Musical Artefacts in Literary Texts: the Viola in Nineteenth Century Rio de Janeiro

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Abstract: This article critically examines how the *viola* (plucked chordophone) was represented in ten novels by Brazilian authors published in nineteenth century Rio de Janeiro. It discusses aspects of the anthropology of literature and the limitations of fictional works in representing music and musical artefacts. Based on the novels selected, the article details two perspectives that dominated the musical and social discourse in Rio and debates how the perspectives reveal distinct social and cultural values in regards to the *viola* and *violão*. Narratives on the upper class were recounted mainly by Joaquim Manuel de Macedo author of five of the novels. These are contrasted with *Memories of a Militia Sargent* where Manuel Antônio de Almeida gives a rich account of the musical life of the lower classes in Rio. In conclusion, despite some ambiguity in regards to the organology of the plucked chordophones inscribed in the fictional literature analysed, the paper attests to the prevalence of the *viola* in many social and cultural contexts and its use by people of different genders and ethnic backgrounds. Yet, although the novels analyzed do not actually certify the decline of the *viola*, one does observe the progressive decrease of representations of the *viola* and a concomitant rise of the *violão* throughout the course of nineteenth century Rio.

Keywords: Musical Artefacts in Literary Texts. *Viola. Violão.* Luso-Brazilian Chordophones. Nineteenth Century Rio de Janeiro.

Artefatos musicais em textos literários: a viola no Rio de Janeiro do século XIX

Resumo: Este artigo examina criticamente como a viola (cordofone dedilhado) foi representada em dez romances publicados por autores brasileiros no Rio de Janeiro do século XIX. Discutem-se alguns aspectos da antropologia da literatura e limitações das representações de música e artefatos musicais em textos ficcionais. Daquelas publicações são detalhadas duas perspectivas que dominam os discursos musicais e sociais no Rio e são debatidos como aqueles pontos-de-vista revelam distintos valores sociais e culturais da viola e do violão. Narrativas das elites são descritas, principalmente, por Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, autor de cinco romances selecionados do período. Estes são contrastados com o romance *Memórias de um Sargento de Milícias*, no qual Manuel Antônio de Almeida ricamente descreve a vida musical das classes baixas no Rio de Janeiro. O artigo conclui que, apesar de haver alguma ambiguidade relativa à organologia dos cordofones dedilhados inscritos na literatura ficcional analisada, pode-se atestar que as violas estavam inseridas em muitos contextos sociais e culturais e que eram usadas por indivíduos de diferentes gêneros e origens étnicas. No entanto, ainda que os romances não possam certificar a decadência da viola na cidade, percebe-se a progressiva diminuição de representações do instrumento e a concomitante ascendência do violão no decorrer do século XIX no Rio de Janeiro.

Palavras-chave: Artefatos musicais em textos literários. Viola. Violão. Cordofones luso-brasileiros. Rio de Janeiro, século XIX.

CASTRO, Renato Moreira Varoni de. Musical artefacts in literary texts: the viola in nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro. *Opus*, Porto Alegre, v. 21, n. 1, p. 9-42, jun. 2015.

This article looks at how the *viola* (plucked chordophone) was represented in novels published and set in nineteenth century Rio de Janeiro[1]. I argue that the representations of music in literature develop a broader understanding of the material culture of music and perspectives on the social, political and cultural contexts in which the instrument was played. Although writings in regards to the *viola* take on several forms i.e., travel accounts, fictional literature, memoirs, dictionaries, police records, music store advertisements, *viola* makers (*violeiros*) and music teachers, the focus is exclusively on chronicle and fictional literature. I choose this mode of written representation as I consider novels to be a privileged form of narrative, allowing a valuable glimpse of the articulation between music and society in nineteenth century Rio.

My choice of books is derived from a selection originally made by musicologist José Ramos Tinhorão (2000) who, in his work *Popular Music in the Brazilian Romance*[2] chose novels from Brazilian literature that made any type of reference to music. From his extensive research, I worked with ten novels that make brief mention to chordophones in Rio de Janeiro. Although my compilation is based upon a previous study, I had access to all of the novels with one exception: the historical romance *Gabriela* by José Maria Velho da Silva (1875). For this work, I based my analysis on the extracts selected by Tinhorão (2000).

In analysing these texts to define how the *viola* was part of the music-making scene of nineteenth century Rio, I divide the article into three parts. Firstly, I reflect upon the content and agenda of the novels, questioning how and to what extent they provide musical and social knowledge of the past. I look at the interactions between anthropology and literature as proposed by Watson (2012) and consider issues of cultural and historical representation in written texts in the works of Hayden White (1973) and James Clifford (1986). Secondly, I make a comparative analysis of the dialogue and narratives within each novel, in order to demonstrate how the *viola* and similar chordophones were used in Rio in different socio-cultural contexts and musical practices. By setting up the atmosphere and mood in which characters and even authors themselves frequently appear in the text, I grasp subtleties in regards to the importance of chordophones in different circumstances. I conclude the article with a diachronical analysis of the musical and social trajectory of the *viola* in the *Carioca* chronicles and fictional literature selected.

[1] This work has been contemplated in the FAPEMA's program to support the publication of articles.
[2] Original title in Portuguese: *Música popular no Romance brasileiro* (TINHORÃO, 2000).

Texts as artefacts and artefacts in texts

The paucity of specific musical sources regarding the *viola* in nineteenth century Rio de Janeiro enhances the importance of novels in reconstructing the trajectory of the instrument. It should be emphasised though, that my criteria for selecting these particular novels were primarily based on the prevalence of references to the *viola* and/or similar chordophones. In this paper, I deem *violas* to be artefacts inscribed in text within the modes of chronicles and fictional literature. In this sense, they are artefacts found in text. From another perspective, the text itself can be considered material culture that, alongside other objects such as paintings, drawings, and music scores, constitute the remnants or traces of historical *Carioca* music. Thus, texts are artefacts. I also discuss the meaning of the text as an artefact since the setting of the novels allows for a broader panorama of life in nineteenth century Rio, whilst only indirectly related to musical "content", ultimately assists in interpreting the music and culture of the times. The issues that arise from the text in regards to the music-making endured in the iconography of instruments, performer positions, landscape and scenery together with its narrative account. These different modes of representation have been debated in broader categories of literary analysis.

Approaches to literary texts as artefacts and the inscription of artefacts in literary texts are highlighted in three of four approaches to understanding the relationships between anthropology and literature as noted by C. W. Watson (2012): (i) the anthropology of literature, (ii) literature as ethnography, (iii) ethnography as literature, and (iv) non-academic writings by anthropologists. Here, I summarize these categorizations and show how they apply to the cultural and historical representations of musical texts of the era I am studying. In the anthropology of literature, Watson (2012) contends that anthropologists recognize that literature, to some extent, represents the morals, customs, aesthetics and cognitive perceptions of a people living in a certain society. He finds two basic distinctions in his approach to anthropology of literature: firstly, there are those anthropologists who are concerned with the production and consumption of oral or written texts and their position in different parts of society. They construe literary products as artefacts and are interested in understanding their differential relations within it. The anthropology of literature, can further be divided into two branches: the first branch has two components, one concerning the analysis of literary accounts as empirical data produced by learned informants, who imparted knowledge on institutions, traditions, and artefacts. Another component concerns anthropologists who considered the texts themselves to be "quasi-informants", or entities that incorporated societal values, giving less importance to the role of the author as mediator of textual information. The second

branch contemplates the literary text as a singular and privileged medium of social and cultural representation, as if it were a cultural form in which society revealed its self-consciousness regarding values, beliefs, and ways of being human.

I examine the complete works of the novels selected which depict chordophones in Rio; ten books as evidence of the material culture of a Brazilian past and as artefacts that textually represent the *viola* in Rio. Analyzing the novels as artefacts or material culture, their use and how they were produced and consumed helps the reader to understand the broader social relations in nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro. For instance, most novels were issued in serial editions in newspapers. The publication and consumption of books, newspapers or any other kind of printed media was strictly forbidden to the Brazilian population from the beginning of colonization in the sixteenth century until the arrival of the Portuguese royal family in Rio in 1808. When a printing press was installed in Rio de Janeiro in 1808, its products, as well as imported literature, was controlled and censured by the monarchy (SCHWARCZ; AZEVEDO; COSTA, 2002).

Censorship ended in 1821, the year of the founding of the newspaper *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* in which some of the novels were issued. Freedom of the press was reasserted in the Constitution of 1824. The habit of reading novels in *feuilletons* by upper class ladies in Rio started in the 1830's with the translation of European novels (mostly French). In the 1840's the first texts by Brazilian authors were published (TINHORÃO, 2000). With the exception of one book, *The Pilgrim of America* (1738), all the novels analysed here were written during the monarchical regime of Brazil's second empire (1840-1889), suggesting the civilization process that had started in 1808 was already well developed and that the city of Rio de Janeiro had become a busy urban center.

However, slavery continued in the city and the majority of the population was still illiterate. The practice of publishing novels in *feuilletons* was a French tradition imitated by Brazilian writers, and the production and consumption of written texts remained an elitist activity in Rio de Janeiro. Tinhorão (2000) argues that the authors of the Brazilian romantic literary genre, in which the publications selected may be included, had no intention of exposing the contradictions of Brazilian and *Carioca* society. Despite freedom from censorship, fictional literature, in both books and newspapers, can be considered written artefacts that supported the political and social status quo which expressed the view of the dominant classes, leaving aside any racial, ethnic and class tension in Rio. Indeed, the novels circulated within a small social domain which explains why only two of the ten books selected describe the musical life of the lower classes in Rio in any detail, and then even

with a certain exoticism.

In the second and third approaches suggested by Watson (2012), literature as ethnography, and ethnography as literature, the main question is whether the literature describes in sufficient detail to gain the status of an ethnographic account. Put otherwise, to what extent is ethnography literary work? Both approaches have their critics. Watson (2012) contends that there are those who argue that it is an elementary mistake to deem literature a valuable source of social reality since it does not fulfil the rigor required of an ethnographic account. Yet, while this type of criticizm can be directed towards some fictional work, it does not take into account that not all fiction has the same degree of invention: in some cases, stories are based on extensive research for which the writer provides a rich and trustworthy description. Even if plots are not based on real facts, the stories can still shed light on the way of life of those societies. For anthropologists, their accounts are circumscribed by an "implicit pact between writer and reader" (WATSON, 2012: 257), as the latter believes in the authoritative status of the ethnographer even though descriptions are not verified by the reader. Yet, anthropologists create a sense of authority and conviction in their texts through the use of literary devices such as rhetoric and allegory to represent the meanings they intend to convey.

James Clifford (1986) and Hayden White (1973), shed light on the value of cultural and historical descriptions in written texts, as pertains to the use of tropes in the creation of ethnographic and historical texts, and the extent to which texts can be considered "literary", "ethnographic", and "historic", accounts. Highlighting the interpenetration between scholarly and artistic writing in cultural descriptions, Clifford (1986) points out that the poetics and politics of cultural representation are not separate from history and linguistics. He contends that the use of allegory in ethnographic texts is not an artifice that distorts the account, rather, it is a condition for the creation of a meaningful text. Nevertheless, ethnography cannot claim to be the representation of reality, for it simultaneously, represents and creates realities. Through the analysis of structural elements of texts from nineteenth century Europe, Hayden White (1973) has shown that an historical text is a narrative that uses literary artifice to create a representation of the past, and thus it should not be read as a factual account. He contends that historians do not find stories, rather they create them by arranging events in a temporal order, choosing what should be left out of or put into a story, posing questions, such as, "How did that happen? Why did things happen this way rather than another?" These questions concern "narrative tactics the historian must use in the construction of his story" (WHITE, 1973: 7).

I distinguish these novels as constituting material culture in textual format since they provide unique representations of music and society in both contextual and material descriptions of a *Carioca* past. I assume, however, that, like any representation whether textual or not, they are intrinsically biased, rhetorical and contested. Moreover, they are conditioned by literary style and genre as well as by the writers' skills and knowledge concerning the contexts and subjects of the story told, and more specifically, by the limitations of the written texts in representing music and musical instruments. Agreeing with Clifford (1986) and White (1973), I therefore contend that the stories should not be read as literal representations of reality or as simple repositories of social and musical "content". These matters raise questions about the extent to which novels may be considered valuable sources of musical and social knowledge, and to what extent they should be seen as inventions or descriptions of the past. I will argue that these representations vary from author to author and novel to novel, but even in the most inventive stories there is some allusion to reality and some access to useful and accessible "data" of everyday life.

In some of the novels analysed here the authors created their texts as hybrid forms that encompassed histories, chronicles, romances, and memoirs. The novels *The Women of Mantilla* (1870), and *Gabriela* (1875), for instance, were known as historical novels as their plots tell stories of colonial times. In the novel *Memoirs of a Militia Sergeant* of 1845, the author admits to using his memories and the memories of other informants to recreate a history of the early part of the century in Rio de Janeiro. Such information can only provide clues for the reader: it does not solve the problem of representation and the contested interpretation of literary texts.

During the analysis of the novels, I first view the books as material culture from the past. I then consider them as written texts with their own particular modes of representation. Finally, I examine the novels as descriptions of the material culture of a time and place. I do not mean to suggest that these three dimensions are independent of each other; rather, I assert that one is the condition for the existence of the other. I contend, for example, that precision in describing social and cultural contexts does not guarantee the same accuracy in describing material culture in a novel. Furthermore, accuracy in describing the organological features of a musical instrument cannot explain the context in which it is played nor equate the person playing with the actual use of the instrument. These issues will be evidenced and analysed by comparing their descriptions.

The novels as ethnography

Considering literature as a kind of ethnographic representation produced by reasonably well-informed authors, I therefore divide the books analysed in this work into two groups characterized by different viewpoints. One, personified by Joaquim Manuel de Macedo and the majority of the authors, represents the point of view of the elite class in Rio de Janeiro. The other depicts the view of the lower classes, as exemplified by Manuel Antônio de Almeida (1831-1861) and his *Memoirs of a Militia Sergeant* (1852-1853) and by Luís Guimarães Junior and his *The Agulha Family* (1870). It is not surprising that most novels presented here take the viewpoint of Rio's nineteenth-century bourgeois elite, considering that both authors and readers belonged to that social class (JAROUCHE, 2000). This is one explanation for the originality of *Memoirs of a Militia Sergeant* by Manuel Antônio de Almeida; a crucial author whose work offers a rare richness of detail from the viewpoint of the lower classes in *Carioca* society. However, it is important to highlight that *Memoirs of a Militia Sergeant* was primarily published as a periodical from June 1852 to July 1853 in Sunday editions of the journal *Gazeta Mercantil,* called the *Pacotilha*, a section of the journal featuring social and political critique, characterised by its satiric and ironic tone. In these publications, Manuel Antônio de Almeida used the *nom de plume,* "the Brazilian" rather than revealing his true identity. Almeida's anonymity may explain the uniqueness of his romance, both in regard to the freedom of plot choice, giving the lower classes' point of view, and the informal dialogue and sarcasm characteristic of the narrative.

On the other hand, the most successful writer of his time in Rio, the *Carioca*, Joaquim Manuel de Macedo (1820-1882) gives the social perspective of the elites in the city. Born into a wealthy family, Macedo became a medical doctor in Rio de Janeiro but never worked as a physician, preferring to teach (in the Pedro II School)[3] and write. Credited as an accurate chronicler of his time, on reading his books it becomes clear that Macedo focuses almost exclusively on the everyday life of the upper classes in Rio. Commenting critically on Macedo's musical descriptions, the literate Astrogildo Pereira contends: "what I could not find in Macedo… was the least mention of the religious ceremonies and popular parties, certainly the folkloric sense was not his strength […]" (PEREIRA, 1942: 17, own translation)[4]. Despite these criticizms, Pereira (1942) admitted Macedo's importance as a

[3] Named after the Brazilian emperor Pedro II, this school was among the most respectable educational institutions in the country.

[4] "O que não encontrei, neste Macedo… foi a menor descrição de festas ou cerimônias religiosas e festas populares… o censo foclórico não era certamente o seu forte […]" (PEREIRA, 2005: 17).

reporter of the time: "What is without doubt, however, is that Macedo, with all his faults, is still an authoritative interpreter of our feelings, a meticulous and reliable chronicler of our social life in the mid-1800s" (PEREIRA, 1942: 13, own translation)[5]. Despite these valid criticisms from Pereira, I argue that Macedo demonstrates one of the most prolific awareness of music of his time, and whilst he does not mention music of the poor or of African slaves, he does describe scenes where the musical traditions of the lower classes were being increasingly assimilated by a rich, white population. The fictional literature of the nineteenth century, then, is an important piece in the musical "puzzle" of the time, and its significance increases when considered in dialogue with other historical sources.

I work from an analysis of these novels, how they discuss the context of music making and performer status. Working with each novel separately, enables a closer look at the descriptions of musical practice within the genres and customs of the time. The novels are first analyzed by date of publication and then analysed in order of the historical period of the music portrayed in the plots. Finally, I conclude by comparing and contrasting the authors' portrayals of the *viola* and *violão*.

Narrative compendium of the pilgrim of America[6]: the viola in different social contexts

I selected this book published in 1728[7] because it describes how the *viola* was played during a period when musical accounts were almost non-existent in Brazil. Whilst the story is neither located in Rio de Janeiro, nor written in the nineteenth century, the book is useful in order to grasp a longer trajectory of the instrument and for a diachronic comparison of *viola* representations in Brazil. The book's extensive title gives an idea of what the author Nuno Marques Pereira (1652-1733) thought about the customs of the colony. On the cover page one reads: "Narrative compendium of the pilgrim of América, which treats various spiritual discussions, and morals, with several warnings, and documents on the abuses, which are thought to be introduced by diabolical malice in the State of

[5] "O que não padece dúvida, porém, é que Macedo, com todos os seus defeitos, ainda é um interprete autorizado dos nossos costumes, sentimentos, cronista meticuloso e fidedigno da nossa vida social nos meados do século passado [século XIX]" (PEREIRA, 2005: 13).

[6] Author's translation of the Brazilian title: *Compêndio narrativo do peregrino da América*.

[7] This article uses the 1988 edition.

Brazil" (PEREIRA, 1988: cover page, own translation)[8]. It is through the description of what he found in the Portuguese colony that one grasps the social and musical trajectory of the *viola*.

Representing the political and religious power of the metropole, the pilgrim text criticizes a popular celebration in honor of the Catholic saint São Gonçalo. For Pereira, the mixing of people from different races, genders and ages, as well as the type of music performed at the event were inappropriate in paying respect to the saint. He says "[...] at festivals that were usually held on the public streets on São Gonçalo day, white men, women, children, and blacks with violas, *pandeiros* and *adufes* [drums], cheering and saluting the saint while carrying the statue in the air, look more like abuse and superstition than praise to the saint [...]" (PEREIRA, 1988: 149, own translation)[9]. This account shows that even before the transmigration of the Portuguese royal family to Brazil, and the consequent modernization of Rio de Janeiro, public ceremonies were viewed with suspicion by the political and social elite of the country. Yet it indicates that popular traditions that used *viola* accompaniment were already contested in the eighteenth century. This type of criticism in the pilgrim text, however, was not towards music in general. In another excerpt, recognizing the greatness of music for being universal to every individual, Pereira reports on the instruments he found in a music school he visited. "And in the middle of the room there was a large platform, two and a half feet high, and upon it there were many and various stringed instruments, *violas*, harps, lutes, theorbos, *bandorrilhas*[10], fiddles and big fiddles, zithers, etc. [...]" (PEREIRA, 1988: 69, own translation)[11]. Furthermore, in the music

[8] "Compêndio narrativo do Peregrino da América, em que se tratam vários discursos espirituais, e morais, com muitas advertências, e documentos sobre os abusos, que se acham introduzidos pela malícia diabólica no Estado do Brasil." (PEREIRA, 1988: cover page.

[9] "[…] umas festas, que se costumavam fazer pelas ruas públicas em dia de São Gonçalo, de homens brancos, mulheres e meninos, e negros com violas, pandeiros, e adufes, com vivas e revivas São Gonçalinho, trazendo o santo pelos ares, que mais pareciam abusos e superstições, que louvores ao santo […]." (PEREIRA, 1988: 149).

[10] There is no typification for an instrument called *bandorrilha* in Brazilian organology. However, the term suggests a similarity with the Spanish bandurria and the Portuguese bandurra. Those are treble plucked chordophones, generally with six courses and double strings as found in the online catalogs (MIMO [s.n.]). MATRIZ NET [s.n.]).

[11] "E no meio da sala estava um grande estrado da altura de dois palmos e meio, e em cima dele muitos e vários instrumentos de cordas, como eram violas, harpas, alaúdes, tiorbas, bandorrilhas, rebecas e rebecões, e cítaras […]." (PEREIRA, 1988: 69).

school he reports on his own performance: "without ceremony, I took up the *viola* and after tuning it and making a *rojão*[12], I sang these lyrics…" (PEREIRA, 1998: 76)[13].

The pilgrim text indicates that he knew about chordophones, especially about the *viola* as implied by the variety of instruments that he could distinguish and list. Moreover, through his performance, he demonstrates the use of the *viola* for both solo performance and accompaniment.

The son of the fisherman[14]: music in party scenes

Considered one of the first, if not the first Brazilian romance, *The Son of the Fisherman* was written by Antônio Gonçalves Teixeira e Souza in 1843 set in Rio de Janeiro. At one point, the author describes a musical scene amongst a party of wealthy people which allows a glimpse into the musical styles and instruments played in the social environment:

> This [...] scene lasted until nightfall, at which time this radiant youth was invited to a room where for a long time people danced and sang etc. We note, however, that only the ladies had been singing when someone asked Florindo to sing a *modinha*. Our assumed dandy politely declined with calculated courtesy, until he was cajoled by a lady, [...] he joined in with a faint voice, well tuned to the sound of a viola [...] (TEIXEIRA E SOUZA, 1997: 59, own translation)[15].

According to my reading of the novels, a young man, playing an instrument and singing in a party of rich people was quite unusual at the time, which is confirmed by Tinhorão (2000), who notes, moreover, that composers and singers of *modinhas* were beginning to gain stature as true poets in Rio de Janeiro. As the scene develops, the author

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[12] Playing a *rojão*, refers to a solo prelude or introduction.

[13] "Sem mais cerimônias, peguei a viola, e depois de a temperar, e fazer um rojão, cantei esta letra…"

[14] Author's translation of the Brazilian title: *O filho do pescador*.

[15] "Esta […] cena durou até o cair da noite, tempo em que esta luzida mocidade foi convidada para uma sala, onde por muito tempo dançou-se, cantou-se etc. Notemos, porém, que só as senhoras tinham cantado, quando alguém pediu a Florindo que cantasse uma modinha. O nosso presumido gamenho esquivou-se com calculada cortesia, até que rogado fosse por alguma senhora, ele o foi, e o namorador profissional, juntando uma débil voz, bem que entoada ao som de uma viola […]" (TEIXEIRA E SOUZA, 1997: 59).

mentions another chordophone being played in those circumstances: "A lady also honored the company with a pleasant voice accompanied by a psaltery [*saltério*]". The reference to the *viola* and the psaltery are important as references to both chordophones are associated with certain social and musical practices. In the second half of the century, it was more common to see the *violão* and the piano in the same social context.

The *Moreninha*[16]: musical sounds among elites

The novel *A Moreninha* portrays the customs of *Carioca* aristocratic and bourgeois society of the mid-nineteenth century. Joaquim Manuel de Macedo (1844) mentions that some characters were acquainted with repertoires such as the *Modinhas de Laforge*[17] and the opera *Barber of Seville*[18] (MACEDO, 2000: 178). The popular *lundu* style was also referenced in this social context and its difference from other genres highlighted. In one passage, the son of a businessman, a character called Augusto, says: "The only consolation I had was seeing her run to the piano, and hearing her sing the following and other verses played in national taste […]" (MACEDO, 2000: 86, own translation)[19]. Augusto himself calls these verses, *lundu,* identifying them as distinct from other genres. At this time the piano was coming to occupy a significant place in the social stratum. In another passage Augusto relates different types of chordophones to social class identities. He notes: "My lady, ears that hear chords and sounds of such a sonorous harp, plucked by the agile hand of a beautiful maiden, hurt to hear the unspeakable untuned sound of the *viola* played by a rude *saloia*" (MACEDO, 2000: 53, own translation)[20].

Saloia was a term used to refer to a rustic person or peasant, who was unsophisticated, uncultured, sly or a rogue. The contrast between the *viola* and a sonorous harp played respectively by a *saloia* and *a* beautiful maiden, shows explicit prejudice between musical instruments and social groups. The position of the *viola* is very clear in this dialogue, it is associated with the rustic, rural, and old, indicating the place of the *viola* in the musical

16 Author's approximate translation of the Brazilian title: *The little brunette*.

17 Pierre Laforge was the first musical editor in Rio de Janeiro. His collections of *modinhas* became popular in the city in the nineteenth century.

18 Opera by the Italian composer Gioacchino Rossini from the first half of the nineteenth century.

19 "A única consolação que tive foi vê-la correr para o piano, e ouvi-la cantar as seguintes e outras quadrinhas musicadas no gosto nacional […]" (MACEDO, 2000: 86).

20 "Minha senhora, ouvidos que escutam acordes, sons de harpa sonora, vibrada por ligeira mão de formosa donzela, doem-se de ouvir um toque inqualificável da viola desafinada da rude saloia." MACEDO, 2000: 53).

and social environment in Rio de Janeiro. It is interesting to observe that while Augusto praises the *lundu (*originating from the black population) when played on the piano, he criticizes *viola* music.

Rosa[21]: musical diversity of the elite

In this novel, there is no reference to the *viola* or *violão*. However, in the plot created by Joaquim Manuel de Macedo (1849) the young protagonist Rosa, sings different songs showing the diversity of musical genres that would be heard and performed in the elite social environment of Rio de Janeiro in the nineteenth century. In an excerpt, Rosa tries to persuade her father to give her money to buy some adornments. "[...] with her sweet and graceful [...] voice, she sang [...] an animated song in a boisterous and impudent voice" (MACEDO, 1931: 21, own translation)[22]. Macedo wrote the song lyrics but did not try to classify the genre. However, Tinhorão (2000) identified it as a very popular *lundu* of the time, calling it "The Song of the Vain"[23]. In the same story, Rosa sang an allegro from an Italian *aria*, which suggests the levels of musical diversity that existed among the Rio elite.

A stroll across the city of Rio de Janeiro[24]: the ruralization of musical genres

This novel was published by Joaquim Manuel de Macedo in instalments from 1862 to 1863, thirteen to fourteen years after the *lundu* "Song of the Vain" was mentioned in the novel *Rosa*. It highlights the following passage:

> And what's worse is that the taste and originality of these songs, music with such character that it distinguishes itself from the music of all other nations, is being lost little by little, sacrificed to the Italian song, which has been imitated for a few years and is the dominant thought of our composers. Brazilian *modinhas* and *lundus*, almost no longer exist except in the memory of the elderly; they were banned from elegant salons and with all primitive customs [...] went to the dark forests of the countryside

21 Rosa is the name of the main character of the novel.

22 "[…] com voz…doce e graciosa, cantou…com voz buliçosa e travessa uma música viva e alegre" (MACEDO, 1931: 21).

23 Author's translation of the *lundu*: *O canto da vaidosa*.

24 Author's translation of the Brazilian title: *Um passeio pela cidade do Rio de Janeiro*.

> [...] feeding the flame of past memories of foreignness that has been removed from the cities" (MACEDO, 2004: 98, own translation)[25].

This commentary about music in Rio de Janeiro in the second half of the nineteenth century shows that the *modinha* and the *lundu* were being consolidated as Brazilian genres, while the influence of foreign music was also changing the musical taste of the *Carioca* population. National music would be pushed to rural areas, where it would be "preserved" by the rural population. This excerpt, explains, at least partially, the "ruralization" of some musical genres. Even though the *modinha* survived until the twentieth century, it had to withstand the competition of European genres that "landed" in Brazil. I contend that not only music, but also some musical instruments followed the same trajectory, if not entirely vanishing, perhaps losing the importance they once had. The *viola* would be one of those instruments that was once popular in the capital of the Empire and later became strongly associated with rural culture.

The blonde young man[26]: the *violão* in the city

In this novel by Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, published in 1845, there are few music scenes. However, the little that is revealed can be useful for understanding local practices surrounding chordophones as song accompaniment in Rio de Janeiro, as exemplified in the following excerpt:

> [...] there, at the mercy of the silence of the night and the light of the moon, a harmonious voice to sing a song should cause a pleasant effect; and, proud of the merit of his daughter, he did not hesitate to suggest that she sing. Felix offered to

[25] "E o pior é que o gosto e a originalidade desses cantos, cuja música tinha um caráter que fazia distinguir da música característica de todas as outras nações, tem-se ido perdendo pouco a pouco, sacrificada ao canto italiano, cuja imitação é, desde alguns anos, o pensamento dominante de nossos compositores. As modinhas e os lundus brasileiros quase já não existem senão na memória dos antigos; foram banidos dos salões elegantes e com todos os costumes primitivos, dos bosques vizinhos do litoral pelo ruído das conquistas dos homens, fogem para as sombrias florestas do interio […] alimentando a flama das recordações passadas que o estrangeirismo apagou das cidades" (MACEDO, 2004: 98).

[26] Author's translation of: *O moço loiro*.

> accompany her: a *violão* appeared and Honorina sang (MACEDO, 1994: 130, own translation)[27].

The reference to the *violão* in this novel is consistent with the growing influence of the instrument during this period. In the novel *The Moreninha* of 1844, previously mentioned, Macedo associated the *viola* with the *saloias* exemplifying the rural and old. In *The Blonde Young Man* published a year later in 1845, Macedo, aware of the new musical practices amongst the wealthy in Rio, created a scene where a *violão* and not a *viola* was used for accompaniment. Both examples show the coherence of Macedo's accounts and reinforce that musical instruments such as the *viola* and *violão* had gained different social statuses in Rio de Janeiro by the middle of the nineteenth century. In the novel *The Women of Mantilla*, Macedo would once more write about life in Rio de Janeiro giving musical examples where his characters played chordophones.

The women of Mantilla[28]: *lundus*, *violas* and *guitarras* in diverse social classes

When writing the historical romance *The Women of Mantilla* published in 1870, Joaquim Manuel de Macedo intended to base the plot on real events, showing readers of the nineteenth century what life was like in Rio de Janeiro during the governance of Viceroy Comte da Cunha from 1763 to 1767[29]. According to Macedo (1988), it was a poor moment in the city's history for the public order imposed by authorities resulted in the prohibition of many popular celebrations. Revealing the point of view of the elite of the era, Macedo (1988), commented on Bishop D. Fr. Antônio do Desterro's dissatisfaction with certain popular music styles that could be heard even among "respectable" elements of society: "It was indeed the *lundu*, the cheerful, sarcastic, erotic and very popular song that exaggerated its rights, and would even sometimes, offend and scratch the ears of decency,

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[27] "[…] ali, à mercê do silêncio da noite e ao clarão da lua, devia causar efeito bem agradável uma voz harmoniosa, que entoasse um canto; e, orgulhoso do mérito de sua filha, não hesitou em aconselhar-lhe que cantasse. Felix ofereceu-se para acompanhá-la: apareceu um violão e Honorina cantava." (MACEDO, 1994: 130).

28 Author's translation of the Brazilian title: *As mulheres de mantilha.*

[29] Conde da Cunha was the ninth Brazilian viceroy. His real name was D. Álvares da Cunha (1700-1791).

contributing to the corruption of morals" (MACEDO, 1988: 21-22, own translation)[30]. Knowing the criticizm came from the bishop, the population responded by creating another *lundu* that Macedo (1988) cites:

> I no longer sing *lundu* / That the bishop does not want / But I have already asked for permission from the archbishop of Bahia / And I will sing, / And I will dance, / Flirt / With the girls to play / And unpunished sing the *lundu* /To the grumpy bishop / I'd say uh! uh! uh! (MACEDO, 1988: 22, own translation)[31].

It is through this type of song that the population protested against attempts of government control by Conde da Cunha. Macedo continues saying that:

> It was with similar songs or *lundus*, and often with lampoons in verse and prose that were affixed at night to church doors, on houses, and walls that the displeased, fairly or unfairly, expressed themselves, as they had no representative tribune that would speak for them nor a press that allowed the free expression of one's opinion. (MACEDO, 1988: 23, own translation)[32].

The church was one of the hegemonic institutions in *Carioca* society. Its objection to forms of popular music such as the *lundu* and the explicit resistance of the populous in directing another *lundu* against the bishop, indicates that, already in the second half of the eighteenth century, there was a clash of religious and secular discourse in Rio in which musical choice played an important social role. Later, I discuss this connection between music and society in Rio de Janeiro in relation to musical genres that used *viola*

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30 "Com efeito o lundu, a cantiga folgazona, sarcástica, erótica e muito popular exagerava os seus direitos, e ia às vezes até a licença, ofendendo, arranhando os ouvidos da decência, e contribuindo para a corrupção dos costumes." (MACEDO, 1988: 21-22).

31 "Já não se canta o lundu/ Que não quer o senhor bispo;/ Mas eu já pedi licença Da Bahia ao arcebispo;/ E hei de cantar,/ E hei de dançar,/ Saracotear/ Com as moças brincar/ E impunimente cantando o lundu/ Ao bispo furente/ Direi uh! uh! uh!" (MACEDO, 1988: 22).

32 "Era com semelhantes cantigas ou lundus, e muitas vezes com pasquins em verso e prosa que se pregavam à noite nas portas das igrejas, nas paredes das casas, e nos muros que desgostosos justa ou injustamente se pronunciavam, visto como não tinham tribuna parlamentar onde se falasse por eles, nem imprensa que fosse livre órgão da opinião de cada um." (MACEDO, 1988: 23).

accompaniment. For now, I want to draw attention to another excerpt from the *Women of Mantilla* that provides other insights into the *lundu* and the types of instruments used at that time. The scene occurred at a *soirée* at the home of the courtesan Maria.

> -New *lundu*! Cried a beautiful young lady, standing up and taking the *viola*.
>
> -Why not the harpsichord?
>
> -The harpsichord is nobler, it belongs to *xácaras* and ballads[33]: the *lundu* is more plebeian and is suitable to the *viola* that is an instrument of the people.
>
> -Let it come the *lundu*. (MACEDO, 1988: 226, own translation)[34].

The connection between the *lundu* and the *viola* in this passage shows that a new cultural and musical identity of instruments and musical genres was already being created in Rio de Janeiro in the eighteenth century. The passage indicates that both the *viola* and the *lundu*, were seen as popular in opposition to other musical practices. It is important to understand how the *viola* was used later in Rio, and why the instrument declined in the city. Regarding the *lundu*, Macedo describes another *soirée* in Maria's house where he explains the different styles of the genre:

> [Maria] asked one of the girls to sing a *lundu*, a light and cheeky musical genre that amongst many companions would have found no license for the almost obscene lyrics, but in this meeting was heard without embarrassment. Not all the *lundus* were like this, rather, some bore the special grace of this genre without offending the decency of a maiden in the slightest, and had the great merit of possessing a certain national character, although they very much wanted to, rightly or not, in imitation of the Spanish *zarzuela*[35] (MACEDO, 1988: 110, own translation)[36].

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[33] In the context of the dialogue the terms *xácaras* and ballads are referring to foreign and elitist music.

[34] "a viola. - Por que não cravo? - O cravo é mais nobre, pertence às xácaras e baladas: o lundu é mais plebeu e cabe de direito à viola, que é instrumento do povo. - Venha pois o lundu." (MACEDO, 1988: 226).

[35] Traditional Spanish form of musical comedy.

[36] "[Maria] convidou uma das moças a cantar um lundu, gênero de música ligeiro e brejeiro que em muitas composições não teria cabimento pela companhia pela licença quase obscena das letras, mas que nessa reunião se ouvia sem constrangimento. Nem todos os lundus eram assim e pelo contrário alguns ostentavam a graça especial desse gênero de música sem de leve ofender o pudor de uma

Macedo (1988) acknowledges *lundu* as having a certain national character, even identifying two types suited to distinctive environments. Toward the end of the book, the author recounts the scene in the palace of the Viceroy Conde da Cunha, where the two daughters of the trader Jerônimo Lírio, Irene and Inês, sing, a *modinha* and a *lundu* respectively, but this would not be good manners at the time because of the prejudice toward popular genres which had connotations of "marginality". After their presentation, however, they were warmly applauded by the viceroy and all present. What becomes apparent in the scene is the adoption of a musical genre of popular origin by other social strata. The following excerpts permit a more focused view of chordophones of the epoch:

> [...] mother educated the daughters in the sanctuary of the family home; taught them as much as she knew, sewing, embroidery, playing the harpsichord and the guitar, to dance the minuet, and other dances of the time [...] (MACEDO, 1988: 45, own translation)[37].

> [...] Isidora then took the *guitarra* and sang a ballad and a *lundu* that was graceful without the slightest difficulty [...] (MACEDO, 1988: 126, own translation)[38].

> [...] and though the ladies were risking less than the men from the persecutions of authority, they sang the *lundus* and songs with epigrammatic allusion to Conde da Cunha accompanied by the harpsichord, the guitar, or by the *viola* [...] (MACEDO, 1988: 212, own translation)[39].

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donzela, e tinha o grande merecimento de possuir certo caráter nacional, embora os quisessem e queriam fazer bem ou mal fundadamente por imitação da zarzuela espanhola." (MACEDO, 1988: 110).

[37] "[…] a mãe educou as filhas no sacrário do lar doméstico; ensinou-lhes quanto sabia, a rezar, a coser, e a bordar, a tocar o cravo e a guitarra, a dançar o minuete, e danças do tempo, […]" (MACEDO, 1988: 45).

[38] "[…] Isidora tomou em seguida uma guitarra, e cantou uma balada, e um lundu que era gracioso sem ter a menor inconveniência […]" (MACEDO, 1988: 126).

[39] "[…] e podiam muito as senhoras, que arriscando-se menos que os homens às perseguições da autoridade, cantavam ao cravo, ou a guitarra e à viola, os lundus e as cantigas com alusões epigramáticas ao Conde da Cunha […]" (MACEDO, 1988: 212).

In the first quote the author states that the girls learned to play the *guitar*; in the second excerpt he tells the reader that Isidora sang a ballad and a *lundu* accompanied by the *guitarra*. In the third passage, women challenged authorities by singing with the harpsichord, *guitarra*, or the *viola*. The information about the existence of an instrument called the *guitarra* in the eighteenth century, creates a problem in the study of chordophones in Rio de Janeiro, because Macedo mentioned the *guitarra* and the *viola* together, indicating that they were different instruments, and not just, *guitarras* (guitars) a generic term to refer to any plucked chordophone. A similar nomenclature, referring to chordophones in the nineteenth century, is mentioned by Debret in one of his lithographs in Rio. Debret referred to the *guitarra* that is an unknown instrument in the organology of chordophones in Brazil.

Memoirs of a Militia Sergeant[40]: music amongst the lower classes

From June 1852 to June 1853 Manuel Antônio de Almeida anonymously published the *feuilletons* that comprise the *Memoirs of a Militia Sergeant*, issued in book format in 1854 (first volume) and 1855 (second volume). The plot is set in Rio de Janeiro during the rule of Don João VI, but could also be seen, according to Jarouche (2000), as a critique of the social values of the era in which it was written, not only as a criticism of the Imperial era. Almeida was a writer, journalist, teacher and physician and his narratives of popular festivals, baptisms, weddings and gypsy ceremonies show how the middle and lower classes lived in Rio de Janeiro between 1808 and 1821 during "the time of the king". This novel has been praised by scholars from different disciplines for its consistency and richness of detail in describing the Brazilian past. The historian Thomas Holloway, for instance, states that *Memoirs of a Militia Sergeant*—a work that literary scholars generally do not consider as a major novel in the grand tradition--is an important literary and historical document in the development of Brazilian culture." (HOLLOWAY, 1999: xi). The respected literary critic Antônio Cândido considers *Memoirs of a Militia Sergeant*:

> [...] as a novel of customs, it provides us with a series of documents of the first order, no less than Debret's famous watercolors. The type, frames, scenes, stains and small notes mark the pages of the narrative, which unfolds quite naturally, sometimes not without a certain amount of malice. The design is usually firm and precise, and the

[40] I used two editions of the book, the Brazilian version: *Memórias de um Sargento de Milícias* (ALMEIDA; JAROUCHE, 2000), and an English edition from 1999 (ALMEIDA et al.).

> color is always delightful. (CÂNDIDO 1993 apud JAROUCHE, 2000: 52, own translation)[41].

The plot is a sequence of adventures of the Brazilian boy Leonardo from infancy until adulthood. Son of Portuguese parents who met on a ship from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, Leonardo was abandoned first by his mother Maria and then by his father Leonardo Pataca. The plot, however, is humorous rather than tragic. Brought up and spoiled by his godfather, Leonardo explores the city of Rio de Janeiro allowing the reader a glimpse of the cultural richness of the city in the early nineteenth century. Almeida (1999) commences the story by describing Leonardo's baptism party:

> The guests of the master of the house [the godfather], all of whom were likewise from the old country [Portugal], sang a *desafio*[42], as was their custom. The godmother's guests, all of whom were natives [Brazilians], danced the *fado*. The godfather brought his fiddle with him, which, as everyone knows, is the preferred instrument of the people of his trade [barbers]. At the outset, [Leonardo's father], wanting to impart an aristocratic air to the celebration, proposed they dance the courtly minuet. The idea won general acceptance... The godfather played the minuet on his fiddle, and the godson, lying in Maria's [his mother's] lap, accompanied each and every pass of the bow with a squall and a kick. This caused the godfather to miss the beat over and over again and have to start anew each time.
>
> After they had finished the minuet, the formality gradually waned, and the party "came to a boil" as they used to say. Some young men arrived with *violas*[43] and *machetes*[44], Leonardo, urged on by the ladies, launched into a lyric portion of the program. He seated himself on a stool in an empty part of the room and took up the

[41] "Como romance de costumes fluminenses da época, o Sargento de Milícias fornece-nos uma série de documentos de primeira ordem, em nada inferiores às famosas aquarelas de Debret. Os tipos, os quadros, as cenas, as manchas, as pequenas anotações vão marcando as páginas da narrativa, que se desdobra com toda a naturalidade, às vezes não isenta de certa dose de malícia. O desenho é geralmente firme e exato, e o colorido é sempre delicioso" (CÂNDIDO 1993 apud JAROUCHE, 2000: 52).

[42] *Desafio* literally means challenge. A style of singing where two singers "challenge" one another's skills of improvising on a given subject.

[43] In the English edition (1999) the translator writes "guitar" instead of "viola" from the original text in Portuguese. This is a common error when the term *viola* is translated into other languages.

[44] *Machete* is a Portuguese four-course single string, plucked chordophone smaller than the *viola*.

> *viola*[45]... accompanying his own toneless warbling of an old-world *modinha* with a monotonous strumming on the instrument's strings (ALMEIDA, 1999: 9-11)[46].

The music genres mentioned by Almeida such as *desafio*, *fado*, minuet and *modinha*, were associated with different social groups regardless of their nationality, and in this account were used in an attempt to transform the baptism party into a "noble" event. The Portuguese sang the *desafio*, Brazilians danced the *fado*, then both groups danced the minuet, an aristocratic dance from France usually performed in court. Further, the "bailifaff", Leonardo, a low ranking member in the hierarchy of the judiciary, sang a *desafio*, a *modinha*, and danced the *fado*. This baptism party provides a small but significant sample of how such a varied repertoire could circulate at a popular celebration in the beginning of nineteenth-century in Rio, and furthermore, could be seen as a metaphor of *Carioca* society. The baby Leonardo represents the new establishment. The guests who were Brazilian and Portuguese, denote the two countries involved in the foundation of the new state with the arrival of the Portuguese royal family in Rio. The *desafio* and the *fado* stood for the cultural heritage from both sides of the Atlantic. The idea of performing the courtly minuet in the party, however, shows the inhabitants' attempts to adjust their lives to what they believed to be more civilized practices. Despite their tentative efforts to imitate civilized manners, it seemed that the baby Leonardo, personifying the new order, would not accept this change as he squealed and kicked after each passing of the bow on the fiddle strings, and therefore

[45] Again in the English edition one would read "guitar" where the Portuguese edition uses "viola".

[46] The same excerpts, but now from the Brazilian edition: "Os convidados do dono da casa, que eram todos dalém-mar, cantaram o desafio, segundo seus costumes; os convidados da comadre, que eram todos da terra [brasileiros], dançavam o fado, de maneira que estivera a festa excelente pela variedade. O compadre trouxe a rabeca, que é, como se sabe, o instrumento favorito da gente do ofício [meirinhos]. A princípio Leonardo quis que a festa tivesse ares aristocráticos, e propôs que se dançasse o minuete da corte. Foi aceita a idéia… O compadre foi quem tocou o minuete na rabeca; e o afilhadinho, deitado no colo da Maria, acompanhava cada arcada com um guincho e um esperneio. Isto fez com que o compadre perdesse muitas vezes o compasso, e fosse obrigado a recomeçar outras tantas.

Depois do minuete foi desaparecendo a cerimônia, e a brincadeira aferventou, como se dizia naquele tempo. Chegaram uns rapazes de viola e machete: o Leonardo, instado pelas senhoras, decidiu-se a romper a parte lírica do divertimento. Sentou-se num tamborete, em um lugar isolado da sala, e tomou uma viola. Fazia um belo efeito cômico velo, em trajes de ofício, de casaca, calção e espadim, acompanhando com um monótono zunzun nas cordas do instrumento o garganteado de uma modinha pátria. […]" (ALMEIDA, 2000: 68-69).

making it impossible for him to become familiar with the "new custom". As Almeida reported, after they had finished the minuet, the formality gradually waned, and the party "came to a boil". After their sufferable attempts to play and dance in the "new courtly style", they quit, and went back to what they were used to. That was when "some young men arrived with *violas* and *machetes* [...] and the party did not end until late".

In another scene, Almeida describes in detail a gypsy party where the *fado*[47] was played and danced:

> Everybody knows what the *fado* is, that dance so voluptuous, so varied, that it seems the offspring of the most comprehensive study of the art. A simple *viola* serves better as its accompaniment than any other instrument [...] there are still other forms of *fado* we have not mentioned. The music is different for each one, though it is always played on the *viola*. In some cases, the *viola* player sings a song, which often is highly poetic in concept (ALMEIDA, 1999: 27-28)[48].

Almeida also states that these gypsy celebrations continued on until the time in which the novel was written, that is, at least, until the early 1850s. Gypsy parties were also described by the memorialist Melo Morais Filho in 1830 who described how a marriage was celebrated: "Two or three *violas* recently strung would be awaiting the players for the

[47] Almeida describes how the fado dance "has different forms, each more original than the last. In one, just a single person, a man or woman, dances in the middle of the floor for some time, performing the most difficult steps, assuming the haughtiest positions, accompanying all of this with the snapping of the fingers. Then, he or she slowly begins approaching someone else of his or her choice. After a few turns and movements in front of that person, final hand claps announce that the other has been chosen to go next. In that way the entire circle is called in until everyone has danced." (ALMEIDA, 1999: 27). The same quotation from the Brazilian edition: "O fado tem diversas formas, cada qual mais original. Ora uma só pessoa homem ou mulher, dança no meio da casa por algum tempo, fazendo passos os mais dificultosos, tomando as mais airosas posições, acompanhando tudo isso com estalos que dá com os dedos, e vai depois pouco e pouco aproximando-se de qualquer que lhe agrada, faz-lhe diante algumas negaças e vira voltas, e finalmente bate palmas, o que quer dizer que a escolheu para substituir o seu lugar. Assim corre a roda toda até que todos tenham dançado." (ALMEIDA, 2000: 100).

[48] The same excerpt now from the Brazilian edition: "Todos sabem o que é fado, essa dança tão voluptuosa, tão variada, que parece filha do mais apurado estudo da arte. Uma simples viola serve melhor do que qualquer instrumento para o efeito… A música é diferente para cada uma, porém sempre tocada em viola. Muitas vezes o tocador canta em certos compassos uma cantiga às vezes de pensamento verdadeiramente poético" (ALMEIDA, 2000: 100-101).

celebrations who participate in the night immediately after the proposal and continue until the marriage contract" (MORAIS FILHO, 2002: 247, own translation)[49]. The memorialist also refers to dances and "*chorados* of the *viola*'" Fandango tap, verse improvisation and tunes but does not cite the *fado* in relation to those parties. "The viola gave the highest pitch, the improvisers improvised new verses and the elderly animated the dancing. [...] The castanets clacked like kisses in the air [...] The *violas* adorned with gaudy and fine ribbons jingled in octaves [played] by the skilled minstrels" (MORAIS FILHO, 2002: 249-250, own translation)[50].

In *Memories of a Militia Sergeant*, a gypsy girl, the lover of Leonardo Pataca, was celebrating her birthday, which provided the pretext for a party. Almeida says: "We will not take the trouble to describe it; as in one of the preceding chapters the reader has already seen what it would have been like: *viola, modinhas, fado, din,* and the celebration was complete" (ALMEIDA, 1999: 56-57). A chordophone called *viola* was documented by the author as an instrument widely used in many social contexts, in popular festivities on the streets or at home, at the time of the empire. In the following excerpt, Almeida describes the Feast of the Holy Ghost, and in addition to other instruments, the *machete* appears as a chordophone played by the population. He writes:

> As everyone knows, the Feast of the Holy Ghost is one of the favorite celebrations of the people of the state of Rio de Janeiro. Even today [1852, 1853] when certain habits are being lost, some of them good, others, bad, that feast day is still the occasion of great activity; however, what happens today is far from what used to take place back in the era to which we have taken our readers [from 1808 to 1821]. The celebrations did not begin on the Sunday marked on the liturgical calendar; they started much earlier, nine days we believe, so that the *novenae* could take place. The first announcement of the festival were the *Folias*. The writer of these memories had the opportunity to witness the *Folias* during his childhood, although already in their last stage of decadence, so much so, in fact, that only children like himself paid attention to them and found enjoyment; for everyone else, if they paid any heed at all,

[49] "Duas ou três violas, encordoadas de novo, deveriam ficar à espera dos tocadores dos bródios, que participavam na noite imediata à do pedido, e se prolongavam até o noivado" (MORAIS FILHO, 2002: 247).

[50] "a viola dava afinação mais alta, os improvisadores improvisavam novas quadras, e os velhos animavam os dançantes… As castanholas estalavam como beijos no ar… As violas, enfeitadas de fitas vistosas e estreitas tiniam, oitavadas pelos menestréis habilíssimos" (MORAIS FILHO, 2002: 249-250).

> it was merely to lament how different the celebrations were from those of yesteryear [i.e. before 1808] (ALMEIDA, 1999: 71)[51] [52].

This excerpt is particularly important because Almeida identifies the decline of the Feast of the Holy Ghost in Rio de Janeiro in the nineteenth century, and with it, the ancient tradition of the *folias.* It is possible that the *violas* which were traditionally used in the *folias,* declined along with the tradition. Following the descriptions of the Feast of the Holy Ghost, the author presents another instrument used in the celebrations, this time in *Campo de Santana*, a part of the city where people gathered to see the fireworks that were part of the the event:

> A great part of the grounds of the *Campo* was already covered with groups seated on mats, eating, talking, and singing *modinhas* to the accompaniment of the *guitarras* and *violas*. It was a delight to stroll through them; and hear, here, an anecdote being told by someone well spoken, and there, a *modinha* being sung in that passionately poetic tone that is one of our originalities, and to witness the movement and animation that reigned overall (ALMEIDA, 1999: 72)[53].

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[51] The same excerpt now from the Brazilian edition: "Como todos sabem, a festa do Espírito Santo é uma das festas prediletas do povo fluminense. Hoje mesmo que se vão perdendo certos hábitos, uns bons, outros maus, ainda essa festa é motivo de grande agitação; longe porém está o que agora se passa daquilo que se passava nos tempos a que temos feito remontar os leitores. A festa não começava no domingo marcado pela folhinha, começava muito antes, nove dias cremos, para que tivesse lugar as novenas. O primeiro anúncio da festa eram as Folias. Aquele que escreve estas Memórias ainda em sua infância teve ocasião de ver as Folias, porém foi já no seu último grau de decadência, e tanto que só as crianças como ele lhe davam atenção e achavam nelas prazer; os mais, se delas se ocupavam, era unicamente para lamentar a diferença que faziam das primitivas" (ALMEIDA, 2000: 177).

[52] The author continues describing the festival: "What went on back then, if closely examined, was not far from deserving censure; however it was custom, and let no one say to an old person from those days that it really must have been scandalous back then, because he would be laughed at right in the face…" (ALMEIDA, 1999: 71). The same quotation from the Brazilian edition: "O que dantes se passava, bem encarado, não estava muito longe de merecer censura; porém era costume, e ninguém vá lá dizer a alguma velha desse tempo que aquilo devia ser por força muito feio, porque leva uma risada na cara…" (ALMEIDA, 2000: 177).

[53] The same excerpt now from the Brazilian edition: "Grande parte do Campo estava já coberta daqueles ranchos sentados em esteiras, ceando, conversando, cantando modinhas ao som de guitarra e viola. Fazia gosto passear por entre eles, e ouvir aqui a anedota que contava um conviva de bom gosto,

The accounts of *modinhas* accompanied by *guitarra* and the *viola* give important clues as to the use of both instruments at the time. When Almeida mentions the *viola* and the *guitarra* side-by-side, he documents the existence of two different chordophones. The idea that the *guitarra* mentioned is actually the *violão* is not entirely impossible, but is highly unlikely, especially considering the popular character of the festival, and the period of the event (1808-1821) given that the entry of the *violão* into the country can only be firmly traced to 1823. What should be noted though, is how the English edition (1999) translated the word *viola* in the passage mentioned above. The translator, Ronald Sousa, writes: "[...] singing *modinhas*, to the accompaniment of *guitarras* and guitars [...]" (ALMEIDA, 1999: 75) instead of "[...] singing *modinhas*, to the accompaniment of the *guitarras* and *violas* [...]" (ALMEIDA, 2000: 183, own translation)[54] as the instruments are called in the Brazilian edition[55]. When Almeida used the term *guitarras* this was repeated by the translator, but the term *viola* is referred to as guitar by the translator. Not knowing how to solve this organological problem, Sousa explains erroneously in a footnote that the *guitarra* mentioned by Almeida was "A Portuguese guitar, which is something like a bass mandolin" (ALMEIDA, 1999: 75).

In another passage of the novel, Almeida (1999) describes a *capadócio*–a typical popular character in Rio de Janeiro who had many artistic abilities and no conventional job, making him subject to being followed by the police. His name was Teotônio: "When–at night, with his cloak over his shoulder and *viola* slung across his back, [Teotônio] headed for action – [he was] one of the 'roisterers' [cappadocians] of the time and was at serious risk of being arrested by the police" (ALMEIDA, 1999: 23; 2000: 92). Almeida informs us that this type of popular artist, always with his *viola* in tow, animated all kinds of social functions in the city including baptism parties and wedding banquets "[...] he played the *viola* and sang

ali a modinha cantada naquele tom apaixonadamente poético que faz uma das nossas raras originalidades, apreciar aquele movimento e animação que geralmente reinavam" (ALMEIDA, 2000: 183).

54 "cantando modinhas ao som de guitarra e viola […]" (ALMEIDA, 2000: 183).

55 Translation from the Portuguese "[…] cantando modinhas ao som de guitarra e viola […]" (ALMEIDA, 2000: 183).

modinhas extremely well; he danced the *fado* with great perfection; he could speak black language and sing admirably well in it…" (ALMEIDA, 1999: 148-149)[56].

References to *capadócios* such as Teotônio who plays the *viola*, sings *modinhas*, dances the *fado* and sings and speaks the "language of the black"[57] are frequent in the literature of the time. The *capadócio* can be considered a predecessor of the *malandro*[58], appearing in the twentieth century, who was oppressed for carrying a *violão* on the streets. Similarly, the *capadócio* could be arrested for carrying the *viola* in the nineteenth century. This demonstrates ambiguity around the instrument, since in other environments the *viola* was naturally accepted. In any case, through Teotônio's skills, one acquires a portrait of musical events during the time of the king, suggesting the popularity of *violas*, *modinhas*, and *fados* in Rio.

The Agulha family[59]: baptism celebration of a lower class Carioca family

The author Luís Guimarães Júnior published this novel between 21 January and 26 April 1870 in the form of *feuilletons* in the journal *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*. Like Manuel Antônio de Almeida, Guimarães is renowned for having portrayed nineteenth century Carioca society in an unconventional manner, choosing the standpoint of disadvantaged populations in Rio de Janeiro. Tinhorão (2000) claims that the book has been underrated in Brazilian literature and should be repositioned since the author was able to portray an important part of the musical environment of the *second reign*[60] with great veracity and fidelity. These forgotten aspects were considered unimportant by other authors of the time, such as José de Alencar and Machado de Assis[61], who preferred instead to describe the domain of the elites.

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56 The same excerpt now from the Brazilian edition: "Tocava viola e cantava muito bem modinhas, dançava o fado com grande perfeição, falava língua de negro, e nela cantava admiravelmente…" (ALMEIDA, 2000: 306).

57 Meaning that Teotônio could speak some of the African dialects spoken in Rio.

58 The words *capadócio* and *malandro* have various connotations in Brazilian Portuguese. In English these would be close to but not exactly translated as trickster, rogue, rascal, or scoundrel.

59 Author's translation of the Brazilian title: *A família Agulha*.

60 Author's translation of "Segundo Império" It refers to the political period from 1840 to 1889 in which Brazil was ruled by Dom Pedro II.

61 Two of the most celebrated writers in the country.

In the novel, Luís Guimarães Júnior narrates the story of the Agulha family, comprising its patriarch, Anastácio Temporal Agulha, his wife, Eufrásia Sistema Agulha, and the son Bernardino Sistema Temporal Agulha. In this comic-realist and often surrealist tragedy, the author describes the adventures of the family, allowing the reader to indulge a little in the popular music scene of the period. At the baptism of Bernardino Sistema Temporal Agulha, the house had been filled with guests when Anastácio Agulha asked:

> - But where is Felisberto with the *violão* player?
>
> - *Violão* player?
>
> - *Violão* player, yeah! [...]
>
> - Oh! I like it! Exclaimed the "pockmarked" girl. - What do you like? What do you ladies like? Asked Anastácio.
>
> - I like to dance the polka![62] [...]
>
> - Isn't there anyone who dances the *fado*? [Anastácio asked]
>
> - Fado?
>
> D. Quininha Ciciosa [female character], removing the little ribbons, lengthened her lip with wonderful disdain:
>
> - *Fado*, Mr. Agulha? For we had to dance the...?
>
> - What is the problem? Interrupted Mrs. Leonarda [an overweight female character], making an effort to stand up: the *fado* is amazing to see! It's been two years since I've been to Jacarepagua and I still miss it! That is what I call good fun! One ate, danced, and drank for two straight days without stopping! [...][63] (GUIMARÃES JÚNIOR, 2003: 207, own translation)[64].

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[62] Ballroom dance in double meter, originally from the Czech Republic. Arrived in Paris in the nineteenth century, spreading from there to the western world. It had arguably arrived in Brazil by the mid-nineteenth century (DICIONÁRIO CRAVO ALBIN, [s.n.]).

[63] Jacarepagua is a neighborhood near Rio de Janeiro.

[64] "- Mas onde está o Felisberto com o tocador de violão? - Tocador de violão? - Tocador de violão, sim! […] - Oh! Eu gosto! Exclamou a mocinha bexigosa [convidada da festa do batizado]. - De que é que gosta? De que é que a senhora gosta? Indagou Anastácio. - De dançar polcas! […] - Não há quem dance o fado? D. Quininha Ciciosa [outra personagem], afastando as fitinhas, alongou o lábio com um maravilhoso desdém: - O fado, Sr. Agulha? Pois havíamos de dançar o…? - E que é que tem? Atalhou a Sra Leonarda, levantando-se a custo; o fado é uma dança de encher o olho! Vai fazer dois anos que eu

The author described the *violão* player and then the performance of the musician and the dance of the participants:

> The *violão* player was a tall *pardo*[65], cross-eyed, with absolutely no teeth on the upper gum. [He is] one of those types who are found at a party in the countryside, surrounded by hootch and lots of happy creatures unaware of grammar and prefer the *cateretê*[66] and *fado* to the delights of the *Jouvan*[67] and *Dason*[68] scissors! (GUIMARÃES JÚNIOR, 2003: 215, own translation)[69].
>
> The man begins playing some moving [*chorosos*] *fado* preludes[70], which caused true delirium among the guests who began to dance. Mrs. Leonarda, with red ears and mouth ajar, opened her colossal nostrils gruffly, as those who breathe the scents of the past which bring youth and merriment!
>
> - It is a *fado*, isn't it, D. Candinha? [female character]
>
> - I know! It seems to be, Sinha Pequena [Little Miss, Mrs. Leonarda's nickname].
>
> The *violão* player accelerated the movements and gave the music the rhythm required for the popular genre. [...] Mrs. Leonarda began to accompany the music with some small and harmonious steps. The woman seemed to have rejuvenated

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estive em Jacarepaguá e ainda tenho saudade! Aquilo é que foi advertimento! comeu-se, dançou-se, bebeu-se dois dias seguidos sem parar! […]." (GUIMARÃES JÚNIOR, 2003: 207).

[65] *Pardo* means someone who is racially mixed. Normally someone who is descendent from the mix of white, black and Indian.

[66] *Cateretê* is a Brazilian dance of Indian origins.

[67] According to the author "It is probably Xavier Jouvin who, in 1839, invented the machine to cut gloves." (GUIMARÃES JÚNIOR, 2003: 215, own translation).

[68] The author says: "In the Almanaque Laemmert from 1870 in the section on fashion and clothes, there is a reference to Luiz Dazon, Ouvidor Street, 51" (GUIMARÃES JÚNIOR, 2003: 215, own translation).

[69] "O violonista era um pardo alto, de olhos vesgos e com falta absoluta de dentes na gengiva superior. Um desses tipos que se encontram em dia de festa na roça, no meio da aguardente e de uma porção de criaturas felizes que desconhecem a existência da gramática e preferem o cateretê e o fado às delícias de Jouvan e a tesoura da Dason!" (GUIMARÃES JÚNIOR, 2003: 215).

[70] *Fado* preludes can be understood as an instrumental introduction before the musician starts singing the *fado*.

> twenty years! [...] Mrs. Leonarda went to the middle of the room dancing always the same small steps; with a vague gaze [...]
>
> The *violão* player, full of national delirium, heightened the pitch, struck the strings, gave more heat to the treble strings that groaned, muttering under his breath a few verses related to the dance... (GUIMARÃES JÚNIOR, 2003: 216-218, own translation)[71].

This passage from *Agulha Family* reveals important information concerning the dynamics of chordophones and musical genres in the second half of the nineteenth century. First, the author does not mention that it is the *viola*, but the *violão* that plays the *fado,* a genre that in the novels written in the first half of the century had a *viola* accompaniment. Secondly, Guimarães Júnior implies that the *fado* is an old-fashioned tradition in the city. He indicates this by describing the surprise of the guests at the idea of dancing the *fado*, and by associating the genre with the neighborhood of Jacarepaguá which was far from the city. Moreover, the author describes the *violão* payer as the stereotype of someone who could be found in rural areas; a *pardo:* an illiterate rustic man.

***Gabriela*: chronicles of colonial times**[72]

The final work analyzed in this article is a historical novel by José Velho da Silva published in 1875, *Gabriela: chronicles of colonial times*, a chronicle of Rio de Janeiro during the

[71] "O rapaz começa tocando uns prelúdios chorosos de fado, o que causou um verdadeiro delírio entre os convidados que se puseram a dançar. A Sra Leonarda, com a orelha vermelha e a boca entre aberta, abriu as ventas colossais desabridamente, como quem respira os aromas do passado, que trazem a mocidade e a folia! - É um fado, não é, D. Candinha? - Eu sei! Parece, Sinhá Pequena [codinome da Sra Leonarda]. O violonista acelerou os movimentos e deu à música as proporções exigidas pelo gênero popular. […], a Sra Leonarda começou com uns passos miúdos e harmoniosos a acompanhar a música. A mulher parecia ter remoçado vinte anos! […] A Sra Leonarda foi até o meio da sala nos mesmos passinhos sempre; com os olhos fitos no vago, meio nublado pela saudade, pelo desejo, pela recordação dos dias desaparecidos no horizonte de outra idade, a gorda mulher esqueceu até o lugar em que se achava, dando livre curso aos convulsivos estremoços dos pés, que acompanhavam sem parar os sons lascivos da música. O violonista, cheio de delírio nacional, amiudou os tons, feriu as cordas, deu mais calor à prima que gemia, murmurando entredentes umas quadras relativas à dança…" (GUIMARÃES JÚNIOR, 2003: 216-218).

[72] Author's translation of the Brazilian tittle: *Gabriela: crônica dos tempos coloniais*.

governance of viceroy of Marquis Lavradio from 1749 to 1753. The central character of the novel was Gabriela, who besides being beautiful:

> sang, had an excellent voice, and played the cittern and harpsichord with clarity, accomplishment, and taste; instruments most commonly used during the times, not yet too vulgarized, which is why the various people who sang and played these instruments or the psaltery, were admired and identified as having exceptional skills. (VELHO DA SILVA, 1875 apud TINHORÃO, 2000: 203, own translation)[73].

In another passage, Velho da Silva (1875) comments that the more influential families performed foreign dances with fiddle accompaniment whilst:

> More common people had soirées of another kind; [...] they did them to the sound of one or two *violas*, according to the number of players, which at that time was large [...]
>
> It remains to portray another type that we have already talked about elsewhere; the singer and player of the *viola* in the *batuques*[74] – the *capadócio*[75] – as the name implies, lived in "holy" idleness, lived the easy life and on perpetual holiday. [...] [He] played more or less perfectly, the *viola*, *guitarra*, and mandolin, was masterful in the *lundu* and *fado*, that which we call *rasgado*[76] and the corresponding songs sung to the *desafio* [challenge] [...] (VELHO DA SILVA, 1875 apud TINHORÃO, 2000: 203-204, own translation)[77].

[73] "cantava, tinha excelente voz, tocava com nitidez, execução e gosto, cítara e cravo; instrumentos de mais uso no tempo, ainda que pouco vulgarizados e por isso as várias pessoas que cantavam e tangiam esses instrumentos, ou o saltério, eram admiradas e apontadas como de prendas excepcionais" (VELHO DA SILVA, 1875 apud TINHORÃO, 2000: 203).

[74] In Brazil, *batuque* is any type of music or dance of African origin, generally accompanied by percussion.

[75] The same type of character mentioned previously in the Memories of a Militia Sergeant.

[76] Author's translation of *rasgado*: a technique where the performer drags his nails across the strings of chordaphone without plucking.

[77] "A gente mais do povo tinha saraus doutra espécie;.. fazia-se ao som de uma ou duas violas, conforme o número de tocadores, que neste tempo era avultado… Resta-nos esboçar outro tipo de que já falamos algures; o cantor e tocador de viola dos batuques – o capadócio –. O capadócio, como

The *capadócio* was a well-known figure in nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro as mentioned previously, but the author shows that this urban character already existed in the eighteenth century. Velho da Silva (1875) informs us that he played the *viola*, the *guitarra*, and the mandolin. The *guitarra* is once again mentioned in Rio, indicating that there was a chordophone that differed from the *viola* and the mandolin without a defined typology in Brazilian organology. According to Tinhorão (2000), Velho da Silva shows that he was actually familiar with the chordophones he talked about. He describes a scene in which a *capadócio* tuned the *viola*, and mentioned that it was done by harmonic correspondence, and cited the name of the strings "[...] the prima, the secunda, a toeira, os bordões [...]"[78].

Conclusion

In this paper I have given an account of how the *viola* was represented in novels by their date of publication from 1728 to 1875[79]. To conclude I rearrange the works selected by following the trajectory of the *viola* chronologically according to the year of the plot rather than the year of publication, showing how the instrument was played from 1728 to 1870[80]. *The Narrative Compendium of the Pilgrim of America*, the only book not written in Rio de Janeiro, portrays the *viola* as a versatile instrument used in popular Catholic celebrations (in the hands of blacks) and in a music school where the author himself played the instrument. I have illustrated how, in spite of oppression and prejudice against popular musical contexts, the use of the *viola* permeated different classes and races in the first half of the eighteenth century, although there were no accounts of women playing the instrument. The *viola* could be found in music schools alongside harps, lutes, theorbos, *bandorrilhas*, fiddles, and zithers, thus ascribing a certain formal status to the chordophone.

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o nome indica, vivia em santo ócio, tinha vida folgada e férias perpétuas… Tocava mais ou menos perfeitamente viola, guitarra e bandolim, era magistral no lundu, no fado, a que chamamos rasgado e nas cantigas correspondentes cantava ao desafio…" (VELHO DA SILVA, 1875 apud TINHORÃO, 2000: 203-204).

[78] The names of the strings given by Velho da Silva (1875) to refer to the first, second, third, and the bass strings, which is in accordance with how they are called in some regions of Brazil and Portugal.

[79] More organological references about the *violas* and similar chordophones can be found in: Veiga de Oliveira (1966, 1982, 2000); Budasz (2001); Travassos (2006); Corrêa (1983, 2000); Vilela (2010, 2014); Taborda (2011); Tyler and Sparks (2009, 2014); Grunfeld (1969); Evans and Evans (1977) e Turnbull (1974).

[80] *The Agulha Family* (1870) does not make reference to the *viola* but the *violão*.

In the second book, covering the period 1749 to 1753, the *viola* is mentioned in *Gabriela*'s romance as being extensively played in Rio de Janeiro in popular traditions such as *fados*, *lundus* and *batucadas* [percussion groups]. This practice contrasted with musical traditions of richer families who danced European styles with fiddle accompaniment. The *viola* is mentioned as one of the instruments played by the popular *capadócio*, recognized for his many musical skills on the *viola*, the guitar and the mandolin. Considering that the first book dealt with musical traditions across the entire country, the novel *Gabriela* is the first reference to the *viola* in fictional literature and it shows the *viola* as a highly popular instrument in Rio.

In the third novel set in the middle of the eighteenth century *The Woman of Mantilla* (1763 to 1767), the *viola* reached a higher status as it was introduced into two distinct upper class social environments. It was played in the houses of rich courtesans, by a woman who chose the *viola* instead of the harpsichord to sing a *lundu*, since this popular musical genre demanded a popular instrument such as the *viola* for its accompaniment. Later the *viola*, alongside the *guitarra* and harpsichord, is mentioned as one of the instruments suitable for song accompaniment by young girls of a wealthy and traditional family. Women appear playing the *viola* for the first time. To summarize the use of the *viola* according to the narratives in the eighteenth century Rio, the instrument is played in the upper and lower classes, by male and female, European and African descendants. The musical genres on the instrument included *lundus*, *fados*, *batuques*, *rasgado*, and *desafio*. The instrumentation of the performances included *violas* played with harps and fiddles; with castanets and hand clapping; and with drums and the *pandeiro*.

As depictions of the *viola* develop in the early nineteenth century, in the novel *Memories of a Militia Sergeant* (1808 to 1821), it is still pictured as a very common instrument played in many popular traditions, such as in different forms of *fado*, Brazilian and Portuguese *modinhas*, and songs. The only additional information given is that the *viola* was also played by gypsies. In *The Son of the Fisherman* (1843), the *viola* is played as *modinha* accompaniment for the first time, by a white man from the upper class in Rio de Janeiro. Yet, a contradictory reference appears a year later, in the novel *The Moreninha* (1844) in which the *viola* is related to the rural, rustic and old, being played by a *saloia* (rustic person) and not by a maiden of the upper class who would play the harp or other more refined instruments. This is the last time that the *viola* is mentioned in novels in nineteenth century Rio. The next year, the *viola* is substituted by the *violão* in the novel *The Blonde Young Man* (1845), played by an upper class man in the city. It is important to draw attention to this shift as this is the first reference to the *violão* in novels. It does not mean however, that over

the course of three years, there was a radical change in Carioca musical practice, as shown in the last three novels, but it does indicate the introduction of other chordophones that were not previously cited, further suggesting the acceptance of a new instrument into Carioca society.

As we come to the final period of the trajectory of the *viola* in Carioca novels (1849-1870), there is no reference to chordophones in the novel *Rosa* (1849) by Macedo; but the main character who is an upper class young lady, sings very distinctive musical traditions in the plot, a *lundu* and an Italian aria, showing that Brazilian and European musical genres existed side by side in that social strata in the city. However, in Macedo's next novel, *A Stroll in the City of Rio de Janeiro* (1862), he points towards the ruralization of *modinhas* and *lundus* and the rise of Italian genres in the city. Whether or not one considers that the novels show a close relationship between *modinhas*, *lundus*, and *fados* and the *viola* in the eighteenth century, when Macedo describes the ruralization of these genres and the rise of European ones, it is reasonable to assume that the culture of playing the *viola* migrated with the *modinha*[81] and the *lundu*, no longer needing the instrument in the city. The same ruralization of musical genres is observed in the last book, *The Agulha Family* (1870), chosen to show the trajectory of the *viola* in Rio de Janeiro. In this novel, the *fado* that was played on the *viola* while in previous novels, it is played on the *violão*. The *fado* is no longer an urban genre, it is related to the hinterland of the city, the neighborhood of Jacarepagua, and the countryside. This is revealed by the characters in the novel who recognize the *fado* as something old fashioned, and by the *violão* player whom the author describes as a person typically found in the countryside.

The fictional literature does not necessarily show the decline of the *viola* in the city, but it shows that the instrument was very popular from the eighteenth to the first half of the nineteenth century, and that it was played by members of many social classes and ethnic groups, being used in public ceremonies, popular parties, and private *soirées*. It was mainly played to accompany singing and dancing of *lundus* and *fados*, genres that later declined in the city, and to accompany the *modinha*.

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[81] Despite this information given by Macedo, the *modinhas* were still being performed in urban Rio de Janeiro until the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, although strongly influenced by the Italian arias, mainly with *violão* and piano accompaniment.

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