

# Studies of Fado III: Fado as Parody and Social Critique of the Contemporary Portuguese Tourist Economy in Gisela João's "(Casa das) Mariquinhas" (2013) and "Hostel da Mariquinhas" (2023)

ROBERT SIMON

*Kennesaw State University*

---

**Abstract:** Portuguese fado has existed as an expression of working-class life in central Lisbon as well as within the various artistic modes of social critique, serving as a parody of social and political narratives. In many cases, fado songs parody each other in what we may characterize as a metaphorical, sociopolitical chain of evolving, critical dialogue. This study focuses on two recent fado songs: Gisela João's 2013 "(Casa das) Mariquinhas"—a parody of the 1930 "Casa da Mariquinhas"—and its own subsequent parody, titled "Hostel da Mariquinhas" (2023), also performed by Gisela João.

**Keywords:** Fado, Gisela João, parody, twenty-first-century music, Portugal

---

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, Portuguese fado has existed as an expression of working-class life in central Lisbon as well as within the various artistic modes of social critique. Fado has also served as a parody of social and political narratives. In many cases, fado songs parody each other in what we may characterize as a metaphorical, sociopolitical chain of evolving, critical dialogue.

This study focuses on two recent fado songs: “(Casa das) Mariquinhas” (2013), itself a loving parody of the 1930 “Casa da Mariquinhas” by Alfredo Marcerneiro, and its subsequent parody titled “Hostel da Mariquinhas” (2023), both composed (the latter in part) and performed by the contemporary fadista Gisela João. Within the socioeconomic construct surrounding fado as a localized artistic phenomenon, we consider the concept of fado as an artistic form of either explicit or implied social critique as ubiquitous to the genre, most especially one of its most famous songs. Gray discusses this in some detail:

“Uma Casa Portuguesa” (A Portuguese Home), an upbeat fado canção that was popularized by Amália Rodrigues during the Estado Novo, is a prototypical place-name fado celebrating the miniature and the affectionately diminutive. The lyrics celebrate the hospitality and quaintness of the Portuguese house hold [sic] (despite poverty), where the house hold can be read as a synecdoche for multiple geopolitical and spatial configurations: for neighborhood, for city, for nation. I sometimes heard this fado invoked in conversation as a cliché marshaled in making a political critique of the present. In these instances, “Uma Casa Portuguesa” seemingly encapsulated an essence of Estado Novo-era ideology that the speaker felt was lingering in the present. Beginning in the 1950s, with the rise of state-sponsored tourism in the professional fado venues, fado was often performed alongside versions of sanitized folkloric dance. (114)

The humble beginnings of fado in less urbanized or socially acceptable environments in the early nineteenth century would give way to the urbanization of the genre decades later. As Arnal mentions, this occurs concomitantly to urban growth in most of Portugal and the decline of the rural workforce:

La diffusion historique du fado s’est inscrite dans le réseau national de polarisations urbaines. Les circuits sociaux ont véhiculé la création artistique en vogue dans la capitale, donc en descendant la hiérarchie des villes, tant ceux des privilégiés de la fortune (aristocrates, populations bohèmes, étudiants) que ceux

des classes populaires “cegos pedintes”, travailleurs du monde tauromachique, ouvriers des premiers foyers industriels). (230)

This culture of traveling singers and slow but steady rise in all social classes contrasted with the consistent identification of fado as an expression of working-class Portuguese social and personal life. The Salazar regime found an efficient use for fado, as both a tool of control and a typified commodity to be sold to the rest of the world, the daguerreotype of the marketable Portuguese self and attractive Lusophone ethos. “Fado evolved, over the course of the 20th Century, from a musical style which reinforced the ideal of that which, under Salazar, the Portuguese should be in the social and emotive sense up to a commercialized music” (Simon 347). With the push for progress in the 1930s, the government began demolition projects of these working-class neighborhoods, including but not limited to fado establishments. Fado itself took note: “The lyrics of the fado novo manifest a protest to the demolition; they denounce the Estado Novo’s concept of progress by evoking nostalgia for a pre-Republican Mouraria” (Colvin, “Gabriel de Oliveira” 135). A variety of songs were written and recorded that both criticized and lauded the status quo of the period.

Tourism, as a whole, serves as a place for a stratified mixing of peoples and cultures of varied sociopolitical castes. Within the flexed social norms of a tourist space, one in which the transcultural relational matrix of an ever-evolving Portuguese tourist economy plays the unilateral commercial interaction of tourist and vendor against the bilateral notion of “exchange,” it should surprise no one that such a space may also serve as a potential geographically isolated moment for musical critique. The tourist focus on music makes this sort of satirical discourse a relatively low-hanging fruit. In a recent case study, music appeared as one of the major draws for tourists to Portugal, and in particular, to tourists of a more lucrative socioeconomic background. In a critical discussion of Portuguese cultural touristification, it was noted that “visitors of festival and musical attractions and knowledge/aesthetic seeking attractions often have a higher education and income, while in comparison visitors of commercial recreation parks are usually less educated and have a lower income” (Duhme 17). Such a phenomenon also allows for a more focused critique to take place, especially since fado is considered one of the cornerstones of tourism in Portugal, and especially in the city of Lisbon. “In this regard, ... in fado, as a musical expression of a given community, a form of

‘topophilia’ towards the city of Lisbon is inherent, as is particularly evident from the titles and the lyrics of the songs, which contain an unusually large number of references to Lisbon and to its topography and heritage” (Zarrilli 519). In more geographically concrete terms, Zarrilli has suggested that the tourism industry surrounding fado also includes a presential aspect:

In recent years there has also been an increase of guided tours specifically addressed to fado in its many aspects: history, traditions, legends, characters, places, methods, rituals.... The growing international reputation of fado and the intense tourist development that Portugal and Lisbon have experienced since the eighties have paved the way for a tourist dimension of this musical genre. (521)

This touristic innovation places recognized sites of fado lore as places of particular interest, a phenomenon that this study will mention more specifically. Along with this comes the online dissemination of tourist sites, fado-related or otherwise. As Carvalho’s research group has stated, “as the Internet becomes more accessible, co-creative, and participatory, consumers incorporate the production and consumption process by generating and sharing content” (112). Even the content of the songs and the specific types of fado songs performed reflect these effects. Returning to Gray’s study, the emotional charge of fado lyrics has also morphed into a more easily commodified object for consumption:

This practice continues currently in some of Bairro Alto’s tourist-oriented casas de fado, such as Café Luso.... At the same time, many of the fado lyrics performed in these venues, night after night, are highly sentimentalizing place-name lyrics. Indeed, a common sentiment among some fado aficionados with whom I spoke was that tourists prefer fados like “Uma Casa Portuguesa” to fado fado [sic], or the very sad fados, and that owing to the current boom in tourism, traditional fado and the saddest fados were being sung less and less. (114)

What is expressed as a purposefully depersonalized tourist experience will also play a role in the way Gisela João reflects on the changes in fado lore and performance in the twenty-first century.

Concomitant to the growth and evolution of the tourist phenomenon surrounding fado, the genre presents itself as a malleable and self-reflective one. In general, fado is well known in fan circles for its ability to serve as self-parody. As Colvin explains, “Fado is clever in its use of rhetoric to mask its subversive ambitions. Also, by appropriating the Regime’s discourse on family values, the Fado turns the tables on the Estado Novo by placing the family at odds with the government’s solutions to housing in Lisbon” (“Mariquinhas” 44). The parody can extend beyond rhetorical tricks to include historical and sociopolitical satire as part of its overall critical matrix.

The motif of the wooden shutters that appears in the first twelve Fados in the Mariquinhas cycle assumes a covertly critical role as it signals the contrast between the discretion of a nineteenth-century Lisbon and a seemingly immodest capital of the twentieth. Rather, the absence of the humble architectural detail of the shutters on Estado Novo apartment buildings draws our attention to the Fado’s proposed nostalgia in its eulogy to the homes of the past that were so prevalent in Lisbon’s working-class neighbourhoods. (Colvin, “Mariquinhas” 41–42)

A discussion of another fado song, “Belos tempos,” reveals a similar type of parodic discourse as the opening to a sociopolitical critique of the Salazar regime’s use of the genre for political control. The focus on the social space of the Mouraria, home to many early fado houses, is palpable:

the surface language of fado, ... expresses passion for fado, nostalgic longing called “saudade” (a cliché in fado up to today) and the figure of Severa. This well-known figure holds a metonymic relationship with that of a Mouraria (a Lisbon neighborhood), as well as a point of reference for the development of three important motifs that are today interpreted as fado’s most

stereotypical: an appreciation for older fado, loyalty to the nation, and “saudade.” (Simon 349)

This metonymic link between singer, song, city, and style runs at the core of the parodic relationships between Alfredo Marceneiro’s “Casa da Mariquinhas” and João’s compositions.

Gisela João became an immediate fado legend with the debut of her 2013 album, *Vieste do fim do mundo* and has surprised fado lovers ever since with her heterogeneous sound, her postmodern look, and her posttraditional social message, as Frota expresses:

Joao [sic] became an overnight sensation; a new young voice that took the fado world by storm. She had the looks to match—flashy, short dresses and tattoos—a flair for electronic music and an unapologetic attitude that didn’t sport the usual reverence towards the genre’s rules. But what was truly unsettling was her decision to stick to the more authentic and traditional fados, even if everything about her seemed to point in the other direction. (38)

In this vein, the same review describes how her 2016 album *Nua* continued this unexpected and innovative artistic trajectory:

But there are obviously a couple of surprises on *Nua* (Naked) ... released in 2016. On her first album, Joao [sic] paid tribute to some of her main influences such as Amalia [sic] Rodrigues, Beatriz da Conceição and Carlos Ramos, singing fados from their repertoires. This time, she made a larger gesture and included two songs by Brazilian samba genius Cartola and the traditional Mexican song “Llorona” (Joao had heard, like most of us, Chavela Vargas’ version). It was not a question of being provocative or forcing herself to be original. Joao often hears fado in songs that bear a subtle resemblance; songs she knows she can turn into a fado if she puts her heart into it. (38)

Concomitantly, Pareles speaks of João's sense of self-identity and humor as she so passionately displayed during a 2017 performance of music from these first albums:

Ms. Joao [sic] was hardly the black-clad, austere mournful fado singer of earlier eras. Her chair and microphone stand were garlanded with bright flowers, and she wore a white, shiny minidress with its own leafy texture. She sipped white wine and offered smiling commentary in English, and after a few songs, she slipped out of her high heels and cheerfully admitted, "I'm short." (par. 7)

In an interview with Miguel Azevedo, Gisela João offers her approach to composing and performing fado:

Só quem me conhece muito bem sabe que eu sou uma pessoa muito inquieta e este disco é mais uma representação minha. Uma das grandes lutas da minha vida é tentar garantir a mim própria que fiz o que me era possível para viver a minha liberdade e conseguir instigar os outros a serem livres e a lutarem pela sua própria liberdade. Para mim é quase uma missão de vida e este disco é uma imagem disso. (par. 1)

Through this unique, musical self-actualization, Gisela João reveals that her lyrics and performances not only serve to expand the reach and breadth of fado but also provide a vehicle for her audience's own pursuit of self-expression. In this, the 2013 and 2023 pieces we discuss below take on an added layer of profound sociohistorical and sociocultural significance.

The 2013 song "(Casa das) Mariquinhas" shares many similarities with its 1930 counterpart. It follows the same tune as Alfredo Marceneiro's song "Casa da Mariquinhas." The chord progression itself is typical for slightly more upbeat fado, with its I-V<sup>7</sup>-I in G major. The song begins by mentioning Marceneiro's "Casa da Mariquinhas," thereby cementing itself as a continuation of the "casa," and thus the original song's history and message as discussed above. While the earlier song plays with the notion of women fado singers as prostitutes, the more recent piece

is meant for an early twenty-first-century postdictatorship and economic neoliberal Portuguese society. João's rewriting highlights the failure of modernization and the ruin of fado, implicitly at the hands of the dictatorship and then due to the eventual gentrification of fado music and spaces as a product of and for tourist consumption. The modernization of central Lisbon signified the ruin, by either demolition or simple abandonment, of some of the more iconic spaces in which early fado was performed. The Estado Novo's notion of the Mouraria "abandonada e suja," in fact, appears in several songs of the early 1930s (Colvin, "Mariquinhas" 37). In João's version, the smoking woman leaning against the abandoned, original "casa," with no knowledge of the house's history or cultural significance, represents the aftermath of this process—the cultural abandonment of the musical style's history and deeper cultural roots. The process has left central Lisbon in a situation of endemic economic hardship and a working class without an autochthonous, recognizable musical expression. As Colvin introduces in his study on the historical change to Lisbon architecture in the twentieth century, the process expressed musically bears a strong similarity to the musically rendered commentary from a related fado song composed and performed in the 1930s, "Há festa na Mouraria":

Oliveira's ... depiction of a village procession betokens the Mouraria before the First Republic. It is a reminder of the royal origins of the hermitage of Nossa Senhora da Saúde.... As the Salvação Barreto project despoils the lower Mouraria of its royal patrimony, the hermitage of Nossa Senhora da Saúde stands alone as the only relic of a pre-Republican architectural past in the apocalyptic landscape. ("Gabriel de Oliveira" 145).

Yet, the song still holds on to hope borne in the fadista's imagination. During the performance of the song, when João reaches the final stanza, her tempo slows in order to express the deep nostalgia for the past lost not only to time but to the agendas of Salazar and post-Salazar-era civil works and modernization programs.

With fado's more profound cultural meaning all but lost and tourism taking over as the primary means of Portuguese economic stability and growth, the transformation from working-class cultural expression to ubiquitous stereotype at the disposal of foreign tourists makes sense. Returning to the idea of fado as artifact

turned artifice for tourist consumption, “Hostel da Mariquinhas,” from the 2023 album of the same name, serves as “satire on the gentrification of the city of Lisbon” (“Hostel” par. 2) and as metonymic representation of that artifice. The story behind the song also involves a lyric authored by the Portuguese musician Ana Capicua.<sup>1</sup> João said in an interview: “Este Hostel da Mariquinhas é um espelho da situação actual do meu país. A Ana [Capicua] escreveu esta letra numa crónica para uma revista, e eu pedi-lhe imediatamente para a gravar. Fiquei desde logo impactada com a escrita da Ana, mais do que necessária” (“A Casa” par. 3). The song follows the musical form laid out by João, utilizing the same tune, same chord progression, and same instrumentation as both the 1930 and 2013 songs. This imitative practice paints a clear progression of homage to both the space of fado, the “casa,” and the evolution of the genre in this ever-changing urban landscape. Composed ten years later, the song’s sarcastic approach contrasts with the more melancholy, yet still loving parody of the earlier song. Structurally, the lyrics follow an assonantal rhyme scheme, with verses varying between seven and eleven counted syllables, a typical form for a contemporary fado song. Yet the brilliance of the piece lies in the humorous critique of the decadence and larger socioeconomic ramifications of tourist culture in twenty-first-century Lisbon. The first stanza outlines how the poetic voice discovered the “casa” not while exploring the darker, mysterious, and ultimately revealing streets and paths of the ancient city but online, replacing “ruela escura” with “site de turismo.” The intertextual reference then also highlights the contrast between an older, rambling culture and one set firmly within a depersonalized, online framework. The voice, one of discovery and perhaps with a hint of disappointment, describes the outside of the building as “totally restored, the exterior walls painted / And the entrance decorated with swallows.” The appearance of the swallow, the “andorinha,” is an important symbol of liberation and regional identity, utilized here as another moment of cheap, visual consumption for the arriving tourist. The song makes several references to both local cultural products and their modified forms for tourist culture, including Portuguese sardines, a traditional food of Lisbon, served on “pão integral, sem glúten e sem sal / Montadas na vertical e com ervinhas,” reflecting the bourgeoisie clientele of the bar in the now renovated house in the Mouraria. More satire enters the conversation, mostly related to tourist

---

<sup>1</sup> For more information on Ana Capicua, please refer to her website: <https://www.capicua.pt/>.

expectations and the general feeling of disorientation visitors feel upon arriving in Lisbon, “Arrastada pela calçada, pela bifa acalorada / Que não sabe que Lisboa tem colinas.” This statement can also harken back to the socioeconomic group whom Duhme also refers to in her study, those studied travelers who may have spent more time reading up on the theory and listening to streaming content than concentrating on the physical geography of the Lisbon landscape. Again, this geography plays an essential role in the evolution of fado as a musical moment of criticism concerning the Salazar regime’s modernization programs and the commodification of the country for the exploding tourist economy that followed in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Employment in service industries is also very present in the song, despite the denaturalized and cultural products involved, such as “caipirinhas,” a Brazilian drink, served in the bar in Lisbon. The loss of these cultural referents’ uniqueness within the tourist economy highlights the commodification of Portuguese cultural myths and the neoliberal economic colonialism that allows it. The tongue-in-cheek mention of the singer’s dream of a homecoming in Portugal, now as a wealthy tourist, also hints at the country’s numerous émigrés who leave for better employment opportunities and then return as both investors and consumers. As Neves et al.’s study on film indicates, various artistic media are subject to “economic gain” on the part of the Portuguese government’s efforts to maintain the country’s tourist economy (1). As Pareles has pointed out, “the 21st century has brought renewed appreciation and new performers to fado” (par. 3), an idea that underscores the simultaneous critique of a commodified fado performed by a member of a cohort of younger, innovative, and thematically inspired generation of fadistas.

“Hostel da Mariquinhas” appears as one of a list of various humorous, musical reflections on twentieth- and twenty-first-century cultural and socioeconomic changes in Lisbon. The plethora of cultural, political, musical, and social references that make up the work belie a complex interchange of modernization, marginalization, and commodification particular to the city of Lisbon’s artistic manifestations and general cultural geography. The recuperation of fado as an essential cultural expression outside of, and in rebellion toward, contemporary Portuguese modernization efforts ironically emphasizes the new Portuguese neocolonial economic identity, one in which winded tourists quench their thirst with the taste of Lisbon-made caipirinhas and cultural capital is served to the relatively informed foreign consumer as would the fancy napkin preventing a mark

on the bar from the condensation dripping off the glass. Yet, it is precisely this phenomenon that has led to the resurgence of fado as a nationally recognized musical expression in Portugal, another irony in a space brimming with a unique and beautifully complex interplay of transnational social and artistic voices.

***Appendix***

“(Casa das) Mariquinhas” (2013)

Foi numa ruela escura que encontrei  
A tal casa do fado da Mariquinhas  
Que de Alfredo Marceneiro  
Veio ao nosso cancioneiro  
Como sendo uma casa de meninas  
E com o tempo passado  
Foi na voz da Dona Amália  
Que a casa foi da desgraça à ginjinhas  
E que mesmo com um fado renovado  
Já não tinha nem sardinhas

Depois veio a Hermínia Silva que cantou  
O regresso da saudosa Mariquinhas  
Mas foi sol de pouca dura  
Que mesmo sem ditadura  
Hoje em dia até as vacas são lingrinhas

Agora veem meus olhos  
Que nem amor, nem penhor  
Esta casa está mais velha que as vizinhas  
As janelas estão tapadas com tijolos  
E as paredes estão sozinhas

Só um gato solitário no telhado  
E uma placa que está cheia de letrinhas  
Vende-se, oca e esburacada  
Por fora toda riscada  
E encostada, na fachada, uma menina

Mas esta não canta o fado  
Só sabe fumar cigarro e com o fumo

Quando sopra faz bolinhas  
Não sabe quem já morou naquele espaço  
Ou quem foi a Mariquinhas

E aqui estou eu à porta desgostosa  
Vendo a casa que está morta e em ruínas  
Por causa destes senhores  
Até já nem tem penhores  
Porque mais ninguém tem ouro nas voltinhas

Mas seu eu fechar os olhos  
E imaginar as farras  
Ainda se ouve as guitarras e cantigas  
Porque a casa é a canção que sei de cor  
E vou cantar toda a vida  
Porque a casa é a canção que sei  
E vou cantar toda a vida!

“Hostel da Mariquinhas” (2023)

Foi num site de turismo que encontrei  
A foto da casa da Mariquinhas  
Está toda recuperada, a fachada está pintada  
E a entrada decorada a andorinhas

Da recepção ao terraço  
P’ro turista modernação  
A senha da internet é alfacinha  
’Tuga é só um empregado atarefado  
A servir a caipirinha

Sentei-me, pedi a lista do bistrô  
E era tudo tão gourmet, que as sardinhas  
Vinham em pão integral, sem glúten e sem sal  
Montadas na vertical e com ervinhas

Souvenir Bordallo Pinheiro  
A custar tanto dinheiro  
Que só mesmo p’ra quem tem libras esterlinas  
E não se esqueça de pôr like lá no site  
Do Hostel da Mariquinhas

Tuk-tuk estacionado na entrada  
E o barulho de uma mala de rodinhas  
Arrastada pela calçada, pela bifa acalorada  
Que não sabe que Lisboa tem colinas

Não coube no 28  
Onde o espaço é muito pouco  
E da Baixa até à Graça vai à pinha  
Carteiristas e turistas corpo-a-corpo  
Tipo lata de sardinha

É bonito ver a casa restaurada  
E há emprego p'ro menino e p'ra menina  
Só é pena o português não ganhar para o T3  
E ter que mudar p'ra lá da Cochinchina

Mas, talvez se eu emigrar  
Possa um dia regressar  
Com reforma que me pague as mordomias

O serviço cinco estrelas  
Minibar do Hostel da Mariquinhas  
Serviço de cinco estrelas, minibar  
Do Hostel da Mariquinhas.

**Works Cited**

- “‘A Casa da Mariquinhas’ é agora o ‘Hostel da Mariquinhas’, música interpretada por Gisela João.” *Comunidade cultura e arte*, 17 Mar. 2023, <https://comunidadeculturaearte.com/a-casa-da-mariquinhas-e-agora-o-hostel-da-mariquinhas-musica-interpretada-por-gisela-joao/>.
- Arnal, Bernard. “‘O fado fora de portas’, ou quand le *fado* sort de Lisbonne.” *Portuguese Studies Review*, vol. 32, no. 1, 2024, pp. 225–81.
- Azevedo, Miguel. “Gisela João: ‘Eu opto por rir porque é sempre bom e contagiante, mas cá dentro vai sempre muito barulho.’” *Correio da manhã* (Portugal), 25 Feb. 2025, pp. 1–9.
- Carvalho, Inês, et al. “Fado, Urban Popular Song, and Intangible Heritage: Perceptions of Authenticity and Emotions in TripAdvisor Reviews.” *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, vol. 10, no. 442, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-023-01939-w>.
- Colvin, Michael. “Gabriel de Oliveira’s ‘Há Festa na Mouraria’ and the ‘Fado Novo’s’ Criticism of the Estado Novo’s Demolition of the Baixa Mouraria.” *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 20, no. 1, Jan. 2004, pp. 134–51.
- . “The Mariquinhas Cycle: An Ongoing Saga of Prostitution, Changing Values in Lisbon and Spleen for an Undefined Past.” *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 30, no. 1, 2014, pp. 37–46.
- Duhme, Laura. *Cultural Tourism: Case Study Portugal*. Diplomica Verlag, 2012.
- Frota, Gonçalo. “In Her Own Fado Fashion: Six Years after Bursting onto the Fado Scene, Gisela João Is Keeping Faithful to the Music’s Roots, but Very Much in Her Own Style.” *Songlines*, vol. 146, no. 4, April 2019, pp. 38–39.
- Gray, Lila Ellen. *Fado Resounding: Affective Politics and Urban Life*. Duke UP, 2013.
- “Hostel da Mariquinhas by Gisela João Is Now Available.” *Ineews*, 17 Mar. 2023, <https://ineews.eu/hostel-da-mariquinhas-de-gisela-joao-ja-disponivel/>. Accessed 26 Mar. 2025.
- João, Gisela. “(Casa das) Mariquinhas.” Spotify.com, <https://open.spotify.com/track/6vSgPITJcxMQvclzFWBpl0>. Accessed Feb. 2025.

- . “Hostel da Mariquinhas.” Musixmatch.com, <https://www.musixmatch.com/pt/letras/Gisela-Jo%C3%A3o-1/Hostel-da-Mariquinhas>. Accessed Feb. 2025.
- Neves, I., K. Maguire, and N. Almeida. “A Critical Examination of Film Tourism Planning and Management in Portugal.” *Dos Algarves: Tourism, Hospitality and Management Journal*, vol. 44, 2024, pp. 1–19.
- Pareles, Jon. “Review: Gisela Joao Gives Voice to Fado’s Spectrum of Passions.” *New York Times*, 28 Feb. 2017.
- Simon, Robert. “Studies on Fado II: Symbolic Language of Militance and Mimetics in Fernando Farinha’s ‘Belos Tempos.’” *Revista de letras*, vol. 1, no. 8, 2009, pp. 347–51.
- Zarrilli, Luca. “Lisbon’s Fado Soundscape: Between Identity and Tourism.” *GeoJournal of Tourism and Geosites* vol. 41, no. 2, 2022, pp. 517–22.