

"Ai, Mouraria!" Music, Tourism, and Urban Renewal in a Historic Lisbon Neighbourhood¹

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Abstract: This article explores the intersection between music and two distinct but interrelated urban phenomena—urban regeneration and touristification—as they have transformed the physical and sensory environment of one of Lisbon’s emblematic historic neighbourhoods, the Mouraria. I focus on the role of music in the urban regeneration and marketing of this neighbourhood. In particular I examine the restitution of the sonority of fado to the Mouraria’s public and semi-public spaces, as a case study that illustrates the ambiguous role that heritage plays in urban redevelopment both as a tourist attraction and as a means to foster a local sense of community and belonging.

Résumé : Cet article explore l’intersection entre la musique et deux phénomènes urbains distincts mais liés entre eux — la revitalisation urbaine et la mise en tourisme — qui ont transformé l’environnement physique et sensoriel de l’un des quartiers historiques emblématiques de Lisbonne, la Mouraria. Je me concentre sur le rôle de la musique dans la revitalisation urbaine et dans la mise en marché de ce quartier. J’examine en particulier la restitution de la sonorité du fado dans les espaces publics et semi publics de la Mouraria, en tant qu’étude de cas illustrant le rôle ambigu que joue le patrimoine dans le développement urbain, à la fois en tant qu’attraction touristique et comme moyen de nourrir un sentiment local de communauté et d’appartenance.

Over the last decades, “culture” has increasingly been produced and deployed as a commodity in the making, remaking, and unmaking of city urban spaces (Landry et al. 1996), whether in the form of “flagship” cultural facilities and innovative infrastructures within the context of public art schemes establishing cultural quarters, or embedded within unique performances, festivals, or events.² Given the increasing competition to attract economic investment, creative talent, and tourism within and between global cities, these no longer represent “a physical space to be inhabited [but instead] a cultural frame to be experienced” (Muñoz 2010: 81). Music constitutes a valuable ingredient in contemporary culture-led

regeneration projects (Botta 2008) and often serving both as a catalyst for urban redevelopment (Seman 2010) and as a marketing tool in city branding strategies (Atkinson 1997; Cohen 2007; Sánchez Fuarros 2013). The enormous growth of the tourism industry in recent years, and the particular interest in music-driven tourism, has opened up a stimulating area of inquiry for urban music studies (Connell and Gibson 2005; Holt and Wergin 2013). In many cities, tourism and urban regeneration goes hand in hand and, under these circumstances, musical performances often act both as a means of promoting local distinctiveness and as a catalyst for urban change due to their potential to foster strong experiences and senses of place (Stokes 1994; Feld and Basso 1996).

This article explores the intersection between music and two distinct but interrelated urban phenomena—urban regeneration and touristification—and the ways in which these have transformed the physical and sensory environment of Mouraria. This historical neighbourhood of notorious repute was the target of an ambitious urban renewal program launched by Lisbon City Council at the end of 2011 that aimed not only to regenerate the area but also to change its urban image. I focus here on the role of music within the framework of the urban regeneration and marketing of Mouraria. In particular, I examine the significance of *fado* in this transformation. During the 20th century, this popular genre of urban song, which first developed in Lisbon in the second quarter of the 19th century (Viera Nery 2012), became “a symbol of [Portuguese] national identity”³ and has traditionally been associated with Mouraria. According to this genre’s mythology, Mouraria was home to Maria Severa (1820-1846), a prostitute and *fado* singer, highly prominent within the genre’s foundational myth. Furthermore, Mouraria embodies the popular places of marginal sociality normally associated with the performance of *fado*. As a result, the neighbourhood gains widespread acknowledgement as the birthplace of *fado*. This strong relationship between *fado* and Mouraria—emphasized in *fado* lyrics, evoked in the Portuguese collective conscience, and discussed in the varied literature on the genre (Colvin 2008; Elliot 2010; Gray 2013; Queiroz 2014)—was purposely reinstated and appropriated during the renewal as a lever to revitalize the neighbourhood and change its image for the better. To return *fado* to the public and the semi-public spaces of the neighbourhood then became one of the most oft-repeated mottos of the revitalization project. Guided singing tours, exhibitions, festivals, and the opening of new *fado* performance venues have flourished in Mouraria since the 2011 launch of the renewal program.⁴ The reconstruction of a *fadista* Mouraria and the *revival* of *fado* correspondingly proved a core attraction to the outside, offering a particular representation and (aural) experience of the

neighbourhood to the uninhibited presence of visitors and tourists. However, this transformation of Mouraria into a thriving fadista quarter has also re-enacted local sonic memories, with residents having embraced this new sonic environment as both a source of pride and a lever for empowerment.

The restitution of the sonority of fado to the Mouraria's public and semi-public spaces illustrates the ambiguous role of heritage in urban redevelopment, both as a tourist attraction, and as a means of fostering a sense of belonging among local residents. In this article, I try to move beyond the discourse of the negative impact of tourism and urban regeneration projects on the everyday life and local identity of Mouraria to emphasize the tensions and ambivalence inherent to any process of urban change. This view could therefore challenge the commonly held assumption of tourism as a corruptive force undermining the urban and social fabric of Lisbon's traditional and working-class neighbourhoods.

The first section of this article provides a brief overview of Mouraria and the renewal program that reshaped the face of the neighbourhood, paying particular attention to the role played by music in this transformation process. The second part explores the relationship between fado and Mouraria based on a curious paradox: despite being one of the typical fado neighbourhoods in Lisbon, there was actually hardly any fado before the municipality decided to intervene. Today, nonetheless, the neighbourhood displays great dynamism in terms of fado-related activities. The third section then describes and discusses one of these activities: a series of guided singing tours that were initially designed to lure visitors and tourists into the neighbourhood; these tours eventually configured an interesting space of musical sociality between visitors/tourists and local residents. The fourth and final section focuses on a different venue for fado performances—the fado matinees at the oldest neighbourhood association—which convey a different view of fado, encapsulating its presence as a living social and cultural practice rooted in the community. By focusing on the significance of fado in the urban regeneration of Mouraria, this article seeks to deepen our knowledge as to just how an intervention in the sonic environment may instigate changes in the meaning, function, and experience of touristified urban spaces in the post-industrial city.

The information included in this paper stems from ethnographic research conducted in the Mouraria between 2012 and 2015. I moved into the area a few months after the first cranes and bulldozers arrived in the neighbourhood. Once settled in the Mouraria, I followed the maxim enunciated by Gerd Baumann at the beginning of his monograph on a multi-ethnic ghetto of London: “live locally, socialize locally, find local things to do, and let yourself in for whatever comes” (Baumann 1996: 2). Data collection

was thus formalized both through intensive ethnographic fieldwork and through my involvement in the daily life of the neighbourhood, and local associations, and through my participation in other events taking place in the Mouraria. My research also included the consultation of blogs, internet sites, official documents, and social media.

Music and the Urban Renewal of the Mouraria

Formerly deemed a “stain” on Lisbon’s contemporary urban landscape (Menezes 2004: 282), Mouraria is a densely populated inner-city neighbourhood of winding streets, run-down buildings, and a long history of marginalization. Despite its privileged central location, close to Lisbon’s downtown and at the foot of one of the city’s main tourist attractions, the São Jorge Castle, Mouraria has been perceived as a territory on the margins of the city ever since its emergence as a Moorish quarter in the 12th century (Fig. 1). First built as a segregated space for the defeated Moors, it then came to be seen as a poor and disadvantaged neighbourhood before later turning into a dangerous and unhealthy place and then finally a multi-ethnic quarter subject to urban renewal (Menezes 2004: 23-70). The area is home to a heterogeneous population of long-time residents, settled migrants, new immigrants, and a recent wave of new residents that may be deemed as “marginal gentrifiers” (Malheiros, Carvalho, and



Fig. 1. Mouraria's location within the City of Lisbon. Produced by Andy Dyo.

Mendes 2012). Often associated with images of exoticism and multiculturalism, the neighbourhood still retains the atmosphere of an “urban village”; a repository of the history, popular traditions, and memories associated with a vernacular urban popular culture. Simultaneously, Mouraria retains the aura of being a sordid, dangerous, and gritty place, lacking the charm of the other historic neighbourhoods of the city. These multiple

and contrastive images still coexist in today's shared public imaginary of Mouraria (see Menezes 2004: 23-65).

After decades of neglect and only sporadic efforts to address social and physical conditions, Mouraria was back in the urban spotlight in 2009 when the mayor of Lisbon announced a €12 million plan to revitalize the area. In 2011, Mouraria embarked on an ambitious two-year urban renewal program called the QREN-Mouraria Action Plan 2011-2013.⁵ Following the logic of other contemporary urban renewal schemes, the program strove to “open the neighbourhood to the city ... and create the conditions to attract private investment, new residents and tourists.”⁶ The program drew upon a mix of European funding, participatory budgeting, and direct grants to execute a series of projects directed towards regenerating the public space and the urban environment, setting up the Mouraria Innovation Centre, raising the profile of Mouraria within the scope of tourist routes, and enhancing the neighbourhood's social and cultural value, among other objectives. This involved launching a new tourist trail crosscutting the neighbourhood (Fig. 2), reducing motor-vehicle traffic, installing new infrastructures, and renovating some of the squares and public spaces. While mostly in the service industry (bars, restaurants, shops, vacation rental homes, etc.), new businesses have been flourishing and, together with a carefully planned agenda of outdoor



Fig. 2. Signpost for the new touristic trail that crosses the Mouraria. Photo by the author.

events and festivals, have brought life to the neighbourhood, turning the once derelict Mouraria into a “destination culture” (Zukin 2009: 239). Simultaneously, a community development plan involving a consortium of local agencies, grassroots community associations, and third-sector organizations was launched to improve the residents’ quality of life, combat poverty and social exclusion, boost the local economy, and further foster a new image for the neighbourhood.

Music has been instrumental to the physical makeover and cultural reinvention of Mouraria. Cultural events, including concerts and festivals, have accompanied the different phases of the transformation, promoting some areas of the neighbourhood over others and investing in particular places with distinct sonorities (Sánchez Fuarros in press). The “festivalization” (Ventura 1994; Muñoz 2010) of the Mouraria’s public space is exemplified in the Todos Festival “Caminhada de culturas” (Walk of Cultures), a multicultural festival whose conception was intertwined with the area’s redevelopment. A sort of Trojan horse for the urban renewal that was to subsequently come about, the festival’s first edition took over the neighbourhood’s public spaces in September 2009, just a month after the announcement of the QREN-Mouraria Action Plan. The festival held four editions in Mouraria (from 2009 to 2013), running through to the completion of the urban intervention before then moving to another impoverished and rundown part of the city. It was the first large cultural event to take place in the Mouraria, an area described at that time as “a black spot, characterized by street prostitution, insecurity, drug abuse and derelict housing stock,” certainly not the kind of place one would venture to visit.⁷ Under the motto *Viajar pelo mundo sem sair de Lisboa* (Travelling the world without leaving Lisbon), the festival drew on the pre-existing ethnic and cultural diversity to craft a multicultural discourse that appropriated and celebrated—through music, dance, and other performing arts—that diversity. The festival drew considerable public and media attention to this otherwise obliterated area of Lisbon, putting Mouraria on the city map and preparing the terrain for further localized interventions.⁸

The success of the festival in crafting an appealing image of Mouraria rested on its capacity to dissolve the cultural and ethnic complexities inherent to the place through a celebratory multicultural discourse that embraced “world music” as its soundtrack.⁹ As a matter of fact, the fabrication and marketing of an easily recognizable, exportable, and consumable urban image of the neighbourhood has proven paramount to the success of the renewal program across all its different stages, and this new image has been largely bound up with music. If there is a sound that identifies Mouraria inside and outside the

confines of the neighbourhood, it is fado, a Portuguese music genre that is said to trace its origins back to the tortuous maze of the Mouraria's streets.

Thus, the QREN-Mouraria Action Plan turned to this genre of popular music as one of the key vehicles for the neighbourhood's urban regeneration.

Mouraria, the Cradle of Fado

Eu nasci na Mouraria
Na Rua do Capelão
Onde a Severa vivia
Onde o fado é tradição.¹⁰

[I was born in Mouraria
at Rua do Capelo
where [Maria] Severa lived
and fado became tradition.]

A marble sculpture of a Portuguese guitar on the corner of Rua do Capelão and Rua da Mouraria welcomes visitors to *Mouraria, berço do fado* ("Mouraria: the cradle of fado"). This description, engraved on the base of the sculpture, might sound hyperbolic. However, Mouraria does hold a unique place in the history of fado.¹¹ According to the mythology of this popular genre of urban song, it was here, in this labyrinth of streets and dark alleyways, in the old bars and brothels, among prostitutes, aristocrats, and ruffians, that fado emerged in the mid-19th century. It was at 36 Rua do Capelão that Maria Severa, fado's most legendary singer, prematurely died in 1846. In the building across the street another fado legend, Fernando Mauricio (1933-2003), "the king of fado without a crown," grew up; and fado's most recent star, Mariza, frequently recalls her fado initiation in the small tavern owned by her parents in Travessa dos Lagares. *A Mouraria é fado* (Mouraria is fado) was the slogan on the t-shirt of a local resident during a recent fado performance in the streets of Mouraria, and its significant role in the evolution of fado endowed the neighbourhood with an association to that music style that still persists today.¹²

Although rich in history and memories of its legendary past as a fadista quarter, prior to the implementation of the QREN-Mouraria, there were barely any remaining material or sonic traces of that period other than a few nameplates, the occasional fado matinees at the *Grupo Desportivo da Mouraria* (a neighbourhood association), or the amplified sound of *Rádio Amália* playing in a small bar on Rua do Capelão, where visitors and local patrons drink *ginjinha*,

Lisbon's most characteristic liqueur.¹³ The demolition of the lower part of Mouraria between 1930 and 1960, during the Estado Novo's modernization of Lisbon, destroyed the bars, taverns, and brothels that constituted the "natural" environment for the early development of fado.¹⁴ In addition, the gradual professionalization of fado performances and the emergence of new spaces for the practice of fado in other areas of the city, more appropriate to the tastes and lifestyles of the urban middle class, would also explain the absence of Mouraria from the professional Lisbon fado circuits during the second half of the 20th century (Klein and Marques Alves 1994). "There is no fado in Mouraria. Fado ran away to Alfama and Bairro Alto," said Mr. Baginho, a respected local cobbler famous for his devotion to Mouraria, in the course of an informal conversation during my fieldwork (personal communication, April 28, 2012).

The regeneration of Mouraria adopted (and updated) this romanticized image of the neighbourhood as the birthplace of fado as a strategy for underpinning the urban regeneration and touristification of the area (Fig. 3). The QREN-Mouraria Action Plan guidelines state that fado is "an unquestionable identifying marker of Mouraria," with the plan clearly placing



Fig. 3. Graffiti alluding to Mouraria's fadista character on the Escadinhas de São Cristovão. Photo by Andy Dyo.

this sonority at the very forefront of regeneration. Similarly, the community development plan also extols fado as “a key dimension of Mouraria’s identity and memory” in drawing attention to its potential as “an excellent lever to stimulate the local economy and the cultural life of the neighbourhood” due to “its capacity to attract new publics, particularly tourists.”¹⁵ Different actors and stakeholders have correspondingly participated through various activities in this concerted strategy to “bring fado back to Mouraria,” ranging from neighbourhood associations and local residents through to Lisbon Municipal Council, the Museu do Fado (Fado Museum), and private entrepreneurs and businesses. Both the May 2013 inauguration of an outdoor permanent exhibition of fado portraits and the opening of a fado house in the building where Maria Severa is believed to have lived in that same summer represent two good examples of the institutional efforts to bring about a new urban image for Mouraria, especially as a fado neighbourhood. Furthermore, this fado propitious atmosphere also encouraged a group of local residents to organize their own fado performances, whether in the Mouraria’s streets or in the venues belonging to neighbourhood associations. Truly, fado is again thriving in Mouraria.

The institutionalization of fado as a factor of local distinctiveness raises interesting issues about the deployment of cultural heritage in the revitalization of historical urban centres. Indeed, the promotion of fado as a distinctive feature to the local cultural identity within a calculated strategy of urban branding well illustrates the usage of heritage as a form of currency in the process of selling places. A case in point stems from the promotional slogan for an unfinished apartment block that could be seen on the Praça do Martim Moniz for sale throughout a good part of 2012 and 2013: “Tenha uma casa com vistas para o fado” (“own a house with a fado view”). The promised view could not be more picturesque: old Mouraria’s jumbled and aging architecture spread across the northern slope of São Jorge castle. References to fado are also commonplace in advertisements for vacation rental apartments located in the neighbourhood whilst some of the new bars and restaurants have adopted names linked to the fado imaginary or play this genre as background music to lure in visitors and tourists.¹⁶

Furthermore, at the local community level, the “restitution” of fado to the public and semi-public spaces of Mouraria has turned into an important asset, binding local residents and strengthening the place’s distinctive identity. Tired of being associated exclusively with drugs, petty delinquency, and prostitution, local residents discovered a source of joy and pride in this sudden interest in fado and Mouraria that they themselves expressed through their involvement and participation in some of these events. For instance, during

the concert by fado star Mariza in Praça do Martim Moniz in October 2012 to commemorate the Day of the Republic, many of the Mouraria's residents who attended wore T-shirts or scarves referring to the neighbourhood and, as we see in the following section, local residents have appropriated the fado singing walking tours designed to attract visitors to the neighbourhood as a space for local sociability. Indeed, these two facets expressing the patrimonial heritage—a form of currency and a tool for reasserting a shared sense of belonging—may be further explored within the context of those singing walking tours that took over the Mouraria's public space during the summers of 2012, 2013, and 2014.

Here Come the Tourists!

On a pleasant summer evening, a dense crowd crawls along the gloomy Rua do Capelão, a small narrow side street that penetrates deep into the core of Mouraria. A local guide with a megaphone explains the place's significance for the history of fado to a group of visitors, mostly Lisboners but also foreign tourists, who have their own dedicated guide and translator. The metallic voice produced by the bullhorn—a new “sound signal” (Schafer 1977: 275) that attests to Mouraria's recent incorporation into the city's touristic routes—cuts across the constant murmur of the audience more focused on photographing every detail of the surroundings than on listening attentively to the enthusiastic guide. Amplified by the spatial configuration of the place, the continuous drone of indistinct sounds disrupts the street's usual tranquility. A resident, disturbed by the commotion, leans out of her window to observe what is happening below. Never before has the presence of visitors been so visible and so audible in the Mouraria's public space.

Meanwhile, a group of local residents gather in Largo da Severa, a small public square located at the end of the Rua do Capelão whose renovation included its pedestrianization, new benches and trees, and the refurbishment of Maria Severa's house. They await the beginning of the fado performance, which constitutes the central act to the *Visitas cantadas na Mouraria*, a series of free singing tours conceived to “discover the Mouraria through the voice of its artists,”¹⁷ jointly organized by the local grassroots association *Renovar a Mouraria*¹⁸ (Renovate Mouraria) and the Museu do Fado/EGEAC.¹⁹

The *visitas cantadas* took place every Friday to Sunday, from July to September, and featured a different fadista each day.²⁰ The meeting point was the Church of Nossa Senhora da Saude, the only remnant of the old Mouraria that survived the Estado Novo's demolition program, located in its lower

reaches. Local guides from the *Renovar a Mouraria* association welcomed the participants, and after a brief introduction to the tour the fadista of the day would sing one or two fados before the walking tour actually started.

Local residents rarely come down to the Church of Nossa Senhora da Saúde. They instead wait in the square that bears the name of the first well-known fado singer, which becomes a hub of intense local social activity during the days of the *visitas cantadas*. With a nearby church bell sounding six pm, the first neighbours show up in the square. Due to the limited seating space, some bring chairs from home. As they arrive, they exchange sonorous greetings with their acquaintances. Children play around and the square that was once a parking lot bustles with activity. The wait for the “tourists,” as the walking tour participants are usually referred to, is punctuated by jokes and day-to-day conversation. One of the guitarists warms his fingers up by playing some scales and the fadistas Conceição Ribeiro and Pedro Galveias chat away and share a cigarette while waiting for the beginning of their performance. Cristina, the owner of *A Parreirinha*, a small tavern on Rua da Guia patronized by local residents, serves them a jug of red wine. People talk loudly. The distinct inflection, modulation, and rhythmic pattern of the resident’s voices represent important sonic markers that differentiate those born and raised in the neighbourhood from outsiders. The vocal materiality and melodic contour of these voices invest the place with a distinctive local character, whereas the absence of automobile traffic, the small scale of Largo da Severa, and the decaying architecture of the three- to five-story buildings surrounding the square serve to reinforce a feeling of time come to a standstill. As the sound of the rowdy horde of visitors gets closer, a woman exclaims “Here come the tourists!” and moments later Largo da Severa is flooded by a wave of people that quickly forms a semicircle around the musicians.²¹

“Welcome to Mouraria ... this [the singing tour] is an initiative of the Fado Museum and *Renovar a Mouraria* that seeks to bring fado back to Mouraria and experience it as it was done back in the times.”²² The welcoming words from the president of the Renovate the Mouraria association gives way to the fado performance. The staging is sober: folding chairs for the musicians and, on this occasion, a plastic table covered with a red polka-dot tablecloth. A piece of black fabric disguises the metallic fence protecting the renovation of Severa’s house. Some elderly residents follow the action from their apartment windows. As soon as the music starts, a bitter quarrel breaks out between one of the neighbours sitting on a bench and a visitor who was blocking her view of the musicians with the former loudly admonishing the latter. People ask for silence with a sonorous “Shhhhh!”. The hubbub slowly

fades away under the first notes of a popular fado that recounts the love affair of Bia and Chico on these very same streets of the Mouraia: “Lá vai a Bia que arranjou um par jeitoso ...” [There goes Bia, who found a dainty lover ...].²³

The music is not amplified. The small dimensions and confinement of the square act as a natural resonating box for the music. The absence of any amplification and the spatial proximity between the musicians and the audience enhances perceptions of the music’s immediacy and naturalness. The performance is dominated by the customary silence that normally accompanies fado singing. Some of the local attendees may hum the refrains in low tones; someone may occasionally exclaim “Ah, fadista!”, “Lindo!,” or “Boca linda!” to praise the singer’s performance. The ritual silence is frequently broken by mundane sounds. The flow of daily life does not stop while the fado is being sung. Everyday sounds and noises slip through the performance: birds chirping; a woman hanging out clothes out on her apartment’s line; a couple of drug addicts crossing the square on their regular route to buy their daily dose; men playing cards on the veranda of a local bar just around the corner; a domestic dispute erupting inside a house; restless and vivacious children playing around; etcetera. The music thus gets ingrained into the daily sonic texture of the place just as much



Fig. 4. Fado performance in Largo da Severa. Photo by the author.

as the everyday sounds of Mouraria become an integral part of these fado performances.

The sound ambiance resulting from this interplay between fado singing, the acoustics of the space, the spatial configuration, and the visual perception creates a sound effect of “anamnesis” (Augoyard and Torgue 2005: 21) that reconnects past mental images of the neighbourhood with the present, facilitating individual and collective emotive connections to both the music and the place. By bringing the sounding presence of fado into the public spaces of Mouraria, the *visitas cantadas* enact that connection—real and imaginary—between Mouraria and fado in various different ways.

First, this takes place through the fado repertoire performed during the singing tours. Apart from fados from their own repertoire, the *fadistas* usually include one or more fados from the vast repertoire of songs that celebrate Mouraria. The performance by fado singer Cristiano de Sousa serves to illustrate this point. He started his participation in the *visitas cantadas* by singing “Recordações do Pasado-Portuguesinha” outside the Church of Nossa Senhora da Saúde, a traditional fado whose first verses sound prophetic:

Fui um dia á Mouraria / Para recordar o passado.
 Já pouco dela existia / E já nem havia fado.²⁴

[I once went to Mouraria / to recall the past.
 There was hardly no Mouraria / Not even the fado]

At the Largo da Severa, he performed “Chinelas da Mouraria,” “História de uma guitarra,” “Sotão da Amendoeira,” “Mataram a Mouraria,” “Bairro eterno,” and as a bonus song he offered a rendition of “Baile dos Quintalinhos.” Mouraria appears as setting in the lyrics to all these fado songs. It is also worth noting that three of the fados that Cristiano de Sousa performed that day (“História de uma guitarra,” “Sotão da Amendoeira,” and “Bairro eterno”) belong to the repertoire of the charismatic Fernando Mauricio (1933-2003), Mouraria’s most celebrated *fadista*. Considered the greatest *fadista* of his generation, Fernando Mauricio embodied like no one else the Mouraria *bairrista* he sang to and with whom the local residents most strongly identify. His figure is a powerful source of pride for the people of Mouraria, and the *fadistas* that come to sing to the *visitas cantadas* always pay homage to him either by performing his songs or by making mention of him. Indeed the most emotive moments in the course of the *visitas cantadas* occurred when the disciples of Fernando Mauricio such as Jaime Dias, Pedro Galveias, or Cristiano de Sousa himself sang Mauricio’s iconic fados. On these occasions,

neighbours explode with pride, enacting a sonorous sense of belonging and community by calling out exclamations such as “Ié, ié, ié, Mouraria é que é!” (“Hey, hey, hey, there’s no place like Mouraria”), or “A Mouraria é linda!” (“Mouraria is the loveliest!”).

This sense of Mouraria loyalty and pride also gets mobilized during the *visitas cantadas* in other ways. For instance, this is the case whenever Conceição Riveiro, a regular participant in the *visitas cantadas* and a *fadista* beloved to the local residents, performs “Senhora do Tejo,” a popular *marcha* that has become a signature song in her repertoire. The lyrics “celebrate” the beauty of Lisbon and its traditional neighbourhoods in the tradition of the “place-name” *fados* described by Gray (2013: 108), offering up to the listeners a tour around the different iconic sites of the Portuguese capital:

Tens Madragoa e Alfama
 E um Castelo da saudade
 Que dorme na tua cama
 Desde a tua mocidade.
 Lisboa da Mouraria
 Do Bairro Alto velinho
 E é no jardim da alegria
 A praça do nosso hino²⁵

[You have Madragoa and Alfama
 And their castle of yearning
 That has slept in your bed
 Since your youngest days.
 Lisbon’s Mouraria
 [Lisbon’s] old Bairro Alto
 And in the garden of happiness
 Is the square of our anthem”]

When it comes to Mouraria’s turn in the refrain, Ribeiro makes a gradual *ritardando* and requests the musicians stop playing music. Addressing the audience directly, she asks them to raise both their arms over their heads every time the refrain refers to the Mouraria. At that moment, local audience members, but also visitors and tourists, stand up and wave their arms in the air, turning the square into festive movement with some neighbours also replicating the dance moves of the “*marchas populares*.” It is in this moment of heightened “music sociality” (Holt and Wergin 2013) that the roles of visitor/tourist and host become intimately intertwined. “Senhora do Tejo” normally

acts as a closing song for Conceição Ribeiro's set. As the *Largo da Severa* fado performance comes to an end, local residents return to their homes, visitors continue their walking tour, and the public square returns to normality.

The Cathedral of Fado

Away from the tourists, there are other places in Mouraria where fado *acontece* [occurs]. One of these places is located in a semi-derelict 18th-century palace situated in the upper part of the Mouraria and far from the touristic trail that crosses the neighbourhood, whose main room is known among fado connoisseurs as *a catedral do fado* ("The Cathedral of Fado"). The Palácio dos Távoras hosts the premises of the *Grupo Desportivo da Mouraria* (GDM), the oldest neighbourhood association in Mouraria. Founded in 1936, the GDM is a textbook example of the grassroots neighbourhood collectives (*associações recreativas* or simply *colectividades*) established during the Estado Novo and "sustained by the most disadvantaged social groups" (Melo 2010: 26). Historically, these organizations have been the key drivers in the dynamization and structuring of local social groups in Lisbon's traditional neighbourhoods such as Mouraria, often acting as bearers of local cultural practices and advocates for a strong sense of local identity and community (see Cordeiro 2010; Firmino da Costa 2008). Throughout its 80 years of existence, the GDM has promoted the practice of sport, provided welfare aid, and organized the *arraiais populares* and the *marchas de bairro* during city celebrations in honour of St. Anthony as well as hosting recreational activities such as fado performances.

Despite the powerful institutional rhetoric sustaining the *visitas cantadas* as regards the theme of fado returning to its cradle, fado has represented a structuring presence in the GDM ever since the 1950s. The first fado sessions took place in 1958 as fund-raising events to provide food and clothes to the impoverished children of the neighbourhood, and to secure the day-to-day operation of the collective. The GDM has organized fado matinees with a certain regularity ever since; these are frequently linked to special events such as the anniversary of the organization or in homage to honorary members and fado performers. The walls of the main hall of the Palácio dos Távoras bear witness to this history: 18th-century tiles hang from the wall along with dozens of pictures of the different fado artists performing there over recent decades. One of the walls is devoted entirely to its most emblematic figure, Fernando Mauricio, "o maior fadista português do fado castiço" ["the greatest Portuguese fado singer of authentic fado"], as can be read on a wall plate. This identification with Fernando Mauricio—the main room where the fado sessions are held is named after him—

and the long list of acclaimed fadistas from the fado *castiço* tradition performing there has granted the collective a unique status within the fado community. This accumulated cultural capital is often acknowledged during performances. In one of her presentations at the GDM, fadista Teresa Ventura confessed: “Esta é a maior alegria da minha vida, cantar na Catedral do fado” [This is the happiest moment in my life, performing at the Cathedral of fado].²⁶

Fado still thrives in the GDM today. The fado matinees are organized by a local fado entrepreneur with both strong connections to the fado *castiço* scene and long relationships with the GDM. The sessions represent a collective effort that require the participation of different people: the GDM’s board members, the GDM members who help out with the preparation of the room and the food, and the fado singers and musicians themselves. Although these events do not have a defined periodicity, they constitute a meeting point for GDM members, fado performers, and a regular audience of fado enthusiasts from outside the neighbourhood that attend this kind of fado event. The Sunday fado matinees usually last four or five hours with a few intervals. Food and drink are available at inexpensive prices, with advance booking of a table necessary and for a fee. The list of fado performers is long and includes both amateur and professional fadistas. The latter usually drop in to sing and to socialize with their peers before going onto work in a *casa de fado* in the evening. Each fadista performs two or three fados. Tony Loretto, the organizer of the fado matinees, also acts as presenter and master of ceremonies. He keeps a list of the names of the fadistas present in the room, and calls them up by name when it is their time to perform. He also requests silence and makes announcements. The audience is mostly constituted by fado enthusiasts who hold knowledge of the lyrics, music, and performance styles. Unlike the commercial *casas de fado*, the audience members are not here as mere spectators, but are actively involved in the events. Interactions between the fado performers and their audience are constant. Moments of sheer emotion alternate with jokes and a relaxed atmosphere of comradeship. Rather than a cultural form for external consumption or aesthetic appreciation, fado functions here as a social and cultural practice that provides a context for musical sociality as well as a mode of representation interlinked with the experience of neighbourhood life (see Firmino da Costa 2008).

Conclusion

Over the last few years, the urban revitalization and the expansion of tourism in Lisbon’s traditional and working-class neighbourhoods such as Mouraria, has generated public debates about the negative impact of these urban phenomena

on the local economy, the appropriation of public urban spaces and the way of life of local residents (Guterres 2012; Alemão 2015; Dantas 2014). Under these circumstances, it would be tempting to read the fado matinees at the GDM as running against the grain of the other fado-related initiatives that have flourished in Mouraria ever since the beginning of urban renewal: with the former acting as the bearer of tradition and guardian of the essences in danger of disappearing, and the latter staging and commodifying the memories of a real and imaginary Mouraria fadista for a new audience of local residents, visitors, and tourists.

To understand this tension in antagonistic terms would be too narrow and would not do justice to the complex ways in which these processes of urban change permeate the urban fabric of historic neighbourhoods. It might be more accurate to analyse the revival of fado in terms of a continuity between the different practices, scenes, and actors that coexist in the aftermath of the urban renewal and touristification of Mouraria. For instance, Mouraria's new urban image as a *living* fado neighbourhood draws to a large extent from the legitimacy of institutions such as the GDM. Likewise, the GDM has benefited from the growing interest in Mouraria and its popular cultural traditions, not only in terms of its greater visibility outside the neighbourhood (the collective was included in the Roteiro Virtual do Fado launched by the Fado Museum in November 2012), but also as the GDM capitalized on its own prestige within the fado community.²⁷

This tension between a “sense of origins” and the “new beginnings” that Saron Zukin (2010) has described so eloquently to talk about the gentrification of New York is conveyed in the fado “Outros tempos, outro fado,” whose lyrics were written by a local poet named Toni Carolas. During a recent fund-raising fado matinee at the Grupo Desportivo da Mouraria, the last verses of this fado, sang by veteran fado singer Nuno de Aguiar, took on a particular resonance in the Cathedral of fado:

Hoje o fado está diferente
outros tempos, outros fados
numa outra Mouraria.

[Today fado sounds different
other times, other fado
in a different Mouraria]

The lamenting quality of the lyrics, inspired by Mouraria's renewal, echoes the tone of other classic songs from the fado repertoire that mourn the

disappearance of the old Mouraria fadista (see Colvin 2008). That evening, in the dimly lit room of the GDM, with the pictures of some deceased fadistas hanging on one of the walls, and in front of an elderly audience of fado aficionados, Carola's lyrics in the voice of Nuno de Aguiar somehow sounded premonitory of a loss effectively foretold in the municipality plans designed to turn Mouraria into a hip and cool place. However, the "social life" of this fado song, paraphrasing Arjun Appadurai (2011), extends beyond the walls of the "Cathedral of fado" and illustrates the continuity, permeability, and cross-fertilization between the different fado scenes currently present in Mouraria. The same song enacted different meanings when sung by the same fadista on a sunny Friday evening at the Largo da Severa, during one of the *visitas cantadas* performances, in front of an audience of not only visitors and tourists but also many local residents.²⁸ The vision of that "other" Mouraria that the lyrics evoke was right there, represented by the white facade of the newly inaugurated *casa de fados* Maria da Mouraria, the fado portraits covering the walls of Rua do Capelão, and the presence of a mixed crowd of local residents, other Lisboners, and foreign tourists.

The restitution of the sonority of fado to the Mouraria's public and semi-public spaces illustrates the ambiguous role of heritage in urban redevelopment, both as a tourist attraction and as a means of fostering a sense of community and belonging (Chang 1999). In this article, I have tried to move beyond the discourse of the negative impact of tourism and urban regeneration projects on the everyday life and local identity of Mouraria to emphasize the tensions and ambivalence inherent to any process of urban change. This analysis of the revival of fado in Mouraria constitutes a good example of just how an intervention in the domain of sound may serve to catalyze the revitalization of a neighbourhood. The sensory/sonic transformation of Mouraria into a "living" fadista quarter has transformed the perception and experience of the place not only for tourists and visitors but also for its inhabitants, who found in the fado based revival not only a reassertion of their collective identity but also a space for local empowerment. 🌱

Notes

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2. I apply the concept of culture here as the rhetorical device that often gets deployed in urban renewal schemes as an “attempt to enhance local prestige, increase property values and attract new investment and jobs” (Scott 2006: 28). For a critical view on the role of culture in processes of urban change, see Degen and Miles 2010.

3. Fado’s application form for UNESCO’s Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/RL/00563> (accessed March 20, 2015).

4. Over the course of my fieldwork, I have made extensive use of photography to document the renewed presence of fado in Mouraria. The following link contains a series of photographs that build up a visual narrative about this “return” of fado to the neighbourhood: <http://www.ofado.pt/?p=5238> (accessed January 2, 2016).

5. The Quadro Estratégico Nacional (National Strategic Reference Program – QREN) provides a framework for the development of the Portuguese economy funded by the European Union. The QREN-Mouraria program “As cidades dentro da cidade” (Cities within the city) was developed within this framework.

6. Statement by Antonio Costa, Mayor of Lisbon, during the public presentation of the QREN-Mouraria Action Plan (Largo do Intendente, Lisbon. September 23, 2011).

7. <http://www.publico.pt/Local/mudanca-do-gabinete-de-antonio-costa-para-o-intendente-adiada-por-alguns-dias-1487500> (accessed October 4, 2013).

8. In the words of the Lisbon mayor during the 2011 festival presentation: “The TODOS [Festival] has been crucial to discover a Lisbon neighbourhood that was unknown to many of us ... This opening and discovery of Mouraria is one of the greatest contributions of the TODOS [festival] to the city of Lisbon” (“O Todos tem sido decisivo para poder-nos descobrir muitos de nós em num bairro da cidade que era desconhecido para muitos de nós ... essa aberta, essa descoberta da Mouraria e um dos grandes contributos que o TODOS ter deixado a cidade”) (Núcleo Fotográfico do Arquivo da CML, Lisbon. September 8, 2011).

9. Central to the manufacturing of this image were various photographic exhibition—Todos (2010) Todos à tenda (2011), Todos Zumbidos da Mouraria (2012)—that showcased and celebrated the cultural and ethnic diversity of Mouraria and the adjacent areas. The creation in 2011 of the Orquestra TODOS, bringing together musicians of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds based in Lisbon, also contributed to this narrative (see Mendes Pereira 2012). Their first album *Intendente* (2012) is an attempt to foster a musical dialogue between different “musical worlds and cultures” at the core of “the oldest Lisbon neighbourhood,” as we can read on the album notes. Both the TODOS festival and the Orquestra TODOS were instrumental in the incorporation of the city of Lisbon to the Intercultural Cities programme sponsored by the European Council in 2012.

10. “O Fado é o meu bairro,” whose lyrics were written by Conde Sobral for Fernando Mauricio, the most famous Mouraria fado singer,

11. For specific analysis of the complex interlocking of fado, urban place and space, see Elliot (2010: 65-96), Colvin (2008) and Gray (2013).

12. The relationship between fado and Mouraria has also been celebrated in a vast repertoire of fado songs that mourn the loss of the old Mouraria, nourishing a romantic view of the degraded 19th-century Mouraria that equates Mouraria with fado (see Colvin 2008). A compilation of this repertoire may be found in the audio-book *Há fado na Mouraria* (2013), edited as part of this institutional effort to reposition the Mouraria in the fado scene. For a compelling analysis of the symbiosis between fado and the city, see Gray (2013: 105-139).

13. Rádio Amália is a local radio station specializing in fado.

14. Estado Novo constitutes the authoritarian regime that ruled Portugal from 1933-1974.

15. Programa de Desenvolvimento Comunitário da Mouraria (PDCM). Final report. June 2012.

16. One of the (expected) outcomes of the renewal of the Mouraria has been the multiplication of tourist accommodation, whether in the form of hostels and hotels or in the form of vacation rental apartments. The phenomenon is not exclusive to Mouraria though. On one of the sites promoting Lisbon as a tourist destination contains the following description of one apartment for short rental periods in Mouraria: “This old building in the heart of Mouraria, once home of Fado music and the famous performer Amália Rodrigues (‘Lady of Lisbon’), is suitable for a long weekend trip with your friends to explore Lisbon’s nightlife, a romantic week with your beloved or a summer holiday with your family.” URL: <http://www.thelissbonconnection.com/apartments-three-bedroom-apartment-historic-lisbon-mouraria/> (accessed January 15 2015).

17. “Descubra o bairro da Mouraria pela voz dos seus artistas” was the catchy promotional slogan that appeared on posters and leaflets advertising the initiative.

18. The Associação Renovar a Mouraria was set up in 2008 and has played a key role in the revitalization of Mouraria. The association has been very active in revitalising fado in the neighbourhood and beyond besides the *visitas cantadas* initiative.

At the end of 2012 and in the beginning of 2013, they organized weekly fado singing tours around the bars, taverns, and restaurants of the Mouraria, a fado singing contest, published an audio-book, and occasionally program fado concerts at their facilities on Beco do Rosendo.

19. The Empresa de Gestão de Equipamentos e Animação Cultural (EGEAC) is a municipal company that manages Lisbon's cultural facilities (such as the Fado Museum) and organizes Lisbon's festivities along with other cultural events in the city.

20. The second and third editions of the singing tours took place in the summers of 2013 and 2014 respectively. On those occasions, the *visitas cantadas* expanded to the Alfama neighbourhood. This section derives from fieldwork carried out during the summer of 2012.

21. On other occasions, the "Here come the tourists!" is replaced by another exclamation with an ironic twist: "Here comes the procession!"

22. Field notes, September 30, 2012.

23. "Bia da Mouraria." Lyrics: António José; Music: Nóbrega e Sousa.

24. "Recordações do passado 'Portuguesinha.'" Lyrics: José Ramos; Music: M. Confiner.

25. "Senhora do Tejo." Lyrics: José Luis Gordo; Music: Fontes Rocha.

26. Fieldnotes, December 2, 2012.

27. The GDM obtained financial support from the city council to implement one of its longstanding aspirations: to run their own fado school. Moreover, its emblematic figure Fernando Mauricio entered into the institutional agenda and, in July 2014, the mayor of Lisbon inaugurated a bronze bust of the fadista in the Rua da Guia. This had been a longstanding demand of the Mouraria's residents ever since his death. Finally, the growing interest in both fado and Mouraria itself has also empowered some neighbours and members of the GDM who have witnessed how their informal gatherings around fado in Rua João de Oteiro or the yearly commemorations of the birthday of Fernando Mauricio on Rua da Mouraria were attended by more people from outside the neighbourhood and also gained support from the local authorities. The culmination of these processes came with the opening of a museum devoted to the figure and career of Fernando Mauricio in July 2015.

28. Field notes, July 19, 2013.

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