

Introduction

There is currently a significant amount of interest in fado at both national (Portuguese) and international levels. The rise in global popularity of the so-called ‘new fadistas’ over the last decade has led fado to a level of visibility unmatched since the heyday of the internationally-renowned performer Amália Rodrigues. Current fado performers such as Mariza have found themselves at the forefront of a star system promoted by the contemporary world music network. Fado is regularly reviewed in the Anglophone music press, with leading world music publications such as *Songlines* and *fRoots* featuring performers in prominent articles. Two films have recently been completed on the contemporary fado scene, Simon Broughton’s *Mariza and the Story of Fado* (2006) and Carlos Saura’s *Fados* (2007). Book-length studies of fado in English, however, have been thin on the ground. Paul Vernon’s *A History of the Portuguese Fado* appeared towards the end of the 1990s, prior to the recent ‘boom’, and there is much to be updated in his account for those wishing to place the work of current performers such as Cristina Branco, Ana Moura and Katia Guerreiro in its proper historical context.¹ This book attempts to fill some of the gaps left in the scholarship by taking into consideration recent Portuguese work on fado and examining the continuities and discontinuities in current fado practice.

More specifically, the book presents research carried out on fado music and its role in the interlacing of mythology, history, memory and place over the second half of the twentieth century. A large proportion of the book focuses on the so-called ‘new fado’ which emerged in the 1990s and gained considerable popularity both domestically and internationally. My emphasis will be upon the ways in which fado acts as a cultural product for reaffirming local identity via recourse to social memory and an imagined community, while also providing a distinctive cultural export for the dissemination of a ‘remembered Portugal’ on the global stage. To do this will necessitate a description of fado as both local practice and ‘world music’ and a consideration of the role of recording technology in mediating fado’s ‘memory community’.

Dealing with the construction and maintenance of the local, I examine the ways in which fado songs bear witness to the city of Lisbon. Fado, often described as an ‘urban folk music’, emerged from the streets of Lisbon in the mid-nineteenth century and went on to become Portugal’s ‘national’ music during the twentieth. It is known for its strong emphasis on loss, memory and nostalgia within its song texts, which often refer to absent people and places. One of the main lyrical themes of fado is the city itself, particularly those areas most associated with the

¹ Paul Vernon, *A History of the Portuguese Fado* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).

music's origins such as Mouraria, Alfama and Bairro Alto. A mythology of place is summoned up in fado song texts that attempts to trace the remembered and imagined city of the past via a poetics of haunting. At the same time certain locales of the physical city present themselves as stages in a museum of song, offering up haunted melodies of a sonic past that serve to assert the city's identity. City and song, then, bear witness to each other.

Witnessing is a productive force in that it results in the transference of a thing presented to a thing re-presented. Writing and recording are both examples of the transference from the witnessed to the re-presented: in both, something of the original event is inevitably lost in the process of 'getting it down'. Writing and recording are vital tools in allowing us the possibility to forget as much as to remember: just *what* is taken down has profound consequences for the evolution of cultural practices. Throughout this book, I suggest that it is useful to think of fado songs as performing a dynamic combination of 'fencing-off', 'framing' and 'staging' that attempts to address the processes of decadence and renewal taking place in the city. Analysis of song texts and performance strategies allied to a theory of witnessing, transcribing and testifying helps to highlight the dynamics of this process as it occurs in fado.

Another major aspect of my project is an examination of contemporary fado practice in terms of changes that take place as the genre negotiates its place in the world. This will involve dealing with the emergence of *novo fado* ('new fado') over the past two decades and an examination of what has been kept from 'traditional' fado practice and what innovations have been allowed or encouraged. While I find the '*novo fado*' tag useful for descriptive purposes, I am not sold on the claim to newness as a single event. One of the things I wish to do, then, is to suggest a spatial practice at work in such categorization whereby 'newness' is always already a part of the process of fencing-off and framing. It is important to bear in mind Portugal's place in Europe during the period covered by this account and the country's connection to a need for a distinctive cultural marker of difference from its European neighbours that would avoid the potential conflict between national and European identity. I focus on the emergence in the 1980s of what came to be known as 'world music', to which fado, as the music most associated with Portugal, was soon added, providing the genre once again with an international audience. The newly-coined 'world music' category gave a fresh image to any musics associated with it and encouraged the setting-up of a number of recording companies to release and market world music. There has been an important role played by record labels from outside of Portugal in the distribution and popularization of contemporary fado, especially in France and the Netherlands.

While a commercialized form of fado has been enjoying significant visibility in recent years, the genre has also continued as a local popular practice. Connecting to the first strand of research into the historiography of fado and cultural theoretical perspectives on memory and place, the final chapter of the book examines the relationships between fado as a local practice and a global phenomenon.

By looking at the mediation between the local and the global it will examine how myth-making and the figure of the ‘star fadista’ provide both the conditions of possibility for effective transmission of fado and a narrative that informs both local knowledge and media promotion of the music in equal measure. One of the more intriguing aspects of fado music is its insistence on the representation of *saudade*, a supposedly ‘untranslatable’ term for a yearning only Portuguese people are claimed to feel. How can fado fence off and protect *saudade* while attempting to project its musical affect to a global arena? Is the destination of *saudade* to become one of many European grammars of nostalgia, at once synonymous with and semantically distinct from each other, as suggested by Svetlana Boym?²

In addition to filling a gap in English language work on fado, I would hope that a project such as this has some resonance beyond its immediate subject matter by engaging with debates in the fields of memory studies, historiography and media studies. My examination of the role of the city in fado song texts bears comparison to work in other areas on what Christine Boyer has called ‘the city of collective memory’.³ By engaging with theories of witnessing, I hope to contribute to other contemporary work on the uses of memory, archival culture and the politics of reconciliation. By focusing on recent developments in fado music, I hope to extend the existing fado historiography to suggest processes of continuity and change in the mediation of highly memory-oriented cultural practices.

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to fado music via a historical overview of the genre before moving on to focus on the period 1950–2000, during which fado faced some of its greatest successes as an internationally recognized musical form as well as a number of harsh criticisms for its seeming insistence on a fatalistic lack of agency. I begin with a discussion of the central mythologies that have shaped fado’s history and highlight the ways in which the music has been appropriated as an ideological tool for discussing Portugueseness. From here I move away from the specificity of fado to consider more general descriptions of loss, memory and nostalgia. The theoretical thrust of the chapter centres on fado texts as objects which fence off and privilege topics such as the city, Portugueseness, disquietude and *saudade*, the term applied to a nationally-understood yearning which fado is said to voice. The chapter also contains an overview of fado’s greatest star, Amália Rodrigues, whose career spans most of the time period covered in the book and has had an enormous impact upon contemporary fado performers and fans. Amália (the use of whose surname has become redundant in most accounts of fado) will remain a constant reference point throughout the book.

Expanding on material outlined in the first chapter, Chapter 2 examines the ways that fado’s witnessing ‘takes place’ by drawing on the work of a number of historians and theorists of memory and place. I try to show the processes by which

² Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), pp. 12–13.

³ M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Legacy and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, MA, and London: The MIT Press, 1996 [1994]).

fado texts provide a ‘memory theatre’ and to propose a description of fado which is more spatial than historical. While history plays an important part, my desire is to describe the place of fado in the contemporary musical field. I am not saying that this topic is not a historical one, for any musical genre becomes what it is (or what it seems to be) through a number of historical factors. Historical analysis is also, as Rui Vieira Nery makes clear, a vital tool in tempering the clamour of ‘newness’ applied to an object (or non-object) like *novo fado*.⁴ However, I believe that, by focusing on place and spatial practices such as representation, categorization and framing, we can see more clearly why such claims are made. At any given moment a synchronic as well as a diachronic analysis is possible; I have tried to focus on the former while not neglecting the latter. A final note on Chapter 2: ‘place’ in this part of the book is very literally understood as the role of place *in fado* – the importance of toponyms in fado texts and the sense of place with which fado is infused. The broader scope of the book is to look at the place *of fado* – how fado is situated in the musical field. In my mind, these issues are interrelated and I attempt to convey this relationship at various stages.

The importance of place having been established, Chapter 3 attends to the role of transference in fado songs. Crucial to my thinking here is a theorizing of witnessing whereby the connections between the desire to remember and the imperative to testify to what one has remembered are highlighted. Witnessing is here thought of as a kind of carrying and I pursue the implications for such a carrying on the writing, memorization and voicing of song texts. The theory presented is one that has resonance beyond fado music, yet fado provides an exemplary case study given the number of song texts in the genre that focus on notions of carrying and unburdening. Bearing witness and bearing up are crucial themes in fado lyrics, while fado performance style places special emphasis on the carrying-on of tradition and the carrying-out of cathartic tasks.

Chapter 4 provides a more detailed description of the emergence of *novo fado*. It looks at a range of performers and their relationship with the wider popular music scene in Portugal. Given that relatively little information is available in English about developments in Portuguese popular music, I mention some of the main figures in its history. Such an overview, however brief, is useful for understanding how fado music has been influential upon and influenced by other national and international music genres, preparing the ground for the discussion of fado as local and global practice in Chapter 5.

The final chapter continues the discussion of *novo fado* initiated elsewhere in the book and shifts the emphasis to fado’s place in the world music network. It is important to ask to what extent local and global scenes feed into each other. Is the local *casa de fado* (fado house) really as far removed from the global scene as it

⁴ Rui Vieira Nery, *Para uma História do Fado* (Lisbon: Corda Seca & Público, 2004). The point is made more concisely in Vieira Nery’s introduction to Manuel Halpern, *O Futuro da Saudade: O Novo Fado e os Novos Fadistas* (Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 2004), pp. 11–18.

appears on first viewing? Or has the global scene created a new memory community via the ubiquity of recording and broadcast media? Contemporary local practice suggests that the archive of social memory relies as much on mass mediation as on the more localized phenomena common to earlier stages of fado history. We find in the case of mass-mediated *novo fado* a desire to stage localness and to export fado as a remembered practice and Portugal as an imagined community. At the same time, contemporary recording technology – so important to globally exported world music – paradoxically promises closeness while keeping the world at a distance. While perhaps not originally a folk music, fado, in adapting to new popular styles, leaves behind it something that seems very similar to a folk music. There is a dialectical process at work in which certain artists seek to escape one particular framework, seen as too restrictive, opening up a position from which they become subject to critique and a new hardening of the restrictions. This leads me to enquire to what extent global mediation has become ‘necessary’ for the memory of the local to be voiced. Globalization and detraditionalization add to the repertoire of lost objects that fado voices. In a sense, the very factors that threaten to destroy fado as a local practice are simultaneously the conditions of possibility for fado to continue.

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Jorge Lima Barreto excludes fado from *Musa Lusa*, his study of modern Portuguese music, on the basis that analysis of the genre would require an ethnomusicological methodology for which he is not trained.⁵ The implication here is that fado, as a locally rooted urban song form, needs to be studied ‘in the flesh’, to be witnessed at the point where it was created and where it still lives. Furthermore, it should be given a specialist’s attention rather than a generalist’s. This may be generally (but not absolutely) true for Portuguese folk music, which has a fairly scant recorded presence outside specialist circles. But fado has been a part of the recording industry in Portugal since the latter’s inception and is as much a product of that industry as any of the other musics that Barreto catalogues. Indeed I would say it is more of a product of that industry than Portuguese classical musical (which gets its own chapter in *Musa Lusa*).

Discussing recordings inevitably leads to a focus on particular performers – Amália being a classic example, Mariza a more recent one – which in turn can be seen to detract from what fado really ‘is’ for many people, a local, living tradition that grants as much space to its amateur practitioners as it does to its stars. This is a point made by one of those very stars, Mísia: ‘Fado with a capital “F” is not Amália, Mísia or Mariza; it is this river of anonymous souls who sing and play in the taverns.’⁶ Should we take this as the false modesty of a successful artist

⁵ Jorge Lima Barreto, *Musa Lusa* (Lisbon: Hugin, 1997), p. 183.

⁶ Mísia, interview in Hervé Pons, *Os Fados de Mísia: Conversas com Hervé Pons*, tr. António Carlos Carvalho (Lisbon: Oceanos, 2007), p. 73. Unless otherwise stated, all translations from the Portuguese in this book are my own.

or as a useful reminder that the stars of the fado recording industry are a small and inevitably compromised sample of what fado 'is'? My response focuses on the nature of this 'is'. Certainly, Mísia is right to acknowledge the vitality of the community of fado performers in Portugal and in Portuguese communities outside the country. Fado emerged from the sources she mentions and has continued as a living localized practice for around two centuries. During that time it has resisted numerous attempts to co-opt it to a variety of agendas (romantic, socialist, nationalist and more). And one could argue that it could have done so without any help from star performers, who in fact may have been partly responsible for those co-optations.

But this is not all that fado 'is' and it would be unrealistic to downplay the importance of the recording industry in keeping the music at the forefront of public awareness. As with many other modern musical forms, recording is both hero and villain. It threatens loss of authenticity, takes away from the local and gives to the global, diluting and disfiguring as it does so. But it also fixes and maintains, serves as archive and reminder and sustains the music beyond its immediate point of production and reception. With this in mind, it is worth quoting another star performer, Carlos do Carmo, who maintains that 'the history of fado, deep down, is nothing more or less than the history of its interpreters'.⁷ Carmo does not specify amateurs or professionals but the comment comes in a discussion of his career as a recording artist, so it seems reasonable that he is hinting at the responsibility that such artists have in producing this history.

This book is unapologetically about recorded music. This is not to belittle the magical experience of hearing the music performed live, whether in a Lisbon *tasca* (cheap eating place) or a concert hall thousands of miles from the city. Nor does it belittle the work of ethnomusicologists who have sought to represent, whether from within the culture or without, the music in its immediate time and space. It will at times critique a number of practices that have sought to fence the music off, to fix it to a particular experience that a mass mediated and globalized world denies it. But the book is not a celebration of globalization or of the processes of fusion and dispersal that many critics say have followed in globalization's wake. It is written from a belief that the processes of globalization cannot be ignored. It examines them from a dialectical approach, which means that contradictions are embraced when they arise; there is not merely a wish to replace one set of thoughts with another. At one point I will critique the practices of fencing fado off as a way of ignoring debates outside the specialized sphere of local knowledge. At other times, I will praise this very same quality as a form of refusal, aware also that I am doing my own 'fencing-off' by writing a book about fado in the first place. Fado, after all, is far from the 'biggest' music in Portugal (that title goes, as in so many places, to Anglo-American pop, rock and hip hop or to national models closely

⁷ Carlos do Carmo, interview in Viriato Teles, *Carlos do Carmo: Do Fado e do Mundo* (Lisbon: Garrido Editores, 2003), p. 26.

derived from them), though it is often presented on the national and international stages as though it were.

Such contradictions are woven deep within the material of fado discourse, allowing the music to be appropriated by various political regimes and to be one minute accused of an overidentification with nostalgia (the latter assumed only in its conservative guise), the next praised for its potential to engage with the vernacular and to represent the people. The contemporary formulation of these contradictions merely reflects globalization itself, which is nothing if not contradictory. In short, I am trying to write about fado as a localized form of music which nonetheless exists in a globalized society, one in which specific musical forms are mass mediated via a world music network. My hope is that such an approach does justice both to the specifics of fado's identity as local music and its more general appeal to a wider audience who know it primarily through the mediation of the world music network.

These contradictions also extend into other areas of methodology, most notably perhaps the clash between objectivity and subjectivity. Thomas Nagel discusses the problem of trying to bring these viewpoints together: 'How, given my personal experiential perspective, can I form a conception of the world as it is independent of my perception of it? And how can I know that this conception is correct?' The problem with objective viewpoints is 'how to accommodate, in a world that simply exists and has no perspectival center, any of the following things: (a) oneself; (b) one's point of view; (c) the point of view of other selves, similar and dissimilar; and (d) the objects of various types of judgment that seem to emanate from these perspectives.'⁸ Nagel argues that it is still worth staking a commitment on the pursuit of objectivity given the advances in knowledge it can bring. The problem, then, is how to deal with this 'view from nowhere'.

Views, perspectives and 'scapes' are all tropes I wish to keep in play in this book. As my use of Michel de Certeau's work in Chapter 2 suggests, it is instructive to position oneself on a continuum of perspective that allows both distant and close-up views. As someone interested in both the sonic spaces of musical texts and the contextual spaces in which music operates, I believe it is vital to maintain the possibility and the flexibility to move between these spaces. A number of thinkers have influenced me in considering how such flexibility might be possible, among them Henri Lefebvre, whose work on the 'production of space' sets out an agenda whereby dialectical thinking makes way for a 'third possibility', and Gaston Bachelard, whose 'poetics of space' indicates how it can be possible to move from intimacy of a printed text to the often unobserved intimacy of the domestic living space. Paul Carter's exploration of 'spatial history' is relevant here, too. In the following section from Carter's *The Road to Botany Bay*, he describes historical accounts of the colonizing of Australia, but his highlighting of perspective carries resonances far beyond his subject matter:

⁸ Thomas Nagel, *The View from Nowhere* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 27.

What we see is what the firstcomers did not see: a place, not a historical space. A place, a historical fact, detached from its travellers; static, at anchor, as if it was always there, bland, visible. Standing at this well-known point, the spatial event is replaced by a historical stage. Only the actors are absent. Even as we look towards the horizon or turn away down fixed routes, our gaze sees through the space of history, as if it was never there. In its place, nostalgia for the past, cloudy time, the repetition of facts. The fact that where we stand and how we go is history: this we do not see.⁹

Carter's point applies both to the writing of history and the perception of historical space. What Carter calls 'diorama history', an illusory history built upon the fantasy of a theatre in which history is performed for an 'all-seeing spectator', is another description of the view from nowhere.¹⁰

'Diorama history' is often at the centre of the kind of discourse that would allow a cultural form to be appropriated and used for nationalist ends. Fado has been appropriated towards such ends by politicians, historians, poets, fado performers and musicologists, to tell a variety of stories that have the nation and some form of nationalism as their common denominator. Sometimes they have been thoroughly convincing; on other occasions rhetoric has greatly outdistanced fact. It can be very difficult, when responding to such accounts, to be both 'scientific' and 'poetic'. One constantly runs the risk of projecting a kind of disapproval via positivism, while still finding value in a rather more imaginative frame of reference. As Carter observes:

a spatial history does not go confidently forward. It does not organize its subject matter into a nationalist enterprise. It advances exploratively, even metaphorically, recognizing that the future is invented ... It runs the risk of becoming as intangible as distant views. Its objects are intentions and, suggesting the plurality of historical directions, it constantly risks escaping into poetry, biography or a form of immaterialism positivists might think nihilistic. After all, what can you do with a horizon?¹¹

I proceed via two approaches. One is a phenomenology of experience, presented as a description of the stages of an encounter between a listener and a genre. The other is the long-established academic exercise of what Slavoj Žižek, drawing on Hegel, calls the 'positing of presuppositions', in other words the putting in place of a narrative that retroactively accounts for, measures, defines and bounds the object

⁹ Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), p. xiv.

¹⁰ Carter, p. xv.

¹¹ Carter, p. 294.

of study.¹² Such narratives, while basking in the security of the scientific gaze, are sometimes disguised formulations of the first phenomenological approach, presenting a situation as if it has always been. My hope is that these two approaches act as useful correctives to each other.

There are a number of trajectories which unfold over the course of the book. One is a gradual moving from theory to music; the proportion of theory to musical example is greater in the first three chapters than in the last two, meaning that the music gradually ‘takes over’, hopefully leaving the reader with a sense of how the (recorded) fado scene appeared at the time of writing. A second trajectory is from mainly literary representation to more ‘sounded’ representations, meaning simply that more use is made of lyrics in the first part of the book. Thirdly, we travel from the life and career of the dominant figure of twentieth-century fado, Amália Rodrigues, to a post-Amália world in which Amália is a constant posthumous presence. By focusing on Amália and not on the myriad of other performers, it could be argued that I am reinforcing the stereotypical way in which the story of fado is told, in which Amália is invariably the star. However, there is still much ground to clear in the Anglophone reception of fado and I believe those of us interested in fado as a recorded practice still need to grant Amália a prominent place in our narrative.¹³ Hopefully, future work will focus on other performers such as Ercília Costa, Alfredo Marceneiro, Herminia Silva, Maria Teresa de Noronha and many more. I have tried to ensure that some of these performers have at least a brief presence in this book. Finally, there is a sort of historical progression, though it is ultimately a history of representation. I begin with a representation from the beginning of the twentieth century and end with a number of representations from the early twenty-first.

It could be argued that the phonographic era (to use Evan Eisenberg’s formulation¹⁴) demands its own kind of field work. Rather than seeing recordings as the enemy of local tradition, we can posit them as objects to be sought out, objects which reveal their own histories, memories and forgettings. In my case, this kind of field work has involved searching out recordings, attending concerts, and following a variety of music-related media in Portugal and abroad. In the same way that ‘classic’ ethnographic field work involves a greater measure of participation than that required for passing ‘general’ knowledge of a culture, so too does phonographic field work. Whether this is a regular acquaintanceship with record shops in Portugal, or knowing what to look for at the *feira da ladra* (the sprawling Lisbon flea market), or searching the seemingly limitless resources of the internet, the level of involvement is specialist, time-consuming and intense.

¹² See Slavoj Žižek, *For They Know Not What They Do: Enjoyment as a Political Factor*, 2nd edn (London and New York: Verso, 2002), pp. 214–22.

¹³ On a more theoretical note, we could say that Amália posthumously ‘posits the presuppositions’ of what fado is (and is not).

¹⁴ Evan Eisenberg, *The Recording Angel: Music, Records and Culture from Aristotle to Zappa* (London: Picador, 1988 [1987]).

There are other issues in this book which will doubtless prove problematic for some readers. A charge may well be made that what is said for fado here could just as well be said for other musics. A related charge will state that what is done with cultural theory here could just as well be done with other (or even with no) case studies. Such claims are familiar enough, but it is questionable what they actually say. One thing they seem to say is that localizable genres can or should only be theorized according to localized theories. To claim otherwise is not to deny the importance of contextual study. Rather, it is to deny a condemnation-to-the-local that would reassert the ‘universality’ of certain privileged musics while refusing any such recognition to others. For my own part, I am not sure I can work otherwise: my understanding of theory is always already informed by music and vice versa. The result may be more a poetics than a theory; if so, it both accords with the sense of recognition I feel when reading Paul Carter’s ‘spatial history’ and also seems entirely appropriate for a study of a musical genre steeped in poetry.

This brings me to the issue of words and music. I do not wish to rehearse the debates about the usefulness (or otherwise) of discussing words in songs when songs are not actually poems. There can be no absolute decree on this issue; different song forms place different levels of emphasis on words. Fado, as a rule, places a great deal of emphasis on them, whether in the traditional practice of verbal improvisation, ridicule and everyday poetics, or in the more ‘erudite’ practice whereby the work of noted poets is set to music by separate composers. When traditional song forms are used, it is the music that stays the same and the lyrics which are changed. Paying attention to the words takes us a long way towards interpreting the meaning of the song. This is certainly the case for those versed in Portuguese, but it seems to be challenged by one of the very qualities I am highlighting in this book, fado’s ability in recent years to once again travel beyond its national borders. I have lost count of the number of English-language reviews of fado recordings and concerts which claim that the music ‘transcends language barriers’, that ‘emotion is universal’, and so on. There is truth in these claims but it is not the whole truth. Our ability to differentiate between different songs, or between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ performances of songs, suggests that we have already gone some way down the road of understanding. Different listeners will be at different stages of this journey and will have different desires as to whether to proceed further. Some will wish to fully understand the lyrics they are hearing by finding a translation or learning some words of the language; others will decide they do not wish or need to know. The importance of toponyms associated with Lisbon, such as those I discuss in Chapter 2, may be of no interest to the latter group, but they will surely be aware, if they listen to much fado, that they are hearing a music that reiterates certain sounds (words) almost obsessively. When I discuss songs about the city – or about fate or nostalgia or witnessing – by focusing on the words in the songs, the point is precisely that we hear these words endlessly repeated; they make up a large part of the sound world of fado.

This also means that when I move on to sound, I am focusing primarily on singers. In doing so I am following the popular practice of valorizing singers over

musicians. I therefore risk continuing the process of obscuring the role of other musicians, particularly guitarists, in the making of fado music. As Salwa Castelo-Branco has pointed out, guitarists have been very much ‘hidden musicians’ in accounts of fado.¹⁵ My omission would be notable enough if I were dealing only with amateur music-making. It is doubly notable in that I am dealing with professional recording artists who have relied on their musicians to compose the songs included on their records and in their concerts. Hopefully, other work on the cultural importance of the guitar and guitarists in the shaping of contemporary fado will be forthcoming. Meanwhile, let us at least begin our journey with a sighting of the instrument.

¹⁵ Salwa Castelo-Branco, “‘Músicos Ocultos’: Percursos dos Instrumentistas do Fado”, paper presented at the conference ‘Fado: Percursos e Perspectivas’, Lisbon, 18–21 June 2008. Castelo-Branco’s title is taken from Ruth Finnegan’s *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2007).