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In between drinks: time, sociability and popular music at city bars

Entre umas e outras: tempo, sociabilidade e música popular em bares da cidade

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Abstract: *Framing Savassi Square (BH-MG-BR) as an empirical object, we seek to analyze how is it possible to experience superimposed temporalities in contiguous spaces through combining forms of sociability and choices of repertoire, in two different bars located at this region. Our field work employs different formats of data (audio recordings, digital photos and videos and written accounts) on those uses of space gathered during drifts through this square. Thus, we discuss how people modulate acoustic properties (intensity, frequency and spatiality) of the sonorities they employ and different musical repertoires for producing "place". This idea is reinforced by the understanding that in place time experience is "intersubjective", so it's socially and spatially localized. Popular music, inserted in this setting, plays a significant role at the conformation of social and historical experience of different groups that co-inhabit and dispute the city.*

Keywords: *urban space; popular music; squares; sonorities; temporalities*

Resumo: *Delimitando como objeto empírico a praça da Savassi (Belo Horizonte, MG, Brasil), procuramos analisar como é possível experimentar temporalidades sobrepostas em espaços contíguos por meio da combinação entre formas de sociabilidade e escolhas de repertório em dois bares diferentes localizados na referida região. Nosso trabalho de campo emprega diversos formatos de registros (gravações de áudio, fotos e vídeos digitais e relatos escritos) de tais usos*

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A R T I C L E

do espaço realizados durante derivas pela praça. Assim, discutimos as formas como as pessoas modulam as propriedades acústicas (intensidade, frequência e espacialidade) das sonoridades empregadas e diferentes repertórios musicais para produzir o "lugar". Essa ideia é reforçada pelo entendimento de que, no lugar, a experiência do tempo é "intersubjetiva", portanto, social e espacialmente localizada. A música popular, inserida nesse cenário, desempenha um papel significativo na conformação da experiência social e histórica de diferentes grupos que coabitam e disputam a cidade.

Palavras-chave: *espaço urbano; música popular; praças; sonoridades; temporalidades*

A R T I C L E

Introduction

As participants of the CCNM research group, we are interested in the dynamics of constitution of urban territorialities, especially to understand how the use of public spaces by the citizens who live there or pass by create places – even transitory places – there. We integrate, in the last years, a project[3] dedicated to the study of four squares in the downtown region of Belo Horizonte, one of the big metropolis in Brazil. Squares mark meeting points in the urban fabric, due to their cultural, social, economic and political centrality, shown in the daily life and in specific contexts promoted in public, in the case of our research, celebrations, popular manifestations or musical performances.

Our researches have as one of the main focuses the understanding of the auditive experience in urban space.[4] Public spaces are constituted through conflicts and negotiations created by multiple social actors in performances in the public arena that transform the space in place, and, thus, locate their identities (APPADURAI, 1996). Their confrontations and accommodations not only modify the urban space but are also altered by the changes that historically happen there. Currently, as in other study groups, we consider that social media and representations shared through the internet are also integrated in this game through its users.

Delimitating as an empirical object the Savassi square, we seek to analyze how is it possible to experience superposed temporalities in contiguous spaces through the combination between forms of sociability and choices of repertoire, getting out of 80 Bar, where you can listen to pop, rock, punk, post-punk, and different types of electronic music, to get to the other side of the street, over to Vintage 13 and its *easy rider* soundtrack. Our field work employs different formats of register (audio

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3   "Find the audience again in the city squares: new forms of appropriation in the urban space in Belo Horizonte in the 21st century", supported by CNPq.
4   A part of these research efforts derives from the project "Urban patrimony and popular music: the meanings of places", coordinated by Luiz Henrique Assis Garcia at UFMG and supported by CNPq, and the other part derives from the studies of PhD of Pedro Silva Marra with PPGCOM/ UFF. A preliminary version of this text was presented during the 18th bianual conference of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IASPM), performed at Unicamp in 2015.

records, digital photos and videos and written testimonials) of such uses of space performed during walks on the square. We took sound landscape (SHAFER, 2001) as a methodologic technique which allow us to access sounds and musical practices located in the space of its materiality. Therefore, we discuss the forms how people modulate their acoustic properties (intensity, frequency and spatiality) and different musical repertoires to produce the "place". This idea is reinforced by the understanding that, in the place, the experience of time is "intersubjective", therefore, social and spatially localized (WUNDERLICH, 2013, p. 383-384). Popular music, inserted in this scenario, fills a significant gap in the formation of the social and historic experience of different groups that cohabit and dispute the city.

Temporalities and sociability in the space of Savassi square

Savassi Square, marked by the intersection of the avenues Getúlio Vargas and Cristóvão Colombo, is the more popular name of the Diogo de Vasconcelos Square. That is due to the fact that, in the beginning of the 40's, a bakery was founded there and named after its owners, the Savassi family, with Italian origin. The neighborhood, with an eminently residential character – despite calling Funcionários (workers) – has transformed a lot from then on.

In the 50's, the first commercial businesses were implanted in the neighborhood: there was the Savassi Bakery, by the Diogo de Vasconcellos square, and beside it, in Pernambuco Street, the São Felix Drugstore. There was also a sewing store near Diogo de Vasconcellos square and beside the bakery store; the Colombo and Triângulo stores, located in the Cristóvão Colombo avenue. Two other services started to attract the attention of the people who lived in Belo Horizonte: the construction of Cine Pathé and Belo Horizonte's first supermarket, Serve Bem, both located at the Cristóvão Colombo Avenue (LEMOS, 2007, p. 7).

In bars, convenience stores and in the bakery, young middle-class people of the city used to meet. In the region, many public and private

schools were created, creating a space with constant circulation of students, from elementary school to university students. When new neighborhoods began to appear in the south region of the city, the Savassi region started to represent a center to the middle-class and high-class layers of society in search of sophisticated stores and sociability spaces corresponding to their preferences. Starting in the 70's, the transformations in the space were intensified. Celina B. Lemos points, in her study on consumption and formation of a centrality at Savassi, the strong presence of private investments following the circulation of a consumer with high acquisitive power, constituting a "[…] locus of consumption and leisure of privileged groups" (LEMOS, 2007, p. 8). According to testimonials created by the author, the "noble consumers" saw in the Downtown a deteriorated space, without sophistication or exclusivity, and thus, the "[…] growth and legitimacy of Savassi coincided with the semi-saturation of the Traditional Downtown (LEMOS, p. 2007, p. 8). Following these changes, the urbanistic law created in 1976 regulated the "mixed" (residential/commercial) use of the region.

Consumption activities articulated forms of leisure and sociability that would correspond to local's expectations in search of refinement and taste. Not fortuitously, in the 80's, the bookstore Agência Status was created there, in front of the main bus stop at Cristóvão Colombo Avenue, opposite to Cine Pathé, a cinema popular as a meeting place for intellectuals, associated with "authorial movies", where neighborhood goers remember watching movies by Bergman, Godard and Fellini. Lemos (2007, p. 13) considers having a continuity and transition of use between these two points of concentration and meeting on opposite sides of the avenue. Thus, a typical stroll of the middle-class or high-class subject through Savassi could include shopping, watching a movie, buying a book and ending the night in a bar or restaurant in the vicinity.

The practice of going in bars at Savassi was already integrated to the routine of those who worked there, as well as people who belong in the middle and high layer of the South region of Belo Horizonte. It is possible, thus, "to identify standards of frequency" in bars and snack bars

that were fashionable at Savassi, where we could see a territoriality in terms of use, having as base the groups and subgroups that frequented the place (LEMOS, 2007, p. 17-18).

In the same decade, part of the blocks of Pernambuco and Antônio de Albuquerque streets, which diagonally cross the space where the square is. In the square, they positioned flowerbeds and urban furniture, such as benches and payphones – which were still relevant as equipment. In parts that remained as streets, parking lots were created. If, at times, this space was configured as "landscape", many situations could attract and retain locals, such as the presence of street vendors, artisans, painters selling art, beggars or even the police, concerned with repressing robbery and controlling the frequency of individuals considered threatening. As an idyllic space for groups of bigger power and resources – counterposed, in the social representations of the dirty Downtown, out of fashion, unorganized, filled with "undesirable people" – Savassi should be an adjusted, comfortable place for their privileged consumers.

We can consider that, in the 90's, the scene of the square became more complex and heterogeneous. The great quantity of bus stops transiting and stopping in the avenues, the existence of some stores with affordable prices, the diversification of services and, eventually, the own centrality that began to happen significantly increased the affluence and variety of people that circulate and appropriate the space. In addition, it became a place of gathering to watch matches and celebrate conquests of football teams in the capital of MG. That did not eliminate initiatives with the image consolidated in the region. We could quote the trend of "book + coffeeshops" post-modern spaces with retro atmosphere that were perceived as exquisite loci of sociability for groups detaining cultural capital. Três Corações Café and Livraria da Travessa became points for this type of activity using live music – performed by small bands or even one musician, with repertoire considered "tasteful" (jazz, MPB, *choro*) – to attract and please a demanding audience that isused to pay more expensive items, including food.

As a sign of the times and changes in cultural consumption habits, Cine Pathé closed. In its building, evangelic church, a clothing store and a parking lot began to work there. The building was listed by the National Heritage, but the plans for recovering it as a cultural center did not continue. In the 2000's, the main corners became filled by cellphone stores, in addition to a McDonald's store, already occupying the place since the previous decade, signaling the insertion of massified and globalized circuit of consumption; on the other hand, there are traditional commercial establishments with regional (Elmo Calçados) and local (Centro Ótico) coverage that still remain. It is significative to remember that the Claro store dislodged Café Três Corações, that ended up working in a much smaller space, behind where it used to be, after a campaign of "traditionalists".

Presentism and nostalgia in the social experience

In so many changes, Savassi square is a witness to the voraciousness from our time. While the huge compression of space-time provokes an unstable experience, particularly in the urban environment, the search for "symbolic anchors" (HUYSSEN, 2003) rises the demand for the feeling of wholeness and belonging to a place and/or time. As Huyssen himself says, "[…] We have come to read cities and buildings as palimpsests of space, monuments as transformable and transitory, and sculptures as subject to the vicissitudes of time" (HUYSSEN, 2003, p. 7). In an accurate way, Beatriz Sarlo qualifies the time in which we live in from the relationship between culture of velocity and nostalgia:

> The present, threatened by the decay of acceleration, is converted, while it occurs, in matter of memory. Between time acceleration and the memorialist vocation, there are coincidences. Precisely the acceleration produces the emptiness of past that operations of memory intend to compensate (SARLO, 2003, p. 97-98).

According to the author, apparatuses such as the remote control, the fax, the modem contribute to the production of another texture of time,

characterized not only by the profusion of images but by the velocity in which they follow, reflect and run over each other (SARLO, 2003, p. 97). Thus, paradoxically, the present works in the aging of things and images and, simultaneously, in its conservation as signs of identity.

Therefore, we need to recognize a change in conscience of time proper of modernity, oriented towards the future, through the notion of progress, for a predominantly presentist perspective (HARTOG, 2013), which is affirmed since the end of the last century. François Hartog proposes using the concept of "regimen of historicity" because he thinks there is the degree of combination, the "more" and the "less", in the mix between past, present and future while concepts that organize the experience that the human being has of time. This author characterizes the specific regimen of contemporaneity as "presentism", seeing, on one side, flows, acceleration, mobility and, on the other hand, the permanence of the transitory, eating up the past and the future. An experience of time marked by the immediatism and eternally in crisis. The future "[…] Is no longer a luminous horizon in which we walk towards, but a shadow line we put in motion towards us, while we seem to skate in the field of present and chew on a past that does not go away" (HARTOG, 2013, p. 245).

This omnipresence of past, thus, put itself under the prism of present (LOWENTHAL, 1985, p. XV). There is no doubt that the act of re-memoration belongs to the present, which does not imply disregarding that its occurrence is related to the material presence of vestiges of the past. Through the execution, either mechanic or in live presentation, of a repertoire which belongs to a wide archive of recognizable and associable references, articulated to other elements (name, decoration, menu, furniture, etc.), a certain bar produces an ambiance, "[...] A qualified space-time in a sensory point of view. [...] A specific humor expressed in the material presence of things and corporified in the form of being an inhabitant in the city" (THIBAUD, 2011, p. 1-2). The articulation between social experience and elements of a material culture mobilizes specific parcels of public, bringing together specific tastes, groups and

sociabilities from a set of songs that supplies symbolic anchors because it functions as a mean for the social interaction (DENORA, 2000).

We understand that songs are listened within socially produced interpretative schemes that supply references from which the individual rememorates. It is unescapable that, as an effect of this same gesture, the "past" perceived (as an absent reference) is modified, in a way that this operation do not bring, as eventually is supposed to, a bigger stability, coherence and legitimacy to this recuperated space (HUYSSEN, 2003, p. 4). What matters is to verify that the formation of repertoire happens through a circuit of experiences of the listeners that help the audition of concerts, of pairs, transmissions, discs and now, digital platforms, among other sources. The history of the music industry comprises what is stored in this forms of register, but it is harder to rebuild what is conserved in memory and it is orally transmitted (FAULKNER e BECKER, 2009). The constitution of repertoires reflects a dynamic collection which constitution and rearrangement are historically transformed, along with the forms of making and listening to music.

Exactly because of that, to understand the choices of repertoire, it is necessary to consider different contemporary cultural phenomena associated with time (nostalgia, retro, revivalism, museomania), through which these groups are constituted, including as clients. Raphael Samuel, investigating the re-significations of past in the British society, identifies markedly from the second half of the 20th century, the "resuscitating enthusiasm" which took care of many aspects of the social life – from interior decoration to consumption of antiques, from the diffusion of the taste for old photography to the historicization of the environment built (SAMUEL, 1994). Samuel still locates in "Swinging London" of mid-60's the phenomenon of retro chic, or "industry of nostalgia", in which recent technology is applied to products in a way of obtaining an aesthetic that refers to the old (SAMUEL, 1994, p. 83). Even through the form of revival, it has a parodic character:

> Contrary to restorationism and conservatism […], retro-chic is indifferent to the cult of authenticity. It does not feel obligated to remain faithful to

the period […], blurs the distinction between originals and recycled […], abolishes differences of category between past and present, opening a two-way street between them (SAMUEL, 1994, p. 112-113).

In both bars we talked here, mainly to what refers to interior decoration, use of design and regimentation of elements in material culture, this seems to be a dominant form, even if there are variations, as we will see ahead.

Sociability and popular music repertoires at 80 Bar and at Vintage 13

The two bars are dedicated to leisure activities, but we see differences between them. Both work on happy hour, but 80 Bar is more for a "pre-night" practice, in which groups of friends meet to drink beer and talk before going together to another party. A louder, more upbeat music refers to that.

> For me, Savassi bars are very similar between them and a small detail is what makes us choose between one over the other (unless it only has seats in place X or Y). What attracts me in the 80 is also one of the things that makes me avoid the place: the music. It attracts me because I really like the songs that play in the bar, The Cranberries, Bon Jovi, Smashing Pumpkins, and other classics. However, most of the time the music is TOO loud, making it hard to talk at the table and even giving me a headache. If the idea is to sit and talk somewhere in Savassi, 80 is rarely the first place I think about. If you want to talk, sit away from the speakers.[5]

Meanwhile, Vintage 13 is a place to sit and spend the night: "It is a very small bar, with tables in the sidewalk, playing good old *rock'n'roll*. The location could not be better, right in the middle of Savassi".[6] The music is softer, eventually less dancy, which configures a certain posture of appreciation and reverence to rock (BENNETT, 2009). It also works

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5   Available at: http://kekanto.com.ar/biz/80-bar. Accessed in July 1st, 2015.
6   Available at: http://www.tripadvisor.com.br/Restaurant_Review-g303374-d6226508-Reviews-Vintage_13-Belo_Horizonte_State_of_Minas_Gerais.html. Accessed in July 1st, 2015.

as background for conversation and, although there is concern with the quality of reproduction, it is not the focus, as demonstrated in the position of the speaker, above the door. This position is not favorable to the repertoire played, because many songs of the period presented an extreme stereo panorama, in which some instruments are located in the right speaker and, in other songs, everything on the left. As the speakers are a little bit far from each other, it becomes difficult to listen to a faithful record: whoever is closer to the speaker listens only what is coming out of it – only instruments or only drums and vocals, for example. Such differences seem to produce different times of occupation. Our observations indicate that 80 Bar gets crowded earlier and presents a bigger rotativity in the tables, while Vintage 13 takes longer to be crowded and clients occupy tables for longer. In addition to that, as the song in Vintage 13 is less intense, it remains open until later than 80 Bar.

If, in another opportunity (GARCIA, 2011), we studied songs that talk about places (and, of course, their respective times), now we study places that talk about songs or, that compose, through them, a way of creating a presence in the city. Faulkner and Becker, in their study about jazz, approach this composition of places. The authors compare the musical practice in a jazz club in Chicago, 1951; the musician's routine in a New Yorker dance club in 1978, which usually play in wedding parties, quinceañeras and balls in general; and the presentation of a jazz trio in a fancy restaurant in 2007 (FAULKNER and BECKER, 2009, p. 3-15). In each one of these places, there is not only the expectation of execution of different repertoires – songs that everyone knows in the first case; upbeat and popular songs of various genres in the second case; contemporary jazz in the third case – as the diverse musical performance of each one of these cases, which can even share one or two songs - different instrumental formations in each case, playing medleys in some and not others, preferable sound intensities in each one of the places, etc.

The different places are comprised, thus, in a dynamic among the practice of musicians, the expectations of who is going to these events, who is running these events, their spatial conformation and the uses that

are effectively performed there. A ball requires a specific musical performance different from a bar where people come to chat or a restaurant where you go to eat. Who is going to dance in a ball hopes to listen to certain songs and the owner of the place hopes the musicians put everyone to dance; who is going to chat in a bar hopes that the song works as a background to conversation – which gives more freedom to musicians; who is going to eat in a restaurant hopes the sound do not collide with his act of eating. Because of that, the owner of the restaurant looks for a soft song, not too upbeat or too intense. On the other hand, a wide space favors the ball, a cozy place favors a restaurant, etc.

Faulkner and Becker, therefore, are concerned in understanding how the musicians create their repertoire. Interrogating different work situations, they identify in the context an indispensable dimension to explain how and why a certain item is taken from a set composed by thousands of popular songs produced in the industry, beyond ethnical and traditional songs. The authors indicate the transit between repertoires with diverse cultural origins produced transformations in jazz throughout the time in which they confuse modification as the use of places, transformations in the practices of musical performance and constitution of new repertoires, which widens the set of compositions that were already constituted. Their research works the idea that, in case of jazz, there is today a co-existence of these diverse temporalities, but circumscribed to very specific spaces.

Extrapolating a little in regard to these authors, we can consider that, even in the case of mechanic execution of recorded songs, it is possible to identify a repertoire constituted in a way of attracting and fixating their desired clients, and, simultaneously, keeping away those who do not fit in the desired profile. We understand that this is valid both for different DJs hired to work at 80 Bar (including the idea that the house selects them within a wider range of professionals available) as the owner of Vintage 13, that made clear to inform us that, usually, makes the selection of what is going to be played and showed us the "old" Macintosh

that plays the playlist. There are events such as the "Vinyl Club" in which the musical playlist is made by other people.

In our case, both bars seem to follow a type of repertoire limited to certain specific genres, subgenres and eras (60's and 70's rock at Vintage 13; 80's post-punk at 80 Bar), even if in a less circumscribed manner, because that axis is spread out to other eras, especially on 80 Bar. In the latter, we listen to music to previous decades that were reference to post-punk of the 80's - it is possible to listen to The Kinks or David Bowie, but Pink Floyd or Yes would hardly play there – or songs from the 90's or 2000's that, somehow, use the 80's as reference: "They played QOTSA (Queens of the Stone Age), Radiohead and The Cure, among others. They deserve my respect".[7] In this sense, the commitment to "authenticity" or "precision" regarding repertoire is considerably smaller than at Vintage 13. Moreover, being very close, it becomes evident that they majorly attend to different audiences – more diverse in the case of 80 Bar, "identifiable" at Vintage 13 - which both can bring a brand to the space, creating different ambiances.

In this study, we consider the thesis of DeNora (2000) in which agents use song to perform certain tasks. When handling certain acoustic characteristics (intensity, frequency and spatiality) of songs, these agents appropriate from their material characteristics (understood as something tangible by the body), that enable or catalyze its action. These parameters are involved with the "corporification of the action while doing the body engage in a rhythm (DENORA, 2000, p. 8). Thus, music comes into action not only to regulate velocities, pauses and continuities of action, but to pack the feeling of time involved in the development of action and, in a certain way, constituting this moment as an index to what is also referred to other time-space. The temporality imposed by the uses of place are connected to temporal aspects of music practiced there: dance connects to certain more body-oriented rhythms and accelerated velocities; the same way eating is connected to slower

7   Available at: https://pt.foursquare.com/v/80-bar/4cae57a4aef16dcb9df69f54. Accessed in: July 1st, 2015.

velocities and more relaxed rhythms and that the musical lack of attention produced by the conversation favors the temporal distention of improvisation.

The parameters of intensity and spatiality are manipulated for the constitution of different temporalities of leisure in each bar. On one hand, the higher volume of music and speakers on the ground, directing the sound directly to the client's bodies at 80 Bar contribute to its aspect of space for preparation of later moments in the evening. On the other hand, the cozy ambiance created by the less intense sounds and the speakers in a more elevated place at Vintage 13 constitutes a space to stay over the night. However, the main sound characteristic through which the time is dealt is the frequency, defined by the duration in which a certain vibration returns to a prior state. In this dominion, heights are defined, responsible to outline melodies and harmonies; speed and tempo; rhythms marked by the accent and division of durations; and tones, also known as color of the sound, audible aspects that differentiate two distinct sources that vibrate in the same number of times per second. The variation of those parameters differentiates compositions within a determined musical repertoire. We organized a board that seeks to synthetize the observations performed in our field works.

Therefore, different musical times worked through different songs articulate to temporalities, while social and historic category, that each one of the bars outlines. In the process, these bars fit the audience who goes there. Therefore, while the song "Just a Girl" by the 90's ska/hardcore band No Doubt filled the 80 Bar in an invasive manner, at Vintage 13, customers were listening to "Honky Tonk Women" by the Rolling Stones, in a lower volume.[8] 80 Bar presents, thus, a rhetoric directed towards those who were young at the time and lived their teenage years listening to songs that seek inspiration in the 80's. This period and state of mind are brought again by the combination of a catchy, upbeat, energetic music. On Vintage 13, on the other hand, the appeal is to vigor,

8   Register of field research. Available at: https://soundcloud.com/exploring-montreal/caminhada-anos-80vintage13anos-80. Accessed in: March 15th, 2016.

freedom, contestation translated in songs of late 60's, early 70's, era in which such values were in vogue and were materialized in the globalized popular music through long guitar solos, fierce drums, the performance of main vocalists of hard rock bands and, of course, song lyrics.

Board 1 - Comparative synthesis of the field research results.

Elements of ambiance	80 Bar	Vintage13
Interior design	Clean	Saturated with references
Color	Variety of colors in a well-lit environment.	Smaller variety in a darker environment.
Tables	In the street and inside.	Only on the street.
Intensity of music/position of speakers	Very intense/at street level.	Less intense/on the ceiling.
Conversation	Hard	Easy
Repertoire	Indie, rock, punk, post-punk, pop, electronic, 70's to 2000's, especially the 80's.	Mainly rock from the 60's/70's.
Time of permanence	Smaller	Bigger
Target audience	Tends to be younger (up to 29 years old) and with a wider age range.	Tends to be more mature (over 29 years old); some specific groups, such as bikers.

Source: own elaboration from research notes between 2013 and 2015.

The era in which the song was written, especially if it was popular then – therefore, if it is perceived by the audience as a classic of a specific musical genre –, is an important factor of these timely dynamics. DeNora deals with this issue through a discussion of the subject's life history: when a song belongs to important moments of constitution of its subjectivities – a song which important to a couple, the friendship between two people, etc. Not only an individual moment, but also a collective one. La Marcellaise, as an anthem for the conquests of the French Revolution, for example; to play this song brings back memories from the past. The author says that, when this relationship between a

ARTICLE

song and a moment is very strong, it stops being a mere background of the event and comes to build the memory in an alive manner.

> "But the creation of that 'moment' as a heightened moment was due in part to the alchemy of respondents' perceived or sensed 'rightness' or resonance between the situation, the social relationship, the setting, the music, and themselves as emerging aesthetic agents with feelings, desires, moods such that the music was the mood, and the mood, the music". (DENORA, 2000, p. 67).

The author, however, treats music as a memory "container". We believe that here she uses a term that is below the idea she wished to employ. We would rather say that music creates memory, it is its audible facet. It is important to remember the distinction created by Aristotle between memory (mneme) and remembrance (anamnesis). In his perspective, memory implies a perception that distinguishes before and after, the passing of time, but while memory is present as an evocation of an absence, of something that simply happened, the remembrance is product of a pursuit, of a path performed by an explorer of the past (RICOEUR, 2007, p. 35-39). At this point, the discussion created by Paul Ricoeur about the notion of "trail" is important, something that refers to memory as an absent presence. Then he uses the image of the drawing of an animal to explain that an inscription or registration has a double dimension, as itself and as a representation of something else (RICOEUR, 2007, p. 37). Such dynamic is performed not only by the reference to the era in which the compositions were written, but also at the time in which they were recorded, played and made a success. That is because the temporality of the music is also inscribed in the tone created by the instruments and technologic resources used in their register. Thus, electronic instruments, robotic drums and exaggerated effects which refer to the 80's, organic performances of bands playing live, excessive stereo experimentations, oriental instruments, valved equipments or analogic synthetizers point towards the 60's and the 70's; and screaming vocals in between distorted guitars have its origins in the 90's.

Final Considerations

Its conformed, thus, a specific temporal ambiance through which is possible to a listener to identify a specific era, creating this memory game even when the person do not know the specific song playing at a certain moment. Through this work with tones, a song can also bring us back to an era – and, therefore, create memories – even if it was not recorded at that exact period. Through the manipulation of frequencies, therefore, the modulation of musical times shuffles and connects different social and historic temporalities.

We talked about places where you purchase items, but, simultaneously, we talk about the consumption of the place. The use of elements that refer to a certain past, including songs, through a "retro ambiance" inevitably makes us think in a fetishization of the past, transformed in merchandise to be consumed. However, such process does not happen without, simultaneously, generating forms of sociability and appropriation that are configured from practices of subjects in time and space. The popular music integrates important moments in the constitution of the subjectivity of subjects and the imaginary of social groups. In this sense, it can be an active element of processes of remembrance in which its materiality creates the memory in its audible facet. It is possible, in our social experience as locals and listeners, even in a space crossed by different senses and disputes, different superposed temporalities, we found, even in a provisional, unstable manner, significative bonds that inform our existence beyond the presentist consumer voraciousness.

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