The “cavaquinho” in the Azores: a preliminary historiocultural study.

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Very little is known about the practice of the *cavaquinho* in the Azorean islands although its name appears on the labels of surviving instruments made in São Miguel c. 1850, as far as I know, the oldest ones found in Portugal. A comprehensive organological survey of the first field research conducted by Artur Santos on the islands of Terceira, São Miguel and Santa Maria between 1952 and 1965 (cited in Cruz 2005[?]: 41-49)\(^1\) remains to be done, yet, I suspect a sparse presence regarding the *cavaquinho*. The oldest reference to a *cavaquinho* in the Azores that I was able to find, is in the lyrics of the popular song “As Velhas” (“The Old Women”) collected by Gervásio Lima (1876-1945) in Terceira, perhaps in the beginning of the twentieth century (cited in Ferreira 2010: 326)\(^2\): “Elas tocavam viola./ Rabeça e cavaquinho;/ E quando a mestra apitava/ todas davam um saltinho.” (They played the folk guitar./ Violin and *cavaquinho;/ And when the mistress whistled/ They all gave a little jump.)\(^3\)

Also in the context of Azorean regional music, J. M. Bettencourt da Câmara (1980: 49-50)\(^4\) mentions the typical instrumentation for the dance Chamarrita as the “viola da terra e violão, aos quais antigamente se juntava o cavaquinho” (“five-course folk guitar and guitar, joined in the old days by the *cavaquinho*”). It is not clear to what period Câmara is referring; perhaps to the late nineteenth century or the first half of the twentieth century.

In 1986, Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira\(^5\) mentions that in Pedro Miguel, Faial, *cavaquinhos* were made solely when commissioned by men from continental Portugal,

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\(^3\) The complete lyrics were registered by Luís da Silva Ribeiro (1882-1955) and published in an anthology Ribeiro, Luís da Silva. 1983. *Obras-II-História*. Instituto Histórico da Ilha Terceira, Angra do Heroísmo (549).


In reality this field work by Veiga de Oliveira dates from 1963.
there on military duty, and of a type comparable to the ones once used in Lisbon and the
Algarve, and the small chordophones of Funchal still played in Madeira (4 single strings,
elevated fretboard extended over the top with 16 to 17 frets). Veiga de Oliveira also
ments that in Pico priest Joaquim Rosa de S. Mateus, at more than 80 years of age in
1963, had played a cavaquinho with a flat fretboard in his youth in Praínha do Norte. 6
This author also references, citing Jacinto Monteiro (1982: 85), a miller from Santa Maria
who used to entertain his customers while playing cavaquinho (1986: 21-22). 7

In addition, there are some obscure references from earlier authors that may or
may not be related to the presence of the cavaquinho in the Azores. Ernesto Vieira’s
dictionary (1899: 321) describes a “popular” machete much used in the Azores; 8
Michel’Angelo Lambertini (1902: 63-4) mentions a 6-stringed braguinha used in the
Azores and tuned in d, b, g, D, B, G (high to low) 9 (cited in Morais 2011: 10). 10 A year
later, Teófilo de Braga writes that “a viola açoriana chamada Braguinha, e na Madeira
Viola de Braga, conserva o nome do antigo instrumento Rota de Brachio, produzindo-se
pela homofonia a ilusão de se atribuir à cidade de Braga a originalidade desse
instrumento, o que se não comprova” (“the Azorean guitar named Braguinha, and in
Madeira Guitar from Braga, preserves the name of the ancient instrument Rota de
Brachio producing by homophony the illusion of attributing the origin of that instrument
to the city of Braga, wish is not proven”) 11 (cited in Ferreira 2010: 56). In 1958, Vitorino
Nemésio publishes the quatrain “Eu ia por aqui abaixo/ Com o meu machete, trás trás.../
Oh que linda rapariga/ Para mim que sou rapaz!” (“I was going down the road/ With my
machete, strum, strum.../Oh what a beautiful girl/ For the boy that I am) and notes that “O
machete ainda hoje parece que se usa na Madeira. É a viola do vilão” (“It seems that the
machete is still used in Madeira. It is the peasant’s guitar”) (cited in Ferreira 2010: 152). 12

6 This account situates the practice of cavaquinho on the island of Pico perhaps still in the nineteenth
century, thus prior to the above mentioned song lyrics of “As velhas” from Terceira.
8 Vieira, Ernesto. 1899 [1890] Diccionario musical containing todos os termos technicos... ornado com
9 Lambertini, Michel’Angelo. s.d. [1902]. Chansons et Instruments. Renseignements pour l’étude du folk-
lore portugais. Lisboa: Lambertini.
As recently as 1981 Lieutenant Francisco José Dias mentions the “Machete, viola requinta ou cavaquinho” (cited in Oliveira 1986: 11, 21). José Alfredo Ferreira Almeida (1990: 62; 2010: 83 table 2) also mentions the designation “machete” as a synonym of “meia-viola” ou “requinta”, a reduced version of the “viola de dois corações” according to information gathered from maker Adelino Vicente (1935-1999) who used to call the larger size of the chordophone from S. Miguel “viola-violão”. Like Nemésio and Lieutenant Dias, Almeida also felt the necessity of disclosing the meaning of the word “machete” as a variant of a small guitar. Almeida notes as well that the dimensions given by Adelino Vicente seem to be inferior to those of the “meias-violas” mentioned by some players, of which he did not see a single example (2010: 84). It is curious that although Almeida mentions Lieutenant Dias, he never relates the name “machete” to that author. According to biographic data, Francisco José Dias worked in Funchal between 1959 and 1961 where he could have assimilated the designation “machete” for a small guitar.

A great misunderstanding:

Jorge Dias (1967 [1963]: 338 nn. 5; 7) cites two Anglophone dictionaries that dubiously mention the “machete” in the Azores. In the 3rd edition of the Harvard Dictionary of Music one can read: “much used in the Azores, is the machete, which is the

This text was actually written in 1943. Nemésio does not give the quatrain’s origin, nevertheless it is very similar to another from Oporto region published in 1905 by Alberto Pimentel: “Hei de ir ao Senhor da Pedra/ Co’o meu machinho traz traz,/Procurar as raparigas,/ Para mim, que sou rapaz.” (I will go to Senhora da Pedra/ With my machinho, strum, strum/ Looking for girls/ For the boy that I am). About the “machinho” this author says: “Pequena viola; é o que em Lisboa se chama <<cavaquinho>>” (Small guitar; it is what in Lisbon is called “cavaquinho”).

Pimentel, Alberto. 1905. As Alegres Canções do Norte (195 n.1). Nevertheless, the two last verses appear in the lyrics of Sapateia (Flamengos, Faial) published by Júlio de Andrade in 1960 (Bailhos, Rodas e Cantorias). And in another version, “Mas que linda rapariga/ Para mim que sou rapaz” in the lyrics of Sapateia de Cadeia (Pico), from a phonographic recording by Cunha Oliveira; both are cited by Lieutenant Dias in the CD-ROM Cantigas do povo dos Açores. Instituto Açoriano de Cultura (Angra do Heroísmo)/ Instituto Cultural de Ponta Delgada. Could Nemésio’s quatrain be his own adaptation of the one published by Pimentel, inspired by the Azorean lyrical tradition?


Almeida, José Alfredo Ferreira. 2010. A Viola de Arame nos Açores (2nd ed.) Ponta Delgada: Publiçor


ancestor of the modern *ukulele*” (1972: 363). In *The Harvard Concise Dictionary of Music and Musicians* appears the variant: “The *ukulele* is a descendant of the Portuguese *machete* of the Azores.” (1999: 275). Like in Lambertini (1902: 63-4), these accounts seem to mistake the Azores with the archipelago of Madeira, a notion that might have originated in Vieira while describing the “*machete*” as a:

Pequena viola que o vulgo de Lisboa chama *cavaquinho*, instrumento popular que nas ilhas dos Açores é muito usado. Tem exactamente as mesmas formas que a viola franceza, porem com as dimensões reduzidas a um terço ou pouco mais. O ponto é dividido em dezessete tastos; arma-se com quatro cordas de tripa afinadas em quintas como o bandolim e o violino: mi, la, re, sol.

(Small guitar commonly called *cavaquinho* in Lisbon, a popular instrument that in the Azores islands is very much used. It has exactly the same forms as the French guitar, although with the dimensions reduced to a third or little more. The fretboard is divided in seventeen frets; it is mounted with four gut strings tuned in fifths like the mandolin and the violin: e, a, D, G.) (1899 [1890]: 321).

This seems to be an obvious reference to the Madeiran “*machete*” tuned as already mentioned by an American visitor in 1843 (cited Morais 2011: 6).

In the case of Lieutenant Dias’s reference, the question seems to get even more complicated; something that did not go unnoticed by Veiga de Oliveira. While mentioning the *cavaquinhos* with a raised fretboard made in Pedro Miguel, Faial, this author (1986: 21-2) raises the question: “não sabemos se este instrumento é o mesmo que o ‘machete’ ou ‘viola de requinta’ referida pelo Tenente Dias, [...]” (we do not know if this instrument is the same as the ‘*machete*’ ou ‘*viola de requinta*’ referenced by Lieutenant Dias, [...]).

Trying to organize the various sizes of “*viola da terra*” (folk guitar from S. Miguel) and their designations, Lieutenant Dias (1981: 589) classifies as a group “4) Machete, viola requinta ou cavaquinho” and is careful to explain the nature of the name “*machete*” using the controversial, if not magical, etymological solution from Vieira (1899 [1890]: 322, 324): “diminutivo de *mache* (v. Manche), com supressão do *n.*” sendo “Manche” o nome antigo da “*viola franceza* ou violân” (diminutive of *mache*).

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[v. Manche], with the $n$ suppression. [Manche] being the French guitar’s old name.\textsuperscript{21}

While describing the “\textit{viola requinta},” Lieutenant Dias adds yet another designation, “\textit{machinho},” capable of reproducing sounds an octave above, with 16 frets and 4 double strings, tuned in fifths, like in a mandolin; apparently once again inspired by Vieira (1899 [1890]: 321-22), but adapting the notion to courses of double strings.

Here, it will prove worthwhile to present a geographic-typological chronology of the designations discussed above.

\textit{machinho}:
The designation “\textit{machinho}” is quite older than all the others, known since c. 1660 in a verse by Brazil born poet Gregório de Mattos who studied in Coimbra (cited in Budasz 2001: 30).\textsuperscript{22}

\textit{machete}:
The designation “\textit{machete}” exists in continental Portugal since at least 1716.\textsuperscript{23} In Brazil, “machetes de tocar” (“\textit{machetes for playing}”) were imported in 1766 (Santos 1993: 230).\textsuperscript{24} In Madeira, the first known mention of a “\textit{machete}” emerges in 1838 in a journal by Mrs. Wood (cited in Morais 2008: 45-46).\textsuperscript{25}

\textit{cavaquinho}:
The first known reference to a chordophone named “\textit{cavaquinho}” appears in 1822 in a work by Adrien Balbi, situating its invention in Rio de Janeiro and describing it as a small “\textit{viole française}” (French guitar) (cited in Morais 2008: 85 n.63).\textsuperscript{26} In 1854,

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\textsuperscript{21} The earliest reference to a “\textit{machete}” that we know of dates from 1716; at that time no French guitar existed yet.

\textsuperscript{22} Mattos, Gregório de. 1990. \textit{Obra Poética}. Rio de Janeiro: Record (47).

\textsuperscript{23} Budasz, Rogério. 2001. “The Five-course Guitar (Viola) in Portugal and Brazil in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries.” PhD dissertation, Faculty of the Graduate School, University of Southern California.


\textsuperscript{25} \textit{A Great-Niece's Journals: Being Extracts from the Journals of Fanny Anne Burney, Mrs. Wood, from 1830 to 1842}. Edited with preface and notes by her grand-daughter Margaret S. Rolt. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1926; London: Constable & Company Ltd. (198).

Isabella de França registered observing in Funchal a “cavaquinho” peculiar of Oporto with six strings (cited Morais 2008: 43). After the mid-nineteenth century the designation “cavaquinho” starts to appear in labels of instruments made in Ponta Delgada, Lisbon, Oporto(?) and by the end of the 1800s also in Funchal. Some of the surviving examples, either from the continent or the islands, are perhaps of the original type of “cavaquinho” with the French form, six single gut strings; others only have four single gut strings.

braquinha:


30 O Direito, Nº 1809, June 29, 1887.

Rajão, viola, pandeiro/ instrumentos de chibança;/ E o clássico braguinha;/ Oh que bella fadistança!” (And then the music affair/ That precedes that dance!.../ 5 string small folk guitar, folk guitar, frame drum/ instruments for boasting;/ And the classic braguinha;/ Oh what a lovely party!). In this case, the “braguinha” seems to have a musically more erudite status than the other instruments mentioned.

“ukulele”:
The designation “ukulele” emerges for the first time in print (as “ukelele”) in a publication by Helen Mather in 1891, but referring to the year 1889 in Hawaii (cited in Tranquada and King 2012: 43, 196 n. 51).  

The presence of the cavaquinho in the Azores, is clearly delimited in its beginnings sometime in the nineteenth century, the period in which the designation first appears. Thus, associating with it names belonging to other eras or different geographies in that same century, such as “machinho,” “machete” or “braguinha,” does not contribute to a type of knowledge where one wishes to be as accurate as possible. I do not know of any textual references or iconographic representations that would attest, since the mid-1800s, a generalized practice in the Azores of a chordophone named “cavaquinho.” There are solely the already mentioned rare accounts of its reduced use, the labels of surviving instruments showing that designation, and the register of a “cavaquinho” made by Luís José Nunes Jr. in the Exposição de Arte, Ciências e Letras Micaelenses in 1882, at the time property of António M. de F. Maia (cited in Almeida 1990: 115).  

Regarding a hypothetical Azorean “machete” or “braguinha,” the lack of historical evidence seems to suggest a major error or a lot of speculation concerning the issue.

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33 As far as I know the designations “machete” and “braguinha” were never of common use among the peoples of the Azores, nor do they appear in labels of instruments built there. Furthermore, the designation “machinho” was never found in the Atlantic islands.
Surviving examples:

In the Vila Franca do Campo’s museum, there are at present four small chordophones; one tetrachord of unknown author with a burning mark on the top, looking like a Madeiran machete (figure 8 head, metal strings?, raised and extended fretboard with 15 frets, pin bridge); the other three have flat and short fretboards with 12 frets; the most recent one by José dos Anjos F. (20th century?) has 4 single metal strings and a somewhat original form; the other two are by Luiz José Nunes & F.os (c. 1850?) one with 6 strings (metal?) - could this be the braguinha mentioned by Lamberti? Or is it the original cavaquinho newly-arrived from Brazil? - and the other with 5 double courses of strings (gut?) identical to an instrument by the same author belonging to Manuel Morais (viola type head, bridge with 6 pins, additional floating saddle).34

In the Museu Nacional de Etnologia in Lisbon there is an instrument listed as cavaquinho (BB.357) made in the 20th century by Ernesto da Costa in Vale Farto, Praia da Vitória, Terceira (4 single strings, raised and extended fretboard with 17 frets, guitar type bridge) (1986: 38 fig. 22). However, this same chordophone appears designated as “ukulele” in Veiga de Oliveira’s work (1982: 206, 240 fig. 160).35 According to the technical information on the MatrizNet site, the instrument BB.357 was collected by Veiga de Oliveira between 1960 and 1965, costing 100 Escudos. The strings are nylon and the string vibrating length is 41.5cm; the instrument is described as “incaracterístico, sem nenhuma difusão na ilha. Foi feito a pedido de um soldado Americano e segundo indicações de pessoas que conheciam o instrumento continental que leva este nome” (“uncharacteristic, with no dissemination on the island. It was made on the request of an American soldier and according to directions from people that knew the continental instrument with that name [cavaquinho]).36

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34 Label of the decachord belonging to Manuel Morais: "N.º 2170 / Luiz Jose Nunes & F.os / Fabricantes / de / Violas, Rebecas, Cavaquinhos / Guitarras, Violões etc. / Rua do Meio N.º 14 Ponta Delgada / S. Miguel”.
In historiocultural terms, everything seems to indicate that a chordophone named “cavaquinho” was never very popular in the Azores, an insular region where the “viola” was always prevalent (actually, this is a common scenario in many areas of continental Portugal). Although it has been built there perhaps since c. 1850, as instrument labels seem to prove, the cavaquinho never made an appearance in the earliest images of musical groups of these islands. How then can we justify the existence of the old small chordophones in the Museu de Vila Franca do Campo? Were they destined to other markets? It is very possible since instruments listed as cavaquinhos were exported to France at least since 1844.\(^{37}\) Were some of these made in São Miguel?

Nowadays and perhaps since at least 2000 there is a renewed interest in the cavaquinho in the Azores, especially in its practice associated to urban groups promoting and safeguarding traditional and regional roots music\(^ {38}\) and to the carnival ensembles of Terceira.\(^ {39}\) The Divino Espírito Santo’s celebrations have seen the participation of cavaquinhos in their instrumentation.\(^ {40}\) Furthermore, most tunas (student ensembles) of the region included cavaquinhos in their formations.\(^ {41}\) Yet, all these cavaquinhos seem to


\(^{38}\) Examples: Grupo Foleclórico de São José da Salga, Salga, S. Miguel (since 1950); Dispensa Os Companheiros de Rabo de Peixe, S. Miguel (since 1984); Grupo de Cantares Belaurora, Capelas, S. Miguel (since 1985); Grupo de Cantares “Sons do Vale”, Vale dos Flamengos, Faial (since 1999); Grupo “Cantares d’Outrora”, Arrifes, S. Miguel (since 2000); Grupo de Cantares da Vila de Nordeste, S. Miguel (since 2002).

\(^{39}\) Examples: Bailinho do Cantinho, São Mateus (2002); Bailinho do Grupo de Amigos de Santa Lúzia, Praia (2008); Bailinho da Sociedade da Fonte do Bastardo (2010); Dança do Pandeiro da Sociedade Lajense, Lajes (2010); Bailinho da Junta de Freguesia de Vila Nova (2016).


be of recent make coming probably from Minho, thus not a hypothetical continuation of an older local type. This recent embracing attitude towards the small tetrachord might be a late development related to the revival movement of Portuguese traditional music (since 1974), including the unavoidable influence of Júlio Pereira, combined with the progressive availability of instruments made in small factories in the north of continental Portugal.

Appendix

Azorean makers of cavaquinhos:

19th century:
Luiz José Nunes, Rua do Meio Nº 14, Ponta Delgada, S. Miguel.
Luís José Nunes & F.os (c.1850?) Rua do Meio Nº 14, Ponta Delgada, S. Miguel.
Luiz José Nunes Junior (1884), Rua direita da Fonte Nº 12, Ponta Delgada, S. Miguel.
Luís José Nunes, Rua Direita da Calheta 44 a 48, Ponta Delgada, S. Miguel.

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44 Label of decachord belonging to Manuel Morais: “Nº 2170 / Luiz Jose Nunes & F.os / Fabricantes / de / Violas, Rebucas, Cavaquinhos / Guitarras, Violões etc. / Rua do Meio Nº 14 Ponta Delgada / S. Miguel.”
45 Label of Portuguese guitar with dog’s head carving (1884): “Luiz José Nunes Junior/ Fabricante de/ Violas, Rebucas/ Cavaquinho/ Guitarras, Violas Guitarras, Violas francesas, Bandurras/ Bandolins/ violoncellos, etc / Rua direita da Fonte, 12, Ponta Delgada, Ilha de S. Miguel”
46 Portuguese guitar label: “Nº 220/ Luis José Nunes/ Fabricante de instrumentos músicos de corda/ Rua Direita da Calheta 44 a 48/ Ponta Delgada S. Miguel Açores/ / Premiado com mensão honrosa de 1ª classe
20th century:
Augusto César Furtado, Rua do Conselheiro Medeiros, Horta, Faial.47
José de Medeiros, Pico das Canas, S. Roque (Almeida 2010: 132).
António de Medeiros, Canada de Belém de Baixo, S. Miguel (Almeida 2010: 138).
Serafim Silva, Santa Cruz da Graciosa.48

21st century:
José de Freitas Serpa, Ilha das Flores.49
José Agostinho Serpa, Ilha das Flores.50
António Nunes Mota, Santa Bárbara, Angra do Heroísmo, Terceira
Manuel Soares Melo, 296-883-934 (via Rafael Carvalho April 30, 2016).51
Luís Medeiros (via Rafael Carvalho April 30, 2016) cavaquinho with two hearts sound hole.52

Institutional/private collections:
Cavaquinho made in Santa Maria belonging to the Conservatório Regional de Ponta Delgada (via Rafael Carvalho April 30, 2016).53
Cavaquinho with two hearts sound hole made by Luís Medeiros, belonging to Rafael Carvalho (via Rafael Carvalho April 30, 2016).

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47 Label of Portuguese guitar with wooden pegs (early 1900s): “Augusto César Furtado/ Fabricante de Violas, Guitarras, Violões, Cavaquinhos, Bandurras, Bandolins, etc./ Prontidão e esmero/ Rua do Conselheiro Medeiros/ Horta, Fayal.”