio as early as 1859, having had subsequent performances in other theatres. The Portuguese title of it was \textit{O Tio Braz} and I could not precisely identify the original. See Bastos, \textit{Diccionario do theatre portugues}, 303. Nevertheless, this operetta was performed before the 1860s, the peak of Offenbach’s success (see Andrew Lamb, \textit{“Jacques Offenbach”}, \textit{Grove Music Online}, ed. L. Macy, http://www.grovemusic.com (5 January 2010)), and before the establishment of most of the theatres that regularly presented operetta in Lisbon. I will be mostly concentrating on the period when the operetta was a significant part of the entertainment market, but this occurrence should be noted.
de Gérolstein, translated by the playwright Eduardo Garrido, 1842–1912), and was, according to Sousa Bastos, a commercial success. In October of the same year, the Teatro Ginásio premièred As georgianas (Les géorgiennes, translated by Eduardo Garrido).

In June 1868, and between the presentations of Offenbach’s operettas in the Teatro do Príncipe Real and in the Teatro do Ginásio, the previously mentioned entrepreneur Francisco Palha translated and presented the Portuguese version of Barbe-bleue in the Teatro da Trindade, the space that would mostly be associated with operetta’s performance during that period. Starting from then, the programming of the main hall of that theatre consisted mainly of Portuguese versions of operettas (often called comédia musical – musical comedy – in Portugal) and zarzuelas, and the Teatro da Trindade became primarily associated with that repertoire. In this period, Offenbach’s work was portrayed as a critique of the institutions of the time and that aspect was symbolically significant for the metaphorical use of his operettas’ imagery in the satirical periodicals of the time. For example, Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro’s O António Maria and A paródia included several caricatures satirising politicians by relating the then current state of affairs with scenes from Offenbach’s operettas, especially A Grã-duquesa de Gérolstein. Furthermore, in As farpas, the writer Eça de Queirós mordantly stated that Portugal’s fundamental code seem to have been drawn from Barba-Azul. In a slightly altered version of that text from As farpas published in Uma campanha alegre (a compilation of As farpas written exclusively by Eça de Queirós and published afterwards), he goes even further and states that the institutions in Portugal seem to have been drawn from Offenbach’s operettas Barba azul and A Grã-duquesa de Gérolstein. There are several other aspects that reinforce the prominence of Offenbach’s operettas in Queirós’ fiction. For example, the couplets A carta adorada

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182 Bastos, Carteira do artista; apontamentos para a historia do theatro portuguez e brazileiro, 85–86.
183 Garrido, As georgianas: ópera burlesca em três actos (Lisbon: Typographia Universal de Thomaz Quintino Antunes, 1868).
184 Bastos, ibid. and Francisco Palha, Barba azul: ópera burlesca em 3 actos e 4 quadros, (Lisbon: Typographia Franco Portugueza, 1868).
185 Tomaz Ríbas, O Teatro da Trindade: 125 anos de vida (Oporto: Lello & Irmão, 1993).
186 Carvalho, op. cit. and Maria Virgílio Cambraia Lopes, O teatro n’A Paródia de Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro, (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2005).
187 Ortigão and Queirós, As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes, (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1872), 51
188 Carvalho, op. cit., 38.
(Lettre adorée), from A Grã-duquesa de Gérolstein were given a prominent role by Queirós in his novel O primo Basílio and the initial scene of his novel A tragédia da Rua das Flores (published posthumously) was set in the Teatro da Trindade during a performance of Barba-azul. 189

Despite the previous mention of the role translations played in the Portuguese theatrical market during this period, this thesis develops this point focusing mainly on the musical theatre. In spite of the consistent portrayal of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos as the space for the presentation of foreign repertoires, the rest of Lisbon’s theatres also relied heavily on imported materials, depending on translations in order to present plays and still be able to communicate with their audience. The main sources for this foreign repertoire were, clearly, France and Spain, which can also be observed by the prominence of the operetta and the zarzuela in the Teatro da Trindade, for example. Furthermore, Sousa Bastos refers, in his Diccionario do theatro portuguez, the conventions regarding intellectual property (which included both the literary – thus covering also translations –, and the musical aspects of theatre) between Portugal and France (in 1867) and between Portugal and Spain (in 1881). 190 By referencing only these two agreements, it is possible to extrapolate that they were the most significant for the Portuguese theatrical market, hence revealing the majority of the foreign sources for the repertoire presented. Nevertheless, the translators from French were critically satirised in a sketch of the revista Tim tim por tim tim. 191

Furthermore, the field of translation for the theatres was mainly concentrated in the hands of experienced agents from the theatrical field such as entrepreneurs and playwrights. 192 Personalities such as Francisco Palha, António de Sousa Bastos, Eduardo Garrido, or Aristides Abranches (playwright and stage director, 1842–1912) were responsible for a significant number of translations presented in Lisbon’s theatres at the time. One interesting case regarding the libretto as a literary source was presented by Sousa Bastos regarding the vaudeville-operetta Mam'zelle Nitouche. 193 According to

189 Carvalho, op. cit.
190 Bastos, Diccionario do theatro portuguez, 44, 148.
191 Bastos, Tim tim por tim tim: revista phantástica e de costumes em 1 prólogo, 3 actos e 12 quadros (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.), 10.
192 As an American example of the role entrepreneurs played in the encoding of these new types of spectacle during this period see Kathryn J. Oberdeck, “Contested cultures of American refinement: Theatrical manager Sylvester Poli, his audiences, and the vaudeville industry, 1890–1920”, Radical History Review (1996), 40–91. On the entrepreneurial activity of the Viscount S. Luiz Braga in Brazil and in Portugal see Eduardo Noronha, “Visconde S. Luiz Braga”, in O grande Elias, nº 17, 21st January 1904, 1–2.
193 Bastos, Diccionario do theatro portuguez, 300.
Sousa Bastos, its libretto was translated by Gervásio Lobato (journalist, writer and playwright, 1850–95) and Urbano de Castro (journalist and writer, 1850–1920). However, the Lisbon première of that text in 1886 was held in the Recreios Whittoyne, a space that presented circus and several theatrical genres and was demolished for the construction of the Estação da Avenida, to a musical setting by the composer Rio de Carvalho (1838–1907).194 In the following year, the same translation was presented, now with Hervé’s original music, in the Teatro da Trindade.195

Although several theatres in Lisbon presented operettas and zarzuelas, it can be argued that the Teatro da Trindade was the central space for their introduction in the theatrical market of Lisbon. To reinforce this, several of the operettas and zarzuelas that constituted the repertoire during that period were premièred in the Teatro da Trindade and then circulated in other theatres but the inverse phenomenon was not frequent. The relevance of the Teatro da Trindade in premièring Portuguese versions of operettas is evidence in the following small selection of titles: Barba azul (Barbe-bleue, by Jacques Offenbach in 1868),196 Fausto, o petiz (Le petit Faust, by Hervé in 1870),197 Sinos de Corneville (Les cloches de Corneville, by Robert Planquette in 1877),198 A Perichole (La périchole, by Offenbach in 1880),199 Orfeu nos infernos (Orphée aux enfers, by Offenbach in 1880), Boccaccio (by Franz von Suppé in 1884),200 O moleiro d’Alcalá (Le meunier d’Alcala, by Justin Clérice, in 1887 – according to several sources, the world première of that operetta was given in the Teatro da Trindade on April 11 that year),201 and Vinte e oito dias de Clarinha (Les 28 jours de Clairette, by Victor Roger in 1894), to name but a few. In this sequence it is possible not only to witness the relevance of the French theatrical market in Lisbon, but also the episodic presentation of

195 However, because I could not locate Carvalho’s score, it is not possible to compare both settings and discern if it is a version of Hervé’s music or a new work by Rio de Carvalho.
196 For an article published in 1906 regarding the première of Barba-azul see Ilustração portugueza, nº 7, 1906, 197–199.
197 Aristides Abranches, Fausto, o petiz: opereta phantastica em 3 actos e 4 quadros (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.).
199 For a manuscript from this period with a version of the text and many staging indications see Henri Meillac, Ludovic Halévy and Jacques Offenbach, A Perichole: opera burlesca em 3 actos e 4 quadros. Shelfmark PTBN: COD. 11735, National Library of Portugal.
200 Garrido, Boccacio: opera comica em tres actos, accommodada á scena portugueza (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1884).
201 For example, n.a., American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events (NY: D. Appleton and Company, 1888), 523. For the Portuguese version of the libreto see Garrido, O moleiro d’Alcalá: opera comica em 3 actos e 4 quadros (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.).
a Viennese operetta, *Bocaccio*, which was, nevertheless, included in Sousa Bastos’ survey of the most successful theatrical shows presented in Lisbon.\(^{202}\)

*Zarzuela* performances were another prominent axis of the programming of the Teatro da Trindade at the time and a relevant genre for Lisbon’s entertainment market. Despite episodic *zarzuela* performances in its original Spanish form since the middle of the nineteenth century, the paradigm for the presentation of that genre in Lisbon changed towards the last third of that century. For example, Francisco Palha’s commercial strategy for the Teatro da Trindade was to present both operetta and *zarzuela* in Portuguese. The *zarzuelas* presented in that theatre during the period of this thesis include: *Amar sem conhecer* (*Amar sin conocer*, by Gatzambide and Guarnieri in 1871),\(^{203}\) *Amazonas do Tormes* (*Las amazonas del Tormes*, by José Rogel and translated by Passos Valente in 1872),\(^{204}\) *Os dragões d’El Rei* (*Os dragões d’el Rey*, by José Rogel in 1880),\(^{205}\) *Segredo d’uma dama* (*El secreto de una dama*, by Barbieri in 1873), and *O ultimo figurino* (*O último figurino*, by José Rogel in 1880).\(^{206}\)

Closely associated with the activity of the Teatro da Trindade from its opening until 1873 was the Italian composer Ângelo Frondoni (1812–91), immigrated in Portugal since 1838 and extremely active in the theatrical circuit.\(^{207}\) Having worked previously in several of Lisbon’s theatres and being mostly associated with the presentation of Italian repertoire, Frondoni was hired by Francisco Palha as a musical director for the Teatro da Trindade. At this time, the task of a theatrical musical director was varied and included conducting the performances, composing and coaching the actors/singers. For example, in the years he worked in that theatre, Frondoni composed


\(^{204}\) Bastos, *op. cit.*, 295.


music for plays such as *Gata Borralheira*,\(^{208}\) *Rosa de sete folhas*,\(^{209}\) and *Três rocas de cristal*.\(^{210}\) Furthermore, Vieira states that Frondoni possessed the ability to maximise the vocal potential of “singers with no voice” (the lack of professional training of singers was frequent in most of the operetta and revista companies, such as the one based in the Teatro da Trindade, mainly constituted by actors/singers)\(^{211}\) through writing for their specific apparatus and adapting the scores of other composers for the performance in that theatre.\(^{212}\)

Although adapting vocal scores for specific operatic performances was common practice throughout the eighteenth century, the new aesthetic models that contributed to the stabilisation of the repertoire during the second half of the nineteenth century also promoted the fixation of the opera scores themselves. However, when it comes to operetta, “most were written for commercial ventures as income-producing entities.”\(^{213}\)

This means that operettas had to meet the expectations of the market, so both text and music were adapted and changed in order to suit them, displaying the plasticity of that genre. Some of those adaptations to specific cultural markets were, in fact, significant re-workings of the original version through parody, such as the case of *Orfeu na roça*, premièred in the theatre Fênix Dramática, Rio de Janeiro, in 1868 (the same year when regular presentations of the Portuguese versions of Offenbach’s operettas started in Lisbon). This parody (authored by the actor and playwright Francisco Correa Vasques, 1839-1893) of the parody of the Orpheus myth (and its musical relations) composed by Offenbach was one of the most successful shows in Brazil at the time.\(^{214}\) Nevertheless, this flexibility evidenced by operetta puts that genre in a space of the cultural market that works under a different system of values than the one associated with the concept of a self-referent work of art promoted at the time (with its theatrical paradigm being Wagner’s musical dramas). Thus, it is possible to witness a discursive shift in the

\(^{208}\) For the text see Joaquim Augusto d’Oliveira, *A gata borralheira: mágica em 3 actos e 16 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.).

\(^{209}\) For a piano version of some extracts from the music of this play see Ângelo Frondoni, *A rosa de sete folhas* (Lisbon: Lence & Viuva Canongia, 1870), extant in the National Library of Portugal.

\(^{210}\) For the text see Aristides Abranches, *As três rocas de cristal* (Lisbon: Carvalho, [1874]).

\(^{211}\) For a critique of the issue of untrained singers in the Teatro da Trindade and its impact in the performed repertoire see Ortigão and Queirós, *As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes*, (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1872), 50–51.

\(^{212}\) Vieira, *op. cit.*, 436.

\(^{213}\) Traubner, *Operetta: A Theatrical History*, x.

operatic spectacle from entertainment to art,\textsuperscript{215} while genres such as the operetta and the revista, with their constitutive plasticity and ephemerality, occupied its place in this segment of the market.

In order to introduce the discussion of the creation of Portuguese operettas with “national characteristics” this work will examine Eça de Queirós’ approach to the issue of the national theatre. In his article, he argues that the Teatro da Trindade should be “the representative and creator of the national comic opera.”\textsuperscript{216} Despite the frequent surfacing of the demand to create a national theatre and a national opera during this period, the definition of the concept “national” is a complex issue. On the one hand, most of the theatrical genres performed in Lisbon’s theatres were associated with imported dramatic models, such as opera, the historical drama, the operetta, and the revista. Conversely, limiting the issue of the national to the production of Portuguese authors and composers can be misleading. For example, the presentation of operas by Portuguese composers in the Real Teatro de S. Carlos was frequently presented in association with the idea of promoting nationalism. Nevertheless, those operas were associated with the conventions of the transnational entertainment market and some of its foremost composers, such as Augusto Machado, had a cosmopolitan education. Another complicated aspect regarding the concept of “national” is the usage of the Portuguese language. In a theatrical market that relied heavily on imported dramatic conventions and in translations, the direct association between the creation of works specifically in Portuguese and the promotion of nationalism is also as a complex issue.

Another feature associated with the coeval promotion of the “national” was the creation of an opera company constituted solely by Portuguese singers in the Teatro da Trindade. Despite its activity lasting only a few months in the season of 1908/1909, this company presented operas and operettas, some of them in Portuguese.\textsuperscript{217} In this set of performances, the Portuguese version of Serrana premièred, an opera that came to be frequently presented, a fact that may also be associated to its relatively simple staging requirements.\textsuperscript{218}

\textsuperscript{216} Ortigão and Queirós, \textit{As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes}, (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1872), 58.
\textsuperscript{217} Tomaz Ríbas, \textit{O Teatro da Trindade: 125 anos de vida} (Oporto: Lello & Irmão, 1993), 37.
\textsuperscript{218} Raimundo, “Para uma leitura dramatúrgica e estilística de \textit{Serrana} de Alfredo Keil”, \textit{Revista portuguesa de musicologia} 10 (2000), 227–274.
Despite this complex context, Luiz Francisco Rebello has argued for the existence of a tendency to create operettas with “national characteristics” as early as 1864. Nevertheless, the scope of the production of operettas by Portuguese playwrights and composers at the time was varied and heterogeneous both textually and musically.\footnote{Rebello, \textit{O teatro naturalista e neo-romântico (1870–1910)} (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1978), 87–89.} Having already mentioned the issue of the accumulation of roles by agents in the first chapter of this thesis, this also played an important role in the musical theatre production system. During this period, some of the most prolific composers of operettas for Lisbon’s stages worked steadily for other musical institutions, such as the Real Conservatório de Lisboa or the Real Teatro de S. Carlos. For example, Augusto Machado held a teaching position in the Conservatório (and was its director from 1901 to 1910) and worked as répétiteur in the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, an institution in which he, on several occasions, occupied administrative positions.\footnote{Benevides, \textit{op. cit.}, 325. Luísa Cymbron, “Machado, Augusto”, \textit{Grove Music Online}, ed. L. Macy, http://www.grovemusic.com (5 November 2009).} Other prominent composers for the theatrical scene during this period were also members of the orchestra of that theatre, such as Rio de Carvalho or Tomás del Negro.\footnote{\textit{O Occidente}, n° 1040, 20\textsuperscript{th} November 1907, 255 and Leonor Losa, “Joaquim Tomás del Negro”, in Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), \textit{Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX}, vol. 3 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2010), 904.} In this sense, the composers mentioned above fall into the category of “integrated professionals” proposed by Howard Becker in his analysis of the “art worlds”:\footnote{Howard S. Becker, \textit{Art Worlds} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 229.}

Integrated professionals have the technical abilities, social skills, and conceptual apparatus necessary to make it easy to make art. Because they know, understand, and habitually use the conventions on which their world runs, they fit easily into all its standard activities.\footnote{Howard S. Becker, \textit{Art Worlds} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 229.}

The thematic, narrative and musical heterogeneity of the operettas presented during the period of this thesis makes the idea of an articulated program for the institution of a national operetta (or even of nationalising a foreign genre) highly problematic. Nevertheless, a larger cultural trend regarding the creation of a symbolic nation was emerging and musical theatre played a key role in that process, as will be argued later.

\footnote{Rebello, \textit{O teatro naturalista e neo-romântico (1870–1910)} (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1978), 87–89.}
\footnote{For an overview of the operetta in Portugal see Luiz Francisco Rebello, “Opereta”, in Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), \textit{Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX}, vol. 3 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2010), 935–938.}
\footnote{\textit{O Occidente}, n° 1040, 20\textsuperscript{th} November 1907, 255 and Leonor Losa, “Joaquim Tomás del Negro”, in Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), \textit{Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX}, vol. 3 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2010), 904.}
\footnote{Howard S. Becker, \textit{Art Worlds} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 229. I would like to thank Gonçalo Oliveira for the profitable discussions on Becker’s work and its application to the revista.}
Conversely, the use of the Portuguese language and of characters or plots that were part of a shared memory can also be seen as commercial strategies promoted to maximise profit. For example, although there was a significant number of original Portuguese operettas, translations continued to be presented throughout this period, such as Augusto Machado’s *O desgelo* or *A leitora da infanta* (both premièred in the Teatro da Trindade in 1875 and 1893, respectively). He also presented operettas that were associated with Portuguese subjects, such as *Maria da Fonte* (an historico-mythical nineteenth century popular heroin for some sectors of the Portuguese liberalism), premièred in the Teatro da Trindade in 1879. Furthermore, Machado set to music a libretto by Henrique Lopes de Mendonça (mentioned in the previous chapter of this thesis), an author then associated with a historicist recovery of Portugal’s past. The plot for that operetta, *Tição negro* (premièred in the Teatro da Avenida in 1902), was inspired in motives by the Portuguese playwright Gil Vicente (1465–1537), one of the founding figures of Portuguese theatre, and can be seen as a way of presenting Portuguese historical symbols and promoting “national” culture in a pleasurable context of entertainment. In February 1902, the periodical *Brasil-Portugal* dedicated three of its pages to that operetta: one containing a very positive review of the operetta where the librettist, the composer, the impresario (António de Sousa Bastos, whose activity will be discussed in more detail further along) and the performers, one containing the photographs of several scenes of the operetta, and one containing a sheet music (vocal and piano) extract of the same work.

This operetta also epitomises one of the major methodological issues regarding the study of this sort of repertoire: the nature of its sources. For this specific operetta, it is possible to find the manuscript score,\(^\text{226}\) the vocal reduction,\(^\text{227}\) several arrangements of some of its extracts for voice and piano,\(^\text{228}\) and the sung *coplas* (*couplets*).\(^\text{229}\) Despite

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\(^{225}\) *Brasil-Portugal*, nº 73, 1st February 1902, 391–393.


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

In the production of operettas in Portugal during the period of this thesis it is possible to discern several axes (that, sometimes, intermingled and overlapped with each other) regarding their plots. The historic/literary axis is present in several of these productions, which concentrated in displaying a narrative associated with key figures of Portuguese literature such as Tição negro and O poeta Bocage, composed by Filipe Duarte (1855–1928), premièred in the Teatro da Rua dos Condes on October 22nd 1902, and focused on the life of the poet Manuel Maria Barbosa du Bocage (1765–1805).230 An interesting example of the intersection of the historical and the popular axes is Maria da Fonte, by Augusto Machado, because its main character was portrayed as a metonymic symbol of the popular revolt of 1846 (which started as a protest regarding a new set of legislation enforced by the government led by António Bernardo da Costa Cabral, 1803–89), a key event for Portuguese liberalism that instigated the creation of its own symbolic space in several Portuguese cultural spheres.231

Another relevant axis associated with several operettas at the time was the emphasis on the “popular.” In this case, the staging of popular characters, both rural and urban, were essential for the plot, such as in several zarzuelas from the same period, a process associated with the aestheticisation of the vernacular.232 One of these examples is the operetta Intrigas no bairro (by Luís de Araújo, 1833–1908, and Eugénio Monteiro de Almeida, 1826–98), premièred in the Teatro da Rua dos Condes on October 24th

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1864. Despite its première falls outside the chronological span for this thesis, the operetta *A Severa* (premièred in January 1909 in the Teatro do Príncipe Real) can be an interesting case for understanding this dynamic. That operetta was composed by Filipe Duarte and its libretto was an adaptation, made by André Brun, of the Júlio Dantas’ drama *A Severa*, discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis. This case displays a presentation of the same story in several forms (novel, drama and operetta) in the cultural market of Lisbon during the first decade of the twentieth century, reinforcing the symbolic pervasiveness of that vernacular myth in the entertainment market.

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

The theatrical exchange between Portugal and Brazil was very intense during this period, especially regarding the circulation of operetta and the *revista* companies in those territories. This exchange can be appreciated in several aspects. For example, several theatrical companies circulated in the Luso-Brazilian cultural space and their

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234 For a review of this operetta see *Occidente*, nº 148, 1st February 1883, 30.

tours were dependant on the activity of local impresarios. Furthermore, several agents (such as actors/actresses or technicians) who worked (and some of them had risen to fame) in Portugal, such as the Spanish-born actress Pepa Ruiz (1859-1925), migrated to Brazil where they further developed their career. Conversely, several Brazilian plays and operettas were staged in Lisbon during this period, such as Capital federal (written by the playwright Arthur Azevedo, 1855–1908 with most of the music composed by Nicolino Milano, 1876–1962) that, after its success in Brazil, was premièred in the Teatro da Trindade in 1903. This operetta was based in a revista (O Tribôfe) and caricatured several stereotypes of Rio de Janeiro’s fin-de-siècle society, focusing on the shock of a change from the interior of the state of Minas Gerais to the federal capital of the then-recently instituted Brazilian Republic. The music for this operetta incorporates songs and dances associated with vernacular repertoires (such as the Brazilian lundu and maxixe), a trait that might point to an adaptation of the cosmopolitan universe of the operetta to local markets. The tendency of incorporating vernacular local typologies in these narratives was frequent (at least in Portugal, Brazil or Spain) and can be seen as a crucial aspect when creating “national” genres during this period.

Following this digression to discuss the exchanges between Portugal and Brazil regarding the entertainment market, this work will now examine the process of creating operettas in Portugal in the late nineteenth century. In order to study this process, I will concentrate on the work resulting from the collaboration between the writers Gervásio Lobato and D. João da Câmara (both of them previously mentioned in this thesis) with the composer Cyríaco de Cardoso (1846–1900). This collaborative practice was frequent in operetta production at the time:

236 Bastos, Diccionario do teatro portuguez (Lisbon: Imp. Libânio da Silva, 1908), 41.
241 Rebello, op. cit., 88.
Operetta librettists frequently worked in teams, or even trios, as did many vaudevillistes in nineteenth-century France. If nothing else, several authors writing together would assuredly get the text written more quickly, in time for the composer to set it and for the manager to present it. In the highly competitive pre-radio and television era, speed was desirable.\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^2\) This trio created and presented several operettas from 1891 until 1894, that were performed in several theatres in Portugal and in Brazil. The first of these operettas was \emph{O burro do Sr. Alcaide}, premièred in the Teatro da Avenida in 1891.\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^3\) At the time, several periodicals portrayed it as a “fully national work” and as a “truly Portuguese operetta.”\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^4\) This work was set in several places near Lisbon in the late eighteenth century and featured several popular characters, such as the saloia (woman from the rural outskirts of Lisbon), the servant or the fisherman. The magazine \emph{O Ocidente} published that \emph{O burro do Sr. Alcaide} was made by Portuguese on Portuguese motifs with Portuguese music, stating that it did more to promote patriotism than the speeches of politicians.\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^5\) Nevertheless, on that same article, \emph{O burro do Sr. Alcaide} was presented as a “kind of Portuguese zarzuela”, which may indicate the closeness of that work to the Spanish local repertoire than to the French cosmopolitan canon.\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^6\) According to Sousa Bastos’ previously discussed definition of zarzuela, the inclusion of what could be seen as national repertoires in this operetta, reinforcing the specific Portuguese element in it, may explain this association. Furthermore, Vieira states that this play was distant from the “offenbachian obscenities” which were frequently presented in Lisbon’s theatres at the time.\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^7\) For example, a sheet music edition of “popular songs” from that operetta was published in Lisbon, which can contribute to reinforce this view.\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^8\) Despite the ephemerality associated with this segment of the entertainment market, \emph{O burro do Sr. Alcaide} was performed during a significant period, reprised for several times in different theatres, and frequently mentioned in periodicals such as \emph{O António Maria}.\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^9\)

\(^{242\)\(^2\)} Traubner, \emph{op. cit.}, xiii.
\(^{243\)\(^2\)} \emph{O Occidente}, n° 1045, 10\(^\text{th}\) January 1908, 6. Gervásio Lobato and D. João da Câmara, \emph{O burro do senhor alcaide} (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, 1904).
\(^{244\)\(^2\)} \emph{O Occidente}, n° 458, 11\(^\text{th}\) September 1891, 203 and \emph{O António Maria}, 28\(^\text{th}\) August 1891, 208, respectively.
\(^{245\)\(^2\)} \emph{O Occidente}, n° 458, 11\(^\text{th}\) September 1891, 203–204, 206.
\(^{246\)\(^2\)} \emph{Ibid.}, 206.
\(^{247\)\(^2\)} Vieira, \emph{op. cit.} vol.1, 422.
\(^{249\)\(^2\)} For example, this operetta was performed in the opening of the Éden Teatro in 1914, more than twenty years after its première.
This collaboration produced several more stage works such as: *O valet de copas*, *O solar dos Barrigas*, *Cocó, Reinetta & Facada* (later reformulated as *Bibi & C.*), and *O testamento da velha*. *O solar dos Barrigas* (premiered in September 4, 1892 at the Teatro da Rua dos Condes) was described by *O António Maria* as a graceful work for which Cyriaco de Cardoso composed “fresh, popular, joyful” music. In order to reinforce that, sometimes, satirists associated the field of operetta with Portuguese institutions, it is interesting to state that the title of *O solar dos Barrigas* (roughly translated by The Manor of the Bellies) was used to describe the Chambers of the Portuguese Parliament, especially after the elections of 1895. That operetta featured groups of the popular characters of the saloia and the servant, in a similar way as used in *O burro do Sr. Alcaide*. Nevertheless and despite the association of the production of its authors with the establishment of a Portuguese operetta, a number of *O solar dos barrigas* consisted in a burlesque romantic duet in mock Italian, which can be read as a satirical commentary regarding Italian operatic conventions and their depiction of romantic pairs.

In another play, *O valet de copas*, D. João da Câmara, Gervásio Lobato and Cyriaco de Cardoso approach a theatrical genre that was cultivated in Portugal since the last years of the eighteenth century: the *mágica*. According to Sousa Bastos, the *mágica* was a play that recurred to the supernatural in its plot, thus focusing on the illusionist apparatus and disregarding several principles of veracity in its narrative. Nevertheless, this genre (cultivated by authors such as Joaquim Augusto de Oliveira, 1827–1904, or the previously mentioned Eduardo Garrido) and the *comédia com música* (a comedy with some musical numbers) were successful typologies in both Portugal and Brazil at the time, constituting a significant part of the programming of several theatres. Nevertheless, the writer Eça de Queirós portrayed the *mágica* as “the

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250 According to Vieira, this play was unsuccessful in Lisbon, a factor that led to its reformulation. Vieira, *op. cit.*, vol.1, 423. For a review of the première of this play that reinforces Vieira’s opinion see *A semana de Lisboa*, nº 15, 9th April 1893, 119.

251 Rebello, *op. cit.*, 88 and *O Occidente*, nº 1045, 10th January 1908, 6. For a graphic representation and a negative review of the work see *O micróbio*, nº 7, 18th August 1894, 49.

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

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


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

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

fireworks of idiocy”, a genre that would not fit his perspective of the theatre as a civilising mechanism.259

One of the factors that probably influenced the commercial success of the previously referred operettas was the music composed by Cyriaco de Cardoso (who, according to Vieira, composed exclusively “light music”).260 Such as most of the Portuguese operetta composers (Augusto Machado or Rio de Carvalho), Cardoso was deeply involved in the theatrical markets of Porto, Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro. Born in Oporto, Cardoso was a prominent personality of that city musical life as a performer, conductor and composer. After directing the orchestra of the Teatro de São João (Oporto’s most important lyric theatre), Cardoso created and managed an operetta company in the Teatro Baquet until the tragic events of 1888 (on March 20 around 120 people were killed in a fire that destroyed that theatre) and directed an operatic company in the Teatro de D. Afonso until 1891.261 In that same year, the composer moved to Lisbon and premièred O burro do Sr. Alcaide, a work that contributed to his notoriety in that city’s theatrical market. Furthermore, during the theatrical season breaks, Cardoso travelled regularly to Brazil where he presented his works, a fact that confirms the frequent circulation of theatrical companies and composers between both countries stated earlier.

At this point, I would like to shift the discussion of the operetta in Lisbon from the process of creation to the process of performance, a key issue in analysing the dynamic associated with the musical theatre in Lisbon during the period of this thesis. The magazine Ilustração portuguesa published, in 1908, a two-issue reportage by André Brun profusely illustrated with Joshua Benoliel’s photographs, named O theatro por dentro (The theatre from the inside).262 In these articles regarding the staging process of a musical play, it is possible to have a picture of the collaborative and complex process associated with the performance of musical plays in Lisbon at this time, displaying several aspects of what Howard Becker termed the “art world.” For Becker, “art worlds consist of all people whose activities are necessary to the production of the characteristic works which that world, and perhaps others as well, define as art.”263

259 Ortigão and Queirós, As farpas: Crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes, (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1872), 62.
261 Ibid. and Bastos, op. cit., 321.
263 Becker, Art Worlds, 34.
Despite the prevalence of a bipolar discourse regarding art and entertainment in which
commercial musical theatre falls in the category of entertainment, I will apply Becker’s
theory of the art worlds to this specific object. In this process, it should be noted that
Becker included the theatre in his work and that same author stated that: “members of
art worlds coordinate the activities by which work is produced by referring to a body of
conventional understandings embodied in common practice and in frequently used
artifacts.”\textsuperscript{264} Furthermore, “the same people often cooperate repeatedly, even routinely,
in similar ways to produce similar works, so that we can think of an art world as an
established network of cooperative links among participants.”\textsuperscript{265} Setting aside the value
judgement that confers (or not) a cultural product its artistic status, this quotes illustrate
clearly the co-operative process of staging a musical play in Lisbon’s theatres, presented
by Brun and Benoliel in their reportage.

In the first sections of the article, the author attempts to portray acting as a
strenuous task and a serious activity, detaching it from its association with the bohemian
lifestyle of some actors and actresses. Further along, Brun (himself starting what would
be a playwright career) remarks that the spectator only has access to the final stage of
the complex process of staging a musical play and that he will use the operetta company
of the Teatro Avenida as a case-study for his article and also as the source for Benoliel’s
photographs. The journalist argues that the work associated with staging a musical play
starts with the author writing the text. Afterwards, the series of rehearsals begins with
sit-down readings, progressing to blocking rehearsals and then to walk-through
rehearsals. When the performers know the text it is time to add music and the \textit{maestro}
or \textit{ensaiador de música} enters the picture. The maestro initially coaches the soloists
individually and then the chorus collectively. After the learning of everyone’s musical
part, the ensemble rehearsals start, first only with piano accompaniment and then with
the orchestra. Afterwards, only rehearsals with sets and props and the dress rehearsal
stand between the company and the play’s première. When the play is first running,
Brun describes the nervous author behind the scenes and the performers’ small tweaks
on their costumes or props. This section proceeds to the description of the audience,
where both the official critics (who, according to the author, always publish favourable
reviews) and the unofficial critics (who always have a negative opinion that they

\textsuperscript{264} Becker, \textit{op. cit}, 34.
\textsuperscript{265} \textit{Ibid.}, 34–35.
express in the *botequim* – watering-hole) sit. Benoliel’s photograph’s complement the reportage with visual depiction of aspects that were superficially dealt with by Brun in this part of the article, such as the dressing of the actresses.266

In the second part of the article, André Brun starts by describing the backstage, frequented by people such as authors, scenographers, journalists, and visitors and admirers. The author states that space starts to get busy at half past seven (of the night), when the workers start to help the performers getting dressed in their dressing room. The actors/actresses, chorus girls and extras start to arrive, and then the process of dressing and putting on the make-up starts. At the same time, the technical staff corrects small issues and the orchestra tunes its instruments. After the last call, the *borlistas* (people who wanted free tickets) run to the ticket box, to see if they can get in and the performance starts. Then, the author describes the backstage entropy during the presentation, with the sudden costume changes or the stage technicians’ ongoing activity. After the end of the play, the stage is clean, the performers leave their dressing rooms, and the theatre is closed for the day. This article finishes with the journalist’s satirical take on badmouthing, an activity that he portrays as dear to the Portuguese people, and dearer to the Portuguese actors/actresses, whose backstage intrigues are also embedded in the process of staging a play.267

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

Until this point I have discussed opera and operetta in the theatrical market of Lisbon. Both these musical and theatrical genres are distinct from the *revista* for having a narrative plot. Conversely, the *revista* was “a topical, satirical show consisting of a series of scenes and episodes, usually having a central theme but not a dramatic plot, with spoken verse and prose, sketches, songs, dances, ballet and speciality acts.”268 This division in sketches (*quadros*), the presence of a *compère* (an always-on-stage character that comments on and links the sketches together, being, sometimes, the only trace of continuity in this genre) and the stance in which events are depicted point to the *revista*
as an epic structure. The usage of an epic structure and the prevalence of allegorical and personified characters situated the *revista* in a completely different framework than the one of the naturalist theatre, that was being simultaneously performed in Lisbon at this time.

In order to analyse the physical and symbolic space occupied by the *revista* in Lisbon’s theatrical market, I will briefly discuss the coexistence of naturalist paradigms and non-realistic genres in Lisbon’s theatrical market, where, from the 1870s onwards, playwrights such as Ibsen or Strindberg were being performed by both local and foreign companies. Furthermore and after the performances, in 1903, of a company ran by André Antoine (1858–1943) in Lisbon, two companies inspired by the Théâtre Libre experience were formed: the Teatro Livre (a direct translation from the French designation) and the Teatro Moderno (Modern Theatre, a product of a dissidence within the Teatro Livre). Such as most of the theatrical enterprises in Lisbon at the time, their activity spanned for only a few seasons. Nevertheless, the steady presence of naturalist theatre (by the playwrights mentioned above, but also by Portuguese authors such as Raúl Brandão, 1867–1930) paired with the historicist trends previously mentioned comes to place the *revista* in a very specific space of the entertainment market in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Moreover, the presentation of operas associated with *verismo* and Wagner’s music dramas serves to emphasise the role of the naturalist paradigms in the cultural market of the time. Although Wagner’s works were not directly associated with the naturalistic trend in the theatrical panorama of the time, they relied heavily on illusionist stage apparatuses in order to deliver its content in a realistic way, raising technical issues when performed in an Italian horseshoe-shaped theatre, such as the Real Teatro de S. Carlos. “The occultation of production by means of the outward appearance of the product – that is the formal law governing the works of Richard Wagner.” By beginning a chapter entitled “Phantasmagoria” with this sentence, Adorno not only

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


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

manages to place himself in an axis associated with Marx and Benjamin (previously discussed in this chapter), but also to situate Wagner’s production in the realm of the commodity-form.\textsuperscript{274}

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

This chapter will now move to a historical narrative of the \textit{revista} in Portugal, focusing on issues such as authors, structure and communication strategies associated with the symbolic universe of the genre and its inherent plasticity.\textsuperscript{275} The \textit{revista} was a genre imported from France in the middle of the nineteenth century and, initially, focused on the comment on specific occurrences and topical issues of the previous year. According to Rebello, the first \textit{revista} (\textit{Lisboa em 1850}) was performed in Lisbon in the Teatro do Ginásio on the January 11\textsuperscript{th} 1851 and its authors were the previously mentioned Francisco Palha (the same who, afterwards, directed both the Teatro da Rua dos Condes and the Teatro da Trindade) and Latino Coelho (1825–91, one of the most notorious Portuguese intellectuals of the second half of the nineteenth century, at the time a young military officer).\textsuperscript{276} During this period, the Teatro do Ginásio and its company were the foremost institutions for the performance of \textit{revista} during the 1850s, presenting shows such as: \textit{O festejo dum noivado} (in 1852), \textit{Fossilismo e progresso} (in 1855) or \textit{Os melhoramentos materiais} (in 1860).\textsuperscript{277} Nevertheless, spaces such as the

\begin{footnote}[\textsuperscript{274}]{This problematises the image of the “true artist” that Wagner promoted of himself in his theoretical works, criticising the “fashion-mongers and mode-purveyors.” See Richard Wagner, “The Art-Work of the Future”, and Other Works (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993) 48, 119.}
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\begin{footnote}[\textsuperscript{275}]{For a short overview of this genre in Portugal see Luiz Francisco Rebello, “Teatro de revista”, in Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), \textit{Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX}, vol. 4 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2010), 1248–1253.}
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\begin{footnote}[\textsuperscript{276}]{Rebello, \textit{História do teatro de revista em Portugal}, vol. 1, 55–56.}
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\begin{footnote}[\textsuperscript{277}]{Ibid., 231. For the text of \textit{Fossilismo e progresso} see Manuel Roussado, \textit{Fossilismo e progresso: revista} (Lisbon: Typographia Rua da Condesa nº3, 1856).}
\end{footnote}
Teatro da Rua dos Condes, the Teatro das Variedades, or the Teatro de D. Fernando began to present *revistas* at this time.278

According to Sousa Bastos, one of the most relevant communicative strategies employed in this yearly review/revue was the personification of “even the most abstract things.”279 In this sense, the creation or inclusion of allegorical and stereotypical characters formed the basis of the several narratives that constituted the *revista*. This dramatic resource points to the metonymic and allegoric role characters play in the genre, which can be read as a composite and fragmentary presentation of actuality. Nevertheless, the process of personification or inclusion of allegories or stereotypical characters in the *revista* was not homogeneous and recurred to a set of different symbolic universes. On this issue, “the revue theater was to serve the new order as an important proving ground where the composite image of the New Japan [Portugal] could be crafted, displayed, and naturalized.”280

This “composite image” of Portuguese (mostly) urban society included, absorbed and metabolised everyday life, translating it into a specific imaginary in which several of its tropes were recurrently revisited by the playwrights, encoding a set of conventions that were frequently presented in Lisbon’s theatres at the time. Some of these characters could be events (such as the Strike),281 feelings (such as Envy),282 laws (such as the Press Law of 1907),283 newspapers (such as *O mundo*),284 music genres (such as fado),285 cities and areas (such as Lisbon and the provinces)286 and so-called popular characters (such as paperboys or *fadistas*, for example).287 Another interesting universe to which the process of personification in the *revista* recurred was the theatrical market of that time. For example, the *revista Formigas e formigueiros*


278 For example, the *Revista do anno de 1859* premièred on 2nd January 1860 in the Teatro da Rua dos Condes. See Pedro Carlos d’Alcantara Chaves, *Revista do anno de 1859: scena com pretenções a comica e adubada com alguma musica original* (Lisbon: Viuva Marques & Silva, [1860]).
279 Bastos, *Diccionario do theatro portuguez*, 128.
283 Garcia and Costa, *op.cit.*, 11. About the Press Law of 1907, see the previous chapter of this thesis.
286 Rebello, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 175–176.

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included a sketch in which the *couplet*, the scenery, and the *revista* were personified.\textsuperscript{288}

Furthermore, the inclusion of characters created and disseminated through other media, such as Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro’s character Zé Povinho (the metonymic personification the Portuguese “people”, first presented to the Portuguese audience in the newspaper *A lanterna mágica* in 1875) was another trope recurrently included in the imaginary of the *revista*, as well as Classic mythology and the depiction of exotic places.\textsuperscript{289}

According to Rebello, the start of the career of the frequently mentioned Sousa Bastos as playwright and entrepreneur in 1870 marked a relevant change in the *revista* that extended until the end of the nineteenth century. During this period, Bastos created and presented several *revistas* throughout theatres in Portugal and in Brazil, developing a business that included the creation of a production model that would prevail for a long period.\textsuperscript{290} Basto’s aesthetic and economic reconfiguration of the *revista* also included the introduction of several actors/singers, which eventually became icons of the musical theatre of the time (such as Pepa Ruiz and Palmira Bastos, for example) and recurred to the work of visual artists such as Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro, in order to create a profitable entertainment product.\textsuperscript{291} Starting in *Coisas e loisas de 1869*, his frequently successful activity as both playwright and entrepreneur in both sides of the Atlantic spanned until his death with some of the most notorious *revistas* being: *Tim tim por tim tim* (a play that, according to Fialho d’Almeida had a tremendous success, 1889),\textsuperscript{292} *Tam-Tam* (1891), *Fim de século* (1891),\textsuperscript{293} *Sal e Pimenta* (1894),\textsuperscript{294} *Em pratos limpos* (1897),\textsuperscript{295} and *Talvez te escreva!...* (1901).\textsuperscript{296}

\textsuperscript{288} Schwalbach, *Formigas e formigueiros: revista de costumes e acontecimentos em 3 actos e 9 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.), 5–6.

\textsuperscript{289} Schwalbach, *O reino da bolha: revista de costumes e acontecimentos em 3 actos e 12 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.), 2; Rebello, *op. cit.*, 34–35 and Bastos, *Tim tim por tim tim: revista phantástica e de costumes em 1 prólogo, 3 actos e 12 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.), 1–3. For a photograph of the character Saturn in the revista *Na ponta da unha!* (premiered in the Teatro Condes in 1901) see *Brasil-Portugal*, nº 73, 1\textsuperscript{st} February 1902, 399.

\textsuperscript{290} About the *revista* in Brazil during this period see Roberto Ruiz, *O teatro de revista no Brasil: do início à I Guerra Mundial* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Cultura, Instituto Nacional de Artes Cênicas, 1988).

\textsuperscript{291} Rebello, *op.cit.*, 75.

\textsuperscript{292} Fialho d’Almeida, *Actores e autores* (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1925), 85.

\textsuperscript{293} *O António Maria*, nº 342, 26\textsuperscript{th} February 1892, 389.

\textsuperscript{294} *O António Maria*, nº 402, 17\textsuperscript{th} September 1894, 79. Bastos, *Sal e pimenta: revista phantastica em 3 actos e 11 quadros* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.). For a graphic depiction of that revista see *O micróbio*, nº 4, 28\textsuperscript{th} July 1894, 25.

\textsuperscript{295} Bastos, *Em pratos limpos: revista do anno de 1896* (Lisbon: Costa Sanches, 1897).

In the middle of Basto’s period of hegemony in the *revista* (in which successful authors of that genre, such as António de Meneses and Francisco Jacobetty were also being performed in Lisbon’s theatres), the Minister of Justice, Lopo Vaz, issued a law that aimed to restrict the freedom of press and interdicted personal caricature in the media (in which theatre was included).\(^{297}\) This law was published on 7\(^{th}\) April 1890, following the turmoil of the British Ultimatum and, according to authors such as Fialho d’Almeida, imposed relevant constraints for the authors of *revista*.\(^{298}\) Almeida’s highlight of this fact points to the relevance of the burlesque caricature of individuals as a key element in the early *revistas*. Furthermore, Madureira stated that the constraints imposed by this new legislation made the authors of that genre to increase its reliance on “obscenities” or in spectacular stage apparatuses.\(^{299}\) Despite this restriction, the *revista* continued to include political satire in its sketches (which, on several occasions, mentioned or portrayed specific individuals indirectly).\(^{300}\) These imposed constraints were presented by Rebello as opening a way to the re-encoding of the *revista* now stressing the critique of current matters and social habits, the so-called *revista de costumes*.\(^{301}\)

Nevertheless, the comment on the ephemeral remained an important aspect of the *revista*. For example, a satirical sketch about the limitations of the freedom of the press stated in the Press Law of 11 April 1907 was performed in the *revista P’rá frente* (premièred in the Teatro Avenida on that same year). In that sketch, four personified newspapers (*O mundo, A vanguarda, O paiz* and *A lucta*) complained about that law.\(^{302}\) In the same *revista*, a character named *Boato* (Rumour) satirically mentioned the possibility of a republican revolution and alluded to Zé Bacoco (the nickname of José Luciano de Castro, head of the Progressive party and several times Prime Minister of Portugal),\(^{303}\) thus referencing (not directly, but in a way the audience could easily identify) an individual, an aspect that shows the complex relation between printed legislation and its enforcing in the theatrical market of this period.\(^{304}\) Earlier on, the

\(^{297}\) Rebello, *O teatro naturalista e neo-romântico (1870–1910)*, 94. The first issue of the satirical periodical *Pontos nos ii* after the issue of that press law was entirely dedicated to its denounce. See *Pontos nos ii*, n\(^{º}\) 250, 10\(^{th}\) April 1890.

\(^{298}\) d’Almeida, *op. cit.*, 81.

\(^{299}\) Madureira. *Impressões de teatro*, 359.

\(^{300}\) Rebello, *op. cit.*, 94.

\(^{301}\) *Ibid.*


\(^{303}\) For a coeval biography of Luciano de Castro written by the same Ressano Garcia who was responsible for Lisbon’s urban planning at the time see *A semana de Lisboa*, n\(^{º}\) 16, 16\(^{th}\) April 1893, 121–123.

\(^{304}\) Garcia and Costa, *op. cit.*, 7–8.
revista *Beijos de burro* (text by Eduardo Fernandes, 1870–1945, and Cruz Moreira, 1862–1930, and music by Manuel Benjamim, 1850–1933) premiéred in the Teatro do Rato in 1903 and included the Couplets do Zé Bacoco (Zé Bacoco’s Couplets), a number that also alluded to the nickname of José Luciano de Castro.\(^{305}\)

In the last third of the nineteenth century, the *revista* had developed from a seasonal critical commentary of the events occurred specifically in the past year to a genre that was presented throughout the year in Lisbon’s theatres. For example, the *revista* of 1884 *O micróbio* (text by Francisco Jacobetty and music by Rio de Carvalho) had over two hundred representations in the Teatro Chalet da Rua dos Condes and some of its most successful songs were published as sheet music.\(^{306}\) Another of the most successful *revistas* of that time was *Tim tim por tim tim*, premiéred in the Teatro da Rua dos Condes in 1889 and frequently reprised in several theatres in Portugal and in Brazil.\(^{307}\) In order for the play to remain actual (an essential trait of a genre that focused on ephemeral actualities), it was frequently subjected to modification, an aspect that points to a complex relation between ephemerality and fixedness that surfaced in this period of the *revista*.\(^{308}\) This aspect was also depicted in the periodical *Pontos nos ii* with respect to a reprise of *Tim tim por tim tim* in the Teatro da Avenida in 1890, stating that a new act was devised for that play.\(^{309}\)

With regard to political satire, it is important to mention the *revista Viagem à roda da Parvónia* (premiéred in the Teatro do Ginásio in 1879).\(^{310}\) Authored by the republicans Guilherme de Azevedo and Guerra Junqueiro, using the pseudonym Gil Vaz, this *revista* was considered by Fialho d’Almeida as the “most literary and coherent of the Portuguese *revistas*” but also as an political article and not a theatrical play, an aspect that helps us understand its interdiction after the première.\(^{311}\) Nevertheless, it should be noted that the full interdiction of a play was an extreme occurrence at the time


\(^{306}\) Rebello, *História do teatro de revista em Portugal*, vol. 1, 175.

\(^{307}\) Ibid., 95. For an account of the several reprises from its première until 1898 see Bastos, *Carteira do artista: apontamentos para a historia do theatro portuguez e brazileiro*, 115. There is a Brazilian sheet music edition of one of its numbers, transcribed for voice and piano by the previously mentioned composer Nicolino Milano: *O mugunza: Lundu bahiano, entercalado na revista "Tim tim por tim tim"* (Rio de Janeiro: Arthur Napoleão e C.ª, n.d.).

\(^{308}\) Rebello, *op. cit.*, 96.

\(^{309}\) *Pontos nos ii*, n° 251, 17th April 1890, 128.


\(^{311}\) d’Almeida, *op. cit.*, 72–73.
and, despite its interdiction, its text was published during the same year.312 Notwithstanding this specific event being associated with republican authors, it must the stated that political satire was not a monopoly of republicans at this time, but a pervasive and constitutive issue of the revista in general and a part of the actualities commented in that theatrical genre. Furthermore, the circulation of ideas of political change (by the ways of reform or overthrowing the then-current system) was an important aspect of the last years of the Constitutional Monarchy, displayed throughout the media.313

Being the revista a site for presenting actuality, the genre promoted several generations of actors, playwrights and composers throughout its history. Starting from the last years of the nineteenth century, the theatrical panorama was changing and new authors and composers played a key role in the entertainment market of the time. Several agents who had risen to prominence during those years were the playwright Eduardo Schwalbach whose early revistas (starting in 1896) were seen as ways of “transcending the immediate circumstantialism” through the process of emphasising allegory.314 This attempt to avoid immediacy could be related both to the issue of overcoming censorship and to the reshaping of the revista as a more perennial genre in Lisbon’s theatres (thus associated with the issue of reprises). Premièred from 1896 until 1900 and presenting themselves as revistas de costumes, these Schwalbach plays had a great impact on Lisbon’s entertainment market of that time. Those revistas were: Retalhos de Lisboa (music composed and co-ordinated by Freitas Gazul and Tomás Del Negro),315 O reino da bolha (music by the same Gazul and Del Negro),316 Formigas e formigueiros (by Gazul and the previously mentioned Filipe Duarte),317 Agulhas e alfinetes (music by Filipe Duarte),318 and O barril do lixo (music by Filipe Duarte).319

312 Rebello, op. cit., vol. 1, 80–81 and Junqueiro and Azevedo, op. cit.
313 See the previous chapter of this thesis and Rui Ramos, D. Carlos (1863–1908) (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006).
314 Rebello, op. cit., 121–122.
315 Eduardo Schwalbach, Retalhos de Lisboa: revista de costumes e acontecimentos (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.).
317 Eduardo Schwalbach, Formigas e formigueiros: revista de costumes e acontecimentos em 3 actos e 9 quadros (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.) and O António Maria, nº 469, 14th April 1898, 6.
318 Eduardo Schwalbach, Agulhas e alfinetes: revista do anno de 1898 em 3 actos e 12 quadros (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.).
319 Eduardo Schwalbach, O barril do lixo: revista de costumes e acontecimentos (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.).
During this part of its history, the text of the revistas were not regarded as relevant literary works by several authors, such as Fialho d’Almeida or even Sousa Bastos. Nevertheless, in his mémoirs, the actor Augusto Rosa stated that Schwalbach was able to connect heterogeneous elements in order to produce an apparently homogeneous narrative (an aspect vital in writing for the theatre, but especially for the revista, due to its constitutive heterogeneity).

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the works of a generation of playwrights, such as Luís Galhardo or André Brun, premièred. Despite the circuit of composing for the theatre remaining virtually unaltered, the death of prominent composers such as Cyriaco de Cardoso and the start of the career of composers such as Luiz Filgueiras (1862–1929) were relevant changes in Lisbon’s theatrical market of that time. The new generation of authors and composers were to become extremely important in re-encoding the genre in order to suit the new demands associated with the Portuguese Republic (established on October 5th 1910), an aspect that contributes to understand the fluidity not also of the genre but also of the entertainment market of that time. The promotion of the Republic as the Nation and the incorporation of musical typologies encoded in the 1910s came to be general trends associated with the production of the revista in the first years of the Portuguese Republic.

Having established a narrative of the history of the genre in Portugal, I would like to shift my analysis to issues such as gender and the modes of presentation associated with the internal structure of the quadros, especially focusing on the problematic of an allegorical and mostly bipolar depiction of characters. In the revista of this period, gender played an important role. Unlike the Japanese Takarazuka revue, performed by companies solely constituted by male actors (which implied that feminine roles had to be played by cross-dressing men), the revista companies employed both men and women. Nevertheless, the revista of that time frequently included cross-dressing characters used in heterogeneous registers. For example, in Eduardo’s Schwalbach revista Retalhos de Lisboa e Porto (performed in Porto in 1897), a male actor was required to play a burlesque caricature of Sarah Bernhardt (an actress who

320 d’Almeida, op. cit., 68–69 and Bastos, Dicionario do theatro portuguez, 128.
321 Augusto Rosa, Recordações da scena e de fóra da scena (Lisbon: Livraria Ferreira, 1915), 314.
322 Rebello, op. cit., 137.
had already performed in Lisbon). This example is quite interesting because it works as a parody that emphasised the inversion of roles (due to the fact that one of the traits Sarah Bernhardt was known for was her performance of cross-dressing roles).

Furthermore, in a version of *Tim tim por tim tim* (one of the most successful revistas of that time, written by Sousa Bastos and set to music by Plácido Stichini, premièred in 1889) performed in Brazil, the actress Pepa Ruiz performed eighteen roles, some of them cross-dressed. Another important aspect regarding gender in the revista was the exposure of the female body in a way some authors described as pornographic, due to the reduced costumes, choreographic settings and double entendre dialogues associated with the genre.

A recurring strategy of the inner structure of the revista sketches is displaying personifications of characters that stand in a bipolar opposition, such the Rich and the Poor or the Pretty Girl and the Ugly Girl, for example. For example, a case of a bipolarity focused on specificity occurs in one of the sketches of Sousa Bastos’ revista *Tim tim por tim tim*, that personifies the Portuguese Song and the Brazilian Song, each one with its particularities and colloquialisms. Furthermore, it must be noted that *Tim tim por tim tim* was also performed in Brazil, in a period when Sousa Bastos’ business was strongly implemented on both sides of the Atlantic and that those personifications would be understood by the audiences of both countries. Dealing with the relation between music and politics, this mechanism was used in a sketch included in Eduardo Schwalbach’s revista *O barril do lixo* (presented in the Teatro Condes in 1900). In that quadro, there are two characters: the *Hino da Carta* (the national anthem of that period) and *A Portuguesa* (discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis) and the author, then already inspector of the Conservatório Real de Lisboa (a job accessed only through royal appointment), associated the *Hino da Carta* with stately events (such as gala receptions, parades or even bullfights) and *A Portuguesa* with the Portuguese people.

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324 Rebello, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 80–81.
327 Eduardo Schwalbach, *Retalhos de Lisboa: revista de costumes e acontecimentos* (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.), 5 and Rebello, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 217. In the last case, the author of the revista *Garotice & C.* (premièred in 1908), Artur Arriegas (mentioned in the previous chapter of this thesis), personifies the Monarchy as the Ugly Girl and the Republic as the Pretty Girl, displaying the sometimes political character of this bipolar structures.
metonymically presented as Bordalo Pinheiro’s Zé Povinho. This split between the official anthem and a march that was associated with the “people” was presented by one of the most successful playwrights at this time (and whose career was developing in the institutions of the monarchy), a fact that points to the symbolic significance of A Portuguesa in the political field during this period.

Conversely and in other cases, a parallel is drawn between the personified characters, thus complicating the issue of the structure of the sketches as a binary system based solely on opposition. For example, in O anno em três dias: revista phantastica, premièred in the Teatro do Príncipe Real in 1904, Correia and Antunes draw a parallel between the Portuguese fadista with his guitar and the Brazilian capanga with his violão. This occurrence traces the symbolic relevance of the marginal segments of urban life in modern cities at the time, especially when it comes to the incorporation of the vernacular in a transnational market of entertainment. Furthermore, it displays the relevance of the transatlantic relationship between Portuguese-speaking theatrical scenes, an issue that was previously discussed in this chapter.

Musical Aspects of the Revista: Sources, Orchestras, and Repertoire

In the constitutive heterogeneity of the revista, music played a key role and, such as its texts, can be read as a symptom of modernity. As stated earlier, the segmentation of the revista in closed numbers favours a composite and fragmentary narrative of actuality. Moreover, music occupies a privileged space for the presentation of a discontinuous narrative in a spectacle that should be both entertaining for the audience and profitable for the company.

I will now turn to the discussion of the issues raised by the scarcity of primary sources regarding the revista (due to its constitutive ephemerality) and to an analysis of one specific example of that genre. The study of theatrical genres whose communicative strategy relied on the commentary on actualities (such as the revista) raises important methodological obstacles for the musicologist. Due to the stabilisation of the operatic

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repertoire discussed above and the transfer of some ephemeral traits to genres such as the operetta and the *revista*, and due to a utilitarian perspective towards the materials (that would probably not be used more than one season), very few complete scores of *revistas* of this time have survived (and it would be problematic to assume the ones that did as representative). Despite this, I will use an example extant in the National Library of Portugal in order to display some features of this genre. The full manuscript score of the *Revista do anno de 1879* (text by Sousa Bastos set to music by Júlio Soares, 1846–88) contains forty-one *quadros* divided in three acts.\(^{331}\) It is scored for a small orchestra and includes a plan of the several numbers in which some parts of the text are included. This manuscript is an autograph of the composer, which can be particularly useful for understanding the process by which music was composed for that theatrical genre. For example, the score can be seen as a work in process, due to its successive changes and cuts, inherent in the staging of a piece in a dynamic segment of the entertainment market (which, as outlined above, was seen as a dynamic work, in which introducing changes was a normal part of the process).

There are several important features of this *revista* in particular. First, its composer was not one of the most prominent associated with the genre at the time, but a skilled double bass player in several theatrical orchestras in Lisbon (an integrated professional, according to Becker’s terminology).\(^{332}\) Second, it was produced during the period of hegemony of Sousa Bastos in Lisbon’s theatrical market with Bastos himself as the writer and before the imposition on the theatre of several legal constraints. Third, its particularities notwithstanding, it includes elements that were used throughout the history of the genre, namely choreographic typologies such as the march and the waltz and stock characters such as policemen. Finally, the *revista* works as a commentator on actuality and this example has a sketch located in Lisbon where the railways and Progress are depicted, a then-current matter whilst the new urbanisation plans for the city were being implemented.

Having dealt with the issue of the primary musical sources regarding the *revista*, I will now turn to the study of one important aspect of the performance of musical plays, the orchestra. As mentioned earlier, the music of the *revista* was generally written for a small orchestra. At this time and according to Sousa Bastos, the dimensions of the


instrumental group playing in the theatre varied according to the type of spectacle and
the dimensions of the theatre. Therefore, important differences between the orchestra
of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos (oriented for operatic performances) and the groups
working on small theatres, such as the Teatro da Alegria, (mostly dedicated to the
performances of spoken genres) had to subsist. Nevertheless, the information on the
constitution of most of the theatrical orchestras is scarce and not very reliable. For
example, one of the most important sources for this are the records of the Associação
Música Vinte e Quatro de Junho, an institution created as a union mostly destined to
frame the activity of professional musicians working in theatrical orchestras. As
documents associated with that association, these records display exclusively the
activities in which its members were involved, naturally excluding activities outside its
realm. Furthermore, there is data that suggests the hiring of musicians not belonging to
that association in by small Lisbon’s theatres.

An interesting study on the possible constitution of theatrical orchestras in 1890
was presented by Rui Leitão, which relates Sousa Bastos’s view on the subject with the
material records of orchestral activity in Lisbon’s theatres during that year. For
example, Bastos states that “comedy theatres” (dedicated to the spoken repertoire) could
discard the orchestra altogether (such as the Teatro de D. Maria II) or keep a sextet.
According to Leitão, that was the case with the Teatro da Rua dos Condes and the
Teatro do Príncipe Real, whose instrumental group varied around that number. When
it comes to presenting operetta and zarzuela, Bastos recommends, at least, an orchestra
of twenty musicians, more or less the same number who were working in the Teatro da
Trindade in the 1890 season. For the presentation of that repertoire, the orchestra of
the Real Coliseu de Lisboa integrated around forty musicians, mostly linked to the
orchestra of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos (whose season had already finished when these
plays were performed in the Coliseu), a fact that emphasises the relevance of that
theatre as a supplier of skilled musicians for other activities. Regarding the Real
Teatro de S. Carlos, Bastos states that an orchestra for a lyric theatre should have around

333 Bastos, Dicionario do theatro portuguez, 102.
335 Rui Leitão, A ambiência musical e sonora da cidade de Lisboa no ano de 1890, Master’s thesis
336 Leitão, op. cit., 49–62.
337 Bastos, op. cit., 102.
eighty elements and Leitão accounts for a stable formation of around sixty
instrumentalists in that venue.341 Despite the record of a small number of musicians
associated with theatres where the revista was performed, the scarcity of reliable
sources and the frequent mobility of musicians around several theatres in Lisbon may
point to a model associated with the flexibility embedded to the entertainment segment
of the theatrical market. The organisation of the commercial theatrical business
favoured the recruitment of musicians according to the financial resources available and
to the repertoire programmed for a specific season, a trait that also displays the volatility
of the unsubsidised theatrical activity of Lisbon at the time.342

At this stage, I would like to conclude this section by discussing the role that
several music typologies played in the revista during this period, namely the
incorporation of numbers called “fado” in its narrative structure, numbers that were
presented alongside with genres associated with the transnational entertainment market.
The usage of music in the revista and its portrayal as a symptom of modernity is a
complex matter. The discontinuous nature of that genre allows for a heterogeneous
plethora of musical material drawn from multiple sources to be included. Furthermore,
its division in more or less self-contained sketches (connected by a thin thread woven
by the character of the compère) and the varied set locations where those sketches take
place favour the usage of musical materials associated with a wide array of contexts,
making the play a textual and musical mosaic. The revista was a commentator and
creator of a composite image of Portugal (in which modernity, and, simultaneously,
patriotism and cosmopolitanism were included) and music played a key role by adding
complex layers to the spectacle’s typology and occupying a central space in the
entertaining aim of the genre.

In this process, some complex issues regarding transnational and local
repertoires emerge, presenting the revista as a repository of the popular music of that
time. On the one hand, several authors associate the commercial success of the genre
with the inclusion of songs denominated “fado” in their quadros. On that aspect, Sousa
Bastos presents fado as a “popular song and narrative [...] that much pleases when
introduced in popular plays, mainly revistas.”343 Nery also discusses the incorporation
of fado in Lisbon’s entertainment industry during the transition of the nineteenth to the

341 Bastos, op. cit., 102 and Rui Leitão, op. cit., 52–53.
342 Leitão, op. cit., 57.
343 Bastos, op. cit., 63. This insistence by the author on the term “popular” is an element to notice.
twentieth centuries, at this time sung by actors and actresses in the commercial theatrical milieu, who became the first recording artists of that genre.344

The incorporation of fado into the revista can be related with the creation of the fields of the “popular” and of the “national.” The revista O tutti-li-mundi (premiered in the Teatro Condes in 1881) contained a song named O fado do Zê Povinho (Zê Povinho’s fado), in which the character created by Bordalo Pinheiro to embody the popular strata of the Portuguese people is associated with a piece that was named fado.345 On other occurrence, the edition of the coplas for the revista Na ponta da unha! (text by Alfredo Mesquita and Câmara Lima, music by Dias Costa, premiered in the Teatro Condes in 1901) contains the Fado da Severa and the Fado da Rosa Enjeitada.346 Despite the association of only one of these characters, the Severa, with the mythological history of fado, both of them were presented to Lisbon’s theatrical audience that same year. Additionally, both of these plays aimed to present the “popular” through the metonymic aestheticisation of the vernacular: Júlio Dantas’ A Severa (discussed in the first chapter of this thesis) and D. João da Câmara’s A Rosa Enjeitada (a “populist feuilleton” premiered in the Teatro do Príncipe Real in 1901).347 Therefore, in that quadro of the revista Na ponta da unha! that did not focus on fado or on the “popular”, but on Lisbon’s theatrical activity, it is possible to extract several constitutive layers: the revista’s focus on actuality (by the inclusion of characters belonging to recently performed plays), the role of the vernacular song in the symbolic universe of the genre, and the almost self-referential relevance of theatrical activity in providing textual content to the revista.348

The previously mentioned revista P’rá frente (text by Camanho Garcia and Aires Pereira da Costa, music by Tomás del Negro and Carlos Calderón) had several interesting elements regarding the depiction of fado. For example, at the beginning of the play, the Portuguese guitar was presented as a “poor and disgraced” instrument

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346 Alfredo Mesquita and Dias Costa, Na ponta da unha!: revista em 3 actos e 12 quadros (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.), 11. Although both periodicals and Rebello’s História do teatro de revista em Portugal state the authors of the text were Alfredo Mesquita and Câmara Lima, this edition only refers to one of them.
347 Rebello, O teatro naturalista e neo-romântico (1870–1910), 65.
348 For a photograph in costume of the actresses who performed the characters of Severa and Rosa Enjeitada see Brasil–Portugal, nº 73, 1st February 1902, 399.
depending exclusively on one song genre, fado.\textsuperscript{349} Further into the play, there is a scene in which three characters personify three types of fado, the Velho Fado, the Fado Rigoroso and the Fado Liró. First, the Velho Fado (Old Fado) sings a four-line stanza, in which both distichs are repeated, a convention until now associated with some so-called traditional fados.\textsuperscript{350} Second, the Fado Rigoroso (Rigorous Fado that, according to Alberto Pimentel was the same as the Fado Corrido, believed to be one of the oldest fados in the repertoire),\textsuperscript{351} is presented by referring to the stylisation of the phonetics of Lisbon’s fadistas at the time, and mentioning the knife fights associated with those marginal individuals.\textsuperscript{352} Finally, the Fado Liró (freely translated as Elegant Fado – “liró” was slang at this time for elegant or smart), is presented as a “more elegant” type associated with upper social strata (especially the aristocracy).\textsuperscript{353} This quadro is interesting because it indicates different patterns of consumption associated with several types of fado and its content is consistent with the several sources that point to the appropriation (as well as aestheticisation) of the genre to suit audiences other than marginal characters of Lisbon’s popular neighbourhoods. In this sense, fado was associated by the authors of the revista both with popular segments of society and with Lisbon’s aristocracy. Conversely, the revista was a theatrical genre frequented by a wide range of people who constituted a heterogeneous segment of the entertainment market and a privileged, yet contested, site for the manufacture, presentation and naturalisation of the “popular.” Therefore, the performance of fado, then associated with both extremes of the social spectrum, in spaces that presented popular forms of entertainment displays the ubiquity of its consumption in a city such as Lisbon.

Furthermore, a song named Fado Liró was included in one of the most successful revistas of its time, A.B.C.\textsuperscript{354} The music was composed by the same Del Negro and Calderón, who set to music a significant number of revistas at the time, and Rebello emphasises that the structure and content of that revista articulated standard aspects of the genre with the several traits associated with the promotion of

\textsuperscript{350} Garcia and Costa, \textit{op. cit.}, 13.
\textsuperscript{351} Alberto Pimentel, \textit{A triste canção do sul: subsídios para a história do fado} (Lisbon: Livraria Central, 1904), 281.
\textsuperscript{352} Garcia and Costa, \textit{op. cit.}, 13–14.
\textsuperscript{353} Ibid., 14.
\textsuperscript{354} Acácio de Paiva and Ernesto Rodrigues, \textit{A.B.C.: Revista em 3 actos e 12 quadros} (Lisbon: Impr. Lucas, 1908). About its success, it was re-staged in the Teatro Avenida in 1915. See \textit{Ilustração portugueza}, nº 476, 5\textsuperscript{th} April 1915, 34.
patriotism. In *A.B.C.*, *Fado Liró* is sung by soloists and chorus and it prevails the association of what was displayed as a type of fado with the aristocracy through its depiction as some sort of “high-life slang.” More or less at the same time, the previously mentioned Brazilian composer Nicolino Milano came to Lisbon and was working in the Teatro Avenida (the same that staged *A.B.C.*), and wrote came to be his most successful song, *Fado Liró.* Nevertheless (and despite Bispo’s statement that Milano’s fado was included in *A.B.C.*), both these songs had different lyrics and, as I was not able to find the sheet music of the first, will not present Milano’s fado as the song included in Del Negro and Calderón’s *revista*. What is interesting about this circulation of meanings and titles is the prevalence of fado as the metonymic symbol for some urban songs that were in the process of being legitimised and promoted through their incorporation into the entertainment market of that time.

Despite several authors’ direct association between the pervasiveness of fado in the patterns of cultural consumption of a significant segment of the population with the promotion of Portugal as nation, the analysis of the role of music in several *revistas* may help us to better frame this issue. If, as I stated earlier, the incorporation of fados is a key issue in the narrative structure of the *revista* during this period, the inclusion of other musical typologies is by no means less relevant in its promotion of modernity as a commodity. For example, the *Revista do anno de 1879*, apart from the previously discussed march and waltz, also includes sections named Tango (in the entry of the Black characters from the Portuguese colonies) and Gallop (simulating the sound of the train) in its script. Furthermore, Francisco Jacobetty’s *revista Vistorias do Diabo* (staged in the Chalet da Rua dos Condes) includes a textual section to be sung with the music of Angel Rubio’s *zarzuela La salsa de Aniceta*. To give another example, the previously discussed *revista Na ponta da unha!* featured, alongside with the *Fado da Severa* and the *Fado da Rosa Enjeitada*, the *Habanera da Cocotte* and *A.B.C.*, a *revista* protocol...
that included *quadros* promoting patriotism includes a number named *La Masseuse*, that features text in French.\textsuperscript{360} Moreover, an interesting occurrence was depicted in André Brun’s articles I have already analysed, Benoliel’s photograph of a group of dancers practising a “cake-walk.”\textsuperscript{361} This reference to a black American choreographic genre that, according to Hitchcock and Norton, was introduced in Europe in 1903, is quite surprising.\textsuperscript{362} Nevertheless, it must be stated that the emergence of a transnational market for commodified “modern” music (in its live, printed, and recorded forms) probably facilitated this encounter.\textsuperscript{363} In this case, Benoliel’s photograph also reveals the relevance of choreographic elements in the musical theatre, an aspect that, due to the lack of sources (textual, iconographic, and filmographic) will not be dealt with detail in this thesis. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in the *revista*, the final numbers of the acts (the so-called apotheosis) were usually the places for the display of the spectacrularity regarding the means involved in that production, in which set, costumes, lighting, music, dance and a great number of characters crowded the stage, in order to create a scene of great impact and dazzling effect.\textsuperscript{364}

**The *Revista* as a Privileged Place for Representing the Symbolic Nation:**

**Multivocality and Modernity on Stage**

In the final section of this chapter, I will attempt to frame the narrative regarding the structure and content of the *revista* with several theories associated with nationalism and modernity. The section aims to articulate the variety of the data presented in this chapter and prepare the following chapter of the thesis, in which I will deal with the spectrum of products associated with the entertainment market, such as sheet music, gramophone records, phonograph cylinders, player piano rolls, *coplas*, and postcards.

\textsuperscript{360} Paiva and Rodrigues, *op. cit*, 15.
\textsuperscript{361} Brun, “O theatro por dentro”, *Ilustração portugueza*, nº 141, 2\textsuperscript{nd} November 1908, 20.
\textsuperscript{364} Bastos, *Diccionario do theatro portugue"ız*, 14–15.
In order to understand the incorporation of both local and transnational typologies in the *revista*, I will start by using Žižek’s translation of the four moments of Hegelian dialectics in the shape of a Greimasian square, as it was adjusted by Middleton to the issue of the “national” and the “global.”365 In this perspective, Middleton points to the possibility of the movable place the “national” can occupy in that semiotic square as both “non-local” and “not-global” (although they stand as contraries in that Greimasian framework).366 On the one hand, this leads to a definition through negation of the concept of “national.” On the other, it may favour the constitution of the “national” as a space that combines both of these characteristics which, in Žižek’s square occupy the places of the “possible” and of the “contingent.” In that case, in the dialectical process, the emergence of the “national” can be seen either as “possible” or “contingent” or a space of intersection between both those terms.

![Figure 1 Local/global as a Greimasian Square](image)

Furthermore, Middleton elaborates another square in which the term “global” is positioned as the contrary of the term “traditional” and “local” as the contrary of “modern,” thus making “traditional” the contradiction of “modern” and “local” the contradiction of “global.”368 By doing this, Middleton shifts the relation between “local”

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365 Slavoj Žižek, *For They Know Not What They Do* (London/NY: Verso, 2008), 136 and Richard Middleton, “Afterword”, in Ian Biddle and Vanessa Knights (eds), *Music, National Identity and the Politics of Location* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 195. Although the terms in which this theorisation is made are embedded in several phenomena associated with what is called “globalisation” in contemporary societies, I will attempt to adjust it to a different period, retaining the specificity of the cultural markets of this context.

366 Ibid., op. cit., 195.

367 Ibid.

368 Ibid.
and global” from contraries to contradictories and includes the concepts of “tradition” and “modernity.”

The introduction of these concepts becomes crucial when dealing with the complex process of the incorporation of repertoires enacted in the revista during this period. On the one hand, it displays the problematic of locating the “national” in a local/global bipolar system, making way for the emergence of the “national” as a space complementary to those terms. Conversely, it poses an interesting issue about the revista: despite incorporating both local (or, sometimes, promoted as “national”) and transnational repertoires, all of these repertoires were considered “modern” at the time, therefore my categorising of the revista as an archive, or even better, a repository of popular modernity. With this proposition, one question arises: which space does the “national” occupy in this last square? I would argue that the “national” does not occupy a fixed and determined space in that framework, nevertheless it is a logic inherent to that dialectical process (at least during the period of this thesis), a logic that might have, sometimes, appeared in the foreground or in the background according to the constraints of the “contingent” position (that, in that square, corresponds to the term “modern”). In that context, both the concepts of the “national” and the “traditional” exist (and are encoded and re-encoded) through their relation with modernity. Nevertheless, Fredric Jameson argued that

the operational validity of semiotic analysis, and in particular of the Greimassian semiotic rectangle, derives, as was suggested there, not from its adequacy to

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369 Middleton, op. cit., 195.
nature or being, nor even from its capacity to map all forms of thinking or language, but rather from its vocation specifically to model ideological closure and to articulate the workings of binary oppositions, here the privileged form of what we have called the antinomy.\(^{370}\)

On this issue, Middleton remarks:

although both Jameson and Žižek, in their different ways, translate the device of the ‘semiotic square’ into a form capable of representing dialectical movement (into ‘squared totalization’ one might say), there remains, of course, a danger with all such structuralist models that they pull thought towards synchronic closure: there is no visible ‘outside’.\(^{371}\)

In his analysis, Middleton favours an interpretation that allows interchangeability, such as Lacan’s theory of the four fundamental modes of discourse, which accounts for a permutability of the terms associated with them (the Master-Signifier, the System of Knowledge, the barred Subject, and the object petit a).\(^{372}\)

Taking psychoanalytical perspectives into account when analysing the theatrical activity of the period in which this thesis is focused can lead to interesting outcomes. One aspect I will elaborate now is the distinction Lacan delineates between pleasure and jouissance. According to Chiesa’s view of Lacan: “jouissance is ‘pleasure in pain’. More specifically, this is always equivalent to the jouissance of object petit a, which is a remainder of the Real which tears holes in the symbolic structure.”\(^{373}\) Furthermore, Sharpe states that, for Žižek (who draws from Lacan), “Jouissance is excessive, transgressive and (above all) sexualised enjoyment.”\(^{374}\) Therefore, jouissance is located beyond Freud’s pleasure principle, due to its inherently masochistic status. For Lacan, “the function of the pleasure principle is, in effect, to lead the subject from signifier to signifier, by generating as many signifiers as are required to maintain at as low a level as possible the tension that regulates the whole functioning of the psychic apparatus.”\(^{375}\) Consequently, the pleasure principle works within the symbolic order, “the collection of

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codes and distinctions embodied in language and culture.”

Furthermore, “it is pleasure that sets the limits on jouissance, pleasure as that which binds incoherent life together.”

It is thus possible to draw a parallel between the idea of pleasure as a path from signifier to signifier and the intrinsically heterogeneous nature of the revista (itself a discontinuous path between signifiers). In this sense, I associate pleasure and not jouissance with this process, because I believe this process is contained and delimited within the symbolic order, thus creating a space that, although seemingly and fleetingly liberated (which can relate to Victor Turner’s concept of communitas), contributed to the maintenance of the homeostasis of the system. To support my argument, the revista A.B.C. defined the revista as “the relief of the Zé Povinho, the greatest freedom that is allowed to him.”

This statement not only emphasises the role of the revista as an entertainment for the “people”, but also its almost liberating character, that, although circumscribed, pointed to the boundaries of the social conventions (the symbolic order) acting during that period.

About the relation between theatre and the symbolic, the works of Victor Turner and Richard Schechner are of great importance here. For example, Turner points out that

every major socioeconomic formation has its dominant form of cultural-aesthetic ‘mirror’ in which it achieves a certain degree of self-reflexivity. Nonindustrial societies tend to stress context-sensitive ritual; industrial pre-electronic societies tend to stress theater which assigns meanings to macroprocesses – economic, political or generalized familial problems – but remained insensitive to localized, particularized contexts.

This is quite clear when dealing with the role of the revista as a commentator on actuality, thus indicating the role the theatre played on the process of self-reflection enacted in Portuguese society in the period of this thesis.

In his discussion of ritual, an elaboration of Van Gennep’s threefold segmentation of that process (separation, margin or limen, and re-aggregation), Turner

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distinguished between liminal and liminoid phenomena.\textsuperscript{381} For Turner, liminality is associated with events of a compulsory nature within a society (such as rites of initiation, for example) and is a state in which the actors are “neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremony.”\textsuperscript{382} “Liminoid phenomena, on the other hand, flourish in societies of more complex structure, where, in Henry Maine's terms, ‘contract has replaced status’ as the major social bond, where people voluntarily enter into relationships instead of being born into them.”\textsuperscript{383} On modern societies, Turner argues that both types of phenomena (liminal and liminoid) co-exist and that “the liminoid is more like a commodity – indeed, often is a commodity, which one selects and pays for – than the liminal, which elicits loyalty and is bound up with one’s membership or desired membership in some highly corporate group.”\textsuperscript{384} Therefore, Turner associated the voluntary experience of theatregoing with the liminoid state.

However, Turner classifies satire (the most prevalent aspect of the \textit{revista}) as \textit{pseudo-liminal} because, although it has a critical stance, “its criterion of judgement is usually the normative structural frame of officially promulgated values.”\textsuperscript{385} Consequently, instead of inverting the \textit{status quo} (such as in the liminal phases), satire subverts it, but from the standpoint of, and maintaining, the official system of values.\textsuperscript{386} It is precisely because of the prominence of subversion instead of inversion that I associate Lacan’s concept of pleasure and not his idea of \textit{jouissance} with the \textit{revista}. Therefore, the prevalence of the pleasure principle as a boundary between the Symbolic and the Real is precisely what allows the subversiveness of satire in the \textit{revista} to maintain the homeostasis of the system, instead of the transgressive and disruptive action of \textit{jouissance}. This reinforces the prevalence of the Symbolic (even with the presence of different, even competing, sets of symbols in that symbolic order), thus preventing the fall into the unruly realm of \textit{jouissance}. For example, this prevalence can be observed when analysing the exposure of the female body in the \textit{revista}, in which the reduced costumes, the choreographic settings, and the double entendre dialogues can be

\begin{itemize}
\item [385] Ibid., 40–41.
\item [386] Ibid.
\end{itemize}

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interpreted as devices that displayed and, yet, contained the physical sensuousness associated with the female body within the accepted boundaries of the time. Nevertheless, pleasure, promoted not only as an escape for the audience, but also as a factor associated with the loosening of social conventions (therefore associated with the liminoid state Turner associated with the theatrical performance), could act as a facilitator for the composite image of the modern nation to be naturalised and internalised. Consequently, the depiction of patriotism, and modernity in the entertainment segment of the cultural market of the time can be interpreted as a process of commodifying the symbolic nation and making its consumption pleasurable for the public. Conversely, and although I believe that pleasure overpowers jouissance in the narrative of the revista, the latter plays an important role in the encoding of symbols associated with the nation, an issue to which I will return later.

Moreover, Turner’s theorisation of the symbolic can be useful in order to understand the process of personification and allegory associated with the revista. For him, symbols exhibit the properties of condensation, unification of disparate referents, and polarization of meaning. A single symbol, in fact, represents many things at the same time: it is multivocal, not univocal. Its referents are not all of the same logical order but are drawn from many domains of social experience and ethical evaluation.\(^\text{387}\)

Furthermore, “symbols are multi-vocal, manipulable, and ambiguous precisely because the are initially located in systems, classified or arranged in a regular, orderly form.”\(^\text{388}\) Consequently, the personifications and allegories in the revista could not only be manipulated (encoded and re-encoded), but also interpreted and decoded in multiple ways. For example, the recurrence of some characters throughout the history of the genre points precisely to the plasticity associated with their manipulation. Writing about the Brazilian revista of the late nineteenth century, Mencarelli associated that genre with “one of the first attempts in the process of constitution of mass culture” due to the wide spectra of its audience, an aspect the author relates to the polysemic and open-ended structure of the revista, that allowed for different readings of relevant topics in the then-

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current actuality to be displayed. I will go further and argue that the inherently polyssemic character of the revista promoted the widening of its audience (making it a profitable business enterprise) and the presentation of a symbolic order to which traces of the modern nation were embedded. If imagined communities (such as the nation) create a symbolic dynamic that binds culture, memory and place, jouissance (which is located in the pre-Symbolic Real) plays a key role in the translation of the Real into the Symbolic, to use Lacanian terminology. In constructing and presenting a nation (a process that also took place in the theatre), the selection of national symbols had to be twofold: they must be efficient for the “people” to attach to them through a kernel of enjoyment and they must be open enough to contain ambiguity and to be continuously re-encoded in order to achieve that efficiency. Furthermore, Stavrakakis and Chrysoloras state the importance of a personal investment in the process of identification and construction of collective identities, to which jouissance plays a major role as the affective kernel of that identification. Regarding the revista, pleasure plays a dominant role in the process of organising a chain of signifiers (contained in the symbolic order), and jouissance is pivotal in the process of encoding effective (and affective) symbols. Like Middleton, Stavrakakis and Chrysoloras argue against the reduction of identity (in which nationality takes part) to its discursive form, due to insufficiency of that form for accounting for phenomena that escape both the attachment to a specific symbolic order and the historicity of that identity.

To conclude, I will return to Benjamin and Lacis’ view of Naples, by stating that the constitutive symbolic multivocality of the revista presents that genre as an artefact that preserves “the scope to become a theater of new, unforeseen constellations” and in which “the stamp of the definitive is avoided.”

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392 Stavrakakis and Chrysoloras, op. cit., 144–163.
393 Ibid., 146–150.
394 Benjamin and Lacis, “Naples”, 166.
Chapter 3. Programmes, Postcards, *Coplas* and Sheet Music in Lisbon’s Entertainment Market

Introduction

The last part of the previous chapter addressed the complex interaction between local and transnational repertoires in Lisbon’s theatrical market of the time and their relation with topics such as modernity and nationality. This chapter will focus on the process through which these repertoires circulated. Therefore, the analysis of commodities associated with this process (such as programmes, postcards, *coplas*, and sheet music, for example) is a central element in the present section. Moreover, this focus on commodities and on the process of commodification can be seen as an illustration of an ongoing trend operating in the transnational entertainment market of that time. For Scott, there is a direct relationship between the diffusion of some repertoires and their commodification:

> The waltz, black minstrelsy, music hall, and French cabaret took almost no time to cross national boundaries once an organized means of dissemination was in place. The reason is straightforward: this music became available in a commodity form designed for exchange, and it was never so circumscribed by the local as to confuse or be unintelligible to a wider audience.¹

Furthermore, this work traces the existence of an articulated system of entertainment in Portugal at the time, in which theatrical music played a key role. In this sense, the theatre was a focal point for the creation and presentation of songs and dances that were then made available in various forms (such as sheet music or sound recordings) through several agents, revealing a complex and dynamic market in which several spheres and spaces of everyday life intersected.

Domestic Space, Gender, and the Piano

The role played by domesticity, associated with activities such as collecting, together with the reproduction of repertoires in the form of sheet music during late nineteenth-

and early twentieth-century Portugal, was crucial for the development of the entertainment market of the time. The association of musical repertoires with the privileged instrument for its reproduction, the piano, occupied a relevant place in the sociability process of various social segments of the population, in which issues such as gender and class were played out.

In the Portuguese dictionary published by Cândido de Figueiredo in 1899 some of the definitions for the term “domestic” are: “relative to the home, to the intimate life of the family; related with the running of the home; familial.” In these definitions, Figueiredo associates domesticity with space (the home), family, and intimacy, a connection that places the concept within a transnational panorama of cultural practices in which the rationalisation of living space (and time) played a key role in everyday life. Thus, Figueiredo’s proposed definition for the term “domestic” in the Portuguese language resonates with a much wider cultural framework of the time. The issue of a transnational circulation of cultural practices occupies an important place in this thesis, especially its association with the emergent tensions between local and global contexts discussed in the previous chapter. However, the analysis of local cultural practices poses important methodological questions regarding the translatability of concepts associated with the fact that the international bibliography on these issues has tended to focus mainly on Anglophone and Francophone contexts. On the one hand, the establishment of a specific network of people, spaces, practices and commodities and its association with the home is a trend that can be discussed in the wider context of the emergence of the private space in Western modernity. Conversely, the application of academic analytical frameworks associated with Victorian and Edwardian England, for example, to the Portuguese situation proves to be extremely problematic. Nevertheless, the Portuguese case can be discussed by relating a selective appropriation of various cultural aspects associated with a cosmopolitan space (especially epitomised by Paris) with the specificity of several local elements. Moreover, the existence of several striking parallels between Portugal and other European and American countries reinforces the assumption that a transnational space for the circulation of material and immaterial cultural artefacts was being established on a large scale throughout the nineteenth century.

Figueiredo’s condensation of space, people and social bonds in his definition of the domestic proves to be quite fruitful when discussing the circulation of commodities associated both with the theatre and with music in Portugal during the period covered by this thesis. At the time, the vast majority of the sheet music business was concentrated on the piano, a privileged instrument in the domestic musical practices of several segments of Lisbon’s society, mainly the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy. During the period of this study, the piano became a household good, as evidenced by the regular publishing in some Portuguese periodicals from the 1840s onwards of advertisements to commercial spaces that focused on pianos and printed music and to furniture auctions (that frequently included pianos). According to Ward, this object had “established itself as a mark of prosperity and cultural sophistication in middle-class homes everywhere in the Western world [...] and it remained the most diffused household status symbol until well into the twentieth century.”

In this process, the piano can be perceived as a marker of status that fuses both economic capital and cultural capital (to borrow Bourdieu’s terminology). If, on the one hand, its acquisition implied a significant monetary investment, on the other hand, the learning process associated with the practice of this instrument implied a remarkable investment of time. Therefore, learning to play the piano was only available to people who possessed a considerable amount of time to invest in leisure activities, itself a distinctive status marker associated with the economically privileged segments of society.

The concept of cultural capital advanced by Bourdieu provides a useful analytical tool for the study of domestic musical practices associated with the piano. For him,

Most of the properties of cultural capital can be deduced from the fact that, in its fundamental state, it is linked to the body and presupposes embodiment. The accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of what is called culture, cultivation, Bildung, presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, which, insofar as it implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor. Like the acquisition of a muscular physique or a suntan, it cannot be done at second hand (so that all effects of delegation are ruled out).  

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3 Peter Ward, A History of Domestic Space: Privacy and the Canadian Home (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999), 64.
5 Ibid., 48.
Therefore, the investment of time necessary for obtaining some proficiency in playing
the piano can be analysed in terms of strategies of embodiment of cultural capital.
Moreover, the inclusion of those strategies in a general context of cultivation points to
the pervasiveness of a concept of culture that was associated with the establishment of a
bourgeois social space from the Enlightenment onwards. Bourdieu stresses that the
accumulation of embodied cultural capital cannot be made through delegation, thus
emphasising the role of the individual in its acquisition. Therefore, the process of
cultivation implies and values a personal effort, an aspect that can be a symptom of a
cultural shift occurring at the time. For instance, during the *ancien régime*, the
maintenance of a skilled orchestra (such as the Portuguese Orquestra da Real Câmara –
Royal Chamber Orchestra, an ensemble established in Lisbon in the eighteenth century)
was perceived as a marker of prestige for a specific court. Therefore, patrons used their
economic capital in order to maximise their prestige (or social capital, to use Bourdieu’s
terminology), a maximisation that was obtained through delegation (*i.e.* paid musicians
to be entertained and entertain their circles of sociability). However, from the nineteenth
century onwards, the establishment of a circuit of public concerts and the valuing of
domestic music making were a symptom of a significant change operated in the value
systems of the time. On the one hand, instrumental ensembles could be sponsored by
voluntary societies and perform in public venues such as concert halls, a trend that
reduced the dependence of several musical practices from the agency of individual
patrons. Conversely, valuing domestic musical practice and the embodiment of cultural
capital (that, although being associated with economic capital is not based on a relation
of direct causality nor can it be obtained through delegation) points to the establishment
of a system of principles that values the relevance of acquired personal skills for several
social segments of Lisbon’s population of the time. To reinforce the aspect of personal
cost in the processes of embodiment of cultural capital, Bourdieu states:

The work of acquisition is work on oneself (self-improvement), an effort that
presupposes a personal cost (*on paie de sa personne*, as we say in French), an
investment, above all of time, but also of that socially constituted form of libido,

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6 For more information on this orchestra see Joseph Scherpereel, *A orquestra e os instrumentistas da Real
Câmara de Lisboa de 1764 a 1834: documentos inéditos* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian,
1985).
libido sciendi, with all the privation, renunciation, and sacrifice that it may entail.\textsuperscript{7}

In the same article, Bourdieu points to the significant role played by domesticity in the processes of transmission of cultural capital, an issue that will be used to introduce the dimension of gender in this discussion.\textsuperscript{8} The association between the transmission of cultural capital and gender in Britain’s domestic sphere of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (and, consequently, the possibility of applying Bourdieu’s theory to these contexts) are the chief concern of an article by Gunn, in which Gunn stressed the role of middle-class women in this process.\textsuperscript{9} For him, there were several activities in which women played a key role in the transmission and embodiment of cultural capital at the time. First, the task of rearing children was perceived as a woman’s responsibility, which places her in a privileged place regarding the formation of the subsequent generation.\textsuperscript{10} This stresses the role of informal learning in domestic contexts, an aspect that can be analysed as a process for the internalisation of a specific \textit{habitus} by children (to use a concept drawn from Bourdieu’s theory). Second, various signals that marked the socio-cultural status of the entire household, in which the proficiency in musical performance was included, were expected to be embodied by middle class women.\textsuperscript{11} Finally, “women had a critical part in transmitting cultural competence by embodying it in their own person, their dress, deportment and behaviour.”\textsuperscript{12}

Moreover, Gunn associates women with specific strategies for social distinction in those contexts, arguing that “women, especially married women, represented embodied cultural capital; they were arbiter and proof of distinction (or of its vulgar other).”\textsuperscript{13} In his discussion of the British case Gunn relates the establishment of specific forms of home-centred consumerism (in which domestic musical practices are included) with the process of suburbanisation in Britain. However, this process encountered no parallel in Portugal between 1865 and 1908. Nevertheless, it may be related to the rationalisation of urban space associated with Lisbon’s planning paradigm at the time,

\textsuperscript{7} Bourdieu, op. cit., 48.
\textsuperscript{8} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{10} Gunn, ibid.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
an issue discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis. Then, the privileged role women played in this emergent home-centred consumerism cannot be understated, especially when it comes to the processes of embodiment and transmission of cultural capital. The association of the domestic space with the feminine can be related to the establishment of the so-called “separate spheres doctrine” during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to this formula, “adult males should dominate a family’s relationship to the outside or public world while adult women properly should take direction of the domestic world.” Moreover, “a woman’s sphere of influence was the home, that her life ought to be one of quiet fulfilment of her duties, out of the public eye. Women were not to sully themselves with the dirty work of the masculine sphere, the public arena.”

The Portuguese case is not an exception to this global trend in sociability patterns, although it maintains several particularities associated with the existence of a pervasive porosity between spaces, an issue previously addressed in this thesis. The trend of circumscribing women from various social strata to the physical boundaries of the home (and its extension, the garden) as well as to specific domestic roles is an omnipresent aspect in Lisbon’s society of the time, documented in several textual and iconographic sources (such as newspaper articles, novels, and paintings). Moreover, several authors associate the performance of domestic tasks with qualities culturally related with the feminine (sensitivity, frailty, and susceptibility, for instance) thus placing the woman in a complementary, yet backstage role to the one played by the “head of the family.” Nevertheless, the domestic role of aristocratic and bourgeois wives did not include chores such as cooking and cleaning, activities that were performed by hired servants. This is quite clear in Eça de Queirós’ novel *O primo Basílio*, in which the servant Juliana blackmails her mistress Luísa (by threatening to disclose to Luísa’s husband the adulterous nature if her relationship with Basílio) into performing her housework tasks, such as ironing.

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14 Gunn, *op. cit.*, 53.
In a text published in the 1872 edition of As farpas, the same Eça de Queirós states that a wealthy marriage is the best path to secure the financial stability and, consequently, the material welfare of Portuguese bourgeois women.\(^{20}\) Therefore, the social function of the women drawn from the Portuguese aristocracy and bourgeoisie (that, according Queirós were “excluded, through habits or laws, from politics, industry, commerce, and literature”) would be circumscribed to the institution of the family.\(^ {21}\) It is not by chance that the subtitle of his novel O primo Basílio, that focuses in the sociability rituals of the lower segments of Lisbon’s bourgeoisie and in an adulterous relationship, is episódio doméstico (domestic episode). Moreover, Queirós argues that, in the cultural and educational climate of the time, the woman (especially the woman drawn from the privileged segments of society) was “confined to the world of feeling.”\(^ {22}\) In his work, he portrays the (predominantly) bourgeois woman as being primarily associated with the realm of sensation (epitomised by activities such as reading dramas and novels and attending the theatre) and not with the field of rationality, a cultural trope that was operating in several European and American contexts at the time and the will be addressed later in this chapter.

The satirical content of As farpas, sometimes based on caricatured exaggerations of stereotypes (therefore pointing to an projection of a social reality through the amalgamation and generalisation of several traits), has to be contextualised in order to understand the circulation of this type of argument regarding gender at the time. Nevertheless, both Queirós and Ortigão wrote a significant number of texts in which these views are embedded. Furthermore, the segmentation mentioned above of space and activities and its association with specific genders was not a construction that was exclusive to the activity of male writers at the time. For instance, in some of her works, Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho propounds the idea that the role of women was to be an “honest companion” to the man, promoting his happiness and the happiness of their children, “voluntarily serving her husband,” the person who holds the authority within the household.\(^ {23}\) Moreover, these views were disseminated and reinforced through several periodicals of the time that were primarily directed to a female audience, the

\(^{20}\) Ramalho Ortigão and Eça de Queirós, As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes, (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1872) 79–82.
\(^{21}\) Ibid., 67.
\(^{22}\) Ibid., 86.
\(^{23}\) Outeirinho, op. cit., 151.
intended readership of several works by Vaz de Carvalho.\textsuperscript{24} To place this discussion in a wider context, both Ortigão and Vaz de Carvalho refer to texts by Jules Michelet on these issues, thus portraying the complexity regarding the circulation of ideas about gender and reinforcing the assumption that a dialectic of local and cosmopolitan contexts was operating during the period covered by this thesis.\textsuperscript{25}

To add another layer to this subject, authors such as Vickery have criticised this apparently strict spatial and cultural segmentation for its exaggeration, arguing that this phenomenon was not a reflection of concrete realities but more of a projection of an idealised society.\textsuperscript{26} Moreover, this separation between masculine activities outside and female domesticity inside can be highly problematic when dealing with living space, an issue addressed by Picker in his study of the soundscapes of the Victorian period.\textsuperscript{27} When analysing the issues associated with street noise in this context, he states that a significant number of middle-class professionals “divided their time between increasingly distinct arenas of home and office.”\textsuperscript{28} Moreover, Picker discussed the status of workers such as writers or artists that had to work at home who, therefore, “lacked a separate, official workplace that affirmed their vocational status.”\textsuperscript{29} Thus, domestic space was not an exclusively feminine realm and rooms associated with masculine activities, such as the study, played an important role in this complex economy of work, leisure and gender. This duality emerges very clearly in a passage of the novel \textit{O primo Basílio} discussed above, when, during a gathering at the house of Jorge and Luisa, Jorge takes Sebastião to his study (“a small room with a tall glass-fronted bookshelf”), in order to have a private conversation.\textsuperscript{30} Furthermore, the narrator points to the existence of a pile of \textit{Diários do Governo} (the official publication of the Portuguese government of the time) in the room, a presence that might indicate its status as a possible workplace for Jorge, a mining engineer. Nevertheless, Luisa also had access to the study, a fact that problematises this binary differentiation between masculine and feminine domestic spaces. It was in the study that Luisa wrote the letter to her cousin Basílio containing elements that were eventually to prove the adulterous nature of their relationship and

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{24} Outeirinho, \textit{op. cit.}, 151.
\bibitem{25} Ibid.
\bibitem{28} Ibid., 52–53.
\bibitem{29} Picker, “The soundproof study: Victorian professionals, work space, and urban noise”, \textit{Victorian Studies}, 42/3 (2000), 428.
\bibitem{30} Eça de Queirós, \textit{O primo Basílio, episódio doméstico} (Porto/Braga: Livraria Chardron, 1878), 57–64.
\end{thebibliography}
which was seized by the servant Juliana and used to blackmail Luísa.\textsuperscript{31} Another
narrative in which the study occupies an important place is \textit{Os Maias} (by the same Eça
de Queirós). In this novel, Afonso da Maia (the grandfather of Carlos da Maia, the
protagonist), a rich proprietor, spends most of his time in the study, a space that, along
with the billiard room, is depicted as a privileged setting for male sociability, where
men play cards, drink and talk.\textsuperscript{32}

Nevertheless, if domesticity is presented as a mostly feminine realm and the
piano played a key role in domestic music making, a link between the piano and the
feminine can be traced. This did not go unnoticed in the Portuguese literary sphere of
the time. On one occasion, the writer Fialho d’Almeida satirically remarked that several
women entered photographic studios in order to be portrayed at the piano “with the eyes
facing the sky, like yielded Saint Cecilias.”\textsuperscript{33} In his discussion regarding the domestic
space in Canada, Ward states:

The piano was pre-eminently a woman’s instrument. Nineteenth-century notions
of middle-class femininity highly valued musical ability and held skilled piano
playing supreme cultural accomplishment, along with a fine singing voice. But
even indifferent capacity was valued as a sign of female gentility and
cultivation. In an age when families made their own music women held a central
place in home and community entertainment, very often as pianists.\textsuperscript{34}

Several musicologists have also associated the piano with female musical practice. For
instance, one of the aims of Richard Leppert’s article “Sexual identity, death, and the
family piano”, was to address the mechanisms associated with the materiality of the
piano as “an object to be looked at beyond being heard or played upon” as well as the
processes through which gender was embedded in this specific way of seeing.\textsuperscript{35}
Moreover, Leppert’s study focused on “the instrument’s extramusical function within
the home as the visual-sonoric simulacrum of family, wife, and mother.”\textsuperscript{36} When
discussing the morphological changes operated in keyboard instruments and describing
a 1801 model of a pianoforte, Leppert states that

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{31} Queirós, \textit{op. cit.}, 233–255.
\item \textsuperscript{32} Eça de Queirós, \textit{Os Maias: episódios da vida romântica} (Porto: Livraria Chardron/Casa Editora Lugan
& Genelioux Sucessores, 1888).
\item \textsuperscript{33} Fialho d’Almeida, \textit{Pasquinadas (jornal d’um vagabundo)} (Porto: Livraria Chardron, Lello & Irmão,
1904), 22–23.
\item \textsuperscript{34} Ward, \textit{op. cit.}, 65.
\item \textsuperscript{35} Richard Leppert, “Sexual identity, death, and the family piano”, \textit{19th-Century Music}, 16/2 (1992), 105.
\item \textsuperscript{36} \textit{Ibid.}
\end{itemize}
The cupboard design marks the piano as middle class – prestigious as a grand yet modest, even a bit severe. It also marks the piano as feminine: the objects it might properly hold, apart from printed music or smaller instruments, are bric-a-brac. The move toward practicality and the feminization of the domestic piano quickly concatenated in the eyes of manufacturers. Thus small pianos, early in the nineteenth century, were made to double as sewing tables.\(^37\)

The doubling of the piano as a sewing table posits itself as an interesting case for the discussion of the instrument and its relation with class, gender and space. This object concentrated two activities that were perceived as a significant part of the process of embodiment of cultural capital by bourgeois women operated in the domestic space of the time, playing the piano and sewing. Nevertheless, in an earlier publication Leppert notes that, although the doubling of the piano as a sewing machine can be interpreted as the epitome of an ideological promotion regarding the association of the piano with the role of the bourgeois woman, the operative dynamic of this process was more nuanced and complex.\(^38\) For him, the integration and promotion of the piano in the strategies of distinction of the bourgeois sectors of the population carried its association with a specific set of values, especially the necessity of frugality.\(^39\) Thus, the double role of the piano/sewing table can be interpreted as condensation, in the same artefact, of the constitutive binarism between leisure (in which music played a key role) and work (which was the source of the accumulation of economic capital), a recurrent trope in several discussions regarding industrial societies.\(^40\)

According to Leppert, “ideologically, the pairing was brilliant in its self-confirmation of the association of the instrument with women and women with domesticity.\(^41\) Although Leppert concentrates his analysis on a period in which the morphology of the instrument was frequently subject to change in order to suit several needs or promote specific systems of values, his views can be adjusted to suit other epochs. For instance, during the period covered by this thesis the morphology of the piano was already established. Nevertheless, the discussion of the association between the piano, domesticity, and the feminine realm, can be transferred to the realm of the

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37 Leppert, op.cit., 115.
39 Ibid., 156.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
repertoire for this instrument. Moreover, this move does not imply a radical and simplistic shift from a morphological analysis to a repertoire-based discussion because the association of a specific set of repertoires with femininity was already in place in the period studied by Leppert. Accordingly, the presence of an operative simultaneity of organological and compositional aspects in the ideological association between gender, class, space and music points to a complex process in which instrument manufacturers, composers, and publishing houses articulated their agency and contributed to the reinforcement of specific social stereotypes.

As stated earlier, a significant amount of work focused on the analysis of the segmentation of musical genres according to gender during the period covered by this thesis has been mainly developed in Anglo-American contexts. Nevertheless, various aspects of this discussion appear to be present, in several degrees, in the coeval Portuguese context. For Scott, a simultaneous articulation between nineteenth-century social theory, the rise of scientific approaches regarding gender and sexuality, and the circulation of discourses based on an aesthetic dichotomy between the sublime and the beautiful promoted the circumscription of the work of women composers to a specific set of musical works. In this sense, “certain musical styles were considered unsuitable or even unnatural for women composers.”\textsuperscript{42} Moreover, the presence of various systemic constraints to the career development of female composers at the time, such as the existence of a pervasive ideological framework that imposed on them specific pressures on social, economic and educational levels, played a key role in the association of particular musical traits with a division based on gender.\textsuperscript{43} Furthermore, the presence of masculine/feminine qualities in music, its hierarchical distribution and its supposedly biological foundation were aspects that also affected male composers, especially when their work was placed in comparative terms “with the less elevated output of women.”\textsuperscript{44} Additionally, this type of approach to gender roles and abilities was circulating throughout Western culture at the time, as the previously discussion of Queirós’ formulation of the woman as being “confined to the world of feeling” can attest to.\textsuperscript{45}

According to Scott, the bipolar segmentation between the sublime and the beautiful enclosed a binary logic male/female which was supported by the psychiatry of

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Ibid.}
  \item \textit{Ibid.}
  \item Ortigão and Queirós, \textit{op. cit.}, 86.
\end{itemize}
Consequently, the construction and development of aesthetic theories based on a bifurcation between the sublime and the beautiful and its associated qualities (already postulated in Kant’s *The Critique of Judgement*) was a process that had a specific impact on the musical sphere. In this context, the category of the sublime was “typified by qualities such as the awesome, solemn, pathetic, colossal, lofty and majestic” and the category of the beautiful was “typified by qualities of the graceful, charming, delicate, playful and pretty,” a dichotomy that associated the masculine with the former traits and the feminine with the latter in a homological relation. Consequently, one of the aims of the ideological division between the sublime and the beautiful was the exclusion of women from several compositional practices (that, according to the circulating theories, were seen as untrue to female nature), therefore equating the category of the sublime with a masculine space.

The aforementioned phenomenon was not exclusive to Britain at the time. The changes operated in the professional music circuit in the United States of America with the emergence of the female composers and performers and their growing autonomy from the stereotype of the “piano girl” encoded in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century was an issue discussed by Judith Tick. In this text, she presents a similar segmentation to the one presented by Scott, in which the female is associated with the musical qualities of lyricism and melodiousness and with genres such as songs and piano pieces (“smaller forms”). One interesting, yet exceptional occurrence in the Portuguese musical scene was the Lisbon’s performance of the opera *Haydée*, composed by Felicia Lacombe Casella. Although this example precedes the period covered by this thesis for more than a decade, it stands as a case in which one theatrical work of a female composer/performer was presented to a Portuguese audience in a public space. According to Vieira, Felicia Lacombe Casella was born in France and was the sister of the pianist/composer Louis Lacombe (1818–84). Moreover, she had studied singing and piano in the Paris Conservatoire before going to Portugal with her

46 Scott, op. cit., 99.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
50 Ibid., 337.
husband and co-performer, the cellist Cesare Casella.52 This initial framing by Vieira points to a mechanism that places Felicia Casella in a system of kinship with male musicians, a recurrent strategy in the legitimation of the work of female musicians at the time through which the stereotypes associated with gender surfaced. Although the couple had a relatively international career, characteristic of the rise of the virtuoso performer during the first half of the nineteenth century, they lived in Portugal (in Porto, Lisbon, or Azores) in the years that surrounded the composition of Haydée (inspired in Dumas’ novel The Count of Monte Cristo and with a Portuguese libretto).53

The work was premièred in the Teatro de S. Sebastião (in S. Miguel, Azores) in 1852 and its orchestra mainly consisted on several amateur musicians from the local bands, conducted by Cesare Casella.54 The following year, Haydée was performed in the Teatro de D. Maria II, then perceived as the national theatre, with the composer performing the leading female role. This event is atypical in four different ways: an opera written by a female composer, a composer performing her own theatrical work, a libretto in Portuguese, and an opera performed in the Teatro de D. Maria II (that was then almost exclusively dedicated to drama). This last fact can be related with the fact that Haydée was performed in Portuguese, such as the other plays presented in this theatre. Moreover, the Real Teatro de S. Carlos offered mostly opera in Italian by established composers and occupied the foremost place in the sociability circuits of the most privileged segments of Lisbon’s society. However, the work was dedicated to the King D. Fernando, a fact that may have contributed to the presentation of this opera in one of the city’s major theatres and not in a less prestigious venue. Lisbon’s performance of Haydée was the object of a feuilleton regarding notorious women who had developed their career in the arts written by Lopes de Mendonça and published in the newspaper A Revolução de Setembro.55 Nevertheless, despite the author’s high praise of Felicia Lacombe Casella the text was mainly focused in female French writers whom Mendonça admired. The National Library of Portugal holds, apart from the printed version of Haydée’s libretto, one piano piece and one song composed by Felicia

52 Vieira, op. cit., 238–239.
53 Ibid.
55 A Revolução de Setembro, nº 3366, 25th June 1853, 1–2.
Lacombe Casella, typologies that were far more consonant than opera with the
association of the female with domestic and “light” music.

Although Scott and Tick are focusing on the role of gender in composition, it is
possible to shift this emphasis to the realm of performance and associate a significant
segment of female musical practices with a patriarchal discourse that associates
femininity with “light music” (or “trivial music” to borrow Dalhaus’ problematic
categorisation), a stereotype that is clearly present in the music publishing business of
the time.56 The following discussion will analyse these issues by relating them with
materials drawn from several Portuguese novels of this time, namely O primo Basílio
and Os Maias, by Eça de Queirós (discussed previously in this thesis) and Amanhã!, by
Abel Botelho. In O primo Basílio, several references to the piano are made, most of
which associated with feminine characters. For example, the female protagonist, Luísa,
is depicted accompanying herself on the piano (placed in the parlour or family room)
whilst singing a poem of Soares dos Passos (a writer associated with late-Romanticism),
the finale of La traviata, and the Fado do Vimioso.57 This occurrence can be useful to
understand the heterogeneity of repertoires that were associated with the domestic
music practices of the time and that constituted the core of the music publishing
business. In this case, operatic reductions, fado and what can be designated by parlour
songs were a constitutive part of domestic repertoires.58 On the one hand, the totality of
the aforementioned cases are vocal pieces, which reinforces a statement made earlier in
which singing and piano skills were part of the accumulation of cultural capital
expected for a woman belonging to the economically privileged sectors of society at this
time, and that could facilitate the development and establishment of social relations,
such as an advantageous marriage (an aspect that resonates with the previously
discussed analysis of the condition of the Portuguese woman by Eça de Queirós).
Therefore,

Young middle-class women often took special pains to develop their keyboard
skills because prospective suitors commonly regarded a musical education as
especially attractive in a wife. For this reason the piano could play an important

56 On Dalhaus’ discussion of the problematic concept of “trivial music” see Carl Dalhaus, Nineteenth-
57 Queirós, O primo Basílio, episódio doméstico, 19.
58 About parlour songs in the British context see Derek B. Scott, The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the
part in a woman’s courtship strategies, to say nothing of those of parents anxious to advance their daughters’ marital interest.⁵⁹

The repertoire associated with Luísa throughout the novel is varied, but it points precisely to its circumscription to a feminine realm. She and her friend Leopoldina are depicted singing and playing Italian songs, waltzes, operatic reductions (including operetta), and fados, all of which fitted the category of “light music” at the time, which can be related to its association with a melodious sensuousness (thus viewed as emotional immediacy).⁶⁰ This situates these repertoires in the opposite pole from a system of values that emphasises “masculine” and “intellectual” characteristics of music, such as structural complexity and the emphasis on harmony and counterpoint.⁶¹ This is reinforced in another part of the novel, in which the narrator witnesses Thécla Badarzewska’s piece *La prière d'une vierge* performed in a piano near Luísa’s house, played by a small girl in a “vagrant Sunday sentimentalism.”⁶²

The association of young females from privileged social strata with the piano is also presented by Abel Botelho in his novel *Amanhã!* In a passage of the novel, Botelho places Adriana, the “patrician daughter of the owners of the house” (and of the factory, an important setting of the book), playing the piano.⁶³ However, taking piano lessons was not an exclusive activity for young females at the time. For example, a 1883 painting by Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro depicts his then-young nephew, Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro (who would become a relevant visual artist of his time, collaborating regularly with his father, Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro) struggling with a difficult passage whilst practising the piano.⁶⁴

Returning to *O primo Basílio*, the uses of music by the character Sebastião will now be discussed. According to the novel, Sebastião had manifested a precocious inclination for music that encouraged his mother to hire him a piano teacher.⁶⁵ When asked about Sebastião’s musical prowess in an informal gathering, the Conselheiro

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⁶⁰ Queirós, *op. cit.*, 60–63, for example.
⁶¹ Tick, *op. cit.*, 337.
⁶² Queirós, *op. cit.*, 34.
⁶⁵ Queirós, *op. cit.*, 152.
Acácio (another character of the book) compares him with Thalberg or Liszt. Although this comparison may seem exaggerated, it places Sebastião in the realm of the male virtuoso, clearly distinguishing him from Luísa or Leopoldina. Nevertheless, he is depicted playing a Chopin nocturne, a composer associated by Tick with the feminine realm. On the one hand, this indicates that a straightforward segmentation of repertoires according to gender is a complex and elusive issue. On the other, this may indicate the relevance of Chopin’s work in salon sociability (the context in which Sebastião performs this piece) as well as in piano didactics of the time. Moreover, in a period when the Portuguese music publishing business focused on opera and operetta reductions and on parlour songs, Chopin’s nocturnes may have been associated with a more elevated place in the hierarchical value system incorporated and promoted by some privileged segments (in terms of economic and/or cultural capital) of the local society of the time.

In Queirós’ novel Os Maias, the profile of the character Cruges is framed within a distinct symbolic universe. Carvalho presents Cruges as a character inspired by Augusto Machado and Jaime Batalha Reis (both of whom belonged to the same sociability group in which Queirós circulated), drawing his appreciation for German composers from the latter. In Os Maias Cruges states his admiration for composers such as Beethoven, Mozart and Wagner, clearly associated with what may be considered the masculine realm. Furthermore, he is presented performing Mendelssohn, Chopin, and, most notably, Beethoven’s Pathétique sonata. Nevertheless, this should not be regarded as an aspect directly associated with gender (although the issue of gender is embedded in this discourse). In Os Maias, Cruges is a maestro, composer, and pianist. Therefore, a music professional that contrasts with the spectrum of dilettantes of Queirós’ novels. In this context, the character may play the role of the male performer and composer who admires the technical proficiency of Austro-German composers. Conversely, the composers this character especially admires were associated with

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66 Queirós, op. cit., 137.
67 Ibid., 65 and Tick, op. cit., 337.
68 Mário Vieira de Carvalho, Eça de Queirós e Offenbach (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 1999), 95–100. See also Batalha Reis’ articles on Wagner previously discussed in this work and published in O Occidente, n° 151, 1\,st March 1883, 50–51; n° 152, 11\,th March 1883, 59; n° 153, 21\,st March 1883, 59 and n° 156, 21\,st April 1883, 94.
70 Queirós, Os Maias, 246.
“masculine” and “intellectual” qualities, an aspect that reflects a specific hierarchy of
taste and its implications on matters such as technique and gender. Nevertheless, Cruges
is presented as the “serious” (male) musician who operates in a different realm from the
amateur practitioners (mainly associated with “light music” styles and genres and thus,
with the feminine space), although sharing some sociability circuits and spaces with
them.

In conclusion, it is possible to argue that a relevant number and type of
commodities (such as sheet music or postcards, objects that will be addressed later on)
were mainly associated with everyday domestic and, therefore, feminine activities.
Nevertheless, the direct association between these commodities and gender proves to be
elusive and complex. Furthermore, significant transformations introduced by both social
and theatrical change contributed to the reframing of this set of phenomena. For
instance, the affluence of the lower strata of the bourgeoisie and of some segments of
what could be considered the white collar proletariat played a key role in the expansion
of the market for pianos and related activities, perceived as markers of social status.
Moreover, the inclusion of repertoire associated with spectacles that Rebello associates
with the popular segments of the population (such as the operetta and the revista) can
reinforce the view of an expanding entertainment market in which the place for music is
changing.

The Theatre and some of its Associated Products: Librettos, Programmes, Posters,
and Postcards

As stated earlier, the theatrical market was a focal point for a system of commodities
associated with the entertainment circuits that were being developed at this time. Apart
from performances, the trade of products likewise associated with the theatrical field
played a key role in the definition of a market for cultural goods. Moreover, this market
proved to be a privileged space for the encoding, performance, naturalisation, and
consumption of Portugal as a symbolic nation, a process deeply associated with the
construction of the space of the “popular” in late nineteenth- and the early twentieth-
century in Portugal. If, on the one hand, the establishment of spaces in which genres
such as the operetta and the revista were performed contributed to and reflected the
expansion of theatre going audiences, then, on the other, the trade in goods such as
**coplas** or sheet music promoted the consumption of theatrical repertoires in domestic spaces and their associated contexts of sociability. In this sense, the circulation of repertoires through several media promoted the ubiquitous presence of theatrical music in everyday life. Furthermore, this brings to the foreground the complex dynamic interaction of continuity and change in these repertoires. This means that, although the same musical piece was performed in several environments, it had to be accommodated to its intended context, audience, and medium. This emerges clearly when dealing with piano works based on theatrical melodies or when analysing the way phonography (especially in the period of the acoustic recording) introduced relevant changes into the sonic materials themselves.

As stated in the previous chapter, some of the products associated with the theatrical activity that had a significant circulation inside and outside the theatre were the libretto (for the operettas) and the **coplas** (for the revista). These booklets existed in several different formats with varying degrees of completeness, and remain one of the most relevant sources for the study of the theatrical repertoires of the time. Of particular importance for this thesis are the significant collections of librettos held in the National Library of Portugal and in the National Theatre Museum.

In most cases, the librettos and **coplas** are small-sized booklets in which the text of the operetta or the revista is reproduced. In some cases, printed librettos and **coplas** contain the full text of the play while, in others, it may suppress the spoken parts (partially or in their entirety) and focus on the sung elements of the spectacle. The front cover of the libretto includes, in some cases, relevant historical information. Besides identifying the work and acknowledging its authors (composers and librettists), it indicates its translators/adaptors. Moreover, it may include the theatre (or theatres, usually when dealing with editions other than the first) in which this particular play had been performed and the date of its première.⁷¹

Unlike the revista, the frequent publication of operetta librettos started simultaneously with the regular presentation of this type of spectacle in Lisbon’s theatres. As stated in the previous chapter, three of Offenbach’s operettas premièred in Lisbon in 1868 (*As georgianas*, *Barba-azul* and *A Grã-duquesa de Gérolstein*) and their librettos were released at the same time. Indeed, Eduardo Garrido’s translation of

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⁷¹ See, for example, the cover of Eduardo Fernandes, *O poeta Bocage: opereta em 3 actos* (Lisbon: Impr. Lucas, 1902).
Offenbach’s *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein*, for example, was released in four editions in two different publishers during the years of 1868 and 1869.⁷² Although it is not possible to determine the total number of published books, the reprinting of this libretto clearly displays the symbolic relevance of Offenbach’s operettas in Portugal in the late 1860s. Furthermore, the librettos of the two other operettas were also published in 1868, which reinforces the synchronic circulation of related commodities (in this case, the plays and their librettos) in the market for cultural goods at this time.⁷³ Nevertheless, this synchronicity is not synonymous with ephemerality. In a significant number of occurrences, the first editions of operetta librettos were associated with theatrical performances. Nevertheless, the collected data points to a relatively stable body of librettos being recurrently printed during the period covered by this thesis. This may constitute evidence of the cultural role librettos played as collectables for its intended consumers. For example, Eduardo Garrido’s *Os sinos de Corneville* (translation of *Les cloches de Corneville*) was reprinted several times from 1879 to the beginnings of the twentieth century. Although these examples were drawn from French operettas, this practice was not exclusive to translations of foreign repertoire. For instance, the libretto of the operetta *O burro do senhor alcaide* (by Gervásio Lobato, D. João da Câmara, and Cyriaco de Cardoso), premièred in 1891, was edited at least six times until 1904.⁷⁴

Moving from operetta librettos to the *coplas* of *revista* one must address several issues specific to this particular genre. As stated in the previous chapter of this thesis, operettas presented a plot with music, which places their printed text in a homologous position to that occupied by the opera libretto. This means that, in their several revivals, operettas usually used the same text. For example, the revival of *Os sinos de Corneville* performed in the Teatro Ginásio in 1900 by the Nicolau da Silva Group used the same translation by Garrido that was performed in the play’s première in 1877 and was

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subsequently and frequently reprinted, as stated above.\textsuperscript{75} The \textit{revista}, especially in its early years (when its performances were very chronologically circumscribed and the genre was mainly based on commentaries to the past years’ events), was based on ephemerality. Consequently, printing the text of a play that was staged for a relatively short period (when compared with an operetta) and which would not be revived would not be a very appealing business opportunity for publishers. Therefore, it is not unexpected to find that the regular publication of the printed texts of the \textit{revistas} started with the establishment of the genre as a year-round entertainment in the 1880s.\textsuperscript{76}

Due to the circumstantial character of the \textit{revista} and as was argued in the previous chapter, the constitutive plasticity of the genre meant that these plays were frequently subject to modification throughout their performance history. The revival in 1890 of the \textit{revista Tim tim por tim tim} in the Teatro da Avenida, for which, according to a periodical, an entire new act was devised specifically for these performances, serves as a useful example.\textsuperscript{77} Therefore, the market of commodities associated with a changing repertoire had to be able not only to deal with these modifications, but also to maximise profit in these circumstances. For example, when \textit{Tim tim por tim tim} (premièred in the Teatro da Rua dos Condes in 1889 and whose \textit{coplas} were published that same year),\textsuperscript{78} was revived in the season 1898/1899, an “expanded” edition of the \textit{coplas} was printed.\textsuperscript{79} To reinforce the relevance of theatrical texts to some publishers of the time, the Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, established in Lisbon in 1890, edited its collection of “\textit{coplas} of several comic operas” which was constituted by librettos and \textit{coplas} of operettas, vaudevilles, \textit{mágicas, revistas}, a body of texts that constitutes an essential source for the study of theatrical activities in Portugal during the late nineteenth- and the early-twentieth-century.

Another product of extreme relevance for the study of theatrical activity is the programme. If the libretto or the \textit{coplas} stand out as sources for the narrative contents of theatrical plays, the programme stands as an essential publication for the identification and mapping of the several agents involved in the production and performance of a

\textsuperscript{76}See Luiz Francisco Rebello, \textit{História do teatro de revista em Portugal}, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 1984), 85.
\textsuperscript{77} Pontos nos is, nº 251, 17\textsuperscript{th} April 1890, 128.
\textsuperscript{78}António de Sousa Bastos, \textit{Tim tim por tim tim: revista do anno de 1888} (Lisbon: Typographia de Alfredo da Costa Braga, 1889).
\textsuperscript{79}António de Sousa Bastos, \textit{Tim tim por tim tim de 1898} (Lisbon: Libânio & Cunha, 1898).
specific work. The ephemerality of theatrical materials, especially those associated with perishable spectacles such as operettas and *revistas* has already been discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis. If ephemerality was constitutive of some theatrical enterprises and repertoires of this, the programme, associated with a very specific set of performances, is its epitome. To reinforce this statement, unlike printed librettos, not many theatrical programmes of the period covered by this thesis have survived. Nevertheless, from this small sample, it is possible to discuss a few traits in this type of heterogeneous material. For instance, the programme for the *revista Beijos de burro* (premiered in the Teatro Chalet do Rato in 1903) included the names of the characters and the actors/actresses who played them as well as the title of the sketches. In other cases, such as the programme of the first performances of the operetta *O solar dos barrigas*, given at the Teatro da Rua dos Condes in 1892, contained its technical and artistic personnel.

According to Sousa Bastos, apart from identifying the personnel involved in a specific production, the programme also played a role in advertising the shows. He states the inefficiency of this medium in terms of advertisement, attributing it to an inadequate distribution on the several streets and establishments. Nevertheless, in an unsubsidised segment of the theatrical market in which the popularity of specific actors/actresses played a key role in attracting audiences, the programme (that identified these agents) may have played a significant role as a part of a wider advertising strategy devised by the impresarios that also included the publication of advertisements in the periodicals of the time, thus aiming to maximise the intended audience for the companies’ performances.

The analysis of several commodities associated with strategies for the advertisement of theatrical shows will be the focus of the following section. As stated in the first chapter of this thesis, in the last third of the nineteenth century the development of halftone printing and of photography contributed to facilitate substantial

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80 *Beijos de burro* [programme], Lisbon (Teatro Chalet do Rato), [1903]. Shelfmark MNT: 17092, National Theatre Museum (Lisbon). This was also the case of the program for the *revista Raios X*, performed in the Teatro da Trindade in 1904–1905. See *Raios X* [programme], Lisbon, (Teatro da Trindade), [1904/1905]. Shelfmark MNT: 112557, National Theatre Museum (Lisbon). For several photographs of this *revista see Brasil-Portugal, nº 145, 1st February 1905, 13–14, 16.

81 *O solar dos barrigas* [programme], Lisbon (Teatro da Rua dos Condes), 1892. Shelfmark MNT: 29871, National Theatre Museum (Lisbon).


modifications in the representational systems of the time. Although the first chapter of this thesis was mainly focused on the impact these technologies had in the realm of periodicals, this shift had much wider repercussions for the dissemination of an iconographic culture at this time. Furthermore, this phenomenon was central for the establishment of two advertising products associated with the theatre: the poster and the postcard.

For Sousa Bastos, theatrical posters (which also carried the identification of some of the agents involved in the performance) were the privileged medium for announcing theatrical shows throughout Portugal.84 Furthermore, he discussed the modifications introduced in that medium by the aforementioned iconographic shift. If posters started to be “small and simple,” at the time when Sousa Bastos was writing his work (1908) they were mainly “huge, printed in colours and illustrated with scenes of the plays.”85 Regarding their dissemination, the writer states that, in Lisbon and Porto, they were distributed by special agencies contracted by the theatrical enterprises.86 Although not many of these posters have survived (probably due to their utilitarian and ephemeral status), it is possible to infer that they played an important role in advertising theatrical shows in public spaces and that they simultaneously reflected and were a reflex of the aforementioned iconographic shift.87

One poster of this period is for the 1902 performances of Tição negro in the Teatro Avenida and is held in the National Theatre Museum.88 The plot of this “lyrical farce” was inspired in elements associated with the production of the Portuguese playwright Gil Vicente (1465–1537) in a period when historicist and naturalistic trends played an important role in the theatrical market. Consequently, the poster reflected these aspects and catered for the advertising needs of a theatrical production of the time. Containing the same information one would expect to find in a programme (such as an actors/actresses list with the characters they performed, and an enumeration of the musical numbers and of the technical staff associated with this production), the poster was printed in much larger dimensions.89 Tição negro’s poster emulated both

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84 Sousa Bastos, op. cit., 34.
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid.
87 For an analysis of the role the poster played in the promotion of André Antoine’s Théâtre Libre in Paris see Sally Charnow, “Commercial culture and modernist theatre in fin-de-siècle Paris: André Antoine and the Théâtre Libre”, Radical History Review, 77 (2000), 60–90.
88 Tição negro [poster], Lisbon, Teatro Avenida, [1902]. Shelfmark MNT: 18062, National Theatre Museum (Lisbon).
89 Ibid.
graphically and rhetorically the aesthetics of the period in which the play is set, presenting an illustrated strip decorated with late medieval motives and a usage of the Portuguese language borrowed from Gil Vicente’s plays.\textsuperscript{90}

The development of photographic reproduction technologies played a key role in the circulation of iconographic commodities during the period covered by this thesis. For instance, these technologies were crucial for the development of the illustrated postcard, a product also used in advertising the theatrical activity of the time. According to Danet, the origin of this artefact can be traced back to the processes of urbanisation, industrialisation (in which the developments in printing technologies are included), and the spread of literacy during the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{91} Emerging in the last third of the nineteenth century, the postcard started to be incorporated in the communicative routine of several social segments of various countries, an issue to which advertisers were aware as early as 1878.\textsuperscript{92} The standardisation of the dimensions of the product and the development of its layout, especially the establishment of the “divided back” in the first decade of the twentieth century (which allowed for an image to occupy the entirety of one of the sides of the object), were key events for the promotion to a position of primacy of the illustrated face of the postcard, “a sign of the rise of the culture of the image.”\textsuperscript{93}

Furthermore, postcard writing (such as letter writing) was, at this time, considered a feminine activity, an aspect that reinforced “the association of the feminine with the trivial, the picturesque, the ephemeral,” an issue that was previously addressed on this thesis.\textsuperscript{94} Nevertheless, the postcard occupied a complex position when associating specific activities with gender roles. On the one hand, letter and postcard writing were seen as a feminine occupation. Conversely, the status of the postcard as a collectable pointed to its connections with the (mostly) masculine activity of collecting. “If [...] collection is generally theorized as a masculine activity, the postcard constitutes

\textsuperscript{90} Shelfmark MNT: 18062, National Theatre Museum (Lisbon).
\textsuperscript{91} Brenda Darnet, Cyberpl@y: Communicating Online (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2001), 161. For several examples of Portuguese postcards from this period see Sousa Figueiredo, Ilustradores portugueses no bilhete postal (1894–1910) (Lisbon: Arte Mágica Editores, 2003).
\textsuperscript{94} Schor, op. cit., 262.
an interesting exception to these laws of gendering: it is the very example of the feminine collectable.\textsuperscript{95}

Not unlike posters, few postcards of this time are preserved and available in accessible institutions and, possibly, a significant number of them has been circulating in the hands of private collectors. Nevertheless, advertisements to postcard sellers were published in the press of the time, a fact that points to the circulation of this product and its cultural significance.\textsuperscript{96} Moreover, the depiction of elements of theatrical activities in postcards was a current practice in several territories since, at least, the beginning of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{97} As in other countries, there were mainly two types of theatrical postcard: either focusing on the actor/actress in costume or depicting a specific scene of a theatrical play. For example, in the first decade of the twentieth century were published several postcards depicting the play \textit{Vênus} (a Portuguese adaptation of Oscar Blumenthal’s and Ernst Pasqué’s German play \textit{Frau Venus} made by Acácio Antunes with music composed by the previously discussed Augusto Machado), premièred in the Teatro de D. Amélia in 1905.\textsuperscript{98} Some of these postcards present collective scenes of this play whilst in the others the actress/singer Palmira Bastos is portrayed using several stage costumes.\textsuperscript{99} Furthermore, the National Library of Portugal holds a postcard that depicts a scene belonging to the second act of the operetta \textit{Tição negro} (discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis) that parallels the aforementioned strategies of representation.\textsuperscript{100} In the case of the \textit{revista}, the National Theatre Museum holds a set of coloured postcards from \textit{O anno em três dias} in which several female performers in costume are individually depicted.\textsuperscript{101} What is interesting about theatrical postcards is that they share the same strategy of representation with the periodicals when printing theatrical photographs. For instance, the edition of \textit{O Ocidente} that included the review

\textsuperscript{95} Schor, \textit{op. cit.}, 262.
\textsuperscript{96} \textit{O Occidente}, nº 941, 20\textsuperscript{th} February 1905, 40.
\textsuperscript{97} See, for example, the series of Sarah Bernhardt’s postcards published in Paris by the Éditions Cinos in 1898, the theatrical postcards published in London by J. Beagles & Co in the beginning of the twentieth century, or David Elliott’s theatrical postcard collection, held in the National Library of Australia.
\textsuperscript{98} For the review of the play see \textit{O Occidente}, nº 973, 10th January 1906, 2–3. For the libretto see Acácio Antunes, \textit{Vênus: peça fantastica em 3 actos e 15 quadros baseada na peça de Pasqué e Blumenthal} (Lisbon: Imp. Libânio da Silva, 1905).
\textsuperscript{100} \textit{Tição negro} [postcard], Lisbon: Union Postale Universelle, [1902]. Shelfmark PTBN: A.M./C.3/6, National Library of Portugal.
\textsuperscript{101} \textit{O anno em três dias} [postcards]. Shelfmarks MNT: 32135, MNT: 32179, MNT: 32271, and MNT: 32388, National Theatre Museum (Lisbon).
of *Vênus* also published a set of stage photographs of the play that share similarities with some of the aforementioned printed postcards. In this sense, the conventions associated with photography in its early stage were reproduced in several different products, such as newspapers and postcards, contributing to disseminate not only the medium but also the aesthetic and ideological models embedded in it. Moreover, because the musical theatre was integrated in the broader theatrical field it shared these same conventions of representation.

**Theatrical Repertoires and Sheet Music**

The circulation of printed music is a key aspect for the study of the circulation and adaptation of theatrical repertoires and their accommodation to domestic musical practices. As in several countries, the establishment and expansion of a market for sheet music in Portugal took place during the nineteenth century and had its focuses in the urban centres of Lisbon, Porto and Coimbra. Furthermore, the edition of printed music played a key role for the sociability routines of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie in a period when the only possibility of reproducing repertoires involved musical literacy and domestic music making. This social spectrum was broadened towards the end of the nineteenth century, when some of the lower strata of the bourgeoisie had the possibility to purchase pianos and to finance piano lessons. Like in several other countries, the establishment of a music printing business in Portugal dates from the Renaissance. However, due to the dissemination of both printing technologies and instruments (especially the piano) this field began to be restructured in the middle of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the business of music publishing flourished well until the middle of the twentieth century, although the panorama was significantly altered with the progressive establishment and growth of a market for mechanical music.

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102 *O Occidente*, nº 973, 10th January 1906, 5. Regarding the issue of the strategies of representation, see also *Brasil-Portugal*, nº 73, 1st February 1902, 399, where two *revista* actresses are portrayed in costume.

103 See, for example, José Rodrigues Miguéis, *A escola da paraíso* (Lisbon: Estúdios Cor, 1960). Although the novel was first published in 1960, its narrative is set in Lisbon in the last years of the Monarchy and the first years of the Republic. Furthermore, the book deals with the everyday life of the lower strata of Lisbon’s bourgeoisie as perceived by children and carries a strong autobiographical component of Miguéis (born in 1901).

As I and Losa have stated in a previous publication, by the middle of the nineteenth century the activity of several commercial spaces that, in a manner analogue to the activity of the Parisian *magasins de musique*, promoted the creation and commercialisation of a market for printed music mainly focused on repertoire for solo piano or for voice and piano.\(^{105}\) Furthermore, the establishment of these spaces was highly indebted to the activity of descendants of European immigrants in Portugal, such as Eduardo Neuparth (who founded the Armazém de Música e Instrumentos de Eduardo Neuparth) or João Baptista Sassetti (founder of Sassetti e Comp.\(^{9}\)). As their main products, these stores concentrated on commodities associated with domestic music making, especially pianos and sheet music. On this issue, the simultaneous commerce of printed music and of the media for its reproduction (the musical instruments) in the same space may indicate a business functioning in a pre-industrial organisation model. At the time, the development of the industrial processes of printing and of instrument-making allowed for the creation of a symbiotic articulation between the resultant commodities, thus enhancing the possibilities of success of the business.\(^{106}\)

Furthermore, the industrial production of these items promoted the reduction of production costs and of production time, allowing the broadening the scope of its intended consumers. On a related issue, the expansion of the market for periodicals at this time (as stated in the first chapter of this thesis) facilitated the growth of spaces and publications in which to advertise these products.\(^{107}\)

In some cases, these companies not only sold imported printed music but were themselves publishers, a dynamic that can be observed in several countries during the nineteenth century. In the city of Lisbon, we can include in this profile companies such as the aforementioned Armazém de Música e Instrumentos de Eduardo Neuparth or Sassetti e Comp.\(^{9}\), as well as the Armazem de musica, piannos, instrumentos e lythografia de J. I. Canongia & Comp.\(^{9}\), the Armazém de Muzica de João Cyriaco Lence, Salão Mozart, or Armazem de Muzicas e Pianos Lambertini & Irmão, the Armazem de Musicas e pianos de Matta Júnior, for example. These commercial designations changed through time and were indicative of several changes operated in

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\(^{105}\) Losa and Silva, *op. cit.*


\(^{107}\) The advertisement sections of several publications were key to trace the several businesses and products traded in Lisbon during the period covered by this thesis.
the companies. For instance, in 1849 Lence and Canongia started a business association who lasted for several years (even after Canongia’s death) and underwent several name changes. Nevertheless, the relation between stores and publishers was not exclusive and these commercial spaces also traded in music printed by other publishers, an aspect that can be traced through the analysis of the dealers’ stamps in several editions of sheet music. Conversely, evidence points to the existence of several enterprises the profile of which focused exclusively in the commerce (and not publishing) of musical instruments and editions. Nonetheless, a significant volume of the printed music business tended to be concentrated in the aforementioned publishers, who also published didactic music books, such as the sight-reading manual by Freitas Gazul (an agent mentioned in the previous chapter of this thesis). In other cases, such as the Casa Sueca de Adolpho Engestrom, the trade of sheet music, pianos and organs was mixed with the commerce of goods such as sugar, coffee, wines and liquor, for example.

Although this may indicate a degree of specialisation regarding the printing industry during this period that might be associated with the technical specificity of music printing, I must point out that other publishers, such as the Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, also edited sheet music (mostly associated with theatrical repertoires), although on a much smaller scale. In those days, it was quite frequent for sheet music editions to advertise similar products from the catalogue of its publisher. In less frequent occurrences, the printed music advertised related products (in other formats) by other publishers, which may indicate the presence of a symbiotic articulation between different institutions and commodities in the entertainment market of the time. For instance, a sheet music edition by Neuparth of the “Duetto das vaidosas,” a song integrated in the Eduardo Schwalbach’s revista Agulhas e alfinetes advertised the coplas of the same revista, edited by the Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco. This indicates that, in those days, the coplas and the sheet music were seen as complementary products and not as competing commodities. Therefore, each product

110 Augusto Massano, et al., *O Elvense: Numero brinde aos senhores assignantes em 1894* (Elvas: Typographia d’O Elvense, 1894), 44.
111 See, for example, *Fado Roldão*, a song of the play José João, premièred in 1896 and published by the Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco. This song was reprinted, at least, six times.
112 Eduardo Schwalbach and Filipe Duarte, *Duetto das Vaidosas* (Lisbon: Neuparth e C., n.d.).
could benefit from the commercial success of the other, displaying a system in which
the several commodities are interlocked.

Despite the prominent role that printed music started to play at this time, it must
be stressed that print was not the only means of circulation of repertoire before the
advent of phonography. For example, the activity of copying music by hand was still
important in the transitional period of the middle of the nineteenth century when cheap
printing processes were not yet disseminated in Portugal. Furthermore, a significant
amount of musicians worked as copyists for several institutions (music stores included),
a fact that can be attested by the quantity of hand-copied scores that have survived until
today. From the heterogeneous universe of these manuscripts it is possible to infer the
existence of a complex dynamic regarding hand-copied music. From manuscripts whose
calligraphy resembles the printed product to very rudimentary reproductions, the
approaches used point to a varied universe of copyists, processes and objectives. This
issue points to a parallel role of copyists in the circulation of repertoires during the
period covered by this thesis, especially its segment associated with domestic practice.
Moreover, analysing the processes of copying may indicate the way repertoires were
selected, appropriated and organised by amateur musicians to suit their specific needs.

An important aspect when dealing with the music publishing business in
Portugal between 1865 and 1908 is the accumulation of roles played by agents. In many
cases, publishers were also active musicians and teachers who had a direct knowledge
of Lisbon’s entertainment market, a feature that places them in the Beckerian frame of
the “integrated professionals,” an aspect already addressed in the previous chapter of
this thesis. For instance, Augusto Neuparth played in several orchestras and taught at the
Lisbon’s Conservatoire while Joaquim Ignacio Canongia Júnior was son of a
professional clarinettist and worked both as a music copyist and as a prompt in the Real
Theatro de S. Carlos before establishing his publishing business. A homologous case
occurred in Brazil during the same period, which may not only indicate the similarities
between Portugal and its former colony but also be a symptom of a transnational
process regarding the commodification of music. The pianist Arthur Napoleão, born in
Porto, after touring around the world as a virtuoso, moved to Brazil in 1868 and

established his store of musical instruments and publishing company in Rio de Janeiro the following year (initially named Narciso & Arthur Napoleão).\textsuperscript{114}

During the period covered by this thesis, the panorama of the sheet music business was significantly heterogeneous, ranging from local to imported goods mainly associated with what can be perceived as a fashionable and renewable repertoire. This operation was intended to facilitate a quick turnover and relied on strategies of planned obsolescence of the contents (i.e., the edited music), to borrow Attali’s terms.\textsuperscript{115}

Therefore, “fashion” and “modernity” were key terms in the advertising strategies of the music dealers, in which the idea of novelty played a key role. By recurring to this strategy the stores widened the scope of their business by promoting a continuously changing set of similar commodities, a strategy that aimed to assure a steady sales volume. This allowed for the renewal of repertoires and, therefore, the renovation of the publishers’ catalogue. Nevertheless, in this complex process several degrees of ephemerality and permanence can be discerned. For example, the recurrence of performances of a particular opera (due to the progressive establishment of a transnational repertoire discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis) could induce publishers to edit works associated with them (such as adaptation of its main arias and themes for solo piano) during a significant amount of time.

An important aspect to remember when analysing the printed music business in Portugal in the period covered by this thesis is that a significantly segment of the repertoire was previously presented to the audiences through other media, especially the theatre. This phenomenon places the Portuguese market for printed music in a general trend of a transnational process regarding the commodification of music, in which a profitable set of works that shared several characteristics (such as their main contexts of production) was recurrently published. Consequently, it is possible to relate the publishing of specific repertoires with Lisbon’s theatrical scene. Moreover, the changing market for theatrical performances constituted itself as the primary repertoire source for


\textsuperscript{115} Jacques Attali, \textit{Noise: The Political Economy of Music} (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 68. On the same page Attali’s states: “the characteristics of success would be dictated by the economy.” However, this formulation seems to be an excessively simplistic, if not exceedingly determinist, analysis of the mechanisms of the music market.
the music printing business in Portugal well onto the middle of the twentieth century. Therefore and as stated earlier in this chapter, several products (such as librettos, coplas, sheet music or phonograms) had a very close relationship with the theatrical activity of this time. Furthermore, this link is reinforced by the fact that several of the music publishers had developed ties with the theatrical business, working as performers or copyists.

Therefore, the proliferation of editions of sheet music that were somehow related to the theatre is a very significant aspect in the establishment and development of a repertoire accommodated for domestic practices and consumption. Despite the musical theatre being a privileged supplier of contents for this market, several musical numbers drawn from spoken plays were also published then. For example, Lence & Viúva Canongia published a piano reduction of a musical number from the play *O marido mata a mulher?* – translated by Carlos Borges.116 This occurrence points to a significant issue regarding the adapting of theatrical music to domestic contexts: its association with choreographic typologies. In this case, the editing of a theatrical piece as a polka (an information stated in the subtitle of the publication) emerges as relevant axis in the process of circulation of the theatrical repertoires.

If the publishing of music was symbiotically associated with the theatre, the changes operated in the operatic repertoire performed in the Real Teatro de S. Carlos were reflected in the sheet music business. Therefore, the frequent publishing of several works associated with French opera from the 1860s onwards can be seen as a reflection of the incorporation of these repertoires in the programming of this theatre. Starting in this decade, a significant number of pieces from Gounod’s operas (especially *Faust*) were published. These pieces fell in two major categories: adaptations for voice and piano of arias from the opera or solo piano works (such as fantasias) based in operatic melodies. One good example of this latter form is a set of fantasias for piano inspired in the lyric theatre composed by Joaquim de Almeida (d. 1874) and published as his opus 11.117 According to Vieira, Almeida arranged a relevant number of operatic pieces for piano, them published by Lence & Canongia and by Sassetti.118 Furthermore, Vieira states that Almeida’s arrangements were well received amongst pianists who were “not

117 Joaquim d’Almeida, *Fausto de Gounod* (Lisbon: Lence & Viúva Canongia, [1873]).
very demanding in artistic nor original features.”119 This categorisation made by Vieira can be taken as illustrative of this specific segment of the publishing market (aimed to amateur performers) and related with the problematic association between these repertoires and the musicographic discourse of the time, an issue that will be developed later in this chapter.

Although an almost causal relation between theatrical performance and printed editions seems to be operating, one specific occurrence regarding Gounod’s Faust may complicate this issue. The National Library of Portugal holds sheet music edition of two of Faust’s arias arranged for voice and piano in their Italian translation: “Parlatele d’amor” (correspondent to Faites-lui mes aveux) and “O ciel! quanti gioielli!” (correspondent to O Dieu! que de bijoux”).120 One of the greatest problems when trying to articulate several products of Lisbon’s theatrical market at this time is the lack of dating regarding some items, especially sheet music and recordings. In this specific case, these publications have 1859 (the year in which the first version of this opera premièred in Paris) as a proposed date of edition. Nevertheless, this opera was only premièred in the Real Teatro the S. Carlos in 1865 (and, due to its success, was performed for thirty-six times that season), a fact that raises two distinct possibilities.121 The first possibility it that these editions were made later that the proposed date and around the time the opera premièred in Lisbon. This can be sustained by the fact that Sassetti edited the pieces with Italian lyrics, the language in which the opera was performed at the time. Moreover, it must be stated that Faust’s international success started after the 1862 performance of the revised version of that opera.122 The second possibility regarding this occurrence is that these arias were already incorporated into a transnational sheet music repertoire and were published in Lisbon before the opera’s première, thus revealing a far more complex relation between the theatre and the publishers than one of direct causality.

If, from its establishment, one of the most prevalent axis in the editing policy of Sassetti’s publishing house (and of other publishers) was the printing of successful pieces associated with Lisbon’s theatrical market, the prominent role played by operetta

120 Fausto: musica di Carlo Gounod (Lisbon: Sassetti, [1859]), shelfmarks M.P. 1302//2 V. and M.P. 1302/1 V., respectively.
121 Mário Moreau, O teatro de S. Carlos: dois séculos de história, Vol. 1 (Lisbon: Hugin Editores, 1999), 89.
from the 1860s onwards was translated in a significant number of editions of this repertoire. Nonetheless, some works inspired in Offenbach’s operettas were published in Lisbon before the late 1860s, a period when this repertoire began its regular performances in Lisbon. One of these cases is Philippe Musard’s (1792–1859) La couturière, a waltz based on Offenbach’s melodies, published by Sassetti in the late 1850s (according to the proposed date in the National Library of Portugal’s catalogue). However and as expected, the 1868 premières of A Grã-duquesa de Gérolstein, As georgianas, and Barba-azul originated interest amongst publishers and possibly created a significant publishing momentum, which was not circumscribed to Lisbon. For instance, several pieces inspired by Offenbach’s La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein were published in Coimbra and Porto during the 1860s and 1870s (again according to the dates proposed by the National Library of Portugal). Moreover and according to the sheet music collection held in the National Library of Portugal (constituted through varied and heterogeneous processes) and some advertisements in periodicals of the time, is it relatively safe to state that the local printed music market also relied on imported goods (especially from France and Brazil).

In this complementary relationship between the theatrical market and music publishing, the performance of operettas by Portuguese composers promoted the edition of several works related to this repertoire. However, if, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the presentation of these operettas began in the 1860s, the first sheet music editions of this repertoire held in the National Library of Portugal collection refer to later pieces. For example, there are no printed editions of music from the first operettas composed by Augusto Machado in the 1860s and 1870s, although this institution holds the composer’s personal collection, a body of sources which points to Machado’s interest in documenting his own career. This unavailability may indicate that the publishing of these musical repertoires started later in the century. As an example, a significant number of reductions of several numbers of the operetta O solar dos Barrigas (premièred in 1892), discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis, were

124 Philippe Musard, La couturière: valse sur des motifs d’Offenbach (Lisbon: Sassetti, [1855–60]).
Although these editions are not accurately dated (although the National Library of Portugal situates one of them between 1892 and 1894) they may indicate the success of this operetta at the time, a fact that can be reinforced by its several revivals. *O burro do Sr. Alcaide*, an operetta by the same authors (discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis) also had musical editions of, at least, one of its numbers, whilst Neuparth published several extracts of Augusto Machado’s *Tição negro*. The totality of the aforementioned examples consisted in reductions of some vocal numbers of the operettas.

Nevertheless, some piano pieces that drew on this repertoire were also published at the time, such as a fantasia based on motives from Alfredo Keil’s operetta *Suzanna* (premiered in 1883). Moreover, the analysis of some specific cases can prove to be very productive in understanding the complex dynamic between stage and domestic space. For instance, Sassetti published a piano arrangement of Offenbach’s *Orphée aux enfers* made by Johann Strauss II. On the same note, von Suppé’s *Boccaccio* (an operetta that was considered by Sousa Bastos as one of the most successful plays performed in Portugal) was arranged by the same Johann Strauss and published in Porto by Costa Mesquita. What is interesting in both examples is the choreographic component of the arrangements. If, on the one hand, choreographic contexts are embedded in operetta staging, on the other hand the presentation of piano pieces in a dance typology (the quadrille) by one of Europe’s leading composers in dance music of the time (who was also attempting to establish his career in the Viennese operetta) points to the superimposition of two distinct entertainment forms, both of them integrated in what Scott designates as “the nineteenth-century popular music


128 Guilherme Ribeiro, *Suzanna: opera comica num acto: fantasia brilhante* (Lisbon: Augusto Neuparth, [1883]).


revolution.” In this context, sheet music editions that were mainly intended for amateur musical practice merged the theatrical stage (in which operettas were performed) and the dance hall (associated with a myriad of social dances) in the domestic space, displaying the complex relation between repertoires and contexts during the period covered by this thesis.

As in the case of the operetta, the publishing of sung sections of the *revistas* started to occupy a significant segment of the music printing business in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Unlike the operetta, whose publications included an important segment of instrumental works inspired in their motives (such as the fantasia or the *potpourri*), the editions related to the *revista* consisted of a few piano reductions and, especially, of songs. Nevertheless, Costa Mesquita, a publisher from Porto, edited a quadrille based on the main motives of the *revista Etcetera e tal* (premièred in 1882 in the Recreios Whitoynne).132

A significant amount of music drawn from the universe of the *revista* was edited in Portugal and, in a homologous way as the show in the live entertainment market, occupied a hegemonic position in the music publishing business by the turn of the century. On the strategies associated with the selection of the numbers to publish, it is possible to perceive this process in the cover of several editions of the *O micróbio*, which include “music from the most applauded *coplas* of the *revista*.” Therefore, it appears that a direct connection between the stage success of several specific numbers and their publishing subsists, an aspect that can indicate the contiguity between the theatrical and the publishing business at the time. Although it was not possible to date them accurately, a significant number of cases of sheet music from *revistas* performed

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131 Scott, *op. cit.*, 38–57.
132 Francisco Alves Rente, *Quadrilha sobre os principais motivos da revista do anno Etc e tal* (Porto: Costa Mesquita, n.d.)
133 See, for example, Francisco Jacobetty and Rio de Carvalho, *O micróbio: revista de 1884 de F. Jacobetty: músicas das coplas mais aplaudidas: tal qual a família...pegue-lhe...pegue-lhe* (Lisbon: Lith. R. das Flores, n.d.) and Francisco Jacobetty and Rio de Carvalho, *O micróbio: revista de 1884 de F. Jacobetty: músicas das coplas mais aplaudidas: tenho um cavaquinho... tra la la...: redução para piano forte* (Lisbon: Lith. R. das Flores, n.d.).
between 1865 and 1908, such as *O tutti-li-mundi*, *Pontos nos ii*, *Sal e pimenta*, *Retalhos de Lisboa*, or *O anno em três dias* were published.\(^{134}\)

Apart from songs integrated in theatrical narratives such as the operetta or the *revista*, loose songs were composed and performed on Lisbon’s stages during the period covered by this thesis. This typology was mainly designated by *cançoneta* and, according to Sousa Bastos, was a genre imported from France and consisted of “small scenes for one character divided in *coplas* intersected with spoken sections.”\(^{135}\) This form has not yet being discussed because it was presented in the intervals of the main play, thus was not included in the narrative structures in which this thesis focuses. Nevertheless, Sousa Bastos points out that some of the *cançonetas* had been successful amongst Lisbon’s audiences. According to Leitão, the advertisement of the performances of *cançonetas* was possibly associated with the promoting of the main plays themselves, in which the musical number was an extra and attractive feature of the show.\(^{136}\) For Dias, the *cançoneta* played a relevant political role in France before 1789 that was sanitised through sensuality and integrated in the context of the café-concert.\(^{137}\) About the Portuguese *cançoneta*, he states that it was a hybrid phenomenon of “difficult graft” in the local reality and that the *revista* (that adopted and promoted it) was unable to popularise the genre.\(^{138}\) This points to the constitutive plasticity of the *revista* whose structural segmentation in closed numbers facilitated the incorporation of the theatrical *cançoneta* in its narratives. Although not many textual and printed musical examples of *cançoneta* have survived, there is substantial evidence to contradict Dias’ statement. To support this perspective, a significant set of recordings were made under the designation *cançoneta*, which points to its relevance for the recording industry of the time, an issue that will be discussed later in this thesis.

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The 1908 catalogue of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone included a significant number of cançonetas by Baptista Diniz (1859–1913), a theatrical author responsible for the texts of revistas such as O século XIV, À procura do badalo, Zás traz, and Da Parreirinha ao Limoeiro. Furthermore, the texts of several cançonetas were published at the time, a practice that can be considered homologous to the printing of the libretto or of the coplas. To add another interpretative layer in this discussion, the term cançoneta had several meanings at the time. Although Bastos and Dias focus on the cançoneta as a theatrical song, the term literally means “little song” and was also used to designate several musical pieces that, to my present knowledge, were not presented in theatres. This type of cançonetas was possibly intended for domestic musical practice, in a similar fashion of the Victorian drawing-room ballad repertoire, for example.

The Materiality of Sheet Music

This section will focus on the specific physicality of the products of the music printing industry and their implications in terms of their contexts of production and reproduction, targeted audiences, and strategies of representation and advertising. Moreover, it will address technical and commercial aspects of the sheet music business as well as its historical framing. As in several countries in which the music printing business was flourishing, the most regular format of music publishing was sheet music. Although the printing of individual small pieces of music was a frequent phenomenon since, at least, the eighteenth century, the encoding of the term “sheet music” was mostly centred in the nineteenth-century American context.

According to Elliker, the usage of the expression “sheet music” can be traced in the United States of America from the 1830s and its wider circulation initiated in the

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139 Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *Novo catalogo de discos portuguezes* (Lisbon: n.p., 1908), 2–5. For Diniz’s biographical data see António de Sousa Bastos, *Diccionario do theatre portuguez*, 295 and *Carteira do artista: apontamentos para a historia do theatre portuguez e brasileiro* (Lisbon: Antiga casa Bertrand, José Bastos, 1899), 418. See also *O António Maria*, 27th May 1893, 90.


141 According to Picker, “Victoria’s reign had been marked by an increasing volume and an increasing awareness of sound – from the shriek and roar of the railway to the jarring commotion of urban streets, and from the restrained tinkling of the drawing-room to the hushed property of the middle-class parlour.” See John M. Picker, *Victorian Soundscapes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 111.
1850s.\(^{142}\) He states that, due to the proliferation of printed texts of broadsides and ballads that had musical aims, the development of the expression “sheet music” can be associated to the emergent need of distinction between publications that included musical notation and materials exclusively containing printed words.\(^{143}\) Moreover, Elliker relates the emergence of this designation with a segmentation of repertoire based upon aesthetic value judgements, an issue that points to the hypothesis that songs, arias, choruses, and instrumental pieces exhibiting the tendencies of musical legitimacy, sophistication, formalism, development, and substance – whether European or American – comprise ‘musical works.’ Conversely, songs that are unimportant, unsophisticated, formless, hackneyed, and short-American vernacular songs published as separate entities for quick sale comprise ‘sheet music.’\(^{144}\)

This situates the taxonomical issue regarding printed music in the wider discussion of the rift between art and entertainment in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, Elliker states that the aforementioned hypothesis would not endure towards the end of the nineteenth century, a period in which examples of both poles of the repertoire (“European art songs” and “American vernacular songs”) were widely represented in the sheet music catalogues of the publishers of the time.\(^{145}\) Therefore, the definition of the expression “sheet music” through the genres of edited repertoires proves to be inadequate. This shifts the placement of this definition from a repertoire stance towards its material description. Elliker proposes a definition in which “sheet music consists of musical notation printed on sheets of paper that remain intentionally unattached and unbound at the time of sale.”\(^{146}\)

Although the previous discussion regarding the association of naming with the position that certain repertoires occupied proves to be highly profitable when analysing the value system associated with the publishing music business of the second half of the nineteenth and beginnings of the twentieth centuries in the Anglo-American spheres, the terminology used in the Portuguese case does not account for this aspect. In Portugal, mostly used term, músicas (musics), was generically used to name a heterogeneous universe of editions that contained printed music notation regardless of genre and editorial format (although the expression folhas de música – the direct translation of

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\(^{143}\) Ibid., 838.

\(^{144}\) Ibid., 847.

\(^{145}\) Ibid., 848–849.

\(^{146}\) Ibid., 857.
“sheet music” – is sometimes employed). As in the printed music market of several countries, most of the surviving Portuguese examples of music editions may be considered sheet music due to their editorial format, consisting mainly of one or two small pieces. According to Elliker,

The document presenting a single short work employed the simplest format. It was usually produced as a single folio, but, if the extent of the work demanded it, a half-sheet or even a second folio could be inserted. In the case of an inserted half-sheet, fastening was unnecessary, while in the case of an inserted second folio, though fastening was feasible, it was typically neither required nor used.\(^{147}\)

Despite the fact that these editions were sold in an unbound format, several of them might have been grouped and bound in compilations by their buyers which may indicate a tendency to organise the musical materials according to the owners’ criteria, thus creating a personal or familiar informal archive.

In discussing Portuguese sheet music editions and their specific materiality the covers are of significant relevance to understand aspects such as representational and advertisement strategies for this product as well as its relation with other spheres of the market for cultural goods, namely the theatre. As stated earlier in this thesis, the spread of printing and reproduction technologies associated with illustration and photographs that started in the middle of the nineteenth century contributed to a significant iconographic shift in several of the Portuguese cultural spheres. Products such as newspapers and magazines, postcards, posters, and sheet music covers were a clear symptom of this change, that emphasised the concept of the commodity-in-display, discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis.

Furthermore, sheet music covers contain important information regarding the repertoire itself, publishers, and sellers, constituting themselves as relevant sources for the study of the music market in Portugal between 1865 and 1908. A significant part of sheet music front covers at the time included an evocative illustration of the thematic of the song and, in cases in which the pieces were drawn from dramatic spectacles, the covers tended to represent scenes of the play. As an example, the cover of edited pieces extracted from the operetta Tição negro depicted a scene of the play that included two characters.\(^{148}\) Several sheet music editions associated with the theatrical market shared

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\(^{147}\) Elliker, *op. cit.*, 849.

this direct strategy of representation and the cases of the Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco’s edition of “Fado Roldão” (that presents a singer/guitarist in front of a tragic setting) or of “O fado do Zé Povinho” published by Lence & Viuva Canongia (that depicted the previously discussed character of Zé Povinho) contribute to support this statement.\footnote{Fado Roldão: cantado na peça José João no Theatro do Principe Real (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, n.d.). Unfortunately, it was not possible to find the plot of the play. Francisco Alvarenga, O fado do Zé Povinho: cantado pelo actor Marcelino Franco no Tutti himundi, revista do anno de 1880 (Lisbon: Lence & Viuva Canongia – Lith. R. das Flores, 1881).} In various cases where several pieces were extracted from the same play the same front cover illustration was used, although with minor alterations. A usual publishing practice was to print a list of the totality of the numbers edited by the publisher on the cover and underline the title of the respective piece on the list. With this system, the same printing plate could be used for several products. For example, the edition of several numbers from the operetta \textit{O solar dos Barrigas} recurred to this practice.\footnote{Ciríaco Cardoso, Gervásio Lobato, and D. João da Câmara, \textit{O solar dos Barrigas: opera comica: Duetto e trovas populares} (n.p.: n.p., [c.1892–1894]); “Valsa” (n.p.: n.p., n.d., shelfmark MNT: 36969); “Carta” (n.p.: n.p., n.d., MNT: 36970); “Coplas dos foguetes” (n.p.: n.p., n.d., shelfmark MNT: 36971); “Duetos dos P.P.” (n.p.: n.p., n.d., PTMNT: 36972), and “Coro das velhas” (n.p.: n.p., n.d., MNT: 36973).}

In several occasions associated with the edition of theatrical repertoire the front covers also included an engraving or photography of the actor/actress who popularised it, or a sentence identifying them. Moreover, the cover of these publications mentioned the title of the play and the theatre where it had been performed. This was the case for the editions of both “Fado Roldão” and “O fado do Zé Povinho.” This usage of the image of the performer as an advertisement strategy from the publisher, in a similar way as the casts (especially the most prominent actors/actresses) were key to attract Lisbon’s audience to a specific theatre, points to the existence of an incipient star system at the time, reinforced through the publishing of related iconography in the coeval press (as discussed in the first chapter of this thesis), in postcards, and in sheet music covers. The back covers of sheet music were also used with advertising purposes, usually comprising a list of similar or related works edited by the same publisher (that can be highly useful as a source to grasp the sort of repertoires that were printed at the time).

In other cases the front covers of sheet music associated with theatrical repertoire did not reflect this association. As an example, Cervantes de Haro’s cover for the edition of “Fado Liró” (drawn from the \textit{revista A.B.C.}) depicted characters with
Portuguese regional costumes.\textsuperscript{151} This can be explained by the inclusion of this number in a collection that consisted in a selection of Portuguese music pieces for voice and piano, a set that shared the cover illustration in several numbers. Therefore, the regional costumes stood as the iconographic and metonymic representation of Portugal, as the graphic reinforcement of the idea of nationality.\textsuperscript{152}

This section will now shift the focus to the scores themselves and use two examples of sheet music published at the time for this operation, a theatrical cançoneta and the march \textit{A Portuguesa} (discussed in the first chapter of this thesis). According to its front cover information, \textit{Meios de transporte} (text by Morais Pinto and music by Rio de Carvalho) was performed in Lisbon and Porto’s theatres by the actresses Lucinda do Carmo and Emília Eduarda, respectively.\textsuperscript{153} Unlike many of the sheet music editions of the time its cover is not illustrated and the song does not comply with the most typical format of sheet music edition due to the length of its text. This can be explained by the fact that theatrical cançonetas consisted of small scenes to be performed in the main play’s intervals. Therefore, their narrative form facilitates the expansion of the text in order to present a coherent story to the audience. \textit{Meios de transporte} (translated by “Means of transportation”) comically depicts a series of scenes in which a female character interacts with various masculine characters when taking several means of transportation (the train, the carriage, the horse and the boat), sometimes exploring double entendres of a sexual nature. The poetic form can be analysed as a general introduction (consisting of four four-line stanzas) followed by four episodes individually devoted to each of the aforementioned means of transportation (also as four four-line stanzas). Due to the length of the text, only the introductory episode is included in the score. The lyrics of the other sections are published in groups of four stanzas (divided in two groups of two) per page after the score, a common practice when publishing vocal strophic repertoires.\textsuperscript{154} Between the aforementioned two groups of stanzas, all pages include a coloured illustration allusive to the content of the text,

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{151} \textit{Fado liró} (Lisbon: Neuparth & Carneiro, n.d.), shelfmark PTBN: C.N. 1669 A. of the National Library of Portugal.
\textsuperscript{152} For a coeval discussion regarding the role of sheet music in the representation strategies of American music publishers see Daniel H. Foster, “Sheet music iconography and music in the history of transatlantic minstrelsy”, \textit{Modern Language Quarterly}, 70/1(2009), 147–161 and Henry B. Wonham, “‘I want a real coon’: Mark Twain and late-nineteenth-century ethnic caricature”, \textit{American Literature}, 72/1(2000), 117–152.
\textsuperscript{153} Rio de Carvalho and Alfredo de Moraes Pinto, \textit{Meios de transporte: cançoneta original} (Lisbon: Liv. Económica de F. Napoleão de Victoria, 1887).
\textsuperscript{154} Carvalho and Pinto, \textit{op. cit.}, 8–15.
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drawn by Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro or Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro. This tendency to incorporate the work of notorious visual artists of the time in the graphic display of Portuguese sheet music editions will be prolonged well into the twentieth century, a phenomenon that is paralleled in several countries.

The musical structure of the piece is an AB strophic form preceded by an eight-bar piano introduction. Both the section A and the section B consist of two four-verse stanzas. In this piece, the piano part is essential to emphasise the contrast between the sections. In section A (in 6/8 time), the piano is assigned to a strict rhythmic and harmonic supporting role that alternates single low notes in the left hand with chords on the right hand. In the B section (in 2/4 time), the right hand of the piano tends to double the melody and, in some points, add ornamental passages whilst the left hand keeps its role of maintaining the harmonic structure of the piece by mostly alternating single low notes with chords. The overall score consists of a three-stave system, one of the most frequent formats of the time, in which the superior stave corresponds to the voice part and the lower two to the piano part. In a sizeable number of cases, especially when the right hand of the piano duplicates the vocal melody, songs for voice and piano were published in a two-staves system. This later format may also indicate that the music could be performed both as a song and as a solo piano piece, a practice that is clearly not the one associated with the cançoneta Meios de transporte. In cases in which the piano part tends to include ornamental passages that are simultaneous or overlap the vocal melody (such as Meios de transporte), a three-stave system proves to be more practical.

As stated earlier in this chapter, a significant part of the sheet music market of the time was associated with theatrical repertoires and consisted in arrangements for voice and piano or for solo piano of pieces performed in this setting. Therefore, Vieira’s statement that Joaquim d’Almeida’s arrangements were well received amongst pianists who were “not very demanding in artistic nor original features” has to be placed in its proper context. In a market where the sheet music edition was mainly used to domestically reproduce repertoires presented through other media (such as the theatre), the originality of the arrangements may not be the best criterion to evaluate them. On the one hand, the printed music market relied on amateur music making, therefore the

155 Carvalho and Pinto, op. cit., 5.
156 Ibid., 6–7.
editions had to cater for a public with heterogeneous levels of musical skills. In this sense, the published repertoire had to be technically accessible to a wide range of consumers. On the other hand, amateur musicians were looking for repertoires they were already familiar with and were able to recognise. Therefore, sheet music editions could not exclude consumers based on technical proficiency nor on unfamiliarity, placing d’Almeida’s “artistic undemanding” and “unoriginal features” as strengths that facilitated the success of his arrangements in the market for sheet music of the time.

The sheet music edition of *A Portuguesa* shares several traits with the previously discussed *cançoneta* but it also displays significant differences. The cover of the consulted edition of *A Portuguesa* contains exclusively the title of the march set to a white and blue background, the colours of the flag of the Portuguese monarchy. It also includes the stamps of Neuparth & C.ª and a stamp stating it was a free edition, which may place it as part of the set of the free scores of *A Portuguesa* distributed free of charge immediately after the British Ultimatum of 1890. To reinforce this possibility, the score appears to be a cheap non-illustrated edition, an aspect that may point to an aim of free distribution.

The edition consists of a three-stave system in which the upper staff is assigned to the voice and the lower two staves are assigned to the piano. As in the *cançoneta*, this march begins with a piano introduction (in this case with the length of four bars). However, *A Portuguesa* has a refrain that, in the analysed score, is written as a three-part choir in the upper staff, assigned to the voice. In that edition, the verse section of the march was a monophonic (and possibly soloist) section that contrasted with the choral refrain. Throughout the piece, the right hand of the pianist performs chords whilst doubling the voice at the same time and the left hand consists of octaves and chords. Furthermore, the verticality of the accompaniment points reinforces the march texture of the work. As in the edition of *Meios de transporte*, only a part of the text was included in the score. In the case of *A Portuguesa*, the score includes the first verse and the refrain, and the text of the two remaining verse-chorus structures is published immediately after the score in a two-column format.

Although both of the musical examples previously discussed address distinct universes of production and presentation, their commodification in the form of sheet music editions shared a significant set of aspects. Thus, it is possible to state that, in order to become available to most of the domestic amateur performers – and thus a profitable business – the repertoires had to be adapted and metabolised (graphically, instrumentally, and texturally) according to what might be called a transnational set of tendencies and conventions of encoding music into a specific type of commodity form, the printed sheet music edition.
Chapter 4. Mechanical instruments, Phonography and the Reshaping of the Music Market

In the process of the commodification of music, the creation of technologies for sound and music recording and reproduction (such as the phonograph, the gramophone, or the player piano) introduced relevant changes in Lisbon’s entertainment market. Moreover, the emergence of these new technologies poses interesting theoretical questions on the media themselves and their specific materiality. Conversely, the positioning of these emergent media in a market that, at the time, relied mainly on local sheet music retailers and importers (many of them accumulating this role with the trade of musical instruments) is also a key issue to understand the dynamics associated with the production, reproduction, and dissemination of theatrical repertoires. Furthermore, the complex interaction between transnational recording companies and local agents and repertoires can be used to address the questions raised by the complex relation between these levels, previously addressed in this thesis.

Starting in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the progressive incorporation in everyday life of several media associated with music and sound recording and reproduction introduced significant changes in Lisbon’s market for cultural goods. The heterogeneity of these media and their complex interaction with fluid, yet established entertainment circuits will be the focus of this section. This study will mainly focus on several technological novelties, such as the player piano, the phonograph, and the gramophone, and on their integration in the forms of domestic entertainment of the time. Furthermore, it will attempt to frame them commercially by discussing some of the prevalent business models and the mechanisms through which they became a part of the routine for several social groups at the time.

For Picker, the Victorian era is associated with the transformation of what was considered by the Romantics as a sublime experience “into a quantifiable and marketable object or thing, a sonic commodity, in the form of a printed work, a performance, or, ultimately, an audio recording.”1 Therefore, the process of commodification of music through several media was highly interconnected with

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industrial and scientific aspects (such as the dissemination of image and sound reproducing technologies) that were progressively integrated in the sociability *habitus* of several groups and articulated with a wider social and cultural panorama. Moreover, the incorporation of several of the innovations discussed above in the market for cultural goods combined novelty with established business models, resulting in a complex dynamic between the old and the new, the transnational and the national, between sound and music.

These innovations fall in two main categories: mechanical instruments and phonography, each of the strands requiring a specific analytical framework. This chapter will initially address several issues associated with the development of various mechanical instruments and their incorporation in the *habitus* of several segments of the population. According to Ord-Hume,

Mechanical instruments are those instruments that produce their sounds automatically from a pre-programmed mechanical source and are operated either without human participation (by clockwork, water, wind or electricity) or with musically unskilled human aid (such as by turning a handle or pumping bellows to provide air for pressure, or exhausters for suction).²

Moreover, he states that these devices had their heyday between 1890 and the early 1930s, an interval that encompasses a significant period of this thesis.³ For the study of mechanical instruments in domestic contexts this thesis will concentrate its discussion on the player piano, a device that, according to Taylor, played a key role to the commodification of music at this time.⁴ In this sense, the incorporation of this instrument in the domestic musical practices of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can provide valuable information on the process through which “a broad transformation of the ways that music was made and experienced, helping to constitute it as a commodity in the sense we know it in today's market.”⁵ Although the history of this mechanical instrument can be traced back to the late eighteenth-century, the basis of

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⁵ Taylor, *op. cit.*, 283.
the player piano mechanism that several households possessed during the period covered by this thesis was mainly developed in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth.⁶ Despite the scarcity of the available data on the Portuguese market it is possible to infer that such devices (and their respective rolls) were commercialised in Lisbon by the already established and previously mentioned businesses that focused their trade on musical instruments (especially pianos) and printed music, such as Neuparth & Carneiro. This can be explained by the fact that the player piano mechanism could easily be fitted to an existing technology present in several Portuguese households: the piano.⁷ Therefore, the player piano can be interpreted as an extension of the traditional piano. Hence, stores that concentrated on trading pianos and printed music expanded their offer in a period when sound recording and reproduction technologies (sometimes presented as the direct competitors of the player piano) were also emerging.

Conversely, the implementation of phonography in Portugal follows a different model from the one associated with the player piano, merging the transnational and the local in a variety of degrees. This constitutive heterogeneity is associated with the coexistence of several business models for the same set of commodities. For instance, in the first decade of the twentieth century the main European recording companies (such as the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, associated with British-based The Gramophone Company, or the French-based Pathé)⁸ established stores in Portugal that traded exclusively on their own products, a process that, in the case of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, was accompanied by a significant investment in advertising in periodicals, as discussed in the first chapter of this thesis.⁹ In the cases of other recording companies (such as Beka, Dacapo, Parlophone, Homokord, and Odeon, that were progressively integrated the German group Lindström from 1908 onwards) the business model was significantly different.¹⁰ According to Losa and Belchior, a relevant implementation strategy for these companies consisted in using previously established

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¹⁰ Ibid., 633.
traders as local agents and their commercial venues as selling points.\(^\text{11}\) Although the universe of the sellers was varied, they tended to focus their commerce in products then perceived as technological innovations, such as bicycles, sewing machines, and optical equipment.\(^\text{12}\)

This spatial segmentation between stores that traded commodities traditionally associated with the mid-nineteenth-century bourgeois entertainment, such as pianos and printed music (and that later incorporated mechanical instruments that were related to this realm, such as the player piano), and spaces that commercialised phonograms (as an exclusive product or amongst other goods) is indicative of how the phenomenon of phonography was received in Portugal in the early twentieth-century and consequently articulated as a technological novelty epitomising modernity. This segmentation lasted for a significant period and, according to Losa, it was only in the 1920s that recorded sound was integrated in the stocks of establishments that also traded in instruments and printed music.\(^\text{13}\)

**Mechanical Instruments, Data Storage, and Musical Repertoires**

The role mechanical instruments played in the reproduction and circulation of repertoires through several realms can be interpreted as an important feature in the entertainment market of the time. In his comparison between the piano player and the phonograph (two coeval innovations), Taylor argues that the former, a “seemingly less sophisticated technology provides a better site to address the question of the commodification of music.”\(^\text{14}\) This perspective is shared with Suisman, to whom “even more than the piano and the phonograph, it is the player-piano that best symbolizes the close relation between music machines and industrial manufacturing – and not just by homology.”\(^\text{15}\) Taylor’s main argument to reinforce his statement relates to the penetration of the player piano in American households and its rapid incorporation in

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\(^\text{12}\) Losa and Belchior, *ibid*.

\(^\text{13}\) Losa, *op. cit.*, 633.

\(^\text{14}\) Taylor, *op.cit.*, 284.

everyday life, contrary to the slow integration of phonography as a form of domestic entertainment:

For one thing, since the original player piano was a machine that attached to a piano, it had an easier time of becoming part everyday life since as many as half of all American homes already contained pianos by the mid-1920s. The phonograph, on the other hand, was slow to catch on; there was some debate about its usage, even whether or not it should be used for music; and its poor fidelity prevented it from becoming popular until well into the twentieth century.\(^\text{16}\)

Therefore, the positioning of the player piano as a device that could be attached to an already existing household good, the piano (the privileged instrument for domestic musical practices at the time, as discussed in the previous chapter) and its univocal function are key aspects for Taylor’s analysis. Moreover, he situates the player piano as a transition between an age of piano-based domestic music making and an age of the primacy of phonography, an issue that will be addressed later. Consequently, elements such as the embodiment of cultural capital associated with piano practice (discussed in the previous chapter) were significantly altered with the advent of mechanisation. Nevertheless, the possibilities of “regular” piano playing were not annulled by the attachment of the player piano mechanism, which allowed for the instrument to be performed by using both processes. According to Suisman, the progressive reconfiguration of human participation in music making from a position of direct performer to a role of machine operator points to a relocation of the expertise involved in that process to the inside of the mechanisms operating in the player-piano and in the phonograph.\(^\text{17}\) This position can be associated with the concept of delegation proposed by Latour that, at a general level, designates a transfer of responsibilities and competencies from one actant to another. According to Verbeek, most of the examples of this phenomenon presented by Latour involve delegation from human to non-human agents in a way that circumscribes the role of non-human agents exclusively to the execution of tasks assigned by them by human agents.\(^\text{18}\) However, Verbeek criticises the


notion that the mediating role of artifacts is an intrinsic property, thus favouring a position in which a “technologically mediated intentionality” can be perceived as a “mode of the intentional relation between humans and the world.”

According to Jonson, early player pianos “consisted of what looked like a small cabinet which was wheeled up to the pianoforte, and from the back of which felt-covered hammers projected, which were adjusted to the keyboard.” By this account, the earliest type of these mechanisms was an external feature that was be attached to a traditional piano. In his study on pianos, Jonson argued that the subsequent improvement would be “the placing of the mechanism inside upright pianofortes, which had the great advantage that the pianoforte could then be used as an ordinary pianoforte and played by hand.” Within this framework, manufacturers devised strategies for the mechanism to be incorporated in the instrument itself, maintaining the aesthetic appearance of the piano as a furniture item, addressed by Leppert and discussed in the previous chapter. By preserving its morphology through the integration of the player piano mechanism in the instrument’s traditional form, the piano retained its status both as a musical instrument and as a piece of bourgeois furniture. Thus, the new strain of player pianos articulated the traditional role assigned to the piano and its late-Classical and Romantic heritage with the “modern” tendencies embedded in the ability to domestically reproduce music through an automated mechanism.

The scarcity of data concerning player pianos in Portugal during the period of this thesis can pose a serious obstacle for the research on the field of mechanical instruments in the Portuguese context. Nevertheless, several sources point to the introduction of the player piano in Portugal in the first decade of the twentieth century. Therefore, a thesis with the chronological limit in 1908 can only analyse the first stage of the incorporation of this technology in everyday life. Conversely, the introduction of phonography was a coeval phenomenon that, due to the availability of a heterogeneous constellation of sources can be addressed more precisely. Furthermore, most of the repertoire contained in the few Portuguese player piano rolls that are accessible and available, as well as references to their recording, belong to a later period (such as rolls with fados composed and performed by António Menano). This may point to a growing

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19 Peter-Paul Verbeek, *op. cit.*, 169.
relevance of the player piano in the musical markets of the 1910s and 1920s, a phenomenon that was paralleled in several countries (although within slightly different chronological boundaries). Nevertheless, several surviving, yet undated rolls contain musical pieces composed in the period of this thesis, such as the march *A Portuguesa*. Furthermore, the box of various of the consulted rolls include the information that Abel Ferreira da Silva, a merchant established in Porto, was the sole manufacturer of player piano rolls in Portugal during their unspecified date of production. Although the production of these rolls falls outside of the chronological limits of this thesis, this occurrence may nonetheless indicate the permanence and the significance of several musical pieces in the market for cultural goods of the time, which was then subsequently reflected in the edited repertoire for mechanical music instruments.

One of the few published references to player pianos in the period of this thesis is the application for the registration of the brands “Aeolian” and “Pianola” by The Aeolian Company, published in the issue of the *Boletim da propriedade industrial*.\(^{23}\) Although this issue of the *Boletim* was published in 1903, it referred to applications filed during the year of 1901, three years after the first commercial use of the Pianola trademark.\(^{24}\) The company was based in Meriden, Connecticut and was represented in Portugal by G. J. C. Henriques, an agent who, at this time, was not possible to identify.\(^{25}\) Nevertheless, several advertisements to the Pianola published in a later period indicate that the brand was represented in the 1910s and 1920s by Salão Mozart.\(^{26}\) Furthermore, in 1925, a notice was published in the periodical *Domingo ilustrado* in which it was stated that the name “Pianola” was registered by the Aeolian Company, Ltd., and its exclusive agent was the Salão Mozart.\(^{27}\) This indicates that the designation Pianola was being used by other dealers to categorise their player piano mechanisms, a transnational phenomenon in which this notorious brand name came to metonymically stand for the entire set of these devices. For example, in 1915 Jonson stated:

> Now what exactly is the Pianola? The word itself is really the trade name for the particular make of mechanical piano-player manufactured by the Aeolian

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\(^{25}\) *Boletim da propriedade industrial*, *ibid.*

\(^{26}\) *A capital*, nº 1233, 6th January 1914, 3 and *O Domingo ilustrado*, nº 2, 25th January 1925, 11.

\(^{27}\) *O Domingo ilustrado*, nº 2, 25th January 1925, 11.
Company, of New York, and the allied Company called the Orchestrelle Company, of 135, New Bond Street, London. Now I do not know whether these two companies take it as a compliment or consider it a nuisance, but the general public and the Press have adopted the term ‘Pianola’ as a generic term for all mechanical piano-player devices.\(^{28}\)

Another interesting occurrence involving The Aeolian Company was the inclusion of pieces with titles in Portuguese in the January 1911 edition of the *Bulletin of New Music for the Pianola Pianola-Piano, Orchestrelle and Aeolian Grand*.\(^{29}\) However, although the totality of the pieces belonging to the “Foreign and special music” section of this publication bear titles in Portuguese, data points to their Brazilian origin, situating them both outside the chronological and geographical scopes of this thesis.\(^{30}\)

In the first chapter of this thesis a 1905 article about the demonstration of a player piano mechanism in Lisbon published in *O Ocidente* was mentioned.\(^{31}\) This event was promoted by the music dealers Neuparth & Carneiro and took place in the Portugal room of the Sociedade de Geografia. According to the article, the player piano mechanism presented in the session was a 73-note Phonola (although the actual range of the mechanism was 72 notes) built by the German manufacturer Ludwig Hupfeld AG. According to Dolge, the Phonola was placed in the market in 1902 and was based on a pneumatic mechanism for the reproduction of music rolls.\(^{32}\) The account published in *O Ocidente* described the Phonola as a device similar to a harmonium (thus relating the pneumatic system operating in both instruments, in which a main bellow is activated by foot pedals) and explained the process through which the Phonola’s own hammers struck the keys of the piano.\(^{33}\) Furthermore, the article stated that the Phonola could be easily fitted to any piano, thus placing it in the set of external mechanisms (described by Jonson as the earliest models of player piano devices), a statement that can be confirmed through the examination of the photographs of the device published in *O Ocidente*.

\(^{28}\) Jonson, *op. cit.*, 16.


\(^{30}\) *Bulletin of New Music for the Pianola Pianola-Piano, Orchestrelle and Aeolian Grand*, 14.


\(^{33}\) M. O., *op. cit.*, 46.
Another interesting aspect of this article is its clear insertion in an advertising strategy for that good carried by Neuparth & Carneiro. Instead of publishing an advertisement in the specific section of the magazine, the dealers were able to create space for a review of that instrument in the main pages of the periodical. This aspect is very clear in the article itself that, aside from stating that the publication’s representative was invited by Neuparth & Carneiro (the exclusive agent of the Phonola in Portugal), displays a discourse that reproduced several tropes associated with the promotion of this type of commodity at the time. The journalist states that one of the reasons this could contribute to a wide dissemination of the Phonola was that its mechanism did not require the “long and fastidious practice” (thus the investment of time in the embodiment of cultural capital) associated with the piano, a strategical issue also addressed by Taylor.\(^{34}\) Conversely, the article makes a clear point that the reproduction of rolls with the Phonola was not a self-sufficient and fully automated process, requiring human intervention for the control of its several expressive devices.\(^{35}\) Therefore, although the Phonola was a mechanical instrument, it involved a specific technical proficiency and the embodiment of certain gestures in order to reproduce musical pieces. For Jonson,

The Pianola has a technique of its own. It is perfectly true that an absolute beginner having been shown how to use the levers can play an elaborate and difficult piece of music with a certain amount of effect, but to get a really artistic and musicianly rendering of a piece, you require to be a trained musician and to have thoroughly mastered the technique of the instrument.\(^{36}\)

Thus, although one of the advertising strengths of mechanical instruments for domestic usage was the possibility of flawlessly reproducing a vast number of difficult pieces without the “long and fastidious practice”, the result of the performance (its “artistic results”) depended on the degree of virtuosity the user employed to control their mechanisms.\(^{37}\)

As in other coeval mechanical instruments that resorted to pneumatic mechanisms, the music was stored in a paper roll that contained the instructions for the automated device to perform a particular piece in the format of a sequential set of holes.

\(^{34}\) M. O., \textit{op. cit.}, 46 and Taylor, \textit{op. cit.}, 286.
\(^{35}\) M. O., \textit{ibid.}
\(^{36}\) Jonson, \textit{op. cit.}, 19.
\(^{37}\) \textit{Ibid.}
Moreover, the mass production of music rolls that contained previously popularised tunes (through theatrical presentation, sheet music edition or sound recording) was symbiotically articulated with the trade of player piano mechanisms. The activities of creating and mass reproducing player piano rolls bears interesting similarities with the process of sound recording and dissemination. In this operation, a master roll (or cylinder or disc) had to be initially produced and, in another stage, replicated through an industrial process. Before the dissemination of technologies that allowed for the direct perforation onto the master rolls, such as piano keyboard-operated punching machines, the preparation of master rolls was a manual process. The musical editor traced and punched the master roll based on the published sheet music edition of a particular piece (a process that displays the interconnection between several forms of commodified music at the time) and then produced its fair copies (known as stencils), that were subsequently replicated by automatic punching machines.\(^{38}\) Despite the development of several technological innovations designed to facilitate the automation of the production process of music rolls, this manual process was not entirely abandoned. Furthermore, various innovations associated with this process served two very distinct aims. On the one hand, the development of the piano keyboard-operated punching machine facilitated the process of mass production of music rolls.\(^{39}\) On the other hand, the emergence of the reproducing piano (a “development of the ordinary player piano which, with special reproducing music rolls, can re-enact the original touch and expression of the recording pianist”) can be included in a framework of music recording devices.\(^{40}\)

The development of the reproducing piano during the first decade of the twentieth century took place in Germany, namely through the action of the firms M. Welte & Söhne and Ludwig Hupfeld AG. These companies developed the Welte-Mignon (in 1904) and the Masterspiel DEA (marketed in 1907), respectively and, in the following decade (thus falling outside the chronological boundary of this thesis), the American manufacturers The Aeolian Company and The American Piano Company introduced in the market their own reproducing piano devices. Returning to the Welt-Mignon and the DEA, their manufacturers relied on several notorious pianists and

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\(^{39}\) See, for example, United States Patent Office, “Perforated device for music-rolls”, patent n° 778.835, 18th February 1902.

composers to record the so-called hand-played rolls. Therefore, with the development of this new technology (that allowed for a more sensitive capture and reproduction of aspects such as tempo and dynamics) it became possible not only to flawlessly reproduce musical pieces in the piano parlour but also to recreate a particular performance by a notorious pianist of the time in a domestic entertainment context. The recording process of both the Welte-Mignon and the DEA was not made by directly punching holes in the master roll. Instead, the pianist’s performance was initially recorded with a system that traced ink on a music roll and the corresponding holes were subsequently punched by using the previously mentioned manual process.\(^{41}\) Even before having developed the DEA, Hupfeld had already experimented with recorded piano rolls towards the end of 1905. Moreover, its *Künstlermusikrollen* (Artists’ Music Rolls) were readily available for both the Phonola (previously mentioned in this chapter) and the Phonoliszt (“an expression piano powered by an electric suction pump, with three levels of automatic dynamics, and variable speed crescendos between the levels”), which might indicate a complex interpenetration between the market for player piano rolls and other forms of musical commodities, especially recorded sound, during the period of this thesis.\(^{42}\)

Several interesting issues raised by the analysis of mechanical music instruments of the time are associated with both the process of encoding of information and with the storage medium itself. The player piano rolls can be analysed as a sequential and digital set of instructions for the instrument to play a specific piece of music. Sequential because the notation perforated in the continuous roll has a direct chronological correspondence with the musical piece itself (the instructions are interpreted in strict order as the roll moves) and digital due to its use of mutually exclusive and discontinuous values (on or off, in the case of the mechanisms mentioned above). According to Benson, the information recorded in a sheet of paper is binary because there are only two possible, discontinuous, and exclusive conditions: “the surface of the paper in any given area is either solid or not.”\(^{43}\) This interpretation of this type of technology situates the music roll for the player piano in the realm of the digital storage media of the time. Furthermore, the use of this system, in which the medium surface


stores a binary code, is also present in Charles Babbage’s planned (although never built) Analytical Engine, a nineteenth-century calculating machine in which the input of data would be made by using punched cards. To reinforce the association between the player piano and the history of early computing, both Percy Ludgate in the 1910s and Van devar Bush in the 1930s attempted to project machines in which the digital data would be stored in perforated paper tape, a similar medium to the one used by player pianos. However, there is an important distinction between the player piano and these machines: the former used a ready-made unchangeable routine that was perforated in a specific roll while the latter were intended to perform multiple and programmable operations. Therefore, the music roll acted as a sequential read-only memory (because, under normal circumstances, the recorded information could not be altered) and the player piano as a reproducing device for a specific routine.

The first chapter of this thesis includes an analysis of Barthes’ thought on the dichotomy between digital and analogue realms when discussing the dissemination of the photographic image in the periodical press. The following section will aim to transpose this discussion to the field of recorded music. According to Barthes:

From the object to its image there is of course a reduction – in proportion, perspective, colour – but at no time is this reduction a transformation (in the mathematical sense of the term). In order to move from the reality to its photograph it is in no way necessary to divide up this reality into units and to constitute these units as signs, substantially different from the object they communicate; there is no necessity to set up a relay, that is to say a code, between the object and its image. Certainly the image is not the reality but at least it is its perfect analogon and it is exactly this analogical perfection which, to common sense, defines the photograph. Thus can be seen the special status of the photographic image: it is a message without a code; from which proposition an important corollary must immediately be drawn: the photographic message is a continuous message.

Moreover, he depicts language as a digital code that translates reality into a system of signification. Therefore, for Barthes, the main distinction between analogue and digital realms is the presence or absence of an operative code of signification (and mediation) between reality and its representation. Therefore, it is possible to produce an

analogy of photography and phonography (cultural processes that experienced parallel developments towards the end of the nineteenth century), moving the focus of Barthes’ assumptions from the visual sphere to the auditory realm. If he considers photography as a visual analogue of reality, it is thus conceivable to interpret phonography as an auditory analogue of reality. Conversely, the digital code operating in the mechanisms of the player piano, a mediated system of signification that represents notes and dynamics instructing the mechanism to perform specific gestures that will subsequently produce sound, can be considered as homologous to language. In their analysis of the phenomenon of early analogue sound recording, Rothenbuhler and Peters state that the process of phonographic recording involves the inscription of the music’s “acoustic being in time,” thus stressing the existing break between the music’s materiality (the sound waves themselves) and previous storage media in which an operative communication code was present (such as the conventions associated with written music notation, for instance). Therefore, “phonography captures not the code but the act, not the script but the voice, not the score but the performance.” This theoretical stance bears striking parallels with Barthes’ theory of photography. By using the analytical framework discussed above, it is thus possible to situate the complexities of the early recording of music within the wider context of the main historiographical narratives regarding sound. According to Suisman,

If both the player-piano and phonograph were forms of inscription, they diverged in what they inscribed – and this divergence illuminates the complementary ways the two technologies contributed to the underlying constitution of modern society. The phonograph inscribed and conveyed sound-in-time – that is, sound as the ephemeral vibrations in the air produced by a specific instance of musical labor (or other sound-making activity). The player-piano, by contrast, represented a system of sound-in-knowledge – that is, information and instructions on how to make music. It inscribed and conveyed how to perform, over and over, the labor required to produce certain predetermined sounds.

On the one hand, sound recording history from 1877 onwards can be interpreted, although in a simplistic manner, as a sequential (and almost teleological) transition from

48 Ibid.
analogue to digital technologies. However, due to the overlapping of both analogue and digital music storage media during a significant part of the twentieth century, a phenomenon that becomes very clear by analysing the coexistence of the so-called hand-played piano rolls with cylinders and flat records, the narrative regarding recorded music can only be multilayered and complex. Moreover, it complicates the placement of the player piano mechanisms solely as an intermediate stage in a binary segmentation between the age of domestic amateur music making (still associated with the embodiment of vocal and instrumental technique) and the age of phonographic reproduction (associated by authors such as Adorno with “an atomised and passive form of musical experience”). In addition, the coexisting music storage technologies (whether analogue or digital) retained a significant relevance in the market for domestic entertainment during the period of this thesis and were symbiotically articulated with each other and with other music commodities, establishing themselves as a constitutive part of the sociability routines for several social groups at the time. Returning to Suisman, the technologies associated with the mechanical reproduction of sound and music (materialised in the player piano and in the phonograph) encapsulated two contrasting, yet complementary aspects that were connected with the process of modernity. On the one hand, he associates the player-piano with the rationalisation of aspects such as culture, labor, and knowledge by displaying a progressive trend towards “quantification, mechanization, automation, and digitization.” Conversely, the phonograph marked and contributed to the reorganisation of the sensory perception of both space and time, a process that encapsulated a metaphysical transfiguration of human experience under the sign of modernity.

Apart from domestic usage, the sound of several mechanical instruments was part of the auditory landscape of the time. As stated earlier, the dissemination of mechanical instruments (namely several player piano devices) and their incorporation in domestic music making starting in the last two decades of the nineteenth is symptomatic of a cultural shift that Sterne associates with technological innovation, the development

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51 Suisman, *op. cit.*, 24.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.
of audile techniques, and the growing incorporation of mass produced goods in the household, issues that will be developed later in this thesis. However, the sonic presence of mechanical instruments in the streets can be traced back to a remote past. For example, the sound of the church tower’s self-playing chiming clock was integrated the European auditory landscapes from the fourteenth century onwards. This instrument consisted of a set of bells that were periodically struck in a specific order through a mechanic automated device. Initially, the mechanism consisted of a several pinned wheels that, in specific points of their rotation, activated levers connected to hammers that would then strike the bells. This means that entire wheels had to be replaced in order for the clock’s tune to change. In the sixteenth century this system was progressively substituted by a sole cylinder (instead of a set of several wheels) with removable pins, thus facilitating the reprogramming of the clocks’ tunes. With this device, it became possible to effortlessly change the melodies that periodically intertwined with the town’s auditory landscape and adjust them to aesthetic and cultural changes operated throughout the centuries.

As a city with many churches, a ubiquitous presence in the auditory landscape of Lisbon was the sound of church bells. In his study of church bells in the nineteenth-century French countryside, Corbin points to several ways in which bells were used to impart “a rhythm to the ordinary functions of the community”, acting as an “auditory synchronizer” of everyday life. Church bells were used to summon the community for the religious services, to punctuate religious and secular festivities, to mark the passage of chronological time, and to ring for alarm, for instance. Moreover, “a subtle auditory rhetoric was developed” and integrated in the everyday life of a city like Lisbon. To address the issue of the usage of bells in this place, this thesis will refer to Maria Rattazzi’s book *Portugal de relance* (“Portugal at a glance”), a set of satirical letters narrating her stay in Portugal. Originally written in French (bearing the title *Le Portugal a vol d’oiseau*), the book was translated in Portuguese and published in Lisbon.

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56 Ibid.
58 Ibid.
around 1880.\textsuperscript{60} Furthermore, the contents of this book raised several polemical issues at the time and instigated the publication of various works that critiqued and disavowed her statements.\textsuperscript{61} Despite its satirical and exaggerated vein (in which a deeply ethnocentric perspective surfaces) and Rattazzi’s poor documentation of the Portuguese situation of the time (a critique that permeates the several works that attempted to reply to Rattazzi’s publication), some of the firsthand aspects of this account may be useful when dealing with the tolls and peals of the bells in Lisbon.

In her book, Rattazzi mentions the ubiquity of churches in Lisbon and, consequently, of the sound of their bells. Moreover, she expressed the view that Portugal, apart from Belgium, held the primacy of the carillon over the other Catholic countries.\textsuperscript{62} In her narrative, Rattazzi associates bell ringing with several religious solemnities (such as christenings, funerals, and other celebrations) and with the sounding of fire alarms.\textsuperscript{63} Apart from the standard tolls and peals, Rattazzi emphasised the variety of melodies played by Lisbon’s church bells, that included the national anthem, several operetta arias (drawn from Offenbach’s \textit{Orphée aux enfers} and of Lecocq’s \textit{La fille de Madame Angot}), and urban songs.\textsuperscript{64} Moreover, she stresses the heterogeneity of the campanarian repertoires of the time, in which “the voluptuous rhythm of waltzes and the spicy sauciness of the cancans were fraternally allied with the \textit{Oremus}, the \textit{Alleluia}, and the \textit{Amen}.”\textsuperscript{65}

Another ubiquitous presence in the auditory landscape of Lisbon’s streets during the period of this thesis that also operated with the principle of the rotating cylinder as a music storage medium was the mechanical organ (also called barrel organ). Organologically, these instruments possessed the type of pneumatic apparatus of the pipe organ (a set of pipes fed with air pumped by a bellow). However, instead of being played via a keyboard, the tunes were stored (or programmed) in a cylinder by attaching pins and staples. The pins and staples activated valves, thus allowing for the air to pass

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{60} Maria Rattazzi, \textit{Portugal de relance} (Lisbon: Livraria Zeferino, 1881).
  \item \textsuperscript{61} See, for example, Camilo Castelo Branco, \textit{A senhora Rattazzi} (Porto/Braga: Livraria internacional de Ernesto Chardron, Editor, 1880), Urbano de Castro, \textit{A princesa na berlinda: Rattazzi a vol d’oiseau, com a biographia de sua Alteza} (Lisbon: Typographia Portugueza, 1880) and Monteiro Ramalho, \textit{As ratices da Rattazzi: o pello nacional} (Porto: Typ. do Jornal da Manhã, 1880).
  \item \textsuperscript{62} Rattazzi, op. cit., 28.
  \item \textsuperscript{63} Ibid., 28–29.
  \item \textsuperscript{64} Ibid. According to the Brazilian writer Machado de Assis, theatrical tunes played by church bells were also part of the Brazilian urban auditory landscape of the time, as one of his chronicles for the \textit{Gazeta de notícias} (published in Rio de Janeiro, 3rd July 1892) illustrates. See Machado de Assis, \textit{Obra completa}, vol. 3 (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Aguilar, 1994), 101.
  \item \textsuperscript{65} Rattazzi, op. cit., 29. “O rythmo voluptuoso das walsas e a desenvoltura picante dos cancans alliam-se fraternalmente aos Oremus, ao Alleluia e ao Amen.”
\end{itemize}
through specific pipes at certain times, played the pre-programmed tune. Moreover, the rotating cylinder was able to carry several tunes that could be selected by the organ grinder and was set to motion by using a hand crank. Although containing an automated device, some of these instruments could be played either manually or automatically. Similarly to the player piano and to the chiming church clock, there were only two possible, discontinuous, and exclusive states for the mechanism that allowed for the air to flow into de pipes to be (on or of). Moreover, the cylinder stored the encoded set of instructions to perform a particular piece (and not the sound itself), situating the barrel organ in the realm of the binary and digital music technologies of the time, an issue previously addressed in this chapter.

In his study of Victorian England, Picker addresses the issue of street music in London and how this phenomenon was perceived by several social groups (especially professional middle classes that worked in their home) as a form of nuisance.66 In this narrative, street musicians were frequently portrayed as an invasive disturbance of foreign origin, a cultural trope depicted recurrently by artists such as John Leech in the coeval periodicals (such as Punch, for example).67 In this sense, the stereotype of the Savoyard organ grinders in Victorian England (that, in some cases, could be “British performers, masquerading under exotic disguises and titles in order to increase their attraction”)68 metonymically stood for the embodiment of a sonic nuisance “distinctly alien to London.”69 Moreover, “the foreign street musician was also an easy target during moral panics over crime and disorder.”70 According to Picker, the movement against street noise in the Victorian period had several segments of the professional middle class as its main campaigners. However, the street musicians’ heterogeneous repertoire “echoed middle-class tastes from the highbrow to the low,” consisting mainly of arrangements of songs and operatic pieces, religious works, and of several choreographic typologies.71

In Portugal, several references to street musicians were made during the period of this thesis. In 1890 the music periodical Amphion published an article that depicted

66 Picker, Victorian Soundscapes, 46–52 and 65–76.
67 Ibid., 69.
69 Picker, op. cit., 47.
70 Russell, ibid.
the sound of the barrel organ as a scourge that afflicted the city of Lisbon, sharing some semantic similarities with some of the previously mentioned Victorian discourse on street music.\textsuperscript{72} Bearing in mind that \textit{Amphion} was a prominent and influent musical (and theatrical) periodical of this time, mainly focused in the promotion of the Western musical canon, the publication of an article condemning street music is not surprising.\textsuperscript{73} On a different occasion, the magazine \textit{O Ocidente} published a small article on itinerant musicians in which it is stated that groups of wandering musicians were frequently seen in Portuguese towns and villages.\textsuperscript{74} According to the article, these groups of buskers consisted mainly of a singer and a guitarist or a fiddler and predominantly performed songs drawn from the successful comic operas of the time and their \textit{double entendre coplas}, a view reinforced by Pimentel in his book \textit{Vida de Lisboa}.\textsuperscript{75} Thus, it is possible to argue that, at the time, street musicians played an important role in the dissemination of theatrical repertoires from urban to rural areas, thus extending (both geographically and socially) their audience. Moreover, the unidentified author of the article mentions the stereotype of the blind wandering busker and refers to the work developed by the coeval folklorists and ethnologists, an issue that will be addressed later in this thesis.\textsuperscript{76}

In order to address the issue of the organ grinder in Portugal and its performed repertoire this work will now return to the work of Eça de Queirós. In the novel \textit{O primo Basílio} he creates an urban scene in which a black-bearded organ grinder performs “Casta diva” (an aria extracted from Bellini’s opera \textit{Norma}) in his barrel organ, attracting the people that lived in the neighbourhood to their windows.\textsuperscript{77} The barrel organ makes two more appearances in this novel: breaking the silence of a Sunday evening with the sound of Bellini’s \textit{Norma} and Donizetti’s \textit{Lucia di Lammermoor} and performing the finale of \textit{La traviata}.\textsuperscript{78} The organ grinder performing \textit{La Traviata} also appears in the episode depicting the sociability then associated with

\textsuperscript{72} Leitão, \textit{op. cit.}, 178.
\textsuperscript{73} Teresa Cascudo, “A década da invenção de Portugal na música erudita (1890–1899)”, \textit{Revista portuguesa de musicologia}, 10 (2000), 188.
\textsuperscript{74} \textit{O Occidente}, nº 645, 25\textsuperscript{th} November 1896, 258–259.
\textsuperscript{75} \textit{Ibid.} and Alberto Pimentel, \textit{Vida de Lisboa} (Lisbon: Parceria António Maria Pereira, 1900), 51–52.
\textsuperscript{76} \textit{O Occidente}, \textit{ibid.}
\textsuperscript{77} Eça de Queirós, \textit{O primo Basílio, episódio doméstico} (Porto/Braga: Livraria Chardron, 1878), 34–36. For a set of illustrations of several street entertainments of the time (in which the organ grinder is included) see António de Sousa Bastos, \textit{Lisboa Vélha: sessenta anos de recordações, 1850 a 1910} (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1947), 47–58.
\textsuperscript{78} Queirós, \textit{op. cit.}, 112 and 220.
horse racing included in Queirós’ novel *Os Maias*. In the same novel, the waltz from Lecocq’s operetta *La fille de Madame Angot* is performed both by the barrel organ as well as by the wind and percussion band that was playing at the horse track, indicating the circulation of pieces associated with the music theatre of the time in several spaces and circuits. By interconnecting Maria Rattazzi’s book *Portugal de relance* with *Os Maias* it is thus possible to understand the symbolic relevance of the operetta in the auditory landscapes of Lisbon’s streets during the last decades of the nineteenth century. For instance, according to the previously cited sources music drawn from *La fille de Madame Angot* was adapted and performed by church bells, by a barrel organ and by a wind and percussion band. As stated in the first chapter of this thesis, the establishment of several bandas (ensembles of wind and percussion instruments) introduced relevant changes in the sociability circuits of several social groups and reshaped the city’s auditory landscape. The constitution of the ensembles varied, but they generally included flutes, reed instruments, brass instruments and percussion. Furthermore, some of them were affiliated with military or police institutions (such as the Banda da Guarda Municipal de Lisboa or the Banda dos Marinheiros da Armada), while others were associated with voluntary societies (some of them established by the agents connected to the workers movement, an issue addressed in the first chapter of this thesis). The bandas usually performed on Sundays and bank holidays in theatre halls, balls, gatherings promoted by several societies, and public gardens (such as the Jardim da Estrela, the Praça D. Fernando and the Avenida da Liberdade) in which a new type of urban furniture, the gazebo, was integrated. These ensembles performed a heterogeneous repertoire that extended from marches, waltzes, polkas, and anthems to arrangements of classical pieces, such as opera overtures. The impact of this movement in the city’s music life cannot be overstated due to their frequent presence in the public spaces and gatherings.

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80 Ibid., 131 and 144.
82 Leitão, op. cit., 130–135.
In the May 1871 issue of *As farpas* Queirós satirically stated that, during the peak of Offenbach’s popularity in Lisbon, the church bells and all the barrel organs played his music and that the Elevation of the Host was made to the sound of the Général Boum’s couplets (from the operetta *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein*). Bearing in mind that a significant part of the market for printed music and for sound recordings of the period of this thesis was based on theatrical music, this phenomenon points to the existence of a porosity between stage, street and domestic space in Lisbon. In this context, a common repertoire (although metabolised in order to maximise its aims when performed in heterogeneous contexts that span from domestic amateur musical practices to public professional performances taking place in the streets) simultaneously unifies and segments several of the city’s spaces, thus displaying a complex relation between continuity and discontinuity and between space and sound. Moreover, the involuntary exposition of the inhabitants of Lisbon to the omnipresent sounds of church bells and of the barrel organ, as well as the cries of the pedlars, can help to situate the resulting sonic realm in what Kassabian designates as “ubiquitous musics”, “the musics that are always there, beyond our control, slipping under our thresholds of consciousness,” a sort of soundtrack of everyday life during this time.

### The Introduction of Phonography in Portugal

This chapter has primarily dealt with the processes of commodifying music in a broad sense. However, the development and dissemination of sound recording and reproducing technologies during the period of this thesis has introduced relevant changes in these processes, namely the commodification of sound itself. Furthermore, “for most people under the sway of the phonograph, music could become both entertainment and part of the background noise of everyday life.”

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84 Ramalho Ortigão and Eça de Queirós, *As farpas: crónica mensal da política, das letras e dos costumes* (Lisbon: Typographia Universal, 1871), 34.


87 Rothenbuhler and Peters, *op. cit.*, 244.
recording technologies can be framed as the attempt to capture the acoustic \textit{analogon} to reality. Moreover, for Rothenbuhler and Peters, “because analog recording is an indexical trace of a phenomenon, the analog storage medium will contain whatever information is allowed by the physics of the situation.”\textsuperscript{88} The issue of the acoustic sound recording being an analogue of reality can also be framed in a wider strife for scientific objectivism that took place during the late nineteenth- and the early-twentieth century.\textsuperscript{89}

The novel type of stored information is also relevant when it comes to the study of phonographic phenomena. For authors such as Kittler, technological developments played a key role in the reshaping of discourse networks, “the network of technologies and institutions that allow a given culture to select, store, and process relevant data,” between 1800 and 1900.\textsuperscript{90} In his discussion of several technological innovations developed in the last third of the nineteenth century stated, Kittler stated:

Machines take over functions of the central nervous system, and no longer, as in times past, merely those of muscles. And with this differentiation – and not with steam engines and railroads – a clear division occurs between matter and information, the real and the symbolic.\textsuperscript{91}

In this approach, the phonograph performed the functions of the central nervous system by recording and storing information. Therefore, as Hogg argues, phonography can be framed as a prosthetic form of memory.\textsuperscript{92} Furthermore, the relationship between memory and technology is addressed by Burton in his work on Bergson’s theory of memory.\textsuperscript{93} For Burton, comparisons between technological processes that involve the impression and deletion of traces on a substrate and the functioning of human memory have been especially pervasive in Western culture.\textsuperscript{94} Within this framework, a direct

\textsuperscript{88} Rothenbuhler and Peters, \textit{op. cit.}, 252.
\textsuperscript{89} Erika Brady, \textit{A Spiral Way: How the Phonograph Changed Ethnography} (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1999), 86.
\textsuperscript{91} Kittler, \textit{Gramophone, Film, Typewriter} (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 16. The direct association between specific technologies and Lacanian terms in Kittler’s work is very problematic. According to Hogg, “Kittler attempts to ground his reading of the three technological developments in the title of his book in Lacanian terms – typewriter as Symbolic, film as Imaginary and gramophone as Real, but though apparently elegant, these mappings are not convincing for a number of reasons, not least of which is a drastic misunderstanding of the Lacanian Real itself, and a disregard of the essential contribution of the Symbolic order in film reception.” See Bennett Hogg, The cultural imagination of the phonographic voice, 1877–1940, Ph.D. thesis (Newcastle University, 2008), 148. Nevertheless, the association of sound recording with the real (in lowercase) was a cultural trope during the first years of recorded sound, crystallised in notions such as fidelity or authenticity.
\textsuperscript{92} Hogg, \textit{op. cit.}, 143–147.
\textsuperscript{94} Ibid., 322.
analogy between the process through which a phonograph inscribes and stores information on a cylinder and the working of human memory can be made. Moreover, the cultural assumption that external recording technologies can be used to supplement, expand, and enhance human memory is based on the idea that these technological apparatuses work in similar and, at least compatible ways with the mechanisms of the human mind.  

In Portugal, the journalist Pinto de Carvalho associated phonography with memory in his História do fado, published in 1903 and discussed in the first chapter of this thesis. When describing the repertoire of the singer Cesária (from the Alcântara district of Lisbon) Carvalho stated that “in her memory, as in a phonograph, she stored hundreds of verses.” Therefore, the cultural trope that presented phonography as a technology of memory was circulating in Portugal in the beginning of the twentieth century as well.

In addition, a relevant point in the study of phonography is the nature of the new storage media and the identification of their content with a supposedly unmediated (thus objective or scientific) reality, a symptom of a shift from a Romantic perspective of music fruition as a sublime experience to a position in which music had been converted to “a quantifiable and marketable object or thing, a sonic commodity” (to use Picker’s terms). This issue has been discussed and developed by several authors, such as Picker, Hogg or Weidman. For Hogg, the growing focus on objectivity and experimentation in the Victorian period is associated with a historically delimited intensification of what Lacan designated by the ego’s era. In this process, the use of technological mechanisms for collecting data played a key role in guaranteeing an intended objectivity as a consequence of the reduction of human intervention (equated with subjectivity) made possible by the introduction of these innovations.

Furthermore, technological apparatuses were perceived to gather exclusively quantifiable and empirical data (presented as facts), functioning as prostheses that extended the capacities of its users. By relating the rise of an ideology of objectivity with Kittler’s discussion of technologies that perform the functions of the central nervous system (thus acting as prosthetics of memory), Weidman argues:

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95 Burton, op. cit., 322.
96 Pinto de Carvalho, História do fado (Lisbon: Empreza da História de Portugal, 1903), 175.
97 Picker, op. cit., 10.
99 Ibid., 201
At issue was not simply that new technologies expanded the possibilities of storage, but that what was stored by these new technologies was thought of as fundamentally different from what was stored by writing in the nineteenth century; this new stored material came to be experienced as the ‘real.’

Moreover, in discussing the complex relation between oral tradition and the introduction of sound recording and reproducing technologies in Karnatic music, Weidman makes an important statement on the relation between the status of the phonographic object and the processes of musical transmission. In the article, she associates the development of phonography with the emergence of a “new kind of real in which the purity of hearing alone was distilled,” a mechanism that tended to circumscribe the auditory process to sound itself and to relegate aspects such as gestural postures or inaudible traits to the background. Consequently, phonography cannot be perceived as a reduction without transformation (to use Barthes’ terminology) of the musical phenomenon, an issue that adds a new layer of complexity to the analogy between photography and phonography previously discussed in this chapter.

However, a technological determinist approach to phonography proves to be highly problematic and reductionist. On the one hand, the technical possibility for the recording and reproduction of sound was essential to its commodification. Conversely, the processes that shaped this technology into media (and facilitated their incorporation in everyday life) played a key role in the establishment of a market for recorded sound. Sterne maintains that the introduction of phonographic technologies was a part of a more complex process through which the social and institutional establishment of a network based upon these new technologies interacted and transformed the cultural frameworks associated with the phenomenon of hearing. Moreover, he developed a theory on phonography that was centred on the human ear and on the auditory process:

The key element, the defining function, in these early versions of sound reproduction technologies is the diaphragm – a simple mechanical principle, a principle that connects ear to machine through analogy, imitation, or thumbscrews. This construct of the ear as a function that can be abstracted from

102 Ibid., 464.
103 Ibid.
the human body, transposed across social contexts, produced, proliferated and mutated through technique and technology, suggests that the ear (and specifically the diaphragm) does not simply come to be a representation of sound reproduction in this period; the ear – its tympanic character – becomes the diagram of sonic reproducibility. The ear, as a mechanism, becomes a way of organizing a whole set of sounds and sonic functions; it is an informal principle by which a practice is organized.105

Accordingly, the development of what Sterne designates by “audile techniques” predates the dissemination of sound recording technologies and was especially associated by him with two professional fields (situated as middle class activities): medicine and telegraphy. “Medicine and telegraphy were two fields where techniques of listening provided professional ethos and prestige” and “both the stethoscope and the telegraphic ‘sounder’ were technologies that crystallized already-extant techniques of listening.”106 Moreover, classifying as tympanic several sound reproducing technologies “is to understand them as all functionally related, as sharing a set of common operational and philosophical principles, and, most important, as embodiments and intensifications of tendencies that were already existent elsewhere in the culture.”107

The introduction of sound recording technologies in Portugal was a complex process and Benevides’ article mentioning Edison’s phonograph published in the magazine O Ocidente (a source presented in the first chapter of this thesis) appears to be the first Portuguese account of the existence of sound recording technologies.108 This article was published shortly after the granting of Edison’s initial patent for the phonograph (filed on December 24, 1877 and issued on February 19, 1878) and was part of a regular column that focused on technological novelties.109 Novelty was the initial operative realm for Edison’s first phonograph during the late 1870s, categorised by DeGraaf as a “curiosity of little practical value.”110 Moreover, the discontinuous process of the development of this invention may have contributed for its slow dissemination. According to Taylor, one of the aspects that delayed the incorporation of

107 Ibid., 34
108 Francisco da Fonseca Benevides, “Phonographo fallante de Edison”, O Occidente, nº 8, 15th April 1878, 64.
the phonograph in everyday life was the debate about the multiple applications of this invention.\textsuperscript{111} During its history, the phonograph “was used with varying success as an office dictating machine, a scientific instrument, a toy and a coin-slot amusement machine, but in the mid-1890s success was still around the corner.”\textsuperscript{112} Returning to the piece published in \textit{O Ocidente}, Edison’s phonograph is described as a device that records and reproduces sound. However, in one of the images included in the article a man appears to be speaking into the phonograph and the caption of the other printed image states that the phonograph was being used “for the reproduction of words,” thus pointing to its utilisation as an office dictating machine, a possibility raised by Edison’s focus on recording voice in his previously mentioned patent and the subsequent establishment of the Edison Speaking Phonograph Company in 1878.\textsuperscript{113} Therefore, the article captures a specific moment in the development of this mechanism, when “the phonograph appeared before a need for its function had been identified. While numerous uses were projected, none were realized.”\textsuperscript{114}

Nonetheless, several changes operated from the late 1880s onwards (such as the development of improved versions of Edison’s phonograph and the establishment of the Edison Phonograph Company for its manufacture), were essential for the establishment of a market for phonographs and recordings.\textsuperscript{115} Despite the focus of several sound recording histories on Edison’s role, other inventors contributed to develop the phonograph during this period. An important contribution to sound recording was also given by Charles Sumner Tainter whilst collaborating with Alexander Bell: the invention of the Graphophone, a device that recorded sound into a cylinder covered with a wax-like substance (Edison’s phonograph used a tinfoil cylinder instead), a

\begin{footnotes}
\item[111] Taylor, ““The commodification of music at the dawn of the era of ‘mechanical music’”,” 285.
\item[112] Pekka Gronow, ““The record industry: growth of a mass medium”, \textit{Popular Music}, 3 (1983), 54.
\item[114] Emily Thompson, ““Machines, music, and the quest for fidelity: Marketing the Edison phonograph in America, 1877–1925”\textit{, The Musical Quarterly}, 79/1 (1995), 137.
\item[115] See United States Patent Office, ““Phonograph”, patent nº 386.974, 31\textsuperscript{st} July 1888 and Welch and Burt, \textit{op. cit.}, 25–26. For coeval accounts of Edison’s Improved Phonograph and Perfected Phonograph see “Edison’s new phonograph”, \textit{Scientific American}, 29\textsuperscript{th} October 1887, 273; “Edison’s improved phonograph”, \textit{Scientific American}, 19\textsuperscript{th} November 1887, 328; Thomas A. Edison, “The perfected phonograph”, \textit{The North American Review}, 146/379 (1888), 641–650, and \textit{The Illustrated London News}, nº 2569, 14\textsuperscript{th} July 1888.
\end{footnotes}
medium that “allowed for sharper, better defined recording.” Furthermore, Gianni Bettini developed a device that aimed to improve the fidelity of recorded sound that used a flexible diaphragm attached to the stylus by four radial spurs that could be attached to several models of phonographs.

For authors such as DeGraaf, the rapid development of a large-scale market for commodities associated with recorded sound can be analysed as an interactive process between technological innovation and the development of commercial strategies directed towards the marketing of pre-recorded music (thus foregrounding the intended role of the phonograph as a conveyer of entertainment in relation to its use as an office tool):

By the late 1890s Edison had designed a simpler, spring-driven phonograph; developed procedures for manufacturing pre-recorded musical cylinders on a large scale; and organized a new firm, the National Phonograph Company, to market these machines and records. The lower cost of these machines, combined with an improving economy enabled the National company and its principle cylinder competitor, the Columbia Phonograph Company to dramatically increase sales.

This shows the slow and complex mechanisms through which, over a period of thirty years, a “curiosity of little practical value” was transformed in an object perceived as the epitome of modernity, reshaping the role music played in everyday life. This phenomenon was addressed by Thompson when discussing the commercialisation of the Edison phonograph. For Thompson, in the short period between 1896 (the year that Edison’s machine was offered for sale to the public) and 1900, this appliance was integrated in modern domestic life, becoming a familiar household item. Moreover, Thompson points to the idea that the phonograph was not only perceived as a part of modern domesticity but also as a good that played a key role in defining that same modernity, “by being put to use in ways that distinctly changed the prevailing culture of

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118 DeGraaf, *op. cit.*, 89.

119 Thompson, *op. cit.*, 138.
music in the home.”\textsuperscript{120} In order to maximise the process of dissemination of the phonograph and for its incorporation in the everyday sociability routines of several market segments to be efficient, several alterations had to be made. Consequently, this implied a redefinition of the machine in visual, cultural and acoustical terms, an operation that was undertaken by manufacturers, advertisers and consumers.\textsuperscript{121} In sum, “the phonograph could not just reproduce the sounds of musical instruments; it had to become an instrument itself.”\textsuperscript{122}

In the Portuguese case, a market for sound recording and reproduction technologies (as well as for its associated commodities) was progressively established from the last years of the nineteenth century onwards through the action of both local entrepreneurs and international companies. The activity of people such as Francisco Santos Diniz and Joaquim Duarte Ferreira can be seen as symptomatic of the emergence of phonography as a “potential area for economic investment” during the period of this thesis.\textsuperscript{123} Between 1898 and 1902, Santos Diniz was granted two patents, one for his brand Audiophone (“intended for phonographic equipment”), and one for an improvement on the gramophone, exclusively traded in his store and designated by \textit{O Gigante}.\textsuperscript{124} The manufacturing and recording of discs and cylinders was the aim of a patent filed by Ferreira that, due to a complaint from a company that traded in wax cylinders (Pinto & Meirelles, in Porto), was not granted, establishing a constitutive dependance of the Portuguese phonographic enterprises on foreign production facilities that would last for the following 50 years.\textsuperscript{125} Moreover, the registration of several labels and brands (such as Ideal, registered by Artur Barbedo and the composer Carlos Calderón, and Simplex, for example) during the first decade of the twentieth century points to the expansion of a yet incipient market for phonography in Portugal in which local agents played an important role.\textsuperscript{126} According to Losa and Belchior, a network of agents played an important part in the establishment and implementation of a market for phonographic goods in Portugal. They noted that “a local economic sector was also developing relatively independently of the owners of these labels” and pointed to the existence of a segment within the Portuguese record market in which several local

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{120} Thompson, \textit{op. cit.}, 138.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., 140.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{123} Losa and Belchior, \textit{op. cit.}, 7
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid., 8.
\end{flushleft}
dealers were prominent, an interesting and notable occurrence given the fact that, at the
time, the country lacked both a record factory and recording technologies.127 This
characteristic can be quite remarkable when dealing with the establishment of a
business that, according to Gronow, was devised in an international scale from its
inception and in which the leading recording companies established worldwide
networks for the production and distribution of phonograms through the building of
factories and the creation of subsidiary companies and agencies.128 He states that, in the
eyear days of recorded sound,

The leading companies owed a considerable part of their success to
technological innovation. They were not just record companies, they had to
produce complete systems of recording technology. For the consumer, they
offered both recordings and the equipment to play them on (and a critical
observer of the cabinet phonographs of the 1910s might say that records were a
sideline to help the sale of furniture). For the industry itself they had to develop
recording equipment, mastering processes and presses. It is not surprising that
initially there were several competing systems of recording technology.129

This points to the existence of an oligopolistic model of organisation of the
leading recording industries of the time, based in a strategy of vertical integration, in
which the “control of the total production flow from raw materials to wholesale sales”
was key in reducing competition.130 Moreover, the competing business models
embraced by the several recording companies were deeply associated with
 technological and legal constraints such as the holding of patents and licenses for the
several steps of the processes of production of the various phonographic commodities
(such as phonographs, gramophones, cylinders, and flat records, for instance).
Furthermore, the variety of these processes and commodities present during the first
decades of phonography also had a deep impact on the recording policy of the
companies. According to Steffen, “the success that any company was having could be
mitigated by the music industry’s lack of exclusive repertoire as well as its lack of
 technological standardization.”131 In this sense, the focus of the recording companies in

127 Losa and Belchior, op. cit., 8.
129 Ibid., 55.
130 Richard A. Peterson and David G. Berger, “Cycles in symbol production: The case of popular music”,
in Simon Frith and Andrew Goodwin, On Record: Rock, Pop, and the Written Word (London/NY:
Routledge, 1990), 119.
131 David J. Steffen, From Edison To Marconi: The First Thirty Years Of Recorded Music (Jefferson, NC/
editing repertoires that were previously mediatised through other channels (thus, familiar to the public) and the parallel lack of exclusive repertoire are key issues to the discussion of the interaction between performers, repertoires and commodities during the period of this thesis.

The overlapping of artists and repertoires in the catalogues of the several recording companies is quite significant in the period of this thesis. On the one hand, the companies mostly drew upon and recorded repertoires that had already been presented in other media (and not specifically devised for the recording event). Furthermore, the fact that a significant part of these repertoires was associated with a specific performer contributed for the creation and development of the early twentieth century recording companies’ catalogues. When addressing the establishment of recording companies in Scandinavia, Gronow and Englung state

Professional popular singers came from the legitimate stage, from variety theatres, revues and cabarets, or made their living by performing in restaurants. A common characteristic was that they were actors rather than singers: clear diction and strong stage personality were more important than a trained singing voice.132

The issue of theatrical performers with untrained singing voices has been addressed in the previous chapter of this thesis. Nevertheless, recording notorious performers associated with the popular theatre can be presented as a transnational tendency in the early recording companies’ commercial strategy. In the Portuguese case, theatrical performers such as Palmira Bastos, Delfina Victor or Jorge Roldão recorded for various companies during the first decade of the twentieth century.

Relating this aspect with the aspect of the lack of technological standardisation, a relatively small pool of performers was transversally represented in the offer of the several companies. For example, Avelino Baptista’s recordings of various fados were simultaneously included in the 1906 catalogues of both the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone and of Phonographos Pathé, two competing recording companies of the time.133 One of the reasons for this overlap can be attributed to the lack of technological

133 Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, Catalogo das ultimas placas feitas pela Companhia Franceza do Gramophone (Lisbon: n.p., 1906), 2 and Phonographos Pathé, Novo catalogo e repertorio portuguez (Porto: n.p., 1906), 17 [facsimile edition provided by Phonogalerie].
standardisation mentioned above. Because of the existence of several competing (and, sometimes, incompatible) technologies for the reproduction of sound during the period of this thesis and because the leading companies worked within a framework of vertical integration, recordings had to be edited in several formats in order to cater for each company’s specific target. Therefore, the commercialisation of the same musical pieces in cylinders, vertical-cut flat records and lateral-cut flat records by the same company or by different companies can be framed in a strategy to cater for the owners of the specific equipment that was manufactured by the companies themselves. Moreover, in many cases the release of the same repertoire recorded by the same performer in different formats did not involve direct competition between the companies due to the incompatibility of the several technologies involved (to use an extreme example, a disc could not be reproduced in a phonograph). Consequently, the symbiotic relationship between sound reproducing equipment and the contents of the storage media was key in the rapid expansion of the phonographic industry at the time.

Another important aspect about the establishment of a market for phonographic products in Portugal during the period of this thesis is a marketing strategy focused on promoting these goods to the economically privileged social groups. This statement can be attested by, for example, the frequent inclusion of the recording companies’ advertisements in periodicals that predominantly targeted these segments of the Portuguese society, such as O Ocidente or Ilustração portuguesa. In order to support this statement, a 1905 issue of Ilustração Portuguesa included an advertisement in which the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone advertised its “gramophone for the people or popular gramophone.” Despite its marketing as a popular gramophone, this equipment cost 12$000. According to Valente, between 1905 and 1907 the daily net pay of an average welder working in the canned fish industry (at the time, considered a skilled worker) was situated between 1$000 and 1$500. Therefore, it is safe to assume that, in the beginning of the twentieth century, phonographic products were financially inaccessible to the majority of the Portuguese population.

In the following sections this thesis will address the implementation of several recording companies in Portugal and their specific business models for this country.

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134 Losa and Belchior, op. cit., 9.
135 Ilustração Portuguesa, nº 99, 25th September 1905, I.
Subsequently, it will analyse the complex interaction between aspects such as technology, agents, and repertoire and their role in shaping the market for phonographic commodities of the time.

**The Establishment of Pathé in Portugal**

As stated earlier, several of the main European recording companies initiated their establishment in Portugal in the first decade of the twentieth century. One of these companies was the French-based Compagnie Générale de Phonographes, Cinématographes et Appareils de Précision, owned by the brothers Charles and Émile Pathé and established in 1900 through the merge of two companies: the Compagnie Générale de Cinématographes, Phonographes et Pellicules (owned by the Pathé brothers and initially focused on phonographic and filmographic products) and the Manufacture Française d'Appareils de Précision (founded by René Bünzli and Pierre Victor Continsouza and concentrated on film technologies). The company progressively rose to a quasi-monopolist position in the French market of the time, a fact that, associated with the previously mentioned relevance of Paris as a cultural paradigm and as an epitome of modernity for several Portuguese social groups, might help to frame Pathé’s establishment in Portugal.\(^{137}\)

Despite the scarcity of sources for studying this company’s action in Portugal (to my knowledge, the only available sources are a Portuguese catalogue edited in June 1906 and several flat records), this section will attempt to contextualise Pathé’s role in this country during the first years of the twentieth century. Several aspects that will be addressed throughout this section will be industrial and commercial venues, products, artists, and repertoires and the way they relate with a pre-existent entertainment market and with the emergent sociability associated with the creation of a network of phonographic goods. The exact date of the Pathé’s establishment in Portugal is presently unknown but, in 1906, the company was already operating in Portugal and owned a store in Porto (and an office in Lisbon) that traded in both phonographs and gramophones (as well as in parts for these machines and a few accessories) and,

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\(^{137}\) Gelatt, *op. cit.*, 177.
consequently, on cylinders (both blank and with pre-recorded music) and flat discs.\footnote{138} Moreover, this company ran a wax cylinder recording room in its Porto facilities.\footnote{139}

A key aspect of the business models of the early recording companies was their use of patented technology. At the time, the control of several patents and licenses influenced in a determinant way the implementation of the several recording companies in their targeted markets. Furthermore, it conditioned both the machines that could be traded by a specific company (phonographs and/or gramophones) as well as its storage medium (cylinders and/or discs). Furthermore, the progressive establishment of the disc as the hegemonic medium can be regarded as a symptom of a cultural change. During the period of this thesis there were several competing technologies and media for the storage of sound, the most notorious being the phonograph cylinder and the gramophone disc.

One of the most important distinctions of cylinders and discs is their process of production and replication, frequently evoked when analysing the decline of the former as a commodity aimed for a mass market.\footnote{140} In the case of the early cylinder recordings, multiple master copies were produced by repeating the performance of a given piece to one or several phonographs.\footnote{141} Subsequently, the recorded cylinder was duplicated onto a blank cylinder by using a pantographic technique, a process that allowed for 25 to 100 good copies of this specific recording to be made (in spite of a considerable loss of quality), a still insufficient number to supply an expanding mass market.\footnote{142} During the first years of the twentieth century the development and dissemination of moulding processes allowed for the master record to be more easily replicated.\footnote{143} With the establishment of moulding as the standard procedure for duplicating cylinders (a process in which the recorded wax cylinder was plated in order to create a mould), it was thus possible to produce a much larger number of good copies of a phonographic cylinder from a single recording.\footnote{144}

\footnote{138} Phonographos Pathé, \textit{Novo catalogo e repertorio portuguez} (Porto: n.p., 1906).
\footnote{139} Ibid.
\footnote{140} About this issue see Burt and Welch, \textit{op. cit.}, 111–126.
\footnote{142} Morton, \textit{op. cit.}, 27.
\footnote{143} Kenney, \textit{ibid.}
\footnote{144} Morton, \textit{op. cit.}, 28.
Compared with the recording of a master cylinder, creating a master recording on a flat disc was a much more complicated procedure that could not be performed in domestic contexts. To quote Sterne on this issue, “gramophone records were easier to mass produce but much harder for people to make in their own homes.” However, the flat disc offered the possibility of mass producing records from a very early stage, on account of an easier process of replicating that was suited for industrial production. After the recording of a piece onto a master disc that could be made exclusively of metal or of metal covered with a workable substance (such as wax, as Emile Berliner stated in one of his patents), an acid wash converted the semipermanent grooves made by the recording stylus in that surface into permanent imprints, thus creating a master disc. Afterwards, several positive and negative copies of the master disc were made through electroplating until a stamper (a metal disc that was a negative copy of the master) was obtained inside a record pressing plant. This stamper could then be fitted into a press and was used to replicate the recording in a substrate (that, during the period of this thesis, was mainly shellac). This process allowed for both the preservation of the master disc and for a large number of quality copies to be produced. Thompson also addresses this issue by stating that the mass production of disc records was based on an easy and fast process of stamping from master dies unlike the complex moulding process used for the duplication of hollow cylinders by using a master mould.

The case of Pathé proves to be quite interesting when analysing the relation between storage media, patents, and companies. The company began its phonographic trading with machines similar to the Graphophone’s “Eagle” model and its respective cylinders and, starting in 1905/1906, expanded its offer to gramophones and discs. Therefore, the 1906 catalogue might be Pathé’s first Portuguese publication to include both cylinders and discs. When analysing this company’s recording process, Burt and Welch state that Pathé-Frères was operating in Europe under Edison licenses and, therefore, used Edison-related devices in the totality of its European recordings for...

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145 Sterne, *op. cit.*, 203–204.
148 Thompson, *op. cit.*, 142.
several years.\textsuperscript{150} In this process, the company used large-diameter cylinders in order to produce the master records and, subsequently, transcribed them on smaller-diameter cylinders that were commercialised to the public in three different sizes.\textsuperscript{151} Therefore, the practice of recording masters in cylinders persisted after the company’s venture in the market segment for discs. In this operation the contents of the master cylinder were transferred to a disc through the use of a pantographic technique similar to the one used when duplicating cylinders.\textsuperscript{152} The procedure was quite direct because, in Pathé’s case, both cylinders and discs were vertically cut (their grooves were of constant width and variable depth), that can be related both to the company’s functioning under Edison’s licenses and in order to avoid juridical complications of patent infractions. Consequently, a strong distinction between the discs produced by Pathé and their competitors was a key aspect in this company’s business model. For instance, Pathé records were vertically cut, centre-start, and revolved between 90 and 100 rpm, contrasting with companies such as The Gramophone Company that offered discs that were laterally cut, outside-start and revolved at approximately 70 rpm.\textsuperscript{153}

The material configuration of both cylinders and discs is an element that may have contributed to their commercial success. Until the development and mass marketing of hard plastic cylinders (started in 1906 by the Indestructible Phonographic Record Company), the frailty of this medium was a significant detriment for its use.\textsuperscript{154} Moreover, it posed relevant issues for their preservation, a fact that can be supported by the small number of these objects that have survived in Portugal until the present time. Storage is also an issue to bear in mind when it comes to the competition between cylinders and discs. Due to their shape and constitutive frailty, cylinders could not be effectively stacked. Therefore, manufacturers developed storage cabinets specifically for these objects. For example, the 1906 Portuguese Pathé catalogue advertises a cabinet that could store up to 64 large cylinders, presenting its “spinning library” as a part of living-room furniture.\textsuperscript{155} Conversely, discs were sturdier and could be stacked and stored in bulk, something that may have facilitated their establishment as collectables during the beginning of the twentieth century (in the same way as postcards or stamps),

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{150} Burt and Welch, \textit{op. cit.}, 79. \\
\textsuperscript{151} \textit{Ibid.} \\
\textsuperscript{152} Ghosh, \textit{op. cit.}, 54. \\
\textsuperscript{153} Burt and Welch, \textit{op. cit.}, 142 and Phonographos Pathé, \textit{op. cit.}, 3. \\
\textsuperscript{154} Sterne, \textit{op. cit.}, 299–301. \\
\textsuperscript{155} Phonographos Pathé, \textit{op. cit.}, 11.
\end{flushright}
an issue addressed earlier in the previous chapter. On the issue of record collecting and its relation with modern life, Adorno stated in 1934

records are possessed like photographs; the nineteenth century had good reasons for coming up with phonograph record albums alongside photographic and postage-stamp albums, all of them herbaria of artificial life that are present in the smallest space and ready to conjure up every recollection that would otherwise be mercilessly shredded between the haste and humdrum of private life.

Nevertheless, an exclusively technological analysis falls short in explaining the prevalence of the flat disc over the phonographic cylinder. A recurrent argument on this issue was that the phonograph’s multiple uses and its possibility of both recording and reproducing sound complicated its introduction in the recorded music mass market when compared with the gramophone’s univocal functionality of reproducing recorded sound. However, “the manufacturers of cylinder talking machines considered their machines’ capability to record anywhere a great sales advantage over the new disc talking machines; the disc machines could not provide such capability.” On this subject, Picker argues that the framing of the phonograph as a device that, contrary to the gramophone (that would become hegemonic in the beginning of the twentieth century), could be used for home recording, thus promoting an “active engagement from Victorians, who could readily make their own amateur records at home rather than purchase them.” Therefore, for the progressive establishment of the gramophone as the privileged conveyor of recorded music in a household, a significant cultural shift had to be progressively operated. On the one hand, Victorian domesticity favoured specific ways of informal archiving (such as family albums or home sound recordings) and had the parlour as a space in which the “formal presentation and the maintenance of family identity” occupied centre stage. Conversely, in the early twentieth century, the living room progressively replaced the parlour, reflecting a significant cultural shift in terms of domestic living space. Thus, a room “considerably more informal in decor and arrangement” that “admitted more and more mass produced goods” substituted the

156 Thompson, op. cit. 142.
158 Burt and Welch, op. cit., 81.
159 Picker, op. cit., 112.
160 Sterne, op. cit., 204.
161 Ibid.
parlour, a space “largely populated with hand-crafted goods and family-specific cultural productions.”\textsuperscript{162} Moreover,

The middle-class consumer culture that would provide the cultural, economic, and affective basis or building collections of recordings and extensive listening to prerecorded music was only just emerging as these machines became available.\textsuperscript{163}

The following section will focus on Pathé’s Portuguese catalogue, its artists and repertoires and analyse specific issues associated with them. The first pages of the publication are dedicated to the advertisement of the company and its Portuguese facilities (store, recording room and workshop) as well as to present several of the traded goods, such as various models of phonographs and gramophones, cylinders of different dimensions, a cylinder storage cabinet, and accessories such as horns or diaphragms.\textsuperscript{164} Next, the catalogue presents the recorded repertoire segmented by performer. Moreover, most of the artist sections include a photograph of the performer and reproduce a hand-written note by him/her (or in the case of a group, by its conductor) in which the fidelity of the Pathé machines is complimented and promoted. On an interesting occurrence in relation to these notes, the actress/singer Palmira Bastos draws an interesting parallel between phonography and phonography by comparing the recordings made by a Pathé phonograph to a “photograph of the voice.”\textsuperscript{165} This type of comparison can be analysed from different perspectives. On the one hand, it has to be framed as a promotional text for a company that is attempting to situate the fidelity of the sound recording on the same level as the fidelity of the photograph that, at this time, was far more developed than phonography. On the other, it depicts two technologies that, as seen earlier, were presented as guarantors of objectivity (or as neutral conveyors of reality). Therefore, the ideological stance by which the phonograph would capture the “real” and inscribe it into the cylinder was essential in promoting this commodity. Furthermore, a discourse on fidelity that, for Sterne, is a marker of a “kind of faith in reproductibility,” can be found throughout the early history of phonography.\textsuperscript{166} As Sterne argues, there was an encouragement for listeners to discern the distinct “sonic

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{162} Sterne, \textit{op. cit.}, 204.  
\textsuperscript{163} \textit{Ibid.}  
\textsuperscript{164} Phonographos Pathé, \textit{op. cit.}, 1–12.  
\textsuperscript{165} \textit{Ibid.}, 14.  
\textsuperscript{166} Sterne, \textit{ibid.}, 274.}
signatures” of the available machinery and specific technologies as their familiarity with
the variety of sound reproduction devices grew.\textsuperscript{167} Moreover, the presence of distinctive
traits in specific technologies points to their inefficiency in conveying a “truthful” and
“objective” transcription of the sonic event. Therefore, the impossibility of achieving a
gold standard for the recordings of the time promoted an advertising framework in
which “the best available or the preferable became a stand-in for the true.”\textsuperscript{168} The
development of audile techniques amongst the listeners implied they acquired skills that
allowed them to discern between “sounds ‘of’ and sounds ‘by’ the network,” and their
consequent association with a bipolar segmentation between interior and exterior
sounds that were present in the process of sound reproduction.\textsuperscript{169} Therefore, the
presentation of sound reproduction technologies as a “vanishing mediator” between the
recorded repertoire and its listeners (and which had to be repressed) was frequently used
to promote the idea of sound fidelity at the time.\textsuperscript{170} One issue that emanates from the
discursive framing of sound fidelity is reproducibility itself and the relation between the
“original” and the “copy.” On this issue, Sterne argues that the correspondence between
live music and recorded music worked mostly in the realm of imagination and a
 correspondence between them had to be articulated in order to convince the listeners.\textsuperscript{171}
Furthermore, in the realm of phonography

the sound event is created for the explicit purpose of its reproduction. Therefore,
we can no longer argue that copies are debased versions of a more authentic
original copy that exists either outside or prior to the process of reproduction.
Both copy and original are products of the process of reproducibility.\textsuperscript{172}

In this sense, the narrative that draws a direct path from original to copy through a
process of technological mediation must be problematised because the creation of a
discursive binary original/copy itself is only admissible due to the very possibility of
sound reproduction.

\textsuperscript{167} Sterne, \textit{op. cit.}, 275.
\textsuperscript{168} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{169} Ibid., 283.
\textsuperscript{170} Ibid. On the concept of the “vanishing mediator” see Fredric Jameson, “The vanishing mediator; or,
\textsuperscript{171} Sterne, \textit{op. cit.}, 284.
\textsuperscript{172} Ibid., 241.
The repertoire recorded by Pathé was varied and deeply associated with the activity of specific artists in the Portuguese cultural market. Moreover, according to the catalogue, phonographic recordings were issued in three distinct formats: as discs and as two sizes of cylinders. For example, Palmira Bastos, then a prominent actress/singer of operetta and revista, mainly recorded songs drawn from a variety of plays, such as Offenbach’s La Périchole and Barba-azul, Audran’s La poupée, Clérice’s O moleiro d’Alcalá, and Cyriaco de Cardoso’s O solar dos Barrigas as well as various songs from the revista Tim tim por tim tim (previously discussed in the chapter that analyses the Portuguese theatrical market). According to several sources, a significant part of this repertoire (if not all) had already been performed by Palmira Bastos in Portuguese and Brazilian stages prior to their recording. This reality reinforces the hypothesis in which recording companies hired famed theatrical performers to sing or recite pieces that were already part of their repertoire and were known to the audiences of the time. Furthermore, several agents linked with the theatre, such as the actors/singers Jorge Roldão (who was also a musician and composed several songs), Silva Carvalho, and Humberto Amaral were included in Pathé’s catalogue. Roldão recorded mostly fados and the repertoire of the other two actors consisted mainly of cançonetas.

The following discussion will attempt to summarise the repertoire recorded for Pathé by several artists. Avelino Baptista (a prominent performer of fado associated with the early Coimbra tradition – although, at the time a clear segmentation of the Lisbon and Coimbra styles was not yet in place) recorded mainly fados and “popular songs” as well as a piece from the operetta Os sinos de Corneville. Eduardo Barreiros’ recorded repertoire consisted mainly of operetta pieces, fados and “popular songs”, whilst the cançoneta was the most represented genre in Duarte Silva’s section of the catalogue. Furthermore, fados and “popular songs” occupied a significant place in the recorded repertoires of people such as Isabel Costa or Cristina Tapa. Besides solo songs, Pathé recorded a significant number of duets and a few chorus numbers, most of them extracted from operettas and revistas such as Retalhos de Lisboa, or O

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173 Phonographos Pathé, op. cit., 15.
175 Phonographos Pathé, op. cit., 39, 41, 43.
176 Ibid., 17.
177 Ibid., 23–24, 29.
178 Ibid., 21, 35.
brasileiro Pancrácio.\textsuperscript{179} In addition, the company’s catalogue included several monologues written and recited by Pedro Bandeira.\textsuperscript{180} When relating the panorama of the Pathé recordings advertised in their 1906 publication with the entertainment market of the time, it is possible to infer that the heterogeneity of the theatrical panorama of the time, especially its operetta and revista segment, is partly reflected in the phonographic realm.

However, not all the repertoire recorded by Pathé was associated with theatrical activity. For example, the notorious fado singer and guitarist Reinaldo Varela recorded several fados with Portuguese guitar accompaniment and also a few guitar solos.\textsuperscript{181} Moreover, Rafaela Fons registered a number of Spanish and Latin American songs and Pathé’s catalogue also included several instrumental pieces for solo piano, Portuguese guitar and guitar, and for mandolin and piano.\textsuperscript{182} Another relevant axis for recorded instrumental music at the time was the \textit{banda} (the wind and percussion ensemble previously mentioned in this chapter). For instance, an ensemble formed by several musicians of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos, the Band of the Municipal Guard of Porto, and the Band of the Real Oficina de S. José (a religious institution devoted to the care and education of young men, orphans or not, whose family could not support) recorded several anthems and marches, as well as rhapsodies and adaptations of other choreographic typologies (such as polkas or waltzes).\textsuperscript{183} This focus on the recording of bandas may be associated with the fact that wind (especially brass) and percussion instruments were relatively easier to acoustically record than string instruments (although Pathé, as well as other companies, made several recordings of string instruments in a solo context or accompanying singers), an issue that may have contributed to the proliferation of this type of recordings during the period covered by this thesis.\textsuperscript{184} However and shifting the emphasis from technology to other cultural practices, this strategy can also be framed as both a reflection and a promotion of the banda in Portugal (and elsewhere, as several coeval records of the French Gramophone Company can attest), a growing tendency during this period.\textsuperscript{185}

\textsuperscript{179} Phonographos Pathé, \textit{op. cit.}, 21, 47.
\textsuperscript{180} \textit{Ibid.}, 49.
\textsuperscript{181} \textit{Ibid.}, 47, 54.
\textsuperscript{182} \textit{Ibid.}, 53–54, 61.
\textsuperscript{183} \textit{Ibid.}, 51, 57–58.
\textsuperscript{184} Steffen, \textit{op. cit.}, 106.
\textsuperscript{185} See, for example, Recording sheet of the march \textit{Le drapeau de la liberté} by the Musique de la Garde Républicaine, Paris, January 1904. Serial number 2454, extant both in the EMI Archive and in the British Library.
As a conclusion to this section, I must reinforce the role phonography played in expanding the realm of commodities in which several and heterogeneous repertoires were disseminated and incorporated into the routines of several segments of the Portuguese population. Although most of the recorded repertoire had been previously mediatised in other forms (such as in live performances or in sheet music editions), phonography introduced a novel form of relation between the listener and the music, a relation that encapsulates a specific form of privacy and of property. In this process, the commodification of sound and of sound reproduction technologies (and their consequent exchange, which presupposes the existence of private property) can be associated with the construction and development of an acoustic space focused on aspects such as privacy and individuality.  

The Companhia Franceza do Gramophone in Portugal

If the multinational business model for Pathé was focused on both phonographs and gramophones (and, consequently, on cylinders and discs), The Gramophone Company traded exclusively on gramophones and discs. The establishment of this enterprise as a company was a complex process that spanned from 1897 to 1900 and involved both American and British agents. In this process, The Gramophone Company secured the control of the British and European patents associated with the gramophone and its associated commodities, held by Emile Berliner and Eldridge Johnson. Initially developed by Emile Berliner as a hand-operated device, the gramophone was improved with the attachment of a spring motor patented by Eldridge Johson, an upgrade that facilitated its introduction in a mass market that was starting to be created at the time. As a result of this process, “in the first years of the century, the Gramophone Company had a virtual monopoly on the record market in Europe, thanks to its initial control of Berliner’s sound recording patents.” Furthermore, the installation of a record pressing plant in Hannover (ran by Emile Berliner’s brother, Joseph) in 1898 reduced the

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186 Sterne, op. cit., 138.
188 Ibid., 71.
190 Gronow and Englung, op. cit., 285.
dependance of The Gramophone Company on imported American records.\textsuperscript{191} From that year on, the company assembled gramophones, manufactured disc records, and marketed the finished products, a fact that points to the presence of an organisational model of vertical integration.\textsuperscript{192} Useful data on the early recording of gramophone discs can be seen in the constraints imposed on its recording medium by a Bell-Tainter patent that covered the use of wax as a recording substance.\textsuperscript{193} Therefore and in order not to infract this patent, Gramophone’s early master discs were first etched in zinc, as one of Berliner’s patents specifies.\textsuperscript{194} However, with the expiry of the Bell-Tainter patent in 1900, the company became able to record their masters in wax, a process that improved the sound quality of the final product.\textsuperscript{195}

In terms of their worldwide implementation, The Gramophone Company secured its hegemonic role as a multinational venture by creating several subsidiary companies and marketing branches in various locations (such as Germany, Italy, France, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Australia, for example) and establishing a network of local agents that, according to Gronow and Englund, might have been responsible for the selection of the artists and repertoires to be recorded.\textsuperscript{196} It was in this context that the Compagnie Française du Gramophone (French Gramophone Company) was created. In 1898, The Gramophone Company had opened a salesroom in Paris and, in the following year, Alfred Clark (an American and former associate of Edison) developed a partnership with this company. Initially, Clark established a selling agency in Paris, known as the Compagnie Française du Gramophone, and, as a manager and partial owner of this company, became responsible for recording artists and repertoires from the territories the Compagnie supervised.\textsuperscript{197} Returning to Gronow and Englund

Gramophone now had a European monopoly on an attractive new product: recorded music. The obvious course would have been to rely on economies of scale, produce a limited number of records, press them in large numbers and market them globally. After all, this is what multinational record companies strive to do today. Gramophone chose a completely different business strategy.

\textsuperscript{192} Martland, \textit{op. cit.} 84.
\textsuperscript{193} United States Patent Office, “Recording and reproducing sounds”, patent n° 341.287, 4\textsuperscript{th} May 1886.
\textsuperscript{194} United States Patent Office, “Sound-record and method of making same”, patent n° 548.623., 29\textsuperscript{th} October 1895.
\textsuperscript{195} Welch and Burt, \textit{op. cit.}, 109; Ogilvie Mitchell, \textit{The Talking Machine Industry} (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Ltd, [1922]), 38; and Morton, \textit{op. cit.} 38.
\textsuperscript{196} Martland, \textit{op. cit.}, 95, 110 and Gronow and Englung, \textit{ibid}.
\textsuperscript{197} Jones, \textit{op. cit.}, 83.
They would market the same talking machines globally, but offer customers recordings performed by local artists.\(^\text{198}\)

Moreover, Gronow and Englund when analysing The Gramophone Company’s business model emphasise its reliance on content, an issue that permeates the entire history of the phonographic industry.\(^\text{199}\) Therefore, the commercial success of producing gramophones depended greatly on the contents of the records, thus placing the recording industry in the realm of the culture industries and not in the field of domestic appliances.

As a result of the regional segmentation of the European record market, Portugal was included in the sphere of action of the Compagnie Française du Gramophone. According to Vernon, the earliest known recordings made in Portugal for The Gramophone Company took place in Porto in the autumn of 1900 as part of a recording expedition led by William Sinkler Darby, an American technical engineer trained by Emile Berliner who was working for this company at the time.\(^\text{200}\) Vernon states that these recordings consisted of 67 flat, 7-inch single sided records.\(^\text{201}\) Notwithstanding and according to Losa, the progressive establishment of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone (French Gramophone Company) in Portugal was initiated in late 1903.\(^\text{202}\) This implementation relied initially on several local agents, amongst whom the previously mentioned Santos Diniz, a dealer that occupied a prominent place in the Portuguese phonographic market of the time, trading in discs issued by The Gramophone Company and by the German-based company Odeon.\(^\text{203}\) Later on, the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone established in Lisbon a commercial space that traded exclusively in its own goods.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the entrepreneur Santos Diniz filed several phonographic patents in Portugal and owned a store in the Praça dos Restauradores where he traded on phonographic equipment, a commercial space that remained active until its liquidation in 1907.\(^\text{204}\) A Portuguese pioneer and early

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\(^{198}\) Gronow and Englung, op. cit., 282.
\(^{199}\) Ibid., 300.
\(^{201}\) Vernon, *ibid.*
\(^{203}\) See *Diário de notícias*, 10\(^{\text{th}}\) May 1907.
\(^{204}\) *O Occidente*, n° 865, 10\(^{\text{th}}\) January 1903, 8; n° 886, 19\(^{\text{th}}\) August 1903, 176; and n° 936, 30\(^{\text{th}}\) December 1904, 290. *Diário de notícias*, 10\(^{\text{th}}\) May 1907.
enthusiast of phonography was Francisco dos Santos Diniz’s son, Alberto, who died in 1903 at the age of 25 and, according to his obituary, was responsible for the introduction of the gramophone in Portugal and for the development of several technical improvements for the machine.\textsuperscript{205} It is interesting that this text, published in \textit{O Ocidente}, mentions of a ritual of remembrance performed by Alberto Diniz’s mother that consisted in listening to the voice of her dead son captured in the phonographic cylinders.\textsuperscript{206} This marks the presence of one of the cultural tropes associated with early phonography in the coeval Portuguese press: the possibility to preserve the voices of the dead. This possible use for the phonograph was operating in the American context as early as November 1877 and was publicly presented in a letter published in \textit{Scientific American} written by Edward H. Johnson (then an associate of Thomas Edison).\textsuperscript{207} Moreover, the Victorian trope of phonographically archiving the voices of the dead is also present in Barraud’s painting \textit{His Master’s Voice}, that was acquired in 1899 by The Gramophone Company and later became the company’s icon.\textsuperscript{208} However, the idea of permanently archiving sound in the early period of phonography has to be placed in its context as an intended (as well as desired) possibility and not as an established reality. According to Sterne, the possibilities of storing and archiving that sound recording allowed (“its potential to preserve sound indefinitely into the future”) were present in the discourse of both users and publicists from an early stage of the commercialisation of these technologies.\textsuperscript{209} Nevertheless, this perspective contrasted with the early practice of sound recording. For instance, “the first recordings were essentially unplayable after they were removed from the machine” and “later wax cylinder recordings and even metal or shellac disks were often treated by their makers as ephemera.”\textsuperscript{210}

As part of their implementation strategy in Portugal the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone in Portugal developed a lasting and aggressive advertising campaign in several Portuguese periodicals that started in 1904, an issue mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis. In a set of graphically appealing page-long adverts, the Companhia promoted its exclusive commercial space in Lisbon and its several agents in

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{205} \textit{O Ocidente.}, nº 878, 20\textsuperscript{th} May 1903, 111–112.
\item \textit{Ibid.}, 112.
\item Welch and Burt, \textit{op. cit.}, 9.
\item Kittler, \textit{Gramophone, Film, Typewriter} (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 69 and Martland, \textit{op. cit.}, 88–89.
\item Sterne, \textit{op. cit.}, 288.
\item \textit{Ibid.}
\end{itemize}
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Lisbon, Porto and Braga as well as its recording artists, repertory and machines. Amongst these agents were the previously mentioned Santos Diniz and Carlos Calderón (in Lisbon) as well as Artur Barbedo (in Porto). Given the relevance of local agents in selecting the artists and repertoires to be recorded and the role music theatre played in the company’s recordings, it is possible to posit the hypothesis that an integrated professional in the theatrical realm, such as Calderón, might have been involved in the development of their Portuguese catalogue. However, this conjecture remains in the realm of speculation, due to the current lack of data to support it. According to Martland, the recording engineers were also key agents in the development of the catalogues of the companies due to the fact that their knowledge of the technical process enabled them to select the voices that were better suited for recording purposes.

At the time, phonographic products were primarily marketed to economically privileged segments and affluent groups of Portuguese society. For this process to be efficient, the advertisement strategy of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone relied mainly on the presentation of the gramophone and of gramophone discs as a marker of social prestige. Thus, in the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century phonographic products were placed in a similar position in a system of representation to the one occupied by the piano during the earlier parts of the nineteenth century, an issue that was developed in the previous chapter of this thesis. Apart from the previously mentioned “popular gramophone,” a significant number of advertisements focused on associating phonography to a specific set of cultural markers in which an idea of status and distinction was embedded. For example, most of the repertoire promoted in these advertisements belonged to the company’s transnational catalogue (such as discs performed by Caruso, for instance) and consisted mainly of recordings that belonged to Gramophone’s more prestigious labels, such as Monarch or Concert. Furthermore, an advertisement published in the last issue of Ilustração Portuguesa before the Christmas of 1905 states that the best gift for this event would be a gramophone, a “chic and elegant present” and mentions the “luxury gramophones” available in the company’s Lisbon store.

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211 Losa and Belchior, op. cit., 7. See, for example, Ilustração portuguesa, nº 59, 19th December 1904, II.
212 Martland, Since Records Began: Emi, the First 100 Years (London: Batsford, 1997), 25–27.
213 Ilustração portuguesa, nº 87, 3rd July 1905, II.
214 Ibid., nº 111, 18th December 1905, I.
Therefore and according to Martland, Gramophone’s advertisement strategies for gramophones and discs relied on promoting them as high quality goods, whilst in fact their business strategy was to produce cheap records for a volume market. Nevertheless, this promotion points to an efficient marketing strategy in which the symbolic value of phonographic goods was embedded in the commodities’ exchange value. On the implementation of The Gramophone Company in Britain, Martland states that its record dealerships were mainly concentrated in prestigious and already established piano dealers (who also traded on sheet music) that occupied premises in the areas of the towns frequented by potential costumers. This strategic placement of their products can be analysed as a way of capitalising on the retailers’ respectability (or accumulated symbolic capital) for the trade of commodities related with their pre-established business. Moreover, according to these dealers, recordings helped to promote the sales of the sheet music they also commercialised. Nevertheless, in the Portuguese case, this process developed in a different way. As previously stated in this chapter, the introduction and commercialisation of piano players followed a model contrary to the action of the large recording companies that relied on their own exclusive commercial spaces established in the commercial districts of Lisbon and Porto, spaces that were frequented by their potential costumers. Moreover, the piano and sheet music dealers had already been concentrated in the same districts, thus indicating that a specific a spatial habitus might have been operating in the sociability routines of several segments of the Portuguese urban population.

The repertoire of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone will be the focus of the following section and for this discussion I have consulted the company’s advertisements in several periodicals as well as its Portuguese catalogues from 1905 to 1908. However, there is currently a gap of reliable information on local repertoires from the period between Darby’s recording expedition and the Supplemento ao catalogo de discos portuguezes (Supplement to the Catalogue of Portuguese Records), edited in November 1905. Nevertheless, Alfred Clark (from the French Gramophone Company) stated, in a letter written on May 5th 1904 to The Gramophone & Typewriter Ltd (the designation of The Gramophone Company between 1900 and 1907).

216 Ibid., 231.
217 Ibid., 256.
Our experience shows that of the discs sold in Portugal about two-fifths are Italian, two-fifths Spanish, and one-fifth Portuguese.\footnote{Correspondence between Alfred Clark, Compagnie Française du Gramophone, and the Gramophone & Typewriter’s offices in London, 5\textsuperscript{th} May 1904. I would like to thank Susana Belchior for this reference.} This statement, that can be interpreted as a generalisation, points to the existence of a local Portuguese repertoire at the time. Moreover, one of the company’s advertisement published in \textit{Ilustração portuguesa} contributes to support Clark’s statement.\footnote{\textit{Ilustração portuguesa}, nº 87, 3\textsuperscript{rd} July 1905, II.} This advertisement included information on several “freshly arrived records” – like sheet music publishers, recording companies promoted their goods focusing on novelty, an issue addressed in the previous chapter – most of them consisting on imported music from the company’s transnational repertoires mixed with a few local recordings.\footnote{Ibid.}

One of the most significant segments of the advertised repertoire consisted of Italian opera arias sung by Enrico Caruso, Mattia Battistini, or Luisa Bresonier (belonging either to the Monarch Red Label or to the Concert Red Label, the prestigious segment of the company’s offer).\footnote{Ibid.} Following this repertoire, the most prominent segment of recordings belonged to instrumental pieces performed by French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese military bands for the company’s Concert Black label, a set of discs that contribute to support Clark’s previously quoted statement. In the advertisement mentioned above, the band from the French Garde Républicaine recorded several pieces in dance styles, such as a polka (\textit{Triplette}) and a waltz (\textit{Louis XV}) whilst the Milanese Banda Municipale performed an Italian \textit{Marcia Reale} (Royal March).\footnote{Ibid.}

Moreover, the repertoire of Spanish bands such as the Banda de los Ingenieros or the Banda de Alabarderos included instrumental arrangements of \textit{zarzuela} (such as \textit{El baile de Luis Alonso}) and the piece \textit{Corrida de toros} (Bullfight).\footnote{Ibid., nº 87, 3\textsuperscript{rd} July 1905, II. On \textit{El baile de Luis Alonso} see Ramón Barce, “El sainete lírico (1880–1915)”, in Emilio Casares and Celsa Alonso González, \textit{La música española en el siglo XIX} (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1995), 228.} As for the Portuguese band of the Guarda Municipal de Lisboa (Municipal Guard of Lisbon), the ensemble recorded several works by Portuguese composers in choreographic typologies (such as the waltz, the gavotte, or the mazurka).\footnote{\textit{Ilustração portuguesa}, \textit{ibid.}} According to the company’s catalogue of the
following year, the same band recorded several Portuguese anthems and marches (such as the *Hino da Carta*, the *Hino da Restauração*, or *A Portuguesa*), as well as the Brazilian national anthem.\textsuperscript{226} Furthermore, the band’s repertoire was varied and, in the previously mentioned catalogue, the same performers recorded arrangements of a number of the operetta *A capital federal* (previously discussed in this thesis) and of the *revista Nicles!* (by Eduardo Schwalbach and Filipe Duarte, premièred in 1901).\textsuperscript{227}

In the repertoire advertised by *Ilustração Portuguesa*, popular songs constituted a minor segment, which may indicate the emphasis given to prestige in the promotion of phonographic goods during the period covered by this thesis. Nonetheless, the publication included the Neapolitan songs *Funiculi, funicula* and *L’Altalena* (both performed by Vittorio Fantone), a *cançoneta* recorded by the actor/singer Jaime Silva (*Menino de Santo António*) and an “eccentric *cançoneta*” performed by Carlos Nunes (*O cigano e o urso*).\textsuperscript{228} However, one of the company’s advertisements to the “popular gramophone” adds a new layer of complexity to this narrative. In this publication, concentrated exclusively on the “popular gramophone” (comparing its price for with gramophone models), the advertised repertoire was exclusively local and was totally coincident with the *Supplemento ao catalogo de discos portuguezes*.\textsuperscript{229} This points to the presence of a parallel and segmented promotion strategy carried by the Companhia that attempted to maximise the impact of the advertising campaigns by addressing specific taste markers of different social strata. In the beginning of the twentieth century, advertisements emphasising the most prestigious recordings of the company’s international as well as publications promoting cheaper machines associated with local repertoire coexisted in the same periodicals.

By relating the contents of the advertisement with the company’s later Portuguese catalogues it is possible to infer that the main trends associated with the selection of repertoires might have had already been in place in the previous years. As discussed earlier, the recorded repertoires of this period consisted mainly on previously mediatised pieces, especially songs designated by fado, *cançoneta*, *canção popular*

\textsuperscript{226} Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *Catalogo das ultimas placas feitas pela Companhia Franceza do Gramophone* (Lisbon: n.p., 1906), 3.
\textsuperscript{227} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{228} *Ilustração portugueza*, nº 87, 3\textsuperscript{rd} July 1905, II. On *L’Altalena* see Enrico Careri and Pasquale Scialò (eds), *Studi sulla canzone napoletana classica* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2008), 148. For a short biography of Jaime Silva see António de Sousa Bastos, *Diccionario do theatro portuguez* (Lisbon: Imp. Libânio da Silva, 1908), 273.
\textsuperscript{229} *Ilustração portugueza*, nº 106, 13\textsuperscript{th} November 1905, III.
(popular song), songs, spoken sections, or instrumental arrangements of pieces drawn from *revistas* and operettas, instrumental works performed by wind bands (such as marches and anthems), and comical ("eccentric") monologue or dialogue sketches.\textsuperscript{230} Losa and Belchior duly noted that these categories correspond in an almost direct way to the segments presented by Gronow and Englund in their article ("Singing actors, Singing comedians, Choirs and vocal ensembles, Spoken word, Wind bands, Solo instruments, Miscellaneous, Revue artists, comedians, declamation"), which indicates a transnational policy developed by the early recording companies in terms of repertoire selection.\textsuperscript{231}

During the period covered by this thesis, the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone’s recordings were segmented by labels and by physical dimension of the medium (that constrained its run time). By solely using the information printed in its catalogues from 1905 to 1907, the company divided its repertoire corresponding a label to a specific size of the records: 12-inch Monarch records, 10-inch Concert records, and 7-inch "small plate" records.\textsuperscript{232} Nevertheless, the 1907 catalogue included a segment exclusively dedicated to the Zonophone label.\textsuperscript{233} As mentioned earlier, the company’s advertisements made reference to several label colours (such as Monarch Red and Concert Black), a type of information that began to be included in the 1908 catalogue of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone. In this publication the company offered 12-inch Monarch records (with red, pink, green, and buff labels), 10-inch Concert records (only specifying its red and pink labels for “artistic recordings”), and 10-inch Zonophone records.\textsuperscript{234} Moreover, the catalogue does not include the reference to 7-inch records anymore and this segmentation by label was clearly reflected in the pricing of the discs. The Monarch labels price spanned from 2$000 to 7$500 (a considerable amount by the period’s standards), whereas the Concert labels cost between 1$400 and 2$000. Zonophone records were priced at 1$200, the cheapest of the catalogue, an issue that is related to the history of the company. Initially, the International Zonophone

\textsuperscript{230} Losa and Belchior, *op. cit.*, 9–10.
\textsuperscript{231} Ibid., 9–11 and Gronow and Englund, *op. cit.*, 288–293.
\textsuperscript{233} Compagnie Francaise du Gramophone, *op. cit.*
\textsuperscript{234} Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, *Novo catalogo de discos portuguezes* (Lisbon: n.p., 1908). In the catalogue, there is no reference to the colour of the label of several Monarch records. Because the catalogue specifies label colours in all other Monarch sections, it is possible to infer that the unspecified recordings belong to the Monarch Black label.
Company was owned by Frank Seaman and manufactured and traded the same goods as The Gramophone Company. However, in the summer of 1903 the former was bought by the latter and became its budget label.

A major technological innovation that would reshape the recording industry was developed in the beginning of the twentieth century and was reflected on the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone’s consulted catalogues from 1907 onwards: the mass production of double-sided discs. In 1904, the German-based Odeon recording company presented its first double-sided records in a Leipzig fair and this novelty soon became the industry’s standard. Until that date, the repertoire was recorded either on a cylinder or in a single-sided disc, thus corresponding a single work (an issue that will be addressed later when referring to the single-sided records contained in the company’s 1908 catalogue). Thereafter, the same medium was able to contain two recorded selections, which may have had an impact on the advertisement based in emphasising novelty. Moreover, it may have altered the ratio use value/exchange value in a favorable way for the consumer. Although the advertisements promoted double-sided records by the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone since 1905, the first known Portuguese catalogue to include them was published in 1907, which may indicate that the first double-sided records commercialised by the company were imported. Nevertheless, the 1907 catalogue included both single-sided and double-sided records, in which the totality of the latter was issued with the Zonophone label.

One of the most valuable sources for the study of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone’s Portuguese venture is its 1908 local catalogue. This publication is the most complete of its type available and also includes repertoire from the previous years’ catalogues. Moreover, it states that 1908 was a fruitful year for recording in which a “truly typical and original repertoire” was selected, including several Portuguese regional musics and fados accompanied with Portuguese guitar (that was presented as a marker of its authenticity). The publication further states that new singers (apart from the “ones who are used to sing in every talking machines”) were taken to Paris to record the new selections, thus pointing to an expansion not only of the

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235 Welch and Burt, op. cit., 100–101.
236 Gronow and Englung, op. cit., 285.
238 See, for example, Ilustração portugueza, nº 111, 18th December 1905, 1.
239 Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, Novo catalogo de discos portuguezes (Lisbon: n.p., 1908), 1.
repertoire but also of the number of performers recording for the company. \(^{240}\) Nevertheless, according to Alan Kelly’s listings available in the CHARM website, several of these songs were recorded in Lisbon, thus contradicting the publisher’s statement, a fact that points to use of the reference to Paris as part of the advertisement strategy enacted by the Companhia. \(^{241}\) The 1908 catalogue appears segmented in two main categories: local and imported repertoires. The former was then subdivided into new recordings and reissues whilst the segmentation of the latter mixed criteria such as performers, media types, and labels. Moreover, the Portuguese section of the catalogue (in the parts that advertised both new recordings and reissues) appears to be inconsistently segmented by genre, label or artist.

The publication begins with a section containing songs and cançonetas, stating that they had been written specifically for the gramophone by several authors, especially Baptista Diniz (whose production of cançonetas has already been discussed in the previous chapter). \(^{242}\) Moreover, the same segment included songs designated as fado or waltz and consisted of solo songs (sometimes with a chorus) and duets. The next sections of the catalogue contain the “repertoire of fados” of the company, initiated with a set of recordings promoted as the “truly typical fado solely accompanied with the Portuguese guitar,” a symptom of the presence of a discourse of authenticity associated with this genre from a very early stage. \(^{243}\) As Nery has stated, a significant number of early fados were recorded with piano accompaniment, a phenomenon that, according to Losa, might be associated with the use of a sheet music edition (in its voice and piano form) in the recording session. \(^{244}\) Therefore, this practice may indicate the circulation of musical commodities in the period covered by this thesis in which a product of sound recording was based in the commodified sheet music edition. Moreover, as Losa has argued, this issue can also be associated with the technological limitations associated with the acoustic recordings of the time, in which the piano was selected over the

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\(^{240}\) Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, op. cit., 1.

\(^{241}\) For example, the song *O trevo* (catalogue number 62040), mentioned in Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, op. cit., 9. See Carlos Machado, “O trevo” (78 rpm, Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, 2–62040). The other side of the disc contains a duet drawn from *A Perichole* (catalogue number 64252).

\(^{242}\) Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, op. cit., 2–5.

\(^{243}\) Ibid., 5–6. An interesting occurrence in this catalogue is the presence of Alfredo Mântua both as an accompanist on guitar and as a composer, a symptom of the accumulation of roles in the Portuguese musical scene of the time.

Portuguese guitar for its better ability to project sound, making it an easier instrument to record.245 Nevertheless, the section consisting on the “truly typical fado” included a cançoneta and a “popular song” (although in discs in which the other side contained a song designated by fado), an occurrence that reinforces the complexities associated with the naming of musical genres, an issue that will be later develop in this study.246 The following section of the catalogue is dedicated to discs that, on one side contained soloist pieces for the Portuguese guitar (named fado or waltz) and, on the other, songs designated as fado.247 The publication then proceeds with its “repertoire of fados,” a section that contains several selections designated as fados as well as Portuguese urban and rural regional songs (selected in their “absolutely typical fashion”) from places such as Minho, Alentejo, or Coimbra.248 Some of these songs had previously been available in their printed form because they integrated the most important work on ethnology and song collection of the time, the Cancioneiro de músicas populares (by César das Neves and Gualdino de Campos), a publication that will be addressed in a later chapter of this thesis. However, this section of the catalogue also included cançonetas, operetta extracts and a Neapolitan song (Oh Maria oh Maria!), thus displaying a heterogeneous panorama that contributes to support the theory that the term fado was many times used as a generic synonym for song throughout the period covered by this thesis.249

Until this point, the catalogue consisted exclusively on 10-inch double-face Concert label records. The following section included a small number of Portuguese Monarch 12-inch double-sided records, in which a Portuguese version of the Neapolitan song Torna Maggio is included as well as several theatrical selections.250 The recordings of operatic arias and a duet by Portuguese performers, namely the Desgarrada of Alfredo Keil’s Serrana, and Puccini’s “Mi chiamano Mimi” (drawn from La bohème) and “Vissi d’arte” (drawn from Tosca) stand out in this segment of the publication, although the production of local recordings with operatic repertoire remained a minor practice at the time.251 The publisher included the information that these discs were

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245 Leonor Losa, personal communication, 4th July 2010.
246 Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, op. cit., 5–6.
247 Ibid., 6–7.
248 Ibid., 7–10.
249 Ibid. It is admissible that Oh Maria oh Maria! is the song Maria Mari’, written in 1899 by Eduardo di Capua and Vincenzo Russo. See Carlos Machado, “Oh Maria oh Mari!” (78 rpm, Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, 2–62045). Moreover, the same section of the catalogue includes a song intitled Giripiti Giripitá, that might be a parody of Funiculi, funicula. See Carlos Machado, “Giripiti Giripitá” (78 rpm, Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, 2–62042).
250 Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, op. cit., 10–11.
251 Ibid.
recorded with a large orchestra, which might indicate their prestigious status in the company’s local catalogue.²⁵² In all the consulted catalogues (published by Pathé and the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone) it is clearly stated when a selection was recorded with an orchestral accompaniment, a device that was probably used to distinguish them from the records accompanied by piano reductions (arguably the most frequent at the time). However, recording an orchestra in the period of early phonography raised complex issues, especially when dealing with parameters such as instrumentation. According to Suisman, musical works suffered significant transformations in their process of commodification. In this sense, phonographic recordings were subjected to a process of transformation (by substituting instruments that did not record well, such as cello and double-basses with tubas and trombones) that worked in a parallel way to the mechanisms associated with the arrangement of theatrical songs for the keyboard, an issue addressed in the previous chapter.²⁵³

Moreover,

The scaled-down orchestra backing the singer stood in unconventional positions crowded around the recording horn. Every connection in the process was mechanical – from the vibrating column of air in the horn, to the vibrating diaphragm in the recording arm, to the grooves carved in wax by a vibrating needle, to the playback needle later vibrating in the same grooves, to the vibrating column of air emerging from the morning glory horn.²⁵⁴

According to Suisman and Brown, the acoustic recording an orchestra implied a transformation of the means involved, such as in adapting an orchestral piece to a sheet music marketable edition, that transformed the music and maximised its potential for specifically intended aims. Therefore, Adorno’s statement in which phonography only allowed to store and record music “that was already in existence before the phonograph record and is not significantly altered by it” is highly problematic when dealing with these early recordings.

Returning to the discussion of the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone’s 1908 catalogue, the publication proceeds with a set of 10-inch Concert label instrumental

²⁵² Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, op. cit., 10–11.
²⁵³ Suisman, op. cit., 23. Nevertheless, Martland argues that the variety of musical instruments and the spectrum of frequencies captured by mechanical recording was wider than some authors claimed it to be. See Peter Martland, Since Records Began: EMI, the First 100 Years, 14.
recordings of pieces in choreographic typologies (such as polkas, mazurkas, marches, waltzes), anthems and rhapsodies performed by the previously mentioned band of the Guarda Municipal de Lisboa.\textsuperscript{255} The following section concentrates mainly on spoken records (the “eccentric and monologue” category) and precedes a segment of disc reissues (both in the Concert and in the Zonophone labels).\textsuperscript{256} When double-sided discs became widely available, several record companies initiated the reissue of former single-sided records in the latest format. Therefore, a significant part of repertoire advertised in the company’s 1908 catalogue had already been included in previous publications as single-sided recordings.\textsuperscript{257} This indicates a commercial strategy that attempts to maximise the profit generated by the company’s repertoire focusing both on recording recently presented novelties (from theatrical plays, for instance) and on reissuing older recordings. These reissues focused on recordings of performers such as Avelino Baptista, Duarte Silva, Manassés de Lacerda, Reinaldo Varela, César Nunes, Almeida Cruz, or Eduardo Barreiros, Jaime Silva, and Júlia Mendes. Moreover, several double-sided discs belonging to the 1907 Compagnie Française du Gramophone catalogue were included in the following year’s edition.\textsuperscript{258}

The section of the Portuguese 1908 catalogue that consists of imported repertoires initiates with a section that consists of 10-inch Concert Label records performed by several European bands and orchestras, such as the band of the Garde Républicaine, the Orchestre Bosc du Bal Tabarin (from a Parisian entertainment venue bearing the same name), the Band of the Coldstream Guards, or the orchestra of Milan’s Scala (performing instrumental operatic pieces).\textsuperscript{259} Baroque to Romantic chamber music occupies the next section of the company’s catalogue, divided according to the constitution of the ensemble (trio, quartet, quintet) followed by Jan Kubelik’s and Pablo Sarasate’s recordings of soloist repertoires.\textsuperscript{260} The catalogue proceeds with the

\textsuperscript{255} Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, op. cit., 11–12.
\textsuperscript{256} Ibid., 12–13.
\textsuperscript{257} Compagnie Française du Gramophone, Repertoire portugais: Disques “Gramophone” & disques “Zonophone” double-face (n.p.: n.p., 1907) and Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, op. cit. For example, Avelino Baptista’s Dá-me um beijo and Fado de Pedrouços were included in the 1907 catalogue as 10-inch single-sided records and were both released as a part of a double-sided record of the same dimension the following year, maintaining their catalogue numbers. See Avelino Baptista, Dá-me um beijo (78 rpm, Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, G 62915), Baptista, Fado de Pedrouços (78 rpm, Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, G 62910), and Baptista, Dá-me um beijo/ Fado de Pedrouços (78 rpm, Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, 62915/62910).
\textsuperscript{258} Such as Guarda Municipal de Lisboa, Beatriz/Hymno dos fenianos (78 rpm, Zonophone, 50096/50098).
\textsuperscript{259} Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, op. cit., 19–22.
\textsuperscript{260} Ibid., 23.
enumeration of several 12-inch Monarch discs with band and orchestral selections, some of them including soloist passages, leading to a section of “artistic recordings” (10-inch Concert discs), mainly containing operatic arias, duets, quartets, and choruses. These artistic recordings also included instrumental pieces, such as La Marseillaise or the Russian National anthem, as well as several contradances and Bach-Gounod’s Ave Maria. Several solo piano pieces were subsequently advertised, both in the Concert and in the Monarch labels, subsequently followed by operatic extracts belonging to the latter series.

The catalogue concludes with several subsections of operatic selections performed by notorious singers and recorded in single-sided discs. In this segment, both Monarch and Concert labels are included, the former bearing red and pink labels and the latter printed with red, pink, green and buff labels. Moreover, the price for these single-sided records was higher than for the double-sided records contained in the catalogue (and proportional to the number of soloists involved), which points to a strategy of directing these recordings to a high-end market segment, traditionally associated with the consumption of operatic spectacles (or with enough economic capital to buy these records as a strategy of social distinction). Therefore, the association of a segment of the operatic repertoire with forms of entertainment that, to a certain extent, reflected a particular type of cultural capital (its “high-art” segment) played a key role in the marketing strategy for these recordings. In analysing Victor’s Red Seal recordings, Suisman states that the conspicuous and systematic differentiation of these records through their distinct packaging and pricing can be discussed as the company’s strategy to enhance the symbolic meaning (or symbolic capital, to use Bourdieu’s terminology) of these commodities. Furthermore, the printing of a separate catalogue for Red Label records and their distinctive label colour contributed to support the claim made by the companies (The Gramophone Company and Victor) and their dealers that these goods were qualitatively distinct from other commercial recordings. Consequently, the medium reflected and incorporated a promotion strategy that relied on the symbolic capital of these recordings as a form of market

261 Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, op. cit., 24–27.
262 Ibid.
263 Ibid., 27–28.
264 Ibid., 28–32.
266 Ibid.
segmentation. In this case, each single sided disc was promoted as containing a “single and singular music performance”, thus aiming to create a surrogate aura in the age of the mechanical reproduction of the work of art. In Suisman’s analysis

The illusion that a single disc represented a single self-contained work was logical enough and easy to maintain when records were pressed with music on only one side, as was the case until 1908. Notably, however, even after double-sided records became the industry standard, Victor continued to press Red Seal records – and only Red Seal – in their single-sided form until 1923, for no other reason than to present each as a singular work of art. Taken to its logical extreme, this aim even implied a kind of counter-narrative to consumer society itself – an illusion of uniqueness based on mass-produced intimacy.

This statement clearly echoes Adorno’s notion of pseudo-individuation stated in his essay “On popular music”, although repositioning it in a realm in which recorded opera occupied a hegemonic position, as aspect that can be related with the process of transforming music (whether art music or popular music) into a commodity, in this case, a sound recording. Moreover, the mentioning of the American Victor company and The Gramophone Company in the same category points to the existence of strong transatlantic commercial relations between these major companies, that formalised their relationship and divided the world market between them in an agreement signed in June 1907.

The Companhia Franceza do Gramophone’s implementation strategy in Portugal during the beginning of the twentieth century initially consisted in the commercialisation of its products through several local agents, rapidly moving to the establishment of an exclusive commercial space to sell its goods. Moreover, this move was accompanied by an intense advertising campaign that promoted the commodities (gramophones, accessories, and discs) as well as the recorded repertoire, a set of works developed in several major fields, namely the local catalogue and the imported (or cosmopolitan) recordings, displaying both the transnational role of The Gramophone Company as well as its dependance on local repertoires to generate profit. The recordings mainly consisted of previously mediatised repertoire (through the theatre, for

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267 Suisman, op. cit., 111.
268 Ibid.
instance) that were segmented according to their intended audience, thus playing a major role for the company’s implementation strategy in Portugal as well as in other markets.

Local Entrepreneurs in the Portuguese Phonographic Market: Castelo Branco and Simplex

In the beginning of the twentieth century, a local recording company that created a catalogue with a significant number of discs was established in Lisbon, the Sociedade Fabricante de Discos – Disco Simplex C. B. 271 This entrepreneurial effort was driven by the local businessman José Castelo Branco and started as a store located in the Rua de Santo Antão. This commercial space was initially specialised in importing Dutch bicycles, goods the company regularly advertised in the coeval periodicals. At the time, bicycles were being introduced in several markets as a fashionable and modern commodity, a process that parallels the establishment a market for phonographic products. 272 In 1905, Simplex started to advertise, along with bicycles, records and talking machines, a fact that displayed an expansion of their business to other commodities/technologies. 273

According to a photography taken by Joshua Benoliel in the beginning of the twentieth century, the Simplex store traded in phonographic products (the poster mentioned double-face records) from its own catalogue and from the German-based Odeon label. 274 This widens the geographic spectrum of the discussion of the international recording companies active in Portugal in the beginning of the twentieth century that, up to this point, were based either in France (such as Pathé) or in Britain (such as The Gramophone Company, whose pressing plant was situated in Hannover – although the construction of a a new facility in Hayes started in 1907). Losa and Belchior emphasise the role German labels played in this period by stating that “during the first decades of the 20th century, the activities of German labels was the engine that

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271 A pioneering study of this company was published by Losa and Belchior: “The Introduction of phonogram market in Portugal: Lindström labels and local traders (1879–1925)”, in Pekka Gronow and Christiane Hofer (eds), The Lindström Project: Contributions to the history of the record industry: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schallplattenindustrie, vol. 2 (Vienna: Gesellschaft für Historische Tonträger, 2010), 7–11.


273 See Ilustração portuguesa, 2nd series, nº 38, 12th November 1906; nº113, 20th April 1908.

274 See the Municipal Archive of Lisbon, shelfmark PT/AMLSB/AF/JBN/000985.
made possible the establishment of a market of phonograms in Portugal."\textsuperscript{275} Moreover, they attribute this phenomenon to “the lack of investment on the part of international companies and the poor system of agencing and distribution of phonograms” in this country during the first decades on the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{276}

When surveying the coeval periodicals it is possible to situate Simplex’s advertisement of phonograms and talking machines by 1905 and, in August of the following year, the official publication covering industrial property included the company’s registration for a record brand.\textsuperscript{277} According to the company’s surviving discs, Simplex’s recorded repertoire output mirrors the offer of the other recording companies active in Portugal, focusing on theatrical songs (mainly extracted from the \textit{revista}) performed by the previously mentioned Duarte Silva, Eduardo Barreiros, Isabel Costa, Júlia Mendes, or Reinaldo Varela.\textsuperscript{278} This set of data contributes to reinforce the assumption of the existence in Portugal of a relatively small number of artists that recorded regularly and whose contracts did not contemplate exclusivity (in either artist or repertoire). Losa and Belchior further noted the Portuguese agents’ dependance of imported goods and technicians, that motivated the establishment of a symbiotic relation between local traders and foreign companies. Therefore, as a result of the absence of recording equipment and engineers in Portugal (a fact that prevented local record publishers from producing their own catalogue), a mutually beneficial relationship between foreign companies and small endeavouring Portuguese record publishers was established.\textsuperscript{279}

Due to this dependence, José Castelo Branco had to rely in foreign companies to record and edit the repertoire or Simplex, a symbiosis that resulted in what Losa and Belchior designated by a “mixed series” of recordings. In this context, transnational companies such as Beka, Odeon, or Homophon used specific prefixes to identify Portuguese repertoires in their catalogues.\textsuperscript{280} Conversely, catalogue or matrix numbers of a few Portuguese labels conformed with the numerical series of the transnational companies’ catalogues.\textsuperscript{281} This meant that Portuguese recording were made available by

\textsuperscript{275} Losa and Belchior, \textit{op. cit.}, 10.
\textsuperscript{276} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{277} \textit{Ibid.}, 8. The brand was registered not by Castello Branco, but by the German Charles Timm and its logo was a bicycle, just as the one printed in the advertisement. See Ministério das Obras Públicas, Comercio e Indústria. Repartiçăo da Industria, \textit{Boletim da propriedade industrial}, August 1906, 316.
\textsuperscript{278} Losa and Belchior, \textit{op. cit.}, 10.
\textsuperscript{279} \textit{Ibid.}, 10.
\textsuperscript{280} \textit{Ibid.}, 8.
\textsuperscript{281} \textit{Ibid.}
both local store labels and by international companies.\textsuperscript{282} Losa and Belchior give the example of a 1905 group of Simplex and Homophon records that bear a correspondence between the numbers stamped in the mirror of the disc, thus pointing to their recording by an Homophon engineer (identified by Gronow as Hermann Eisner, then manager/owner and also technical director of the company) in a single expedition that took place in May 1905.\textsuperscript{283} Moreover, both the Simplex and Homophon phonograms recorded in 1905 started by an announcement (a common practice at the time, advertising the company/retailer the and identifying the recording) saying “Disco Simplex,” a fact that points to the intention of releasing these recordings by the former company.\textsuperscript{284} Furthermore, this occurrence and the fact that the recordings were made by the same technician reinforces the hypothesis that the discs released by both companies were manufactured in the same pressing plant.\textsuperscript{285}

Therefore, Simplex records followed a different business model than the transnational recording companies (such as Pathé or The Gramophone Company), creating a partnership with foreign companies in order to record and publish their discs. Furthermore, the Portuguese local market paralleled other peripheral markets with regard to the relation between local and multinational companies. In this context of complexity, the growth of a recording market relied on the activity of a small number of local entrepreneurs that established a close relationship with German-based companies, mainly associated with the Carl Lindström group.\textsuperscript{286} This international dynamic, in which commercial interests were shared and negotiated between local and foreign companies, was the market strategy adopted by these agents, thus revealing the existence of a close relationship amongst them, that markedly differs from the “more distant and imposing” position adopted by both French and English companies.\textsuperscript{287}

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{282} Losa and Belchior, \textit{op. cit}, 8.
\item\textsuperscript{283} \textit{Ibid.}, 8–10.
\item\textsuperscript{284} \textit{Ibid.}, 9.
\item\textsuperscript{285} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{287} Losa and Belchior, \textit{ibid.}
\end{itemize}
Conclusion

In the last two chapters this thesis attempted to display the circulation of several types of commodities in the Portuguese entertainment market, portraying it as a process in which aspects such as technology, class, and gender are embedded. Furthermore, during the period covered by this thesis several goods were marketed as a complement to each other, pointing to the presence of an articulated entertainment system in which the same theatrical show (itself a cultural good) generated a set of associated commodities that extended the scope of this universe to the city’s streets as well as to domestic spaces, thus incorporating the musical theatre repertoire in various contexts of everyday life. Between 1865 and 1908, the process of commodification of music was essential for the dissemination of this repertoire either in its libretto, sheet music or sound recording formats. In addition, theatrical performances generated goods (such as posters or postcards) that were mostly associated with the direct advertisement strategies of the their entrepreneurs. Another aspect addressed in this chapter was the introduction of mechanical music in the Portuguese market in its two main forms, mechanical instruments and phonography, and its cultural implications. At the time, the possibility of music reproduction, portrayed as an embodiment of modernity, helped to reconfigure domestic space and time around new technologies, such as the player piano or the gramophone, allowing for a redistribution of cultural capital in the emergent networks. The complex dialectic of the local and the global plays a constitutive role in the establishment of a phonographic market in Portugal during the first years of the twentieth century. For example, multinational companies recorded (and relied) on local repertoires to maximise their profit and local agents relied on international companies to supply them with goods and technicians in order to create their own catalogue.

Another important issue in the commodification of music is the contribution for the permanence of the (mostly ephemeral) repertoire extracted from operettas and revistas. Moreover, the commodification of the musical object allowed for consumers to reduce their dependance on live theatrical performances. Nevertheless, most of the musical numbers edited as sheet music and/or phonographic records (as well as player piano rolls) were mainly extracted from successful productions that were reprised in Lisbon’s theatres, existing an almost causal relation between theatrical performance and publication. Nevertheless, the causal relation mentioned above has to be problematised...
with the emergence of phonography. For instance, the song “Fado novo do Avelino”, a number of the revista Beijos de burro (premièred in the Teatro Chalet do Rato in 1903), was recorded for the American Victor company in 1918 by Manuel Carvalho and released in the same year.\textsuperscript{288} Although having been recorded in Camden, New Jersey, the record was part of the company’s “Imported and overseas” category and may have been destined to Portuguese-speaking immigrant communities in the United States.\textsuperscript{289} This points to a growing autonomy of the recorded repertoire in relation to its live performances, thus introducing a new level in the relation between theatrical presentation and publication, an argument reinforced by the previously discussed policy of reissues carried by the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone.


\textsuperscript{289} For a discussion on this issue see Pekka Gronow and Ilpo Saunio, An International History of the Recording Industry (Cassell: London/NY, 2000), 46–47.
Chapter 5. Studying the Nation: Folklorisation and Music Collecting in Portugal

Introduction

This chapter examines the development of a heterogeneous network of approaches and disciplines that were being established with scientific intents that contributed to the reshaping the coeval perspectives on Portugal as a symbolic nation-state. From the last third of the nineteenth century onwards the establishment of a broad field of studies associated with aspects of the Portuguese nation, such as geography, geology, archaeology, ethnology, philology, and folklore studies played a key role in the process of establishing what was promoted as a concept of the Portuguese nation that was solidly grounded in scientific data.

The interaction between Portuguese agents and a transnational scientific field is crucial in understanding the shift from a Romantic notion of the nation, mainly associated with the Herderian field of literary traditions, towards a “scientific” view that attributed prominence to aspects such as ethnicity or geography. A consequence of this shift that occupied a significant place in late nineteenth-century discourse was the return of a theory that places the roots of the Portuguese nation in the tribe of the Lusitani (portrayed either as Celtic of pre-Celtic Indo-Europeans), thus critiquing the view presented by Alexandre Herculano in the first half of the nineteenth century through which Portugal was a product of the “political action of the medieval aristocracy.”¹ For this purpose, the origins of Portugal were traced back to a pre-Roman period with the usage of data and perspectives from the recently established discipline of archaeology. This provides a valuable insight of the complex mechanisms involved in the constitution of the past in historical knowledge as an organised realm, “assembled and arranged into sets of evidence and data which are mediated by the organisation of their presentation as texts, images or artefacts.”²

This chapter also addresses issues such as the institution of anthropology as an academic discipline in Portugal and the creation of museological sites focusing on archaeological and ethnological collections, symptoms of the scientific shift operated in the period covered by this thesis. Furthermore, it discusses the complex relation between the establishment of an ethnology predominantly focused in collecting data from the rural areas of Portugal with the imperial background of the Portuguese nation. For this intent, this thesis problematises George Stocking’s proposed distinction between nation-building anthropologies (“the study of the internal peasants others who composed the nation”) and empire-building anthropologies (“the study of more distant others, either overseas or farther back in European history”), a segmentation imported by Leal and adapted to the Portuguese context. In this operation, the endeavour associated with the construction and naturalisation of the colonial Other as well as its incorporation in the coeval public discourse, a strategic move for the promotion of the ideological imagery of the Portuguese Empire, is examined.

Finally, the establishment of folklorist perspectives in Portugal will be discussed from a musicological perspective. According to Branco and Castelo-Branco, folklorisation is “the process of construction and institutionalisation of performative practices, perceived as traditional, and constituted by fragments drawn from popular culture, mainly from rural areas.” The fragmentary nature of this process points to the prominent role ethnographers played in the construction of the popular (or in the “nationalisation of the people”) through the “selective appropriation” of cultural elements, an aspect that can be framed as a civic task associated with the new forms of bourgeois thought that emerged in the last third of the nineteenth century. This thesis also addresses the reliance of folklorisation on an essentialist dichotomy between rural and urban contexts, a construction that embodies a particular perspective on the nation and its popular culture, reflected in several sources of the time. Furthermore, this chapter strives to expand the scope of my thesis, thus far predominantly focused on products associated with the urban theatrical market, through the analysis of the integration of materials associated with a ruralist notion of popular culture in the coeval

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market for cultural goods. In this process, the circulation of traditional repertoires as sheet music and as sound recordings might have facilitated the establishment and consolidation of a symbolically efficient idea of nationhood through leisure activities. This promoted the internalisation of various aspects of a heterogeneous Portugal by several segments of the population, an operation that can be presented as a move that stands as both a consequence and as a complement to the effort, undertaken by several agents between 1865 and 1908, of grounding the Portuguese nation on scientific knowledge.

**Popular Traditions and Textual Analysis: The First Scientific Efforts of Portuguese Ethnology**

According to Jorge Dias’ groundbreaking work on the history of Portuguese ethnology, the first generation of Portuguese researchers embodied what he designated by its philological-positivist period. These ethnologists constituted a heterogeneous research field that, albeit being conscious of their dilettantism, drew from distinct approaches and methodologies that were then circulating in Europe to scientifically systematise the study of popular culture. At the time, the emergent paradigm of positivist science interacted with the historicist Romantic ideals of nationalism already established in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the rise of the symbolic efficiency of the nation, then presented as a “scientific fact,” was influential in establishing competing narratives about the origins of Portugal, a process that paralleled the scientific developments in other countries during this period. In this process, positivist thinkers played a key role in the establishment and delimitation of a discursive field in which the populations of modern states were presented to the idea of belonging to one shared background, thus contributing to the naturalisation of the cultural nation-state as a form of social bond. Moreover, the establishment of the folklorist movement was

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9 Ramos, *ibid*.
associated with the development of ideas such as civic culture and patriotism in the Portuguese liberal state and the foremost researchers associated with this field were Teófilo Braga (1843–1924), Adolfo Coelho (1847–1919), Consiglieri Pedroso (1851–1910), and Leite de Vasconcelos (1858–1941).¹¹

Braga was a scholar who worked mainly on literary and historical issues (such as the history of Portuguese literature and theatre, for instance) and developed a political career in the republican field (an issue mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis). Moreover, Braga, despite his affiliation with a Romantic perspective in an earlier stage of his academic career, was a key thinker in the introduction and dissemination of positivist ideas in Portugal. For instance, during the period covered by this thesis he edited, with the doctor and psychiatrist Júlio de Matos (1856–1922), the journal O positivismo: revista de filosofia (published in Porto between 1878 and 1884). Adolfo Coelho (like Braga), was associated with the so-called “Geração de 70,” having delivered one of the public lectures of the Democratic Conferences held in the Casino Lisbonense before their interdiction, and his work was mainly concentrated in issues such as pedagogy, linguistics, and ethnology. Pedroso developed his research mainly in the fields of oral literature and popular mythology and pursued a career as a republican politician. Vasconcelos, despite his training in the natural sciences and in medicine, concentrated his research efforts in philology, ethnology and archaeology. This heterogeneous constellation of individuals drew on distinct epistemological frameworks throughout the period covered by this thesis in order to study specific aspects of vernacular culture. Apart from a general positivist framework and a common reference to the field of comparative mythology, several of these authors (such as Teófilo Braga or Adolfo Coelho) were primordially influenced by pre-evolutionist diffusionist trends, mainly associated with the theories of Theodor Benfey (1809–81) or François Lenormant (1837–83), whilst some works of researchers such as Pedroso and Coelho point to the role played by evolutionist ideas in the European context during this period.¹²

Moreover, the employment of several methodologies (and, consequently, of their epistemological assumptions) by various researchers reinforces the idea of heterogeneity in the constitution of ethnology as a scientific field in this period. For

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instance, the work of Teófilo Braga was chiefly based on bibliographic studies and on secondary sources, whereas Leite de Vasconcelos collected his data directly from the rural populations, positioning this contact as the constitutive kernel of his ethnographic research.\(^\text{13}\) Therefore, the scarcity of direct contact between most of the scholars with the direct performers of popular culture was key in presenting “the people” as an empty signifier that occupied a specific space in the ideological apparatus of the scientific field of the time.\(^\text{14}\) Nevertheless, the constitution of “the people” as an empty signifier was precisely what held the several elements of the symbolic network of ethnology in place.

According to Leal, the dominant ethnological perspective during the 1870s and 1880s was mainly associated with the construction and promotion of Portuguese popular culture as a unified and homogeneous entity, revealing a strong focus on the national level, a stance that, by the end of the nineteenth century and with the rising employment of ethnographic methodologies, was progressively substituted by a perspective that favoured internal diversity, thus shifting its emphasis from the national to the regional and local levels.\(^\text{15}\)

However, despite the epistemological and methodological heterogeneity associated with the work of the scholars mentioned above, these agents tended to share several relevant traits. During the 1870s and 1880s pervaded a textual approach to the idea of popular culture, that can be supported by the almost exclusive interest on the fields of popular literature (consisting on the analysis of popular poetry, especially balladry and songs lyrics, as well as folk tales) and of popular traditions (such as beliefs, cyclical festivities or rites of passage, for example).\(^\text{16}\) This approach resonates with the philological work that was being undertaken in other countries and is permeated by a comparative approach to mythology.

In this area, several collections of Portuguese folk tales were published in book format or in periodicals from the late 1870s onwards. In 1879 Coelho published his *Contos populares portugueses*, a symbolic marker for the study of Portuguese popular culture.\(^\text{17}\) In 1882, Pedroso’s collection was edited, in English translation, by The Folk-


\(^{17}\) Adolfo Coelho, *Contos populares portugueses* (Lisbon: P. Plantier, 1879).
Lore Society, thus pointing to a transnational interest on this subject matter.\textsuperscript{18} Moreover, one of the vice-presidents of the institution at the time was Edward Burnett Tylor, a pioneer researcher in evolutionist anthropology.\textsuperscript{19} In the following year, Braga edited in Porto his two-volume collection of folk tales. Leite de Vasconcelos’ noteworthy folk tale collection, despite being one of the richest works in this field, was published posthumously.\textsuperscript{20} This set of examples serves to illustrate the place occupied by popular literature in the establishment of ethnology as a scientific field in Portugal in the 1870s and 1880s. Moreover, Leite de Vasconcelos published an article in his Revista Lusitana on popular songs that focused exclusively on their lyrics, addressing aspects such as form and vocabulary and their “spontaneity” and “simplicity.”\textsuperscript{21} The presentation of popular songs as a “rich monument simultaneously aesthetic and historical” points to the generally positive view of popular culture that circulated amongst the first generation of Portuguese ethnologists.\textsuperscript{22} Despite an initial focus on texts (that can be a symptom of the presence of a Romantic and Herderian concept of nationalism at the time), several of the researchers mentioned above accompanied the tendency to expand the subject matter of the field of ethnology that emerged towards the end of the century, addressing issues such as kinship or elements of material culture. Moreover, this approach tended to perceive popular culture as a trace of the past (portrayed within an ethnogenealogical perspective), and was mainly grounded in the capture of was perceived as the “authentic tradition,” what was peculiar, picturesque, or unusual.\textsuperscript{23}

This panorama underwent a significant change in the last decade of the nineteenth century, favouring a less textual approach to popular culture, expanding its scope beyond popular literature to also include aspects such as art, architecture, technologies, and forms of economic and social life.\textsuperscript{24} This multiplicity points to the establishment of a more complex view of popular culture in the 1890s in which evolutionist theories played a key role. According to Leal, this shift is clear in the work Adolfo Coelho conducted from this decade onwards and in the research endeavours of

\textsuperscript{18} Consiglieri Pedroso, \textit{Portuguese Folk-Tales} (London: The Folk-Lore Society, 1882) and Leal, \textit{Antropologia em Portugal: mestres, percursos e transições}, 15.

\textsuperscript{19} On E.B. Tylor see George W. Stocking, Jr., \textit{Race, Culture, and Evolution} (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 69–109.


\textsuperscript{22} Vasconcelos, \textit{op. cit.}, 143.

\textsuperscript{23} Leal, \textit{Antropologia em Portugal}, 178.

\textsuperscript{24} Leal, \textit{Etnografias Portuguesas (1870–1970)}, 43.
Rocha Peixoto (1868–1909). In this period, marked by the traumatic event of the British Ultimatum of 1890, the generally favourable view of popular culture gave way to a more pessimistic perspective that presented several of its aspects as symptoms of the Portuguese decadence, a topic that had wide circulation in the artistic and scientific fields at the time. 

Furthermore, while most of the scholars discussed above were mainly based in Lisbon, Rocha Peixoto developed his work in Porto, a city in which a group of researchers established a network of scholars who studied history, economy, ethnology, philology, archaeology, anthropology, and the natural sciences. In this context, Peixoto strove to establish a scientific basis for an approach in which natural history and physical anthropology were the key aspects in determining the ethnicity and the “ethnic psychology” of the Portuguese people. Moreover, Peixoto’s work epitomises the expansion of popular culture as a subject matter as well as the porosity of the academic disciplines that were operating in the study of that field at the time, a period that can be characterised by the prevalence of a multidisciplinary approach in which several epistemological and methodological frameworks mutually informed each other.

In a short text possibly dated from 1908 and published posthumously Peixoto discusses the illustrated postcards and addresses issues of ethnographic fidelity in that type of object. As stated in the first chapter of this thesis, the development of technological processes that allowed for the mechanical reproduction of images in the last third of the nineteenth century was key in operating an iconographic shift in various cultural practices. Furthermore, the dissemination of photography was not only a symptom of that shift but also of a process through which technological apparatuses were perceived as conveyors of an unmediated reality. In this context, Peixoto displays his interest on the way these technological innovations and the mass production of postcards might have been articulated with ethnological practices in the beginning of the twentieth century. In this text, he describes the postcard as a mass-produced commodity and as an “iconic statement” of the epoch. Subsequently, Peixoto points to the coexistence of two types of postcards depicting popular customs at the time, those

25 Leal, op. cit., 56.
29 Ibid., 186.
that faithfully reproduce a realistic scene and the ones that “sacrifice reality” for aesthetic purposes.\textsuperscript{30} Thus, Peixoto values an aesthetic based on authenticity, which points to the role that realistic depiction played in the scientific (as well as in the artistic) field of the time. Peixoto then enumerates several series of postcards he considers of ethnographic and archaeological value in Portugal and abroad, including a collection published in Coimbra by Papelaria Borges from which I was able to access two postcards that depicted musical activities. The first of these postcards portrays a group constituted by a bagpiper, two percussionists (on snare and bass drum, respectively) and several male spectators from the rural areas near Coimbra.\textsuperscript{31} The second postcard presents a \textit{serenata}, a musical event associated with the student life of the University of Coimbra, in which five male students from this institution (wearing their traditional academic robes) are portrayed playing Portuguese guitar, guitar, and what appears to be a mandolin.\textsuperscript{32} These postcards share a realistic approach to the depiction of the people involved and not a conventional aestheticisation (or staging) of the popular, a feature that is valued by Peixoto throughout his text.

Another of Rocha Peixoto’s interests was the study of the Portuguese “ethnic psychology,” a developing area at the time. Peixoto examines this phenomenon through the analysis of popular culture, perceived by him as a “strategic domain for the demonstration of the decadence of Portugal and of the Portuguese people,” a negative position that was clearly expressed in his essay “O cruel e triste fado”, published in 1907.\textsuperscript{33} In this article, Peixoto uses the expression \textit{fado} to mean both the belief in fate, a trait he presents as a characteristic of the Portuguese temperament, as well as the popular songs.\textsuperscript{34} Moreover, Peixoto relates the Portuguese history with the constitutive atropism of its people, embodied in the \textit{fado} as song, which he believes to “dramatically express the substance of the national soul.”\textsuperscript{35} He concludes the article by presenting a group of men passing by and singing a fado (a song that, for him, contained the whole temperament of the Portuguese people, presented as dirty, hypocrite, vagrant or wheeler-dealer) as the embodiment of the motherland.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{31} Coimbra, \textit{o gaiteiro, costume dos arrabaldes} [postcard], Coimbra, Pap. Borges, [1904]. Record number Fel_028588-AL-RE, ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Bildarchiv, Feller Collection.
\textsuperscript{32} Coimbra, \textit{Uma serenata d’estudantes} [postcard], Coimbra, Pap. Borges, [1904]. Record number Fel_028589-AL-RE, ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Bildarchiv, Feller Collection.
\textsuperscript{33} Leal, introduction to Rocha Peixoto “O cruel e triste fado”, \textit{Etnográfica}, 1/2 (1997), 332.
\textsuperscript{34} Leal, \textit{Etnografias Portuguesas (1870–1970)}, 43.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., 335–336.
As stated earlier, this profoundly pessimistic view of Portugal as a nation as well as the constitution of decadence as an aesthetic trope (a feature that was not exclusive of the Portuguese cultural field at the time) in the 1890s can be associated with the events that undermined the country’s autonomy in the international arena as well as in the national context, such as the British Ultimatum of 1890 and the financial crisis of 1891. This period was perceived as a moment of decadence of a nation that once had what was perceived as glorious imperial age. Therefore, the presence of the colonial empire was key in this process and the British Ultimatum occupied a central place in the construction/constriction of national identity that is associated to the encounter with the Other. This specific event raised awareness towards the Empire during a time when colonialism was being embedded within a nationalist framework and its solution demarcated both the geographical and symbolic boundaries of the Portuguese empire.

**Collection of Ethnological Data and the Portuguese Empire**

Until this point, the discussion of the establishment of a Portuguese ethnology during the last third of the nineteenth century has been concentrated in the work developed by several researchers in the European segment of the national territory (islands included). In this sense, it may seem that Portuguese ethnology was, essentially, a nation-building anthropology, a view that Leal imported from George Stocking’s work. Nevertheless, in a recent work that addresses several criticisms of his perspective, Leal argues that, “although explicitly addressing issues related to Portuguese folk culture, Portuguese anthropologists were implicitly commenting on the imperial condition of Portugal.”

As stated above, the ethnographic work developed by the first generation of Portuguese ethnologists focused mainly on the rural areas of the country. Nevertheless, several scientific endeavours in other areas, such as the cartographic expeditions to Africa and India that took place in the last decades of the nineteenth century, collected significant ethnographical data of people that inhabited Portugal’s African colonies. Moreover, a few philological and ethnological articles on the Portuguese Indian and African colonies

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were published in the *Revista lusitana*, a scientific journal edited by Leite de Vasconcelos.38

In this process, the accounts of several military cartographers involved in the scientific expeditions to the Portuguese African colonies constitute important sources of ethnographic data for the study of the populations of these regions. As stated in the first chapter of this thesis, the Navy officers Hermenegildo Capelo and Roberto Ivens conducted a cartographic expedition from Benguela (coastal Angola) to the interior of the African continent in 1877–80. Apart from the reportage published in the magazine *O Ocidente*, the accounts of the expedition were also published in book format.39 This points to a raising awareness of the public towards the Portuguese imperial condition, a phenomenon that can be related with the frequent publication of colonial imagery in several periodicals at the time. These occurrences point to the presence of a complex dialectic mechanism through which the presentation of images from the Portuguese colonies can be framed as both an interest for the exotic and as a form of naturalisation of the imperial ideology in their intended readership. In their journey, Capelo and Ivens followed the courses of several rivers and collected geographical and hydrographical information, data on the fauna and flora of the visited places, and on local ethnology. In their work, a specific episode that happened in Quiteque (Angola) bears a significant meaning for musicologists. In this occurrence, the explorers described and transcribed a local musical composition that was performed by drums, marimbas and chorus, adding to their description an illustration of the marimba.40 The short musical transcription was set in a three-stave system (voice, marimba, and drums) in which the voices were doubled by the marimba in unison or in octaves and the drum provided the accents.41 As stated in the first chapter of this thesis, the serial account of the explorers’ journey was published in the magazine *O Ocidente* before the work was published in book format. In the part that concerns this particular episode, the periodical published a slightly different

40 Capelo and Ivens, *From Benguella to the Territory of Yacca: Description of a Journey into Central and West Africa*, vol. 1, 138–140.
41 Ibid.
one-staff transcription of the collected melody in January 1881.\textsuperscript{42} Several years later, Capelo and Ivens embarked on another cartographic expedition that lasted from 1884 to 1886, this time from Angola to coastal Mozambique, and published their findings in the book \textit{De Angola à contra-costa}.\textsuperscript{43} The role that nationalist ideologies played in the study of the Portuguese colonies at the time can be attested by the dedicatory of both of Capelo and Ivens’ books. Their \textit{From Benguella to the Territory of Yacca} was dedicated to the Portuguese nation and \textit{De Angola à Contra-costa} was dedicated to the King D. Luis I, to Manuel Pinheiro Chagas (the Navy and Overseas Minister at the time of the expedition, 1842–95), and to the Portuguese people.

On the same subject, the name of Serpa Pinto (1846–1900), a military officer who, although integrated in Capelo and Ivens’ first expedition, separated from them and followed a route that led his party to Pretoria and Durban, should not be overlooked.\textsuperscript{44} Pinto’s account was edited in Portuguese language by a London publishing company in 1881.\textsuperscript{45} In his expedition, Pinto collected the same type of information as his colleagues Capelo and Ivens (topographic, hydrographical, zoological, botanical, and ethnological) with abundant illustrations of several sorts, such as maps, village schematics, genealogical trees, utensils, and people, some of whom depicted in the context of their everyday activities which points to the presence of an ethnological concern by the data collector. In terms of musical activities, the book mentions chanting and drumming in a wedding as well as a fiddler, both in the Province of Bié (Angola). According to Pinto, the fiddler accompanied his singing with a three-stringed instrument built by himself, that the explorer assumed it was not “primitive,” but a copy from a European model.\textsuperscript{46} This idea indicates a diffusionist perspective in which the technically more sophisticated instruments built by the African resulted from their contact with more “civilised” people, a theory that circulated in Europe at the time of Pinto’s exploratory journey.

In 1880, António Francisco Nogueira published \textit{A raça negra sob o ponto de vista da civilização da África} (mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis), a work that is mainly focused on discussing ethnic issues in the context of the Portuguese colonies.

\textsuperscript{42} \textit{O Occidente}, nº 74, 11\textsuperscript{th} January 1881, 15.
\textsuperscript{43} Capelo and Ivens, \textit{De Angola à contra-costa}, 2 vols (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1886).
\textsuperscript{44} For a collection of several news of the ongoing expeditions of Capelo, Ivens and Pinto and for several proceedings of meetings held at the Sociedade de Geografia in which these expeditions were discussed see Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, \textit{Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa} (Lisbon: Typ. de Christovão Augusto Rodrigues, 1877), 126–138 and 249–280, respectively.
\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Ibid.}, vol 1, 162–163.
in Africa. According to Nogueira, the book attempts to portray the “Negro race” (the expression he uses throughout his work) not as the “absolutely inferior beings we suppose them to be” but as an “indispensable element in the civilising process we [the Portuguese] have to carry in Africa.” Moreover, he argues that “the Negro needs to be aided in his evolution towards civilised life” and that a symbiotic (albeit functionally distinct) relationship between the colonialist Whites (“the necessary element for direction and progress”) and the colonised Blacks (“the active instrument of labour”) is needed to maximise the economic exploration of the African colonies.

Nogueira, a member of the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (and of the institution’s commission for the exploration and civilisation of Africa), was born in Brazil and emigrated to Moçâmedes (Angola), where he lived for 25 years, an experience whose usefulness was claimed by him in writing his book. The work is segmented in two parts, the first of which dedicated to an exposition of scientific data concerning “the possible enhancement of the Black,” framing this perspective with several accounts of distinguished travellers and Nogueira’s own observation. The second part of the book is dedicated to the study of the Portuguese possessions and Nogueira advances his proposals for the schooling and education of the Black population in these contexts.

One of the most interesting segments of the book is Nogueira’s discussion of the several theories of the origin of the human races that were circulating at the time. I use the term “race” not only because it is the expression used by Nogueira throughout his book but also due to a tendency that was prevalent in various scientific currents of the time that presented the concept “race” within a strict biological framework. Moreover, Nogueira’s theoretical work is firmly grounded in biometrical and craniological data that was produced by researchers associated with the natural sciences, which points to the his perspective on race as a constitutive biological feature.

In his analysis of the several theories for the origins of the human races, Nogueira subdivides them in three categories, monogenist (which presents the totality of mankind as one single species), polygenist (in which the several human races are considered to be separate species), and “transformist” (the term Nogueira uses to designate evolutionist theories, that points to an interpretation of the biological world as

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47 António Francisco Nogueira, *A raça negra sob o ponto de vista da civilisação da África; usos e costumes de alguns povos gentílicos do interior de Mossamedes e as colonias portuguezas* (Lisbon: Typographia Nova Minerva, 1880), 7.
a set of varieties of the same materials). Furthermore, Nogueira bases his discussion on these theories by drawing from the work of their foremost developers, such as Armand de Quatrefages (a notorious French naturalist who proposed a monogenist approach to the study of mankind, 1810–92), Paul Topinard (a French doctor and physical anthropologist, 1830–1911), Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (a French naturalist, 1744–1829), Charles Darwin (1809–82), Ernst Haeckel (a leading German evolutionary biologist, 1834–1919), Clémence Boyer (a French scientist and the translator of Darwin’s *The Origin of Species* to French), for example. In this discussion, Nogueira relates the scientific developments on the field of the natural sciences (especially geology and zoology) with several biblical texts and identifies himself with polygenist theories, drawing from the works of Topinard, that present the several human types (or species or genera) as the descendants of several ancestors (and not of a common ancestor as the evolutionists upheld), but also accounted for the presence of mechanisms of natural selection (associated with Darwin’s theory of evolution). Moreover, the polygenist approach was used by Nogueira to shift the emphasis, associated with some monogenist theories, on the establishment of a strict hierarchical relation of biological races towards a more cultural approach, a feature that resonates in his discourse about the civilisation process of the Black populations. According to Stocking, despite constituting a heterogeneous field, late nineteenth-century evolutionist social theories relied on the notion of the existence of an ahistorical and ageographical “human nature” whose development was subjected to natural laws, therefore arguing that “man developed from his earliest state in a slow, unilinear evolutionary progress whose eventual goal was perfection and whose highest present manifestation was western European society.” Furthermore, Nogueira’s polygenist stance was developed in a scientific context where one the central tenets of contemporary anthropology, the biological unity of the human species, had not yet been established and where the study of key issues such as hereditarity was not yet incorporated in the scientific discussion of the time. Therefore and according to Stocking, the establishment of a dichotomy

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50 Ibid., 11. For a discussion on polygenism and monogenism in a post-Darwinian context see George W. Stocking, Jr., “The persistence of polygenist thought on post-Darwinian anthropology”, in George W. Stocking, Jr., *Race, Culture, and Evolution* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 42–68.


between cultural and biological tropes such as “primitivism” and “civilisation” during this period was underpinned by a racial interpretation.\textsuperscript{55}

Complementarily to a growing interest in the synchronic study of the Portuguese colonies, a new diachronic perspective of these territories was emerging during the period covered by this thesis. This perspective was predominantly based on historical approaches and was encoded by agents associated with both the historical and the political spheres, such as Pinheiro Chagas and by the notorious historian Oliveira Martins (1845–94), an aspect that points to the accumulation of roles by Portuguese intellectuals at the time. As noted earlier, Chagas played an important role in supporting several exploratory expeditions to the interior of the Portuguese African colonies. Furthermore, during his consulate as Navy and Overseas Minister (that lasted from 1883 to 1886) Chagas took various important strategic resolutions for these territories, such as the installation of the telegraph from Angola to the metropolis, or the implementation of a railroad system in Angola and Mozambique.\textsuperscript{56} In 1890, after the British Ultimatum, he published a historical account of events associated with Portuguese colonialism in the nineteenth century, presenting the latest developments as an elegy to the Portuguese Expansion and colonisation, covering the then-recent events with a “veil of mourning.”\textsuperscript{57} His work \textit{(As cólonias portuguezas no seculo XIX)} is mostly concentrated in offering a factual narrative of Portuguese colonialism from 1811 to 1890 and contains a first person account of Chagas’ work as a member of cabinet, which can be quite useful to frame the context in which the African continent was partitioned amongst several European countries towards the end of the century.\textsuperscript{58}

Oliveira Martins embodied an interesting paradigmatic shift in Portuguese historiography that occurred in the late nineteenth century. Initially drawing from Herculano’s positioning on the voluntaristic origins of the Portuguese nation (based on a rational and contractual relation), towards the end of his career Martins adopted an approach that valued the racial aspect of Iberian civilisation, emphasising its specificity within the European context.\textsuperscript{59} This shift is visible in the works \textit{O Brasil e as colónias portuguesas} (published in 1880) and \textit{As raças humanas e a civilização primitiva}

\textsuperscript{55} Stocking, “French anthropology in 1800”, 38.
\textsuperscript{56} Maria Filomena Mónica, “Os fiéis inimigos: Eça de Queirós e Pinheiro Chagas”, \textit{Análise Social}, 36/160 (2001), 713–714.
\textsuperscript{57} Pinheiro Chagas, \textit{As colonias portuguezas no seculo XIX} (Lisbon: António Maria Pereira, 1890), 221.
\textsuperscript{58} \textit{Ibid.}, 194–221.
\textsuperscript{59} Valentim Alexandre, “Questão nacional e questão colonial em Oliveira Martins”, \textit{Análise Social}, 31/135 (1996), 194.
(published in 1881), in which he presents the Black person as an “adult child” and the Black race as “anthropologically inferior, frequently closer to the anthropoid, and unworthy to be called human.”60 This racialist perspective, that established a hierarchical (and evolutionary) relation of races that promoted Aryan superiority, had a significant circulation in the European context of the second half of the nineteenth century, a discourse epitomised by the thought of Arthur de Gobineau (1816–82), author of the *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*.61 In his paradigmatic shift, Martins pointed to the restriction of the idea of the Portuguese national character to the inhabitants of the metropolitan territory (thus excluding the people from its colonies), whom he portrayed as related with the Lusitani.62 Moreover, Martins established a rigid racial hierarchy in which races other than the Aryans (or Indo-Europeans) were perceived as inferior, a strategic move that both naturalised (in the biological sense of the term) and legitimated the Portuguese rule in its colonies, exclusively perceived as territories subjected to the metropolis.63

The heterogeneous set of scientific data on the Portuguese colonies produced in the period covered by this thesis contributes to problematise a binary conception operating in the field of the history of anthropology between nation-building or empire-building anthropological traditions. As developed in this section, the scientific study of cultural elements operating within the Portuguese empire was mainly associated with the study of the popular culture of the metropolis, as argued by Leal. Nevertheless, a set of ethnological data on the populations of the colonies was produced in the same period and should not be overlooked. Therefore, the history of Portuguese anthropology carried in itself elements of both anthropological traditions, despite attributing more attention to the elements associated with the nation-building tradition.64 Furthermore, the process of establishment of Portuguese anthropology can be framed in a perspective through which

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60 Oliveira Martins, *O Brazil e as colonias portuguezas* (Lisbon: Livraria de António Maria Pereira, 1888), 284. See also Oliveira Martins, *As raças humanas e a civilisação primitiva*, 2 vols (Lisbon: Bertrand, 1881).
62 Alexandre, *op. cit.*, 201.
63 Ibid.
64 See, for example, Ricardo Roque, *Antropologia e império: Fonseca Cardoso e a expedição à Índia em 1895* (Lisbon: Imprensa das Ciências Sociais, 2001).
“the construction of an Other in the colonial world was part of the process of constructing the Same in the homeland.”

Geology, Archaeology and Physical Anthropology

This section addresses the establishment of several scientific disciplines that were associated with the study of the Portuguese national identity from the last third of the nineteenth century onwards. In this process, both archaeology and physical anthropology played a key role in the introduction of anthropology in the academic context of the university as well as in the establishment of a museological interest in the field. During the period covered by this thesis, the term “anthropology” concerned mainly the area of physical anthropology in its two main strands, the French school, led by the Paul Broca (1824–80), and the German school, led by Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902). This semantic issue is one of the reasons why this thesis has favoured the use of the term “ethnology” in detriment of anthropology, unless when addressing current historiographical accounts on the subject.

In 1857, the Geological Commission of Portugal was formed, an institution led by Pereira da Costa (1809–88) and Carlos Ribeiro (1813–82), with the assistance of Nery Delgado (1835–1908). Despite its changing status and a small interruption of its activities, the Commission played a key role in the geological study of the country, and published Portugal’s geological map, an edition that resulted from a survey undertaken by Ribeiro and Delgado. They were military engineers who grounded their work in extensive geological fieldwork, a method that proved to be valuable for their archaeological endeavours. In developing their geological fieldwork, Ribeiro and Delgado discovered several material elements from the Portuguese prehistory. In 1863, Ribeiro discovered the Concheiros de Muge, an agglomeration of human remains and artefacts close to the valley of the river Tagus, that, according to the theories of the time, pointed to the idea of the presence of humans in Portugal in the Tertiary period.

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findings played an important role in the international scientific panorama of the time, when the periodisation of the existence of Man was part of a complex discussion in the field of natural sciences. Both Ribeiro and Costa presented papers on these findings in international conferences, and Costa published a book on the subject (a bilingual edition in Portuguese and French, a fact that might indicate an effort to present the findings to the international scientific community), a work heavily influenced by the stratigraphic theories of Charles Lyell (1797–1875). According to Santos, the archaeological works of the Commission aimed to complete the lacunae left in Portuguese history by the Romantic historians, employing a positivist scientific paradigm to study the “natural history” of the Portuguese people.

These findings were key for the ninth edition of the International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology to be held in Lisbon in 19–29 September 1880, focusing its discussion of the possibility of the existence of Man in the Tertiary period. The meeting counted with the presence of several of the leading figures in the scientific field of the time, such as Virchow, de Quatrefages, John Evans (a prominent English geologist, 1823–1908), or Giovanni Capellini (one of the foremost Italian scientists of his time, 1833–1922) and there was a significant Portuguese participation that included Carlos Ribeiro (with presentations about the existence of the Tertiary Man in Portugal and on the kiökkenmöddings found in the Tagus Valley), Nery Delgado (focusing on the Neolithic findings in the cave of Furninha, near Peniche), Adolfo Coelho (who presented papers on pre-Roman religions in the Iberian Peninsula, on macrocephalous skulls, and notes on the ethnography of gypsies in Portugal), Martins Sarmento (whose paper focused on the Lusitani people, 1833–99), and Consiglieri Pedroso (delivering a paper on several forms of popular marriage in Portugal). Furthermore, the participants made field trips to the area of Alenquer, Ota, and Azambuja in order to witness in loco Ribeiro’s findings, and to Citânia de Briteiros, an archaeological site near Guimarães excavated by Martins Sarmento and dated from the Bronze Age. Although the scientific meeting was mainly concentrated on archaeology, geology, and physical anthropology, the heterogeneity of the presentations points to the

69 Gonçalo Duro dos Santos, A escola de antropologia de Coimbra, 1885–1950 (Lisbon: Imprensa das Ciências Sociais, 2005), 75.
70 For the proceedings of the congress see Congrès International d’Anthropologie et d’Archéologie Préhistoriques, Compte-rendu de la neuvième session, Lisbonne, 1880 (Lisbon: Typographie de l’Académie Royale des Sciences, 1884).
existence of a porosity between academic disciplines and between the natural and the social sciences at the time.\textsuperscript{71}

As stated above, the link between the Lusitani and the modern Portuguese people was reemerging during the period covered by this thesis, an issue that points to the development of a set of ethno- genealogical theories on the origins of the nation. For this association to be efficiently presented as a solidly grounded fact, it had to rely on data that was produced according to the scientific methods of the time. In this process, the archaeological work developed by people such as Martins Sarmento and Leite de Vasconcelos was key in posit the Lusitani as the direct ancestors of the Portuguese. This move can be perceived as an attempt to construct what Smith calls a myth of descent based on the imputation of a common ancestry and origin to a particular nation, therefore grounding a narrative that promoted the continuity and antiquity of the Portuguese nation.\textsuperscript{72} This resonates with Hobsbawm’s theorisation of the modern nation, where the symbolic universe in which these entities operate tends to be presented as a “natural” fact “rooted in the remotest antiquity.”\textsuperscript{73} In this sense, the emergent discipline of archaeology was used to attest the antiquity of the Portuguese nation, an investment that played a key role in the legitimation of this formation in a period when a scientific approach to the study of human communities was being developed.\textsuperscript{74}

A key event in the history of the Portuguese science of the time was the institution of the discipline of Anthropology, Human Palaeontology, and Prehistoric Archaeology in the Natural Philosophy Faculty of the University of Coimbra (an institution to which a Museum of Natural History was appended since 1772) in 1885.\textsuperscript{75} The title of this discipline and the faculty in which it was lectured points to its association with the realm of physical anthropology. Consequently, the institution of a modern anthropological science in the Portuguese university can be related with the presence of a naturalist inclination in some anthropological studies carried in this period.\textsuperscript{76} The lecturer of the discipline was Bernardino Machado (1851–1944), who held

\textsuperscript{71} Leal, Etnografias Portuguesas (1870–1970), 30.
\textsuperscript{73} Eric J. Hobsbawm, “Introduction”, in Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), The Invention of Tradition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 14.
\textsuperscript{75} Santos, op. cit., 77.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., 87.
a professorship in this university and developed a notorious political career, having occupying important places during both the Constitutional Monarchy and the First Portuguese Republic. Machado was a member of parliament and then became Public Works, Commerce, and Industry Minister before embracing republican ideals and joining the Republican Party. In late 1893, during the period in which Machado was a member of cabinet (and by his decree), the Museu Etnológico Português (Portuguese Ethnological Museum) was created. This points to the rising recognition of archaeology and ethnology as parts of the knowledge field in this period, now legitimated by its association with the two foremost scientific institutions of the time, the university and the museum. On the one hand, the rise of mass consumption of goods can be associated with the development of an interest for material culture during the nineteenth century, crystallised in the institution of the museum. Conversely, the site of the museum is not a space exclusively dedicated to the display the modern scientific developments but also a mechanism through which modernity is constituted, performed and presented to the public.

The museum was founded by Leite de Vasconcelos, who directed the institution until 1929, a fact that displays a shift in the sphere of his activities from ethnology to archaeology in this period. As a form of systematisation, the museum’s collection was divided in several historical periods of the “Portuguese civilisation” (prehistoric, proto-historic, Roman, “barbarian,” Arabic, Portuguese-medieval, Renaissance, and modern) and its aim, according to Leite de Vasconcelos, was to “educate the public, making him know and love the motherland,” thus striving to promote the development of a national consciousness based on the production and presentation of scientific knowledge about Portugal. The main concern of the collection that focused on the “modern Portuguese epoch” was to present objects that were both “characteristic and ancient,” perceived by Leite de Vasconcelos as being constitutively related with the everyday life of the people (such as buildings, furniture and household objects, clothing, means of transportation,

77 Santos, op. cit., 98–122.
81 Leal, Etnografias Portuguesas (1870–1970), 70.
82 Leite de Vasconcelos, “Museu etnographico português”, Revista Lusitana, 3 (1895), 194 and 197.
tools, or religious artefacts, for example). Moreover, the museum published his own journal from 1895 onwards, O archeólogo português, an illustrated publication that was devised as a forum for the public display of Portuguese archaeological heritage but shortly became a key scientific resource for the study of this subject.

The two main sources of the museum inventory of the time were the private collections of the then recently deceased Estácio da Veiga (1828–91) and of Leite de Vasconcelos. Veiga was a prominent Portuguese archaeologist who developed most of his fieldwork in southern Portugal, having founded the Museu Arqueológico do Algarve in 1880 and written a four-volume work on the paleoethnology of the province of Algarve, among other publications. The archaeological turn in the work of Leite de Vasconcelos is paralleled by his rising interest in the study of the Lusitani as the interpretative framework for Portugal’s pre and proto-historical past, a process that culminated in the publication of a three-volume work on the religious cults in Lusitania. The search for a common ethnic ancestor (or, according to Smith, the encoding of a myth of common origin) for the Portuguese people had previously occupied a significant place in the work of the Martins Sarmento, an archaeologist responsible for the resurfacing of the link between the Lusitani and the modern Portuguese in the period covered by this thesis, a research paradigm followed by his colleague Leite de Vasconcelos, who frequently quoted Sarmento’s work in his research. For Sobral, “nationalism was an attempt to promote cultural homogeneity as a means for resolving class and cultural contradictions within states, and a notion of race as something settled and based in fate could contribute ideologically to nationalization.”

This construction of a discourse that strove to homogenise the Portuguese population can be perceived a key aspect in the process of nation-building. According to

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83 Ibid., 217.
84 See O archeólogo português, 1 (1895).
85 For a first hand account of this period of the history of the museum see Leite de Vasconcelos, História do Museu Etnológico Português (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1915).
87 Leal, op. cit., 73 and Leite de Vasconcelos, Religiões da Lusitania: na parte que principalmente se refere a Portugal, 3 vols (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1897, 1905, 1913).
89 Sobral, “Race and space in the interpretation of Portugal: The north-south division and representations of Portuguese national identity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries”, in Roseman and Parkhurst (eds), op. cit., 212.
Balibar, since nations do not possess a natural ethnic base, the local populations need to be ethnicised (“represented in the past or in the future as if they formed a natural community, possessing of itself an identity of origins, culture and interests which transcends individuals and social conditions”) in order for the symbolic nation-state to be efficiently established.\textsuperscript{90} However, presenting the Lusitani as the sole ancestors of the modern Portuguese people, thus promoting the view of Portugal as a nation grounded on an ethnic unity, was not the only ethnogenealogical theory developed at the time. For instance, at the turn of the century, Basílio Teles (a republican politician from Porto, 1856–1923), developed a theory that presented the population from the north of Portugal as being of Aryan origin and the southerners as being of Semitic descent, a view shared by the historian Alberto Sampaio (1841–1908).\textsuperscript{91} In this process, “by denying a shared ethnic identity among the Portuguese, Teles also put in question the national myth linking the Portuguese to the Lusitani, an idea that had experienced a revival since the last decades of the nineteenth century.”\textsuperscript{92}

The favourable reception of the ideas presented by Teles (underpinned by an ideology that purported the racial superiority of a segment of the Portuguese population) was mostly circumscribed to other northern authors, such as Alberto Pimentel (discussed in the first chapter of this thesis), who approached the study of Portuguese popular songs within this framework. By transferring Teles’ theories to the subject of music, Pimentel opposes a south constituted around a strong Semitic presence, whose main character traits were embodied in fado (“the mournful song of the South”), and a north where a distinct ethnic and natural matrix made the “joyful songs of the North” thrive. This binary segmentation between regional identities and musical practices was represented by Pimentel in two works published in 1904 and 1905.\textsuperscript{93} As discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, he portrays fado as the musical representation of the entire south of Portugal in his work \textit{A triste canção do sul: subsídios para a história do fado}, therefore ignoring the plurality of the musical practices in the region and concentrating his discussion on an urban popular genre in detriment of various coexistent rural music


\textsuperscript{92} Sobral. \textit{op. cit.}, 218.

\textsuperscript{93} Alberto Pimentel, \textit{A triste canção do sul: subsídios para a história do fado} (Lisbon: Livraria Central, 1904) and Pimentel, \textit{As alegres canções do Norte} (Lisbon: Livraria Viúva Tavares Cardoso, 1905).
practices. The following year, Pimentel published *As alegres canções do norte*, an illustrated book that associated the popular songs (in the plural, contrary to his work on fado) performed in the Portuguese north, focusing especially in the province of Minho, with the presence of a Galician matrix, at the time presented by Manuel Murguía (a Galician journalist and historian, 1833–1923) as a product of the Celtic heritage in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula.\(^94\)

Since the main aspects of *A triste canção do sul* were discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, this work focuses on the analysis of Pimentel’s *As alegres canções do norte*. The book starts by addressing the origin of the songs performed in Minho, characterising this repertoire with expressions such as “vibrant with villager joy or with choreographic vigour.”\(^95\) Subsequently, Pimentel states that some of these songs were performed in Lisbon’s theatres at the time, albeit stripped of their nature and, therefore, “dampened,” a fact that points to the incorporation of several rural songs in the urban entertainment market of this period.\(^96\) Moreover, he relates these repertoires with the predominant type of social organisation in Minho (relying on small property owners who worked their own land), the religious devotion of the peasants, the prevalent type of family institution aspect, and with ethnic aspects (presenting the saloio, the peasant of the rural outskirts of Lisbon, as being of Semitic origin and the minhoto, the inhabitant of the province of Minho, as related with the Galician people).\(^97\) Pimentel also argues that the joyful character of the songs of the north are a result of a system of “mesological, physical, and moral factors” present in the life of the rural populations of Minho. Conversely, the joyful character of the repertoires is fed into this system, thus completing a cyclical movement.\(^98\) This clearly points to Pimentel’s construction and promotion of a romanticised view of the peasant from Minho, who lives far away from the capital (with its industry and politics), therefore a privileged holder of the idyllic authenticity associated with some views of popular culture that were circulating at the time. Pimentel ends the first chapter of his work by praising the beauty of both solo and


\(^{95}\) Pimentel, *op. cit.* 7.

\(^{96}\) Ibid.

\(^{97}\) Ibid., 8–22.

\(^{98}\) Ibid., 27.
choral songs of the peasants from Minho, presenting the latter as a quasi-spontaneous phenomenon.99

Moreover, Pimentel addresses the poetic content of the popular songs, stressing its association with the everyday life of the peasants and the role the natural and religious realms played in the constitution of this repertoire. He finds several tropes, such as elements drawn from the botanical (trees, flowers, plants, and fruits), animal (especially birds), and physical worlds (such as rivers of hills). Furthermore, the names of settlements, of saints associated with several popular religious festivities, and the habits and customs from rural everyday life constituted the rest of the repertoire.100 The third chapter of Pimentel’s work focuses on the choreographic aspect of the northern songs, including a significant number of musical transcriptions. If singing formed part of the daily routine of the northern peasants, he argues that dancing was mainly associated with leisure activities carried on Sundays and religious festivities.101

Pimentel states that the northern “choreographic songs” (due to the constitutive presence of singing, sometimes in dialogue form, in these dances) had a leaping character and were, just as agricultural chores, an affirmation of stamina, unlike the dances performed in urban contexts, as well as in the outskirts of Lisbon, based on a “monotonously Arabic dragging of the feet.”102

According to Pimentel, the various dances from the Portuguese north followed the same basic choreographic pattern, and he goes to enumerate them while discussing their origin and presenting textual and musical transcriptions (the latter falling in two categories, transcription of the melodic line or harmonisations).103 In his work, Pimentel describes and analyses the Caninha verde, the Malhão, the Chula (including the Chula de Penafiel), the Vira, and the Marrafa, presenting them as a form of resistance and protest against what the designates by the “invasion of urbanism.”104 The urban/rural binary permeates Pimentel’s work, who sees the urban realm as a nefarious influence that is involved in the decharacterisation and corruption of the rural people, criticising the “country girls who, with the vain intention of imitating aristocratic conventions, dance the polka or the waltz, especially when played by a banda or at a piano” (two

99 Ibid., 33–34.
100 Pimentel, op. cit., 35–67.
101 Ibid., 69.
102 Ibid., 71.
103 Ibid., 73.
104 Ibid., 74–101.
contexts associated with urban music-making). This statement reinforces the interrelation between issues such as gender and class with specific leisure activities (such as music and dance), an issue discussed in a previous chapter of this thesis. Pimentel then turns his attention towards the association between specific songs and contexts of work and leisure (such as harvesting) and towards the role music played in the cyclical religious festivities of the region. The section on popular pilgrimages and feasts places these events in context and includes several photographs of these manifestations, as well as extracts from song texts and several musical transcriptions of the repertoire associated with them. Pimentel ends the book with the analysis of two of the most significant manifestations of popular religiosity in the country in which music played a key role, such as Christmas and St. John's Day festivities (held on 23–24 June). To conclude this issue, despite basing his assumptions on an ethnic division of the country, a view that was not widely shared in the context of the study of popular culture in Portugal, Pimentel’s work can be read as an attempt to systematise and integrate popular song in the wider context of cultural practices through a system in which several dichotomies (such as north/south, Galician/Semitic, and urban/rural) are operating.

However, the dichotomy between the urban and the rural that constituted the study of popular culture at the time is a very problematic issue. On the one hand, it tends to essentialise both realms as self-contained entities through the establishment of a clear demarcation between the rural and the urban spaces that does not account for the porosity that exists between them. Conversely, the direct association between the rural realm as the site where an “authentic” popular culture that needs salvaging from the process of urbanisation tends to overlook relevant phenomena such as internal migration, an issue addressed in a previous chapter of this thesis. Moreover, the figure of the itinerant musician can be interesting for the analysis of this porosity. According to an article published in the magazine *O Ocidente,* groups of wandering musicians were frequently seen in Portuguese towns and villages predominantly performing songs drawn from the successful comic operas of the time, associated with urban contexts of production. Therefore, it becomes possible to argue that, in a time when ethnologists were encoding and promoting an essentialist view of Portugal’s rural areas, street

105 Ibid., 100.
musicians can be taken as symptoms of the existing porosity between the urban and the rural, having played an important role in the dissemination of theatrical repertoires from urban to rural areas, thus extending (both geographically and socially) their audience. Moreover, the establishment and dissemination of a perceived opposition between the country and the city that idealised the countryside as a utopian space where a mystic past interacted with a present reality was symptomatic of an ongoing process that entailed both industrialisation and urbanisation.  

**Song Collection in Portugal: Between Domestic Entertainment and Scientific Objectivity**

The study, collection and publication of music from predominantly rural contexts was a constitutive segment, albeit not central, to the efforts of Portuguese ethnology of the time. This section focuses on several canonic works on Portuguese traditional music that were edited during the period covered by this thesis and discuss the politics of repertoire selection, transcription, and commercialisation. Furthermore, song collection and publishing is presented as a part of the domestic entertainment market of this time, a move that is framed by the fact that most of the collections shared the conventions associated with the edited sheet music formats. Consequently, the editions of music from (mainly) rural contexts were adapted for domestic consumption, an aspect that positions them as a privileged source for addressing one of the constitutive paradoxes of folklorism, that the creation, institutionalisation, and reproduction of its ruralist content is made in an urban framework.  

Nevertheless, the dichotomy rural/urban is open to problematisation, especially in a period when “the leisure and literary habits of the middle classes encouraged the burlesque mimesis of rural customs and the systematization of the fantasized images of rural life created via this mimesis.” Thus, the aestheticisation of the rural and its consequent commodification were key in the incorporation of elements from rural matrixes in the market for domestic entertainment in the form of sheet music and sound recordings.

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109 António Medeiros, “Imperialist ideology and representations of the Portuguese provinces during the early Estado Novo”, in Roseman and Parkhurst (eds), *op. cit.*, 87.
In his work on the history of ethnomusicology Bohlman traces the association between cultural identity and traditional music back to the European eighteenth century and to the Herderian paradigm of the *Volkslied*, a term that semantically condensed both of these realms.\(^{110}\) Herder’s equation of a national consciousness with the popular traditions of a specific group contributed to his belief that “the oral tradition contained the essence, or soul, of a nation.”\(^{111}\) Building on this perspective, “a nation’s characteristic and unifying high culture must necessarily be rooted in that of the peasant,” therefore pointing to the prominent role that folk culture (posed as a symbol of nationalism) played in the mechanisms of creation, institution, and reproduction of national identities at the time.\(^{112}\)

In Portugal, the interest in the collection of popular songs was initially associated with the emergence of a local Romantic movement in literature, who both perceived and constructed “the people” as the repository of the nation’s cultural substrate (a move that situates “the people” within “an anterior temporal space, within but not fully of the present” in this process), and with the work of the Almeida Garrett (mentioned in second chapter of this thesis).\(^{113}\) As a consequence of Romanticism’s interest in the literary aspects of the popular songs, the predominant focus of the collections published at the time was the lyrics of the songs, an aspect that, towards the last third of the nineteenth century was complemented by the ethnological and philological work on these texts conducted by people such as Teófilo Braga or Leite de Vasconcelos.\(^{114}\) However, the breadth of the study of the musical aspects of these repertoires tended to be narrow, especially when compared with the attention given to the textual component of songs, which may reinforce the predominance of a textual paradigm in the study of popular culture in Portugal at the time.\(^{115}\) Nevertheless, several important collections of both texts and musical transcriptions of traditional music were published from the last third of the nineteenth century onwards. In some cases, the collection of song texts and music from the country’s rural areas were presented in


\(^{112}\) Francmanis, *ibid*.


\(^{114}\) Castelo-Branco and Toscano, *op. cit.*, 160.

\(^{115}\) *Ibid.*, 159.
counterpoint to the publications of fado and theatrical songs drawn from the *revista* and the operetta that, according to some authors, occupied a hegemonic role in the music market of the time in detriment of the former.\textsuperscript{116}

At this point, my thesis strives to historicise the usage of several terms for classifying specific musical universes during the period covered by this thesis. A process of encoding a binary system that relied on a bipolar demarcation between art and entertainment during the nineteenth-century was key in segmenting the market for cultural goods.\textsuperscript{117} For Scott, the establishment of an ontological distinction between art and entertainment was associated with the emergence of “an intense dislike of the market conditions that turned art into a commodity,” a demarcation that relied on a perspective through which “entertainment music was regarded as hand-in-glove with business entrepreneurs for whom popular music was a mere commodity and profits the main concern.”\textsuperscript{118} The carving of the rift between art and entertainment on music is associated by him with the emergence of a debate based on the bipolarity between “light music” and “serious music.”\textsuperscript{119} In Portugal, this type of discourse was enacted and reproduced at the time by several agents, despite employing a slightly different terminology. For example, when referring to Cyriaco de Cardoso’s output, the musicographer Ernesto Vieira states that it was exclusively comprised of *música ligeira* (light music).\textsuperscript{120} Furthermore, he attributes the fact to the composer’s lack of formal training (associated with other musical spheres), clearly displaying the established dichotomy between *música ligeira* and *música clássica* (classical music, the term Vieira uses throughout his dictionary).\textsuperscript{121}

Another discussion of musical taxonomy in nineteenth-century Portugal that directly concerns the issues this chapter addresses is the problematic relation between the concepts of *música ligeira* and of *música popular* (literally, popular music). During the period covered by this thesis ethnography and song collecting played a key role in defining the sphere of the *música popular* in its specific terms, with authors such as

\textsuperscript{116} António Martins Pereira (ed.), *Ramathe de cantigas populares portuguezas* (Porto: António da Silva Santos, [1902]), III–IV. In the preface of this collection of song lyrics, the editor praises the work of Teófilo Braga and Leite de Vasconcelos.


\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., 88

\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., 87–92.

\textsuperscript{120} Ernesto Vieira, *Diccionario biographico de musicos portuguezes: historia e bibliografia da musica em Portugal*, vol.1 (Lisbon: Lambertini, 1900), 424.

\textsuperscript{121} Ibid.
Braga identifying it with the “melodies of the people” (at the time mainly associated with the country’s rural contexts). Therefore, in the period covered by this thesis the expression *música popular* (the “spontaneous” or “authentic” music of “the people”) was used to classify a field that would be currently designated by traditional (or, in some instances, folk) music. Furthermore, in Cândido do Figueiredo’s Portuguese dictionary, one of the most prestigious lexical publications of the period, the proposed definition for the term “popular” is “relative to the people; proper of the people; agreeable to the people; esteemed by the people, democratic.” In this definition, the polysemic character of the term indicates its ambiguous usage. One of the most interesting points in this definition is the utilisation of the word “democratic.” Pursuing this line of enquiry, one of the definitions that Cândido de Figueiredo gives of “democrat” is “the one who belongs to the popular class or who does not like aristocracy.” Moreover, he uses the term “democracy” to describe a “social class that includes the proletariat and the smallest population.” In this case, the terms “popular” and “democratic” are presented as being related at the level of connotation (therefore, indirectly), an aspect that can be interpreted as a symptom of the ongoing intellectual debate on the integration of the popular masses in the Portuguese political reality of the end of the nineteenth century. Consequently, it becomes possible to draw an analogy between the relation mentioned above and the development of various scientific approaches that, by studying “the people,” contributed, albeit indirectly, to its incorporation as part of the political discourse of the time.

Developing the discussion of the taxonomy of the “popular,” it is also possible to trace a historically situated association between the sphere of *música popular* with what was perceived to be “proper of the people” and between the field of *música ligeira* with what was considered “agreeable to the people” (bearing in mind its hegemony in the entertainment market of the time). Therefore, the expression *música ligeira* was linked with the products of the urban entertainment market, at the time especially focused on theatrical music. Naturally, the associations stated above are not mutually exclusive, as

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123 Cândido de Figueiredo, *Nôvo diccionário da língua português*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Livraria Tavares Cardoso & Irmão, 1899), 344.
124 Ibid.
125 Ibid.
126 Jorge Freitas Branco, “A fluidez dos limites: discurso etnográfico e movimento folclórico em Portugal”, 27.
127 Ibid.
the definitions may (and many times do) overlap each other. Being “proper of the people” is not incompatible with being “agreeable to the people,” for example. Nevertheless, there were preferential meanings of the term “popular” according to the context in which it was used. Therefore, the concept of *música ligeira* of the time operates in a symbolic universe similar to what we now call popular music, displaying the shifting of the meaning of “popular” throughout the twentieth century, especially after its theoretical framing within the production of the culture industries.\(^{128}\)

According to Castelo-Branco and Toscano, between 1872 and the 1920s the registration and the circulation of Portuguese traditional music (at the time predominantly designated by *música popular*) was concentrated in three categories of transcriptions: harmonised versions of collected melodies (mainly accommodated for solo piano or voice and piano, as well as for several ensembles); stylised arrangements of these melodies for choruses, *bandas*, or orchestra; or rigorous depictions aiming to closely represent the collected melodies.\(^{129}\) The heterogeneity of the operative canons used in the musical transcription techniques points to the ambiguous space that traditional music occupied in Portugal during the period covered by this thesis. On the one hand, the establishment of a scientific study of the culture of (mostly) rural populations was associated with a paradigm for music collection that relied on the ideological construction of a notion of objectivity in which the collector’s agency is effaced. Conversely, the larger segment of musical transcriptions of these repertoires shared the conventions associated with the commodity form of sheet music (in their harmonisation and instrumentation), a fact that points to its integration as part of the market for domestic entertainment of the time.

The first known publication containing Portuguese songs collected from rural contexts is the *Álbum de músicas nacionais portuguesas* (Album of Portuguese National Musics), by João António Ribas (1799–1869), a prominent performer and music dealer who developed most of his career in Porto, where this work was published in 1857.\(^{130}\)


\(^{129}\) Castelo-Branco and Toscano, *op. cit.*, 168.

What is curious about this title is the use of the expression “Portuguese national musics” for a work that focuses on regional songs. This can be perceived as a symptom of the Romantic heritage that portrayed Portugal as a relatively homogeneous nation in which the regional particularisms are superseded by the national level. Already during the period covered by this thesis, Neves e Melo edited his groundbreaking compilation of “popular musics and songs collected from the tradition” in 1872 and the most significant work of collection of Portuguese traditional music at the time, the *Cancioneiro de músicas populares*, was published in Porto during the last decade of the nineteenth century.\(^{131}\) The *Cancioneiro*, a three-volume publication coordinated by César das Neves (1841–1920) and Gualdino de Campos (1847–1919) comprised a heterogeneous gamut of repertoires, spanning from original compositions to songs drawn from Portuguese rural and urban contexts as well as songs from abroad.\(^{132}\) Moreover, as in most of the musical editions of the time, it consisted of vocal and piano arrangements, the core of the market directed to the domestic entertainment of several segments of Portuguese society. According to Pestana, the collection and publication of the repertoire included in the *Cancioneiro* drawn from rural contexts was underpinned by a nationalist ideology and supplied a version of these popular songs that was accommodated to urban audiences.\(^{133}\) Consequently, it is possible to discuss the contents of the *Cancioneiro* as a symptom of a process in which the vernacular was aestheticised in order to integrate the conventions of the entertainment market of the time, an issue discussed in the first chapter of this thesis. In this process, one of the criteria in the selection of the repertoires collected in rural areas was the musical texture. Despite including songs from many Portuguese regions the *Cancioneiro* consisted exclusively of songs for solo voice, thus glossing over the vocal polyphonic practices of several of the country’s provinces (such as Alentejo or Minho), and emulating the conventions associated with the commercial edition of sheet music at the time.\(^{134}\) Moreover, each of the published songs was dedicated to a specific aristocratic or bourgeois woman/girl, an aspect that points to the publication’s intended audience as


\(^{133}\) Ibid.

\(^{134}\) Susana Sardo, “Música popular e diferenças regionais”, in Mário Ferreira Lages and Artur Teodoro de Matos (eds), *Portugal: Percursos de Interculturalidade*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: ACIDI, 2008), 421.

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well as reinforces the parallel between singing and playing the piano with the feminine realm of several strata of Portuguese society.\textsuperscript{135}

Despite its orientation towards the entertainment market of the time, the Cancioneiro contains relevant information for ethnological purposes, a fact that points to the ambiguous place occupied by traditional music between 1865 and 1908. In their work, Neves (who supervised the musical component) and Campos (who was in charge of the poetic aspects of the publication) included data such as the name of the collector, the date and place of the collection or of the first recorded source in which the song appeared. Moreover, the Cancioneiro also included several descriptions of the choreographic schemes associated with specific pieces of the edited repertoire. Apart from repertoires collected by Neves and Campos, the Cancioneiro also relied on the work of other collectors, who were acknowledged in the publication. For example, the published version of the song Trolha de Afife had been edited by João António Ribas in his work edited in 1857. The publishing strategy of this song (collected by Ribas in 1850) is very interesting because the melody is set over a figuration of the type of the Alberti bass in the pianist’s left hand, pointing to what can be perceived as a process of adapting a regional popular melody to the conventions of the transnational sheet music market of the middle of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{136} Thus, the Cancioneiro can be analysed not only as a patchwork and superimposition of repertoires, collectors, and regions but also of chronological times.

A piece that can be framed both in the context of superimposition of chronological times and in the perspective that popular culture was perceived, at the time, as a residual trace of the nation’s past is the inclusion of the song “Batalha de Alcácer Quibir” in the Cancioneiro de músicas populares.\textsuperscript{137} This song refers to the Battle of Alcácer-Quibir (or Ksar El Kebir), fought in Northern Africa in 1578, where the Portuguese king D. Sebastião perished, thus creating a dynastic crisis that culminated with the union of the two Iberian kingdoms from 1580 to 1640. According to Neves and Campos, the piece was collected from Miguel Leitão de Andrada’s book entitled Miscellanea do sitio de N. Sª. da Luz do Pedrogão Grande, originally published

\textsuperscript{135} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{136} Neves and Campos, op.cit., vol. 1, 74–75.
\textsuperscript{137} Ibid., vol. 2, 1–3.
In 1629 and republished, in a new version, by the Imprensa Nacional in 1867.\(^{138}\) In this process, Neves transcribed a song in a partbook format (in which the *cantus*, *altus*, and *bassus* were notated separately and in C clefs) to a two-stave piano setting, a strategy he describes in his critical commentary.\(^{139}\) Despite its strophic form and narrative stance, aspects that may place the song within the repertoire of popular balladry, Neves argues that the presence of a contrapuntal approach points to a non-popular origin of that song.\(^{140}\) This statement points to the circulation of a perspective that interprets popular culture as a field in which vestigial traces of erudite cultural formations of the past are preserved, thus promoting an ahistorical and static view of this realm.

The fact that Neves and Campos identify the collectors is symptomatic of a mechanism that relied on their prestige (or social capital, to use Bourdieu’s terminology) to promote their work. This process stands in counterpoint with the rise of a scientific ethnological approach based on positivist paradigms, grounded in presenting the collector as an agent who does not interfere with the materials (therefore a “vanishing mediator”) in his hers activity of registering the popular repertoires. Another promotion strategy used at the time for this type of publication was to have then prefaced by prominent agents associated with the scientific field. For example, Leite de Vasconcelos wrote the introduction to the collection of traditional songs from the Beira region organised by Pedro Fernandes Tomás (1853–1927).\(^{141}\) The *Cancioneiro de músicas populares* also partook in this strategy, having each of the published volumes prefaced by a notorious personality of the time whose activity was associated with the city of Porto (where Neves and Campos worked and the collection was published), Teófilo Braga, Sousa Viterbo (a prominent art historian and archeologist of the time, 1845–1910), and Manuel Ramos (a journalist who wrote on musical subjects).

In the preface of the first volume of the *Cancioneiro*, Teófilo Braga reviews the predominance given to the literary materials of songs in the studies of the time, especially when compared with the scarcity of work focused on the musical aspects of these repertoires, a fact he attributes to the specificity of the training required for the

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139 Neves and Campos, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 2.
140 Ibid.
collection and transcription of songs whilst preserving the “naive simplicity of the melodies” and their “spontaneous naturality.”

In his analysis of the traditional songs, Braga presents the constitutive association between text and music as a product of the “mental syncretism of the races,” thus framing the traditional songs within an ethnogenealogical interpretation of history. Moreover, Braga philologically traces back this tradition to the Rigveda, a work he argues it was produced by the Aryan ancestors of the Portuguese people. Braga also discusses various issues associated with several medieval and early modern songbooks, arguing that popular melodies were traces of the past, which not only creates an unbroken sequence in the history of Portuguese poetry but also represents “the people” as the holder of traces of this historical past in a critical period for Portugal, a country “threatened by decadence” and where revivification of the “national genius is dependent on the vitality of its tradition.”

Sousa Viterbo starts the introduction of the second volume of the Cancioneiro by praising the work and its service to the “Portuguese nationality.” Furthermore, he metaphorically addresses the association between science and folklorism at the time, the two of them walking “hand in hand to the fields, collecting, a little by chance, the flowers that spontaneously blossomed at their feet.” Viterbo also argues the possible usage for the Cancioneiro as a source for the comparative study of the “aesthetical manifestations” of several peoples and points to the theatrical and ecclesiastic influence in the constitution of the Portuguese repertoire of traditional songs. Moreover, he argues that these songs might also have been influenced by the Jewish or Moorish cultures who had settled in the Iberian Peninsula. The second volume of the Cancioneiro contains a long preamble by César das Neves in which he discusses the “primitive music of the crude people,” initially centered in the rhythmic aspect, giving the example of percussion ensembles and bagpipers that were part of the popular celebrations of several religious feasts in the north of Portugal. Subsequently, Neves develops an interesting discussion about various types of song and uses thematic and organological data to

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144 Ibid.
145 Ibid., 6–7.
147 Ibid.
148 Ibid., vi.

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characterise them, pointing to the issue of musical and cultural diversity in the various regions of Portugal.\footnote{Ibid., xiii–xv.} He concludes his analysis with a historical account of the Portuguese popular song, presenting its alleged stagnation and the hegemonic role played by theatrical music at the time as symptoms of national decadence, a view that closely resembles Rocha Peixoto’s work discussed above.\footnote{Neves, op. cit., xv.}

Manuel Ramos’ introduction of the last volume of the series shifts the relevance of the collection towards the sphere of art music, focusing on the constitution and development of a Portuguese local tradition whose thematic materials were drawn from traditional music. In this discussion, Ramos praises several Pre-Raphaelites and their use of various elements of the English popular culture in the establishment of a national style.\footnote{Manuel Ramos, “Cancioneiro de Músicas Populares”, in Neves and Campos, op. cit., vol. 3, v.} Moreover, Ramos examines the work of several Russian, Scandinavian and Bohemian composers associated with the establishment of a nationalist canon in art music during the nineteenth century.\footnote{Ibid., v–vi.} He then turns to the Iberian context and traces and historical account of Portuguese music in that century, associating this period with the rise of a nationalist movement that includes composers such as Francisco de Sá Noronha, João Arroio, Ciríaco de Cardoso, Viana da Mota (who, despite having developed a career mostly abroad in the period covered by this thesis, had composed several works that aestheticised Portuguese popular music, 1868–1948), Víctor Hussla (1857–99, who used thematic materials from the collection published by João António Ribas in his \textit{Rapsódias portuguesas}),\footnote{Vieira, op. cit., vol. 2, 254.} Alexandre Rey Colaço (whose work focused mostly on small pieces for piano, 1854–1928), and Alfredo Keil.\footnote{See Maria José Artiaga, Continuity and change in three decades of portuguese musical life 1870–1900, Ph.D. thesis (Royal Holloway, University of London, 2007); Teresa Cascudo, “A década da invenção de Portugal na música erudita (1890–1899)”, \textit{Revista portuguesa de musicologia}, 10 (2000), 181–226; Paulo Ferreira de Castro, “Nacionalismo musical ou os equívocos da portugaldade/Musical nationalism, or the ambiguities of portugueseness”, in Salwa Castelo-Branco (ed.), \textit{Portugal e o mundo: o encontro de culturas na música/Portugal and the World: The Encounter of Cultures in Music} (Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 1997), 155–170.} In his preface, Ramos emphasises the role that traditional music should play for the renewal of Portuguese music through a nationalist perspective (arguing that Portugal was a late developer in this process), enumerates several collections of Portuguese popular songs, and argues for some of these materials to be integrated in the curricula of primary schools.\footnote{Ramos, op. cit.,vii–viii. See also Ramos, \textit{A musica portugueza} (Porto: Imprensa Portugueza, 1892).} For him, collections of traditional music repertoires could have been
perceived as a thematic repository for art music composers to draw upon, as a conveyer of domestic entertainment, and as a pedagogic tool in which the promotion of patriotism is underpinned.

One of the most prevalent associations between a given territory and a specific song form is the case of the Portuguese fado. The first historical endeavors that concentrated on presenting fado as a musical and poetic genre were published during the first decade of the twentieth century, thus posteriorly to the publication of Neves and Campos’ *Cancioneiro*.\(^{157}\) In their works, both Pimentel and Pinto de Carvalho circumscribe the discussion of this phenomenon to Lisbon and Coimbra. However, the *Cancioneiro de músicas populares* includes a significant amount of songs entitled fado that were collected in places such as Porto, Figueira da Foz, Cascais, Leça, Cinfães, Tancos, or Azores. Moreover, the publication includes the “Fado do celta” (Fado of the Celt), a title that is associated with the poetic content of the song and resonates with the discourse on the ethnic grounding of the Portuguese nation.\(^{158}\) This heterogeneous universe of songs whose title contained the word “fado” and that were circulating in Portugal at the time can be explained by the polysemic use of this term, defined in Cândido de Figueiredo’s dictionary as a “popular song, generally allusive to the everyday life of working people.”\(^{159}\) Hence, the term “fado” has to be historicised and understood as a term generic generically used for popular song at the time, despite the historiographical endeavor of several agents to present fado as a music category within a circumscribed historical and geographic context. Drawing from a literary example, in Eça de Queirós’ *A reliquia* (published in 1887), he places the protagonist telling a concocted story that had supposedly occurred in his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in which an English woman (with whom he was romantically involved) played the piano and sung fados (the term Queirós literally uses) and theatrical songs in the next room.\(^{160}\) Moreover, in a folkloristic approach to the Portuguese islands of Azores published in 1903 Longworth Dames and Seemann pointed out that the term “fado” was used to designate songs associated with popular dances in this region.\(^{161}\)

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\(^{157}\) See Pinto de Carvalho, *História do fado* (Lisbon: Empreza da História de Portugal, 1903) and Pimentel, *A triste canção do Sul: subsídios para a História do fado*.

\(^{158}\) Neves and Campos, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, 260.

\(^{159}\) Figueiredo, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 595.


\(^{161}\) M. Longworth Dames and E. Seemann, “Folklore of the Azores”, *Folklore* 14/2 (1903), 145.
In this sense, it becomes possible to problematise a diffusionist narrative in which fado subsisted as a musical genre that had originated in Lisbon and subsequently migrated to Coimbra (according to Pimentel’s perspective) by pointing out the existence of a universe of popular songs with this designation within the Portuguese territory. Moreover, writing in 1902 Moore states that “the word ‘fado’ is used with a singular meaning in Portugal which seems to have absolutely no connection with the musical form.”

Drawing from an Anglophone parallel, she argues that fado is the “the laborer's song of fate” and that “the Portuguese indiscriminately call ‘fados’ what we designate as serenades, ballads, jigs, and sailor’s hornpipes.” Nevertheless, Moore associates fado with Portuguese identity, a cultural trope frequently repeated up to the present, by producing what can be considered to be a highly problematic sentence: “A musically inclined Portuguese (and most Portuguese are musically inclined) can instantly tell whether a song is a ‘fado’ or not; though he cannot successfully [sic] explain it to any one who is not a born Portuguese.”

By 1900, the publishing of collections of popular songs was integrated as part of the music publishing business, thus pointing to their incorporation as part of the commercial entertainment market of the time. It is in this context in which Vieira reports that some of these collections constituted an “abusive commercial exploitation” of these popular repertoires. Nevertheless, an approach to song collecting with scientific undertones was being developed at the time, a phenomenon that, in some points, overlapped the tendency of editing traditional music with more commercial intents. In this process, the ideological move to efface the role of the collector, “a witness who intervenes between us and the performance and colours the record of it with some of his or her own ideas and assumptions,” played a key role. For example, in 1902 the Council of Musical Art of the Lisbon Conservatoire issued a circular that aimed to systematise the collection of folk songs on a national level. The document was sent to several personalities as well as published in the institution’s official journal. Moreover, the document requested the collaboration of all people that were interested in

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the musical traditions of Portugal and stressed that the activity of song collection was to be made without the addition of elements that were not part of the observed performance, thus establishing of a discourse based on neutrality and authenticity (in which the collector acts as a “vanishing mediator,” a character that, despite imposing meaning on and organising the transcribed repertoires, retreats to invisibility after the process is over).\(^{168}\)

According to this circular the collected repertoire was to be rendered as performed and “without any personal interference from the collector.”\(^{169}\) In this perspective, the harmonisations authored by the collectors (that, at the time, formed the standard for the bulk of the traditional song sheet music editions) were considered to be a direct intervention by them on the musical materials. However, the impact of this circular was not substantial and the publication of most of the transcriptions that fitted the aims intended by the Conselho falls outside the chronological boundaries of this thesis. Nevertheless, some of the collectors who were active at the time had altered their strategy. For example, Pedro Fernandes Tomás not only abandoned the procedure of harmonising the collected melodies but also removed the harmonisations he had previously included in his work *Canções populares da Beira* in the second edition of this book, published in 1923.\(^{170}\)

Apart from his input on the work of other scholars who studied traditional music, Leite de Vasconcelos also published an ethnological work that focused on poetic and musical repertoires, including a few musical transcriptions of traditional melodies (the majority of which without harmonisation) in 1907.\(^{171}\) Vasconcelos’ “Canções do berço” (“Songs of the cradle”) can be analysed as a contribution by one of the leading scientists of the time to the study of traditional poetic and musical repertoires. In his work, he discusses the repertoire of cradle songs in Portugal, positioning them in an international (or, more accurately, interethnic) framework. Moreover, Vasconcelos historically traces these repertoires in Portugal from the Renaissance onwards and includes various illustrations of cribs from several Portuguese regions, a reflex of his growing interest on aspects of material culture in everyday life. The core of the work consists of a long collection of poems of cradle songs from all Portuguese continental

\(^{168}\) Conselho, *ibid.* and Gammon, *op. cit.*, 84.
\(^{169}\) Castelo-Branco and Toscano, *op. cit.*, 161
\(^{171}\) Leite de Vasconcelos, “Canções do berço: segundo a tradição popular portuguesa”, *Revista Lusitana* 10/1–2 (1907), 1–86.
regions as well as from the archipelago of Madeira (many of them taken “directly from the people’s mouth”) by Vasconcelos and other collectors. Vasconcelos organises the song texts in four main categories: prelude (poems that express the care the mother has towards her children explaining both the signification and the origin of the lyrics, most of them received from previous generations of mothers, pointing to the role women played in the transmission of specific forms of cultural capital in several segments of Portuguese society), songs to lull (performed when the mother is holding the child in her arms), songs of the cradle (sung when the child is in the cradle) and a heterogeneous category that contains songs that bear distinct morphological aspects (such as an unusual meter or stanza length), songs that include Mirandese or Spanish words, proverbs and sayings as well as poems that, despite not being oriented to lull children, were used for this aim (therefore valuing cultural practices as well as intrinsic poetic content of these manifestations). Vasconcelos also argues that the distinction between the songs to lull and the songs of the cradle is mostly theoretical and that the same songs could be used in both contexts, an argument that is reinforced by his collection, where the majority of lyrics fall in this category. “Canções do berço” then includes an appendix consisting of several song texts collected after the work was paginated in the typography, an extensive commentary to the collected materials, and the musical transcription of a few cradle songs from several parts of the country.

One interesting aspect of the emergence of portable sound recording technologies during the period covered by this thesis is their potential application in the collection of traditional music, an aspect that resonates with the presence of an ethnological perspective whose aim was to safeguard what were perceived to be vanishing cultural aspects. In the introduction of a work by Pedro Fernandes Tomás published in 1913, Velhas canções e romances populares portugueses, the art critic António Arroio (1856–1934) argues for the use of sound recording as a form of avoiding the collector’s intervention on the musical materials, thus promoting technological devices as guarantors of mechanic objectivity, transferring the role of the “vanishing mediator” from a human agent (the collector) to a technological apparatus.
Despite the date of publication of Tomás’ work falling outside the chronological boundaries of this thesis, the book contains relevant information on the emergence of new processes and paradigms for song collecting in Portugal at the time. Furthermore, in the introduction of the book Arroio states that he undertook field recordings in what constitutes the first mention of the use of the phonograph in the work of Portuguese folklorists in the period covered by this thesis. Regrettably, there is no further evidence of the existence of these phonograms nor of the dates the recordings (that might fall between 1865 and 1908). Conversely and as stated in a previous chapter of this thesis, several of the songs collected in Neves and Campos’ *Cancioneiro de músicas populares* were recorded and edited by the Companhia Franceza do Gramophone, an occurrence that is symptomatic of the ambiguous status of the editions of traditional music of the time, objects that were situated in the interstitial space between the commodity forms of the entertainment market and the coeval and emergent ethnological scientific endeavor.

During the period covered by this thesis the establishment of a scientific approach to a number of disciplines played a key role in the encoding of the symbolic nation. Despite the concentration of most of the effort of Portuguese scholars on language and race, the fields that Balibar presents as the two main routes of producing ethnicity, a significant amount of work on other aspects of popular culture, including music, was carried by researchers such as Leite de Vasconcelos or Pedro Fernandes Tomás and by musicians and music publishers such as César das Neves. This trait can be interpreted as a symptom of a wider process, mostly undertaken by republican scholars (Consiglieri Pedroso, Teófilo Braga, or Adolfo Coelho), that aimed to ground the existence of the Portuguese nation in a scientific basis in order to dissociate this entity from the monarchic institutions of the time, therefore establishing a competing symbolic order. For this task, the construction of “the people” (or, to use Almeida’s expression, the operation of “constructing the Same in the homeland”) through disciplines such as archaeology, physical anthropology, philology, folklore studies,

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176 Arroio, *op. cit.*, xxiv.
177 Castelo-Branco and Toscano, *op. cit.*, 161.
linguistics, and history within the framework of the Portuguese Empire occupied a relevant place in the work of several ethnologists. Conversely, the establishment of a market segment centered on the commodification (and inherent aestheticisation) of the vernacular embodied a rising interest for the consumption of these repertoires that, albeit collected from “the people,” shared the conventions of the sheet music or of the gramophone record commodity form associated with an urban space, and facilitated the naturalisation of several aspects of the symbolic nation for several segments of the Portuguese society. On the one hand, the aestheticisation of the vernacular played a key role in the incorporation of what were perceived as urban song forms, such as fado, in the entertainment market of the time. This complex relation was analysed by Frith:

if one effect of mass culture was to ‘discipline’ the nineteenth-century urban ‘unrespectable,’ another, equally important, was to loosen up the nineteenth-century urban (or suburban) respectable...But the other side of this story is the selling of ‘safe’ ways for middle-class city dwellers (and the respectable working class) to enjoy the proletarian pleasures of noisy public behavior.\textsuperscript{180}

Conversely, the process of folklorisation concentrated on vernacular elements mainly drawn from the rural populations of the country. Nevertheless, both urban and rural musical manifestations had to transformed to fit the conventions of the coeval market for cultural goods. Therefore, rural and urban repertoires found their common ground in the commodity forms associated with the entertainment market of the time, thus problematising an essentialist perspective that relies on a clear segmentation between the urban and the rural or between the ethnological and the entertaining. Furthermore, both ethnology and the entertainment market reflected and influenced a growing public awareness to the issue of national and regional identity in Portugal at the time.

Conclusion

“Burning in a fever of greatness, Lisbon had felt the necessity for other streets, other styles, other interiors: something that was coherent with the ideals, the habits, and the workings of its modern life.”¹ This remark by the writer Fialho d’Almeida captures some of the fundamental changes operated in Lisbon during the period covered by this thesis that merged urban planning, everyday life, and modernity. This concluding chapter aims to enlarge and bring together several aspects that permeate the entire thesis but were addressed in their specific contexts. Therefore, this chapter will map several lines of thought that, despite their ubiquitous presence in the subtext of the thesis, were only allowed to emerge at specific points.

I would like to start by examining the complex demarcation of a polarity between art and entertainment that was articulated and developed during the period covered by this thesis, a process that is associated with the expansion of the market for cultural goods to which the establishment of a network of commercial popular entertainment venues provided the privileged setting.² In this sense, the presence of a discursive move that draws a fracture between art and entertainment can be examined as a reaction against the cumulative commodification of cultural goods and their exchange according to specific market conditions.³ However, the establishment of an artistic field that relies on the symbolic capital of the objects it contains (such as the so-called Western art – or “serious” – music) is certainly integrated into the broader market of cultural goods that was in place at the time. This brings me to the issue of categorising and naming, a key operation in the previously mentioned segmentation of art and entertainment. In Cândido de Figueiredo’s Portuguese dictionary (edited in 1899) the term “art” appears defined as both a set of conventions and as a synonym of skill or artifice, not containing any reference to an autonomous field of cultural production.⁴ However, before that dictionary was published, two series of the music periodical Arte Musical (“Musical Art”), mostly focused on repertoires associated with the erudite realm, had already been edited (in 1873–1875 and 1890–1891). This points both to the

¹ Fialho d’Almeida, Lisboa galante (Porto: Livraria Civilisação, 1890), 16.
³ Scott, op. cit., 88

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polysemic character of the term “art” in the Portuguese context of the time, as well as to its uneven circulation and meaning in distinct cultural spheres.

Drawing from Lacan, Laclau presents the process of naming as the privileged mechanism for the organisation and unification of a specific heterogeneous object, a move that operates retroactively on that entity.\(^5\) Moreover, naming becomes a way of not only enunciating but also a form of arranging reality. By considering the relevance of the thought of both Gramsci and Lacan in the works of Laclau, it is possible to expand the notion of naming from an exclusively taxonomical operation towards a perspective in which “the production of meaning is simultaneously an operation of power.”\(^6\) In this process, constructing an artistic field that stood in opposition to the commercial entertainment market can be perceived as an operation of power facilitated by several agents who promoted strategies of social distinction through practices of consumption of cultural goods. Therefore, this move can be associated with the translation of accumulated economic capital into cultural capital by the privileged sectors of Portuguese society of the time, aiming to disseminate, legitimate, naturalise, and reproduce a hierarchical view of society.\(^7\) According to Bourdieu,

In the symbolic struggle over the production of common sense, or, more precisely, for the monopoly of legitimate naming, that is to say, official i.e., – explicit and public – imposition of the legitimate vision of the social world, agents engage the symbolic capital they have acquired in previous struggles, in particular, all the power they possess over the instituted taxonomies, inscribed in minds or in objectivity, such as qualifications.\(^8\)

Therefore, the bipolar segmentation of the market for cultural goods has been present in public discourse since, at least, the second half of the nineteenth century, and can be related with the processes of cultural legitimation of several social groups in a period when both the universe for these goods and the numbers of its intended consumers were in rapid expansion. According to Scott, “the field of the popular that opened up in the nineteenth-century was one in which different classes and class fractions fought over questions of intellectual and moral leadership (in Gramscian terms, hegemony).”\(^9\)

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\(^8\) Pierre Bourdieu, “The social space and the genesis of groups”, *Theory and Society*, 14/6 (1985), 731.
\(^9\) Derek B. Scott. *op. cit.*, 9.
points to the constitution of a heterogeneous field in which several competing notions of the “popular” were operating, and indicates that any essentialisation of either pole of the binary division between art and entertainment is misleading.

However, if the field of art was constructed as a discursive polar opposite to the market of popular entertainment, the definition of the latter realm is a complex and multilayered process. As stated in the second chapter of this thesis, some of the most prolific composers of operetta and revista for Lisbon’s stages worked steadily for musical institutions associated with the art music field (such as the Real Conservatório de Lisboa or the Real Teatro de S. Carlos). However, apart from a few exceptions, these agents were not directly employed as composers by these institutions during the period covered by this thesis. Although they accumulated roles in theatrical and musical organisations, their focus of activity shifted according to the segmentation of venues in Lisbon’s cultural fabric. For example, several members of the orchestra of the Real Teatro de S. Carlos who never wrote operas to be performed in that space were frequently employed as composers for theatres that concentrated in presenting operettas and revistas. This adds a new layer of complexity to the discussion of the bipolar segmentation between art and entertainment. On the one hand, prominent musicians accumulated roles in several venues of the capital that were associated with either segment of the market. Conversely, their role shifted according to the specific place they worked, an aspect that points to the accumulation of differentiated tasks by the same musician.

If we are to take the distinction between “art” and “entertainment” seriously, we have to associate the latter with the idea of the popular. For Middleton, the current form of understanding of popular music can be traced back to the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries and associated with aspects that were symbiotically interrelated, such as the increase in number and size of audiences, the creation of public institutions for musical education, and the establishment of channels for the dissemination of music, such as the periodical press.\textsuperscript{10} Moreover, it was in this process that the problematic rift between art (the “emergent canonic repertory of ‘classics’”) and entertainment (“a sense of low-class, ‘trivial’ genres”) was carved.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{11} Middleton, \textit{ibid.}
Another way of mapping the realm of the “popular” is through the analysis of its placement in the market for cultural goods. According to Frith, the “equation between popular culture with market choice is problematic. It means that ‘popularity,’ by default, is consumption as measured by sales figures and market indicators.”12 However, these parameters are not directly applicable to the Portuguese context in the period covered by this thesis, a time when “popular” meant “relative to the people; proper of the people; agreeable to the people; esteemed by the people, democratic” and there are no reliable quantitative data concerning the theatrical and musical activities in Lisbon.13 Nevertheless, as argued in the previous chapter, the concept of música ligeira of that time operates in a symbolic universe similar to what we now call popular music, displaying the shifting of the meaning of “popular” throughout the twentieth century, especially after its theoretical framing within the production of the culture industries.14 Nevertheless, the definition of “popular” through specific (and essentialist) stylistic aspects appears to be highly problematic. Drawing from a Lacanian-Žižekian perspective, Middleton argues:

However ‘popular music’ is articulated, whatever we try to make it mean, the people as subject is embedded somewhere within it, and with an emotional charge that will apparently just not go away. We need to account for that investment as well as the (necessary) mutability of content. And here the word itself must come to the fore. Žižek’s position is grounded, more broadly, in an anti-descriptivist theory of naming. Names (‘the people,’ ‘music,’ ‘popular music’), he argues, do not acquire meaning through reference to given properties but through a ‘primal baptism’ followed up in a ‘chain of tradition.’15

This brings me to the discussion of another set of concepts that were addressed in this thesis, namely tradition and modernity. Both terms are deeply connected and

13 Cândido de Figueiredo, Nôvo diccionário da língua portuguêsa, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Livraria Tavares Cardoso & Irmão, 1899), 344.
should be analysed in relation to each other. On the one hand, the rapid transformation of human modes of experience associated with “modern” life suggests the presence of a complex dynamic interaction of technological innovations, economic development, and political processes that reshaped the everyday life of the Portuguese people. Conversely, the usage of the term “modernity” as a cultural trope in the period covered by this thesis was deeply associated with the construction of a specific notion of space and of historical time that relied on marking a distinction between “modern” and “pre-modern” worlds. In this operation, the concept of tradition became predominantly associated with a static vision of a pre-modern world that contrasted with the portrayal of the modern world as a constitutively kinetic entity. However, situating tradition as a residual trace of the pre-modern world in modern societies proves to be a problematic move because it tends to rely upon an evolutionist conception of cultural processes. Moreover, as argued in this thesis, elements of both worlds (if they can be presented as separate ontological spaces) tend to coexist in Lisbon during the period covered by this thesis and popular traditions (presented as timeless, achronological, or subject to a conception of historical time other than the modern) were politically used to establish a chain of tradition that attested the antiquity of the Portuguese nation.

This intertwining and embedding of tradition and modernity can be profitably analysed by referring to Derrida’s notion of the constitutive outside. “The constitutive outside is a relational process by which the outside – or ‘other’ – of any category is actively at work on both sides of the constructed boundary, and is thus always leaving its trace within the category.” Consequently, the construction of a dichotomy between tradition and modernity, a cultural trope in Western modernity, is problematic because the emergence of these categories is ontologically relational. Therefore, tradition is the constructed space in relation to which modernity is encoded, performed, and commodified, an entity that “marks the alterity of the inside, fashions its borders, assigns its social significance, and supervises its relations with other boundaries.” Conversely, “the constructed inside [in this case, modernity], which is both agent and victim of this territorializing process, extends beyond itself to become another’s outside within.” According to this analysis, an interpretation of tradition as a residual trace of

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17 Nater and Jones, ibid.
18 Nater and Jones, ibid.
a pre-modern past becomes extremely problematic due to the existent porosity between categories, in which the apparent rigidity of boundaries is achieved through hegemony in order to maintain (and not to contain) that category.\textsuperscript{19}

One of the most relevant perspectives on these issues was proposed by Hobsbawm in \textit{The Invention of Tradition}, a key work for the study of tradition, modernity, and the nation-state that has been widely discussed in academic fields since its first publication in 1983.\textsuperscript{20} In his work, Hobsbawm situates tradition (namely in its “invented” forms) within the boundaries of modernity and associates this phenomenon with the emergence of the modern nation-state. According to the same author, invented traditions “are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition.”\textsuperscript{21} Moreover, they are a “set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.”\textsuperscript{22} Thus, invented traditions were a key strategy for the production of symbolic markers in which the modern nation operated. Moreover, they promoted an ideologically constructed link between the present and the past, an operation already addressed in the fifth chapter of this thesis.

This attempt to ground several nation-states in a remote past and the use of their alleged antiquity as a strategy for the legitimisation of that contingent formation may be associated with the emergence of a modern conception of historical time. According to Hobsbawm, invented traditions can be framed in the “attempt to structure at least some parts of social life” within the ever-changing modern world, an argument that resonates with the promotion of an ahistorical and static view of popular culture by several Portuguese ethnologists during the period covered by this thesis.\textsuperscript{23} However, in his argument Hobsbawm presents a reductive view of tradition, defining it as a realm that constitutively relies on purported notions of invariance and fixedness, excluding conventions or routines that have no “significant ritual or symbolic function as such.”\textsuperscript{24} Moreover, Hobsbawm draws a distinction between tradition and custom, presenting the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{19} Nater and Jones, \textit{ibid}.
  \item \textsuperscript{20} Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), \textit{The Invention of Tradition} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
  \item \textsuperscript{21} Eric J. Hobsbawm, “Introduction”, in Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), \textit{op. cit.}, 2.
  \item \textsuperscript{22} Hobsbawm, \textit{op. cit.}, 1.
  \item \textsuperscript{23} Hobsbawm, \textit{op. cit.}, 2.
  \item \textsuperscript{24} Hobsbawm, \textit{op. cit.}, 2–3.
\end{itemize}
latter as a relatively flexible concept that is prevalent in traditional societies (that, in this context, may be understood as pre-industrial). This line of reasoning raises several important issues for my thesis. First, Hobsbawm’s view of tradition focuses on a functionalist perspective on ritual and symbols which tends to reduce (or even exclude) the ritual and symbolic aspects embedded in everyday life, a perspective that stands as incompatible with my appropriation of Bourdieu’s notion of *habitus* throughout this work. Second, the distinction between tradition and custom is highly problematic when dealing with a culturally heterogeneous country, which would be the normative arrangement for most nation-states.

For example, Portugal was a predominantly agrarian country with a few incipiently industrialised areas during the period covered by this thesis, which may indicate the coexistence of several types of social organisation working within the same territory. Drawing from Hobsbawm’s perspective, if the Portuguese ethnology of the time predominantly focused on the study of popular culture in rural communities, the folklorists acted as mediators not only between the rural and the urban, but also between customs and tradition. Consequently, folklorists played a key role in creating a stabilised representation of tradition through the crystallisation of specific elements associated with dynamic traditional practices (or customs).

One of the most prevalent axes in the discussion of tradition and modernity during the period covered by this thesis is the construction of the urban/rural divide and its historical implications. As argued in the previous chapter, the association between tradition and the rural areas of the country dominated the work of various authors, some of whom aimed to create a link between coeval popular culture and the nation’s glorious past. Therefore, the construction (or production) of rural space at the time can be interpreted as a historicist operation that aims to bind space and time together in one historical category. One of the foremost problems associated with that process is the essentialisation of both urban and rural realms through their demarcation as self-contained entities and its usage to ground and legitimate political action at the time. Moreover, the direct association between the rural realm as the site where an “authentic” popular culture that needs salvaging from the process of urbanisation tends to disregard the symbiotic relations and the porosity of boundaries established between these spaces. For example, the rise of internal migration from the country to the city

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during the period covered by this thesis contributed to the reconfiguration of cultural practices in both realms. Furthermore, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the significant emigration of both men and women from predominantly rural areas to countries such as Brazil was a phenomenon that reshaped Portuguese everyday life and is well documented in the coeval sources.

Conversely, elements associated with the rural realm and, therefore, with modes of life that were presented as traditional were ubiquitous in the urban landscape of the time due to the establishment of a symbiotic relation between the city and the country with the process of urbanisation. Because the city had to rely on the countryside for the supply of several basic products, the pedlars, mostly inbound from the rural outskirts of Lisbon known as the região saloia, were a constant presence in the city’s everydayness. These sellers concentrated the trade of their goods in outdoor markets (such as the Praça da Figueira), fairs, or in the city’s streets (with their carts and baskets) and contributed with their cries to the auditory landscape of the city. Another element that reinforces the existent porosity between the urban and the rural is the regular incorporation of regional songs, dances, and even characters in the urban entertainment market of the time, which may point to an aestheticisation of the rural, a phenomenon that can be perceived as part of the process of aestheticising the vernacular that was addressed in the first and second chapters of this thesis. Conversely and as was stated in the previous chapter, the dissemination in rural areas of songs associated with the urban entertainment market through agents such as wandering musicians evidences the fluidity of boundaries between the country and the city, and complicates the predominantly essentialist perspective promoted by the ethnologists of the time.

In the second chapter of this thesis, I analysed the complex dialectic relation between the local and the global, an issue that can be correlated with both the tradition/modernity and the urban/rural binarisms. As argued earlier, the growing commodification of music fostered the creation of a transnational market for these goods in a period when, apart from financial institutions, most of the trade was conducted with or within national economies (in which the colonial world was included). In this sense, although the global commerce operated, mainly, in an international level, cultural goods relied in transnational processes of dissemination and reproduction, a tendency towards deterritorialisation that would be transferred to the

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production, mediation, and consumption of other kinds of merchandise throughout the twentieth century. This points to the presence in modernity of what Giddens designates as “disembedding” mechanisms, “mechanisms which prise social relations free from the hold of specific locales, recombining them across wide time-space distances.”

Moreover, when dealing with contemporary societies, the author states: “the reorganisation of time and space, plus the disembedding mechanisms, radicalise and globalise pre-established institutional traits of modernity; and they act the transform the content and nature of day-to-day social life.” Despite Giddens’ focus on late modernity, his insight proves very useful for understanding the development of a transnational entertainment market during the period of this thesis.

As argued in the second chapter of this thesis, the “national” is not so much a space, as a logic inherent to this dialectical process that takes place between the local and the global. Therefore, it becomes possible to articulate both levels through the nation-state in order to create and maintain a symbolically efficient nation during a period of intense social change for both local and global levels. Moreover, the constant negotiation of tensions and boundaries between the local and the global, tradition and modernity and, to some extent, the urban and the rural is a constitutive feature of the modern nation-state. In discussing modernity and transnationalism, one of the aspects that emerge is the notion of cosmopolitanism. According to Anderson, “Victorian views on cosmopolitanism must be situated within the context of nineteenth-century understandings of the term. In general, cosmopolitanism denotes reflective distance from one's original cultural affiliation, a broad understanding of other cultures and customs, and a belief in universal humanity.” Moreover, a “cultivated detachment from restrictive forms of identity” underpins the notion of cosmopolitanism, which points to its placement as a disembedding mechanism present in modernity, as Giddens would have it.

Therefore, cosmopolitanism can be directly associated with the progressive break between cultural practices and specific places. For example, the construction of 27 Anthony Giddens, Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), 2
28 Giddens, ibid.
the Portuguese railway facilitated the European travels of several segments of society and reduced the time that various foreign goods (in which music commodities were included) took to be imported, thus facilitating the circulation of “modern” products that were mostly associated with the sophistication of Parisian life. This accelerated the process through which several goods that were commercialised in a transnational level, such as sound recordings, were incorporated and metabolised into Portuguese everyday life. However, an exclusive association between cosmopolitanism and the economically privileged Portuguese social groups has to be problematised. On the one hand, during the period covered by the thesis these segments were able and tended to travel, which may point to their integration in a transnational flow of people across Europe that can be read within a context of cosmopolitanism. Conversely, the integration of elements associated with the transnational entertainment market in Portuguese contexts adds a new layer of complexity to the issue. The performance of Offenbach’s Parisian operettas in theatres mainly directed to the popular segments of Lisbon’s society, or the production and recording of “modern” and “vernacular” musical styles (such as the Brazilian maxixe or the Portuguese fado) by Portuguese artists and their incorporation in the catalogues of multinational phonographic companies are symptoms of this complex process. These events, associated with the development of internationalist strands associated with the workers movement, contributed to the expansion and displacement of the social spectrum in which cosmopolitanism operated. Thus, this thesis proposes the existence of a popular modernity (that integrates in its fabric both the local and the global levels) and of vernacular forms of cosmopolitanism that relied, precisely, in the disembedding mechanisms that were developed with modernity.

An aspect that permeates this work is the association between technological innovation, objectivity and modernity. As argued in the first and fourth chapters of this thesis, the development of technologies that reduced human intervention in capturing and registering information is a key issue for the study of this period. The development of photography, phonography and film can be related to the emergence of a new form of objectivity that relied on mechanical apparatuses to guarantee its neutrality. Moreover, “aperspectival objectivity was the ethos of the interchangeable and therefore featureless observer – unmarked by nationality, by sensory dullness or acuity, by training or tradition; by quirky apparatus, by colourful writing style, or by any other idiosyncracy [sic] that might interfere with the communication, comparison and accumulation of
This paradigm was predominantly employed in the field of the natural sciences during the period of this thesis but can be traced back to the late eighteenth-century philosophy and associated with the Kantian notion of disinterestedness. Furthermore, Daston associates this type of objectivity with the establishment of a transnational network of scientists during the nineteenth-century and the emergence of an ideal of communicability in that sphere, an aspect that is related to the notion of cosmopolitanism addressed above.

However, the development of what Weidman, following Kittler, designates as the “modern technologies of the Real” was not exclusively integrated in the realm of scientific production. Moreover, their rapid incorporation in the coeval market of cultural goods appears as a key issue in several sections of this thesis. This points to the presence of a specific type of objectivist thought that underpins a significant part of the Western cultural activity during the period covered by this thesis and has its most notorious symptoms in the development of a positivist science as well as of aesthetic trends such as naturalism and realism. However, although the previously mentioned technologies can be analysed as mechanical conveyors of a certain reality, their usage can be more complex, thus making a univocal reading of that cultural tendency highly problematic. If, as argued before, naturalist and realist perspectives occupied a prominent space in the market for cultural goods of the time, the ubiquitous presence of allegorical modes of representation is also a relevant element for the study of that market.

For instance, the presentation of the revista in Lisbon’s theatres, a genre based on an epic structure that relied heavily on allegory and personification, coexisted with the performance of plays inspired by the realist canon. Moreover, photographs of scenes drawn from the revista were published in several periodicals as well as on postcards, pointing to the presence of realistic modes of representation that relied on mechanical and chemical processes even in the depiction of the allegoric content of a segment of theatrical activity. Another symptom of this process can be found in the work of several Portuguese ethnologists of the time, who used a philological approach that was based on

33 Daston, op. cit., 608–612.
positivist paradigms in the analysis of popular literature with mythical content, such as various folk tales. Nevertheless, despite the coexistence of several aesthetic codes at the time, there is a predominantly objectivist mode for their representation in various spheres and commodities that sometimes relies on technologies then perceived and promoted as epitomes of modernity.

An important trait of several technologies that were developed during the period covered by this thesis was their ability to produce representations of reality through mechanical and chemical processes. As argued before, it is possible to draw from a Barthesian analytical stance to present the emergent technologies of photography, phonography and film as purveyors of analogue data that introduced new modes of representation in the market for cultural goods of the time. Thus, the rise of iconographic and phonographic cultures have to be framed as part of a larger process of incorporation of both visual and auditory analogue representations of reality in a market that, in the middle of the nineteenth-century, was predominantly concentrated on goods that hold what Barthes designates by digital information, data that relied on the reference to an operative code for its interpretation. Moreover, the new types of purportedly unmediated representation (associated with their promotion as sources of aperspectival objectivity) that the “modern technologies of the Real” contributed to the reshaping of human experience under the sign of modernity.

In this thesis I have aimed to analyse the role that the entertainment market played in the construction, dissemination, and naturalisation of the symbolic modern nation in Portugal between 1865 and 1908, a period of intense social change. For that purpose, my work has addressed a heterogeneous set of aspects such as class, gender, ethnicity, technology, tradition, modernity, and the construction of both public and private spaces (from urban planning to the changing ideal of domesticity). Moreover, it contributes to the study of the association between music and the nation by focusing on cultural materials that are seldom examined from a musicological perspective. In the process of nation-building, the creation of a transnational market for cultural goods is bound to an analysis that has to account for the porous and complex interaction between several scales of cultural production (from the local to the global, crossing through the regional and the national).

The construction of both identity and alterity is a key issue in the establishment of a symbolically efficient nation-state and requires a specific approach when studying a country like Portugal in the period covered here. On the one hand, Portugal was a peripheral European country that depended heavily on several forms of foreign capital for its modernisation. Conversely, the country developed a significant interchange with its former colony Brazil and possessed important territories in several continents. In this context, the colonial and post-colonial realms were a constant presence in the definition of Portugal as a nation, a feature that was foregrounded at some points of the country’s history (such as during the crisis following the British Ultimatum), and grew in significance in the country’s international positioning throughout most of the twentieth-century. Therefore, the incorporation of colonial ideology in the fabric of a European nation relied on the construction and naturalisation of an asymmetrical bond between the metropolis and the colonies, a process undertaken in the scientific fields and disseminated through the market of cultural goods, as seen in the last chapter of this thesis. Moreover, the spectral presence of a purportedly golden age during the heyday of the Portuguese Empire was a key element in the process of construction of the continental nation-state that intersected both time and space, history and geography.

What was the role music played in the process of creation, dissemination and internalisation of the symbolic nation? In some direct instances, the performance of patriotic marches, such as *A Portuguesa*, fuelled nationalist feelings in particularly difficult moments of Portuguese history, as argued in the first chapter of this thesis. The presentation of that repertoire in the theatres and its extension to the domestic space via the sheet music or player piano roll editions indicates another important trait that positioned music as an effective conveyor of nationalist or patriotic ideologies, its ability to cross boundaries of both physical and social space. Therefore, music was a privileged site for the promotion and internalisation of the “composite image” of modern Portugal through pleasure, a phenomenon that can also be related to the process of acquisition of cultural capital through musical practice by several segments of Lisbon’s population. For that purpose, pleasure, promoted not only as an escape to the daily constraints imposed by modern life for the theatre-going audience of the capital, but also as a factor associated with the loosening of social conventions, could act as a facilitator for the composite image of the modern nation to be naturalised and internalised. Consequently, the depiction of patriotism and modernity in the
entertainment segment of the cultural market can be interpreted as a process of commodifying the symbolic nation and making its consumption pleasurable for the public, a process that was paralleled but also relied on the commodification of music itself. This points to the presence of an articulated entertainment system in which the same theatrical show (itself a cultural good) generated a set of associated commodities that extended the scope of that universe to the city’s streets as well as to domestic spaces, and incorporated the musical theatre repertoire in various contexts of everyday life.

However, the promotion of the symbolic nation through entertainment was not exclusively confined to the direct use of nationalist propaganda, such as the patriotic marches, but was a logic that permeated the market for cultural goods at the time. For example, the positive press reviews that several operas and operettas created by Portuguese authors can be analysed as a form of promoting an attachment of the readers to a multilayered and complex nationalist agenda. Moreover, the use of music in the revista is symptomatic of the promotion of a nationalist logic that underpinned a significant segment of the cultural goods of the time. Its structure in closed numbers allowed for a selection of varied symbols associated with the nation-state and with the transnational entertainment market to be presented and internalised by its audience, who were also able to domestically reproduce these repertoires. The music included in the revista ranged from what might be considered transnational musical styles (such as the waltz) to aestheticisations of the urban and rural Portuguese vernacular (such as the fado or the chula), thus combining the performance of music that was perceived as epitomising modern cosmopolitan sophistication with the presentation of repertoires that were locally developed. Therefore, the development of the Portuguese entertainment market and the rise of several types of musical theatre are inextricably bound to the complex symbolic and material process through which Portugal was established, presented, developed, and commodified as a modern nation-state between 1865 and 1908.
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