

**"THE FIRE OF SAMBA, THE EXCITEMENT OF BOLERO,
THE SOPHISTICATION OF CHA-CHA-CHA" IN LOURENÇO
MARQUES: THE LEGITIMATION OF EMPIRE THROUGH
THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN MUSIC, PHONOGRAPHIC
EDITIONS AND TOURISM**

Pedro A. Mendes

INET-md, NOVA FCSH
pedroaamendes@fcsb.unl.pt

“The fire of Samba, the excitement of Bolero, the sophistication of Cha-Cha-Cha” in Lourenço Marques: The legitimization of empire through the connections between music, phonographic editions and tourism¹

This article presents an analysis of the relationship between music and tourism in Lourenço Marques during the late colonial period, demonstrating that this relationship was crucial in the quest to legitimise the Portuguese empire in Africa during a time marked by strong external and internal pressures for the end of colonialism, and by the growth of emancipatory trends on the continent. The first part of the text describes how musical performances were integrated into tourist venues, highlighting how the colonial system's inequalities and contradictions were reflected therein. The second part examines examples of phonographic editions as means of promoting Lourenço Marques as a tourist destination and of idealising its everyday life.

Keywords: music, tourism, colonialism, Mozambique, Lourenço Marques, phonographic industry

“O fogo do Samba, a excitação do Bolero, a sofisticação do Chachachá” em Lourenço Marques: A legitimação do império através das ligações entre música, edições fonográficas e turismo

Este artigo apresenta uma análise da relação entre música e turismo em Lourenço Marques no período colonial tardio, demonstrando que este binómio foi preponderante na busca pela legitimação do império português em África, numa altura marcada por fortes pressões externas e internas pelo fim do colonialismo, e pelo crescimento de tendências emancipatórias no continente. Numa primeira parte do texto, será feita uma descrição do modo como as performances musicais se enquadravam nos estabelecimentos procurados por turistas, deixando em evidência a forma como as desigualdades do sistema colonial e as suas contradições se manifestavam nesse contexto. Numa segunda parte, serão analisados exemplos de edições fonográficas como forma de promoção turística de Lourenço Marques e de idealização da sua vida quotidiana.

Palavras-chave: música, turismo, colonialismo, Moçambique, Lourenço Marques, indústria fonográfica

¹ The author gratefully acknowledges the financial support received from the Foundation for Science and Technology through the project FRH/BD/121798/2016 and COVID/BD/151802/2021. Translated from Portuguese by Carolina Costa, Bachelor of Political Science and International Relations by the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the University NOVA of Lisbon..

During the 1960s, Mozambique was visited by around 450,000 tourists each year (Cleveland & Marino, 2021, p. 283). The then-Portuguese colony in Africa offered a variety of attractions for visitors, such as beaches stretching along its vast coastline and other sites whose fame extended beyond its borders, including Gorongosa National Park. But urban centres, particularly Lourenço Marques, were also sought after for leisure, whether for the inviting climate, the proximity to the sea, or the various leisure establishments that made the city a prime location for a successful tourism industry.

Music played a prominent role in this scene. The performances by musical groups stood out for their importance in attracting customers looking to dance to “modern” rhythms and the latest hits popularised by the record industry, and in shaping the public image that the various performance venues sought to project. In addition to the bands’ performances boosting tourism in Mozambique’s capital, the potential of music was harnessed in other ways to create an attractive imaginary of Lourenço Marques, as will be explored in greater detail below.

This article explores the relationship between music and tourism in the colonial city of Lourenço Marques, from the late 1950s onwards. This relationship has yet to be explored in depth and requires an analysis that emphasises the importance of music not only in promoting tourist activities but also in shaping the image of the city – and, by extension, of Portuguese colonialism itself – that was intended for marketing abroad. The relationship between musical practices and tourism emerged at a crossroads in a political regime that sought to deny its colonial and racially discriminatory tendencies, whilst at the same time attempting to market a city that appealed to the prevailing beliefs and behavioural norms of the white population. This intention became even more urgent following the outbreak of the armed liberation struggle in Mozambique, launched by FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) against the Portuguese colonial system, when it was necessary to project a sense of normality to counteract the prevailing climate of instability in the territory.

Political actors and institutions linked to the regime employed various means to promote the Luso-tropicalist ideology and conceal its colonial leanings. They aimed to reinforce the narrative of a multi-continental and multiracial Portugal, supposedly open to integration and miscegenation, whilst seeking to deny the historical inequalities that had marked the development of colonial society (Castelo et al., 2012, pp. 20–24). In this sense, when discussing musical revolutions and political disputes, it is important to consider music as a conservative element within the power relations and socio-racial representations produced by colonialism, which were threatened by the looming prospect of rupture and

transformation in the Portuguese empire.² Especially when, in addition to internal opposition from liberation movements, the Portuguese regime was facing external criticism of its colonial stance at a historic moment when several nations were gaining independence in Africa (Santos, 2018).

This analysis is based on two key aspects that form the framework of this article. Firstly, we will describe how musical performances were a constant feature in establishments dedicated to tourism. The way music was featured across different venues, whether through musical choices or hiring criteria, is itself an indicator of how colonial dynamics shaped musicians' work and the city's tourism promotion. The second point focuses on the link between phonogram production and tourism promotion objectives. It will be examined in greater depth how these publications contributed to shaping the narratives surrounding Lourenço Marques, against the backdrop of the political landscape and social tensions that characterised not only the city but, more broadly, the situation of the Portuguese colonies in Africa during the late colonial period (Castelo et al., 2012; Domingos, 2013). The first example is João Maria Tudella, a singer who made several songs centred on Portuguese colonial geography famous, with numerous direct references to Lourenço Marques. Next, the cases of the groups Renatino di Napoli and I Cinque di Roma will be analysed, due to the release of recordings documenting their visit to the Hotel Polana.

This study engages with the literature on tourism in Lourenço Marques, the historical development of the city (which is inextricably linked to its structural racism) and musical practices in Mozambique, seeking to illustrate the dynamics that interconnect these aspects. The article also draws on interviews I conducted as part of my research into the "pop" music groups that performed in Lourenço Marques during the final years of the colonial period.³ The people I spoke to were musicians who were active in the city during the 1960s and 1970s. Among them were white musicians who lived in the city centre and Black musicians from the suburbs. Some of them came to Portugal after Mozambique gained independence; others continued to live in what is now Maputo.

² The use of music and sound (for example, through radio broadcasts) as a form of propaganda against anti-colonial movements and trends in Mozambique during the late colonial period has been highlighted in several studies over recent years (Filipe, 2012; Freitas, 2023; Mendes, 2022; Pereira, 2021). For a comparison with the Angolan case, see the work of Marissa Moorman (2019).

³ A broader discussion of the use of the term "pop" is beyond the scope of this article; I shall therefore merely emphasise that, in this context, its use refers to musical styles produced by the recording industry in the Northern Hemisphere. In this regard, see Cidra and Félix (2010), as well as Middleton et al. (2001).

Aspects of daily life in Lourenço Marques

The city of Lourenço Marques became the capital of Mozambique in 1898. From the late 19th century onwards, the seaport and the railways played a fundamental role in its economy, which had always been heavily dependent on and influenced by South Africa, whose government intended for Lourenço Marques to have “an economic base centred on the port, with the port having sufficient capacity to handle 47.5% of the goods imported and exported by that country” (Mendes, 1985, p. 86). From the late 19th century onwards, urban expansion began in streets near the seaport, extending towards areas that now form the Central District and Alto-Maé (Figure 1). Throughout the 20th century, buildings sprang up in this area and wide avenues were laid out, forming the core of what would come to be known as the “concrete city” – a designation that distinguished it from the “reed city” – the suburban neighbourhoods characterised by dwellings built with precarious materials and sanitary conditions that grew up around the concrete city.



Figure 1: Lourenço Marques's map of the end of the colonial period (Source: Mendes, 1985, p. 76)

This division of space was inseparable from the colonial ideology that underlay the city's layout. Like other colonial cities in Africa, the concrete city was intended to ensure, for the colonists, a safeguard of “social and psychobiological distance” in the physical space from the Black population (Martin, 2002, p. 6). From the early decades of the 20th century, the development of Lourenço Marques was marked by measures designed to make the city centre suitable for the standards and aspirations of the white population. Whilst there was a need to

employ Black workers to carry out day-to-day tasks, mechanisms were also put in place to prevent them from enjoying those spaces beyond their work duties. For example, leisure areas frequented by the white population, such as beaches or gardens, were off-limits to the Black population (Zamparoni, 1998, pp. 330–332). Travel on public transport was also subject to restrictions, with a dress code and code of conduct imposed in accordance with the values of the population of European origin (Zamparoni, 1998, pp. 264–265). Access to cinemas, as well as to the content of the films shown, was also subject to racial exclusion criteria; in this case, the colonial authorities were particularly concerned about not showing images that might stir up feelings of revolt among the Black population (Domingos, 2021). Performative practices have also been part of the process of exclusion and differentiation in the urban space, as demonstrated by Matheus Serva Pereira's work on the suppression and banning of African-style performances in the "concrete city" (Pereira, 2019).

These and other forms of exclusion were underpinned by a series of laws that consolidated the Indigenous Statute.⁴ Those who were legally identified as "indigenous" (in practice, the majority of the Black African population) were subject to various obligations, including indentured or forced labour, and were marginalised in terms of mobility and residence in the concrete city. On the other hand, Black individuals who exhibited behavioural, aesthetic and expressive traits closely aligned with the lifestyle idealised by the colonists were granted the status of "assimilated", which, in theory, relieved them of the restrictions imposed on "indigenous" people. However, among the Black population, those who acquired this status constituted a small minority, in addition to the various difficulties involved in obtaining it (Domingos, 2012, p. 65; Keese, 2013, pp. 228–229; Silva, 2016, p. 329).

Even after 1961, following the repeal of the Indigenous Statute, the physical space of the concrete city continued to be portrayed as the domain of the white population and their way of life. The Black population continued to be assigned a supporting role, as a feature of an exotic landscape, but without a voice or active presence in the city. For a large part of this population, the concrete city remained perceived as an uncomfortable, even potentially threatening, space (Penvenne, 2012). Thus, whilst the repeal of the Indigenous People's Statute removed the legal barriers restricting the movements of the Black population, it did not erad-

⁴ Since the 19th century, there have been decrees designed to control the lives of Africans "in areas as diverse as clothing, housing, movement and admission to public events" (Silva, 2016, p. 325). The Organic Law on Overseas Civil Administration (1914), the Political, Civil and Criminal Statute of the Indigenous Peoples of Angola and Mozambique (1926) (Silva, 2016, p. 327), as well as the Colonial Act of 1930 (Zamparoni, 2012, p. 20), confirmed a racist and exclusionary regime perceived as uncomfortable, even potentially threatening, that resulted in discrimination against these populations remained perceived as an uncomfortable, even potentially threatening.

icate a culture of racial subordination rooted in social conventions, which gave rise to the experience of an “informal indigenous status” (Domingos, 2013, p. 95).

The political economy of leisure and tourism in Lourenço Marques

Within the logic of temporal organisation in modern industrial societies, the concept of leisure concerns choices about how to spend one’s free time. These choices involve activities that can be used to characterise lifestyles, forms of individual and collective expression, diversify how the body is used, create social circles, and promote different ways of shaping everyday life. Leisure is a way of conceiving time and space to which issues of ideology and power are not alien; in colonial contexts, these are inseparable from racial hierarchies and the aspirations and values of different social groups (Martin, 2002, pp. 3–8). In turn, the concept of tourism, according to Bennett, fits within a logic of seeking leisure destinations linked to individual representations of identity (Bennett, 2005, pp. 141–142). Tourism refers to the process of commodification of ways of spending free time associated with a particular place. This process creates ideological representations of history, culture and tradition (Desmond, 1999, p. xvii) and, I would add, of different social groups. In this sense, tourism can act as a mechanism for marginalisation and the reinforcement of colonial powers and legacies (Harewood, 2019). Following the approach of Guilbault and Rommen (2019), music is framed here as part of a broader political economy – one that encompasses the interplay of various political and social interests – which included tourism as a means of safeguarding the interests of the white population in Mozambique.

In Lourenço Marques’ case, the notion of leisure is particularly useful to comprehend the conception of time and space in modern life. The distinction between working hours and leisure time, associated with the separation of spaces and their labour or free-time purposes, constituted a defining element of a European way of life and a means of distinguishing oneself from Black African people, especially those who had not been assimilated. In the concrete city, a range of venues and businesses thus began to emerge that catered to this use of leisure time. The city’s tourist attractions included its beaches, gardens, shooting ranges, golf courses and tennis courts, amongst other activities (Zamparoni, 1998, p. 329). Added to this was a significant range of restaurants, bars and hotels, which were also very popular with foreign visitors, particularly those from South Africa and Rhodesia. In the early decades of the twentieth century, the Portuguese government promoted and supported initiatives aimed at the tourism sector, nota-

bly the construction of the exquisite Hotel Polana in the 1920s. In the 1930s and 1940s, *Rua Major Araújo* (hereinafter "Rua Araújo"), situated next to the seaport and the railway station, began to gain prominence in the nightlife scene, with establishments such as the Casino Belo and the Casino Costa, in an area that would later become a hub for various nightclubs (Mendes & Freitas, 2024).

A clear example of the relationship between music and tourism in Lourenço Marques is provided by *Rádio Clube de Moçambique* (RCM). Founded in the Mozambican capital in 1934 with private funding and always maintaining close ties with the colonial regime, the radio station has become one of the most important on the African continent and a central institution in the Mozambican music scene. By the late 1950s, the number of tourists visiting the site each day exceeded a hundred, many of whom came from outside Mozambique (Freitas, 2021, p. 434). A major factor in this was the popularity of *LM Radio*, RCM's Station B, whose broadcasts in English and Afrikaans were aimed primarily at an audience in South Africa, although they were also heard within Mozambique's borders, particularly in the city of Lourenço Marques. Its presenters were hugely popular with listeners. The success of *LM Radio* did not go unnoticed by RCM officials and other stakeholders in the Mozambican tourism industry, who saw it as a channel for reaching more foreign visitors (Freitas & Mendes, 2025). During the 1960s, the regime stepped up investment in tourism in response to the difficulties of the political climate. In Mozambique, the liberation struggle broke out in 1964, adding weight to the growing international pressure for decolonisation. The *Estado Novo* thus found itself needing to project a sense of normality in the cities that symbolised the empire. In this regard, the promotion of tourism through images of the landscape and urban leisure played a crucial role (Cleveland & Marino, 2021, p. 304). Furthermore, revenue from the sector was particularly significant at a time when the government was increasing military spending and propaganda aimed at preserving colonial rule (Cleveland & Marino, 2021, p. 291).

Tourism and venues for live music in Lourenço Marques

Musical performances were a regular feature in various venues geared towards tourism. For the musicians, this was an important part of their schedule. This section will examine some of these venues based on three distinct points. The first concerns a typology of establishments such as restaurants, hotel nightclubs and clubs; the second relates to the paradigmatic case of the so-called *Rua Araújo*; finally, we will discuss venues dedicated to the performance of "Mozambican folklore" and how they were integrated into the city's tourism dynamics. The

cases presented were chosen because they offer different perspectives on how the relationship between tourism and musical performances was shaped by the racial issues that characterised colonial society.

Hotels, restaurants and clubs

One of the venues where musical performances took place was the hotel nightclubs. The most prominent was, without doubt, the Hotel Polana. In addition to the Polana, there were other hotels in the city that also hired musical groups. One of these was the Hotel Girassol, a venue for performances by pop/rock groups such as the *Inflexos* and, later, *Impacto*. Foreign audiences were a frequent sight, and were even a central factor in determining the setlists. In some audio recordings of *Impacto*'s performances at the Girassol, currently available online, it is noticeable that the repertoire was almost entirely performed in English, apart from the lead singer's announcements of the songs during the show.⁵ According to some musicians I had the opportunity to interview, these types of venues were generally frequented by audiences with greater financial means, even amongst the younger crowd.

The history of racial inequality in Lourenço Marques did not go unnoticed by musicians (Mendes, 2022). Venues generally associated with more privileged social classes, such as hotel nightclubs or clubs frequented by the local elite, were, in most cases, inaccessible to Black musicians.⁶ This view was confirmed, amongst others, by the musician Carlos Alberto Silva, who was born in Portugal and played drums with, amongst other groups, AEC-68, which performed at the Hotel Polana in the first half of the 1970s. According to him, the racial issue affected his Black colleagues:

The musicians were more connected to one another through their music than through anything else, which went largely unnoticed. But there were, at times, constraints imposed by the bookers and managers. There is no record of Black musicians playing at the Polana. The first were Fu [Manjate] and Zeca [Carvalho] in 1974, because I was there with AEC-68, and there was a problem at the time of the revolution. By the end of the year, there was only a trio left playing at the

⁵ <https://musicasdosanos60.blogspot.com/search/label/Impacto>

⁶ This general proposition must bear in mind the complexity of the racial taxonomies and divisions created by colonialism. For some of the musicians labelled as "mestizos", for example, it may have been easier to gain access to spaces associated with the white population. This stemmed from the fact that, in most cases, individuals in this position, provided they could prove their white ancestry and adhered to the social norms of colonial power, were not historically subject to the restrictions imposed on "indigenous people" (Zamparoni, 2008, pp. 25–26). Some of them lived in the concrete city, particularly in neighbourhood such as Alto Maé and Central, and might even have been close to the social circles of the white population. In one of my conversations with Fu, a Black musician from Mafalala, he stated: "Blacks are one thing; mulattos are another. For them, mixing with the others [whites] was much easier. Mixing with Blacks only really started in the late 1960s" (Interview conducted in Figueira da Foz, 2 May 2018).

dinners, which was me, Maurílio and a South African double bassist. At the end of the year, they wanted us to put on a dance, and that was tricky with just three of us. Meanwhile, I heard that Storm [the band Fu and Zeca belonged to], the other group Maurílio was playing with, had no work lined up for the end of the year. So I invited them to come and play with us at the Hotel Polana. Fu and Zeca came to play at the Hotel Polana without pay, without anything.⁷

In addition to the hotels, Lourenço Marques had, in the "concrete city" area, several leisure establishments that also relied on hiring musical groups. Many restaurants doubled as dance venues, such as the Sheik, located in a building near the Hotel Polana. In the southern area was the Zambi restaurant, which livened up the weekends with dances and musical performances. Right by the beach were the *Dragão de Ouro* and, near the *Clube Naval*, the *Oceânia* Restaurant/Bar. Also by the sea was the *Costa do Sol* restaurant, which promoted dances advertised in leaflets written in English. The concentration of these venues along the seafront highlights the importance of the coastal strip for this type of business, which used live music as an attraction. According to musicians I interviewed, contracts with bands were not limited to occasional performances, but in many cases lasted for several months. These places (Figure 2), as well as being frequented by tourists, were also popular with local residents, particularly the white population of the concrete city.



Figure 2: Location of the spaces of activity mentioned in this article in relation to the current map of Maputo. All of them are concentrated in the heart of the "concrete city", which extends from Alto Mae to the East, and near the sea. Costa do Sol is the most displaced compared to the others. It was located by the sea in an area of lower urban density (Map designed by the author).

⁷ Carlos Alberto Silva. Interview conducted in Almada on 18 April 2018.

The nightclubs on *Rua Araújo*

Just like restaurants and, above all, hotels, many establishments preferred to book bands for extended periods – ranging from regular weekly gigs to contracts lasting several months, in the case of hotels. This required the bands to be available to devote themselves consistently to their musical work. Even if they were not always full-time professionals, the musicians needed to be in a position to take on such commitments. There was, however, a specific type of venue that demanded even more: nightclubs, particularly those located in the city centre, on the famous *Rua Araújo*. Renowned for its vibrant nightlife and cabarets, this street, as early as the 1930s, was characterised by the sound of “loud, modern orchestras [that] played non-stop until dawn” (Sopa, 2013, p. 61). Very popular with tourists, these venues operated non-stop, seven days a week, offering performances that either accompanied variety shows and striptease acts or created an atmosphere conducive to dancing. Under these conditions, musicians were hired to perform daily (Mendes & Freitas, 2024). However, not all bands were interested in an environment such as that of *Rua Araújo*, given the stigmas associated with it – nightlife, prostitution, and the use of drugs and alcohol. Whilst the connotations of this environment deterred some white middle-class musicians, for Black musicians the cabarets of *Rua Araújo* were venues where it was easier to be hired to play, compared to other establishments, such as the aforementioned hotels or clubs that were more selective in socio-racial terms. This was the case with the musician Fu Manjate, who, in an interview (alongside Carlos Alberto Silva), spoke of the prejudices that existed regarding the profession of musician, as well as the whole image that surrounded *Rua Araújo*. It was seen as a “sinful” place, suited to “bohemians”. In terms of repertoire, what was played in the nightclubs on *Rua Araújo* might even bear many similarities to what was played, for example, at the Hotel Polana nightclub. However, as noted by Fu Manjate and Carlos Alberto Silva, a band playing at a venue like the Hotel Polana could not have the same connotations as a place like *Rua Araújo*: “The music was the same, but the band’s name and status were different. The atmosphere and the sort of people who frequented the venues were different”.⁸

The business owners who ran the establishments on *Rua Araújo* were aware of the reality around them and were devising various ways to attract as large an audience as possible. The Beatnicks, a band formed in Lourenço Marques in the 1960s, with a repertoire leaning towards Anglo-Saxon rock and soul music, were even hired to play at the Cave, one of the nightlife venues on *Rua Araújo*.

⁸ Fu Manjate and Carlos Alberto Silva. Interview conducted in Figueira da Foz, 2 May 2018.

The manager of the Cave aimed to capitalise on the stay in Lourenço Marques of the young South African tourists who were accompanying their parents to the Mozambican city. This is how Artur Garrido Jr., a member of the band, recalls it:

Why were we invited? There used to be a time, known as "the season", when South Africans would come here. Something really fun used to happen. Striptease was banned in South Africa. When the South Africans came, all they wanted to do was go and see striptease. So there was an agreement between the venues on *Rua Araújo*, whereby the striptease started at the first venue at 8 pm, at the second at 8.30 pm, at the third at 9 pm and at the fourth at 9.30 pm. So, the tourists would walk the whole length of the street and, over the course of one night, see the strip-teases at all the cabarets. Then they'd turn around and end up at the Cave, where the striptease took place after midnight. But along with the crowd coming for the striptease came the kids – the 17-year-olds who weren't allowed into the cabarets to watch the striptease. They could be there, but when it was time for the striptease, they had to leave. So, as the kids were hanging around, the owner of the Cave had the idea of playing pop music instead of cabaret music.⁹

A performance of "Mozambican folklore"

So-called "Mozambican folklore" also played a part in this relationship between performance and the tourist context of Lourenço Marques. This was a category that encompassed a variety of practices, the meaning of which was hotly debated during the final decades of the colonial period. Broadly speaking, the term referred to practices such as, for example, the *marrabenta*, which were based on rhythmic patterns, timbres, languages or other forms of expressive behaviour stemming from African traditions, sometimes blended with European cultural elements. Its performers were generally Black or mixed-race. Whilst these practices were strongly promoted by African institutions and intellectuals as part of the construction of a Mozambican culture not subordinate to colonial interests and legacies (Filipe, 2012; Pereira, 2023), they were also appropriated by the colonial authorities to legitimise Luso-tropical narratives and for propaganda purposes amongst the native population. An example of the latter was the RCM's programming, notably the "Hora Nativa" programme, which began in 1959 and was inspired by the category of "Mozambican folklore" (Carvalho, 2002, p. 254).¹⁰ Amidst these disputes, there was also the perspective of the musicians, who had

⁹ Artur Garrido Jr. Interview conducted in Maputo on 13 August 2018.

¹⁰ By way of comparison with the case of Angola, the work of Pedro David Gomes and Cristina Sá Valentim demonstrates how the concept of "folklore" in urban and suburban contexts has also been subject to this kind of dispute (Gomes, 2024; Valentim, 2022).

their own conceptualisation of these practices, based on their performance experience (Pereira, 2020).

This type of practice was also used by tourism operators, both public and private, as a showcase for visitors. Although they were common in community spaces frequented by the Black and mixed-race population, such as the African Association and the Black Community Centre, they were equally exploited in other settings, such as *Rua Araújo* (Carvalho, 2002, p. 256). The case of the *Clube Lisboa Matavele*, situated in the suburban neighbourhood of Xipamanine and renowned for its *marrabenta* performances (Freitas, 2023b, p. 90), is an interesting example of a suburban venue integrated into a tourism-oriented framework. The club's opening in August 1963 was indeed attended by "official bodies", a closeness to the "Portuguese authorities" sought by the club's manager himself, the musician Lisboa Matavele (Sopa, 2013, p. 59). The interest of official bodies linked to the colonial state is inseparable from the political climate prevailing at the international level. Portugal needed to legitimise its self-representation as a "multi-continental" and "multiracial" nation. The promotion of practices associated with the African population, within the framework approved by the Portuguese state's political authorities, served here as a propaganda tool and a means of whitewashing the image of a regime seeking to conceal its colonial and racist nature. Thus, *xigubo*, *marrabenta* and *makwayela* performances were staged in venues popular with tourists, giving greater visibility to African musicians during the 1960s, although they were mostly outside the concrete city, or at least outside the social circles and performance venues most frequented by the middle and upper classes.

Another important venue for this type of activity was the Folclore restaurant, "located on the border between the concrete city and the suburbs", which is said to have been awarded the designation of "tourist attraction" (Sopa, 2013, p. 62), presumably by the Centre for Information and Tourism (CIT). The CIT was a state institution that promoted tourism in the colony, coordinating and regulating the activities of the public and private sectors.¹¹ Furthermore, it was responsible for producing "'educational' materials for the 'native populations', particularly in cinema and broadcasting" (Pereira, 2021, p. 441), establishing the link between tourism and the colonial policy of the *Estado Novo*. It was also under the auspices of the CIT that the programmes "A Voz de Moçambique" and "África à Noite" were created in the RCM, as part of the psychosocial campaign launched by the

¹¹ In Mozambique, the Information and Tourism Centre was established in 1959, replacing the former *Casa da Metrópole*. This type of organisation existed in other Portuguese colonies and was under the authority of local governments, although it followed the directives of the General Overseas Agency (Sarmiento, 2024).

Portuguese regime in the context of the colonial war (Freitas, 2021; Pereira, 2021, p. 442). The support of state bodies for this type of practice and initiative gave rise to critical interventions from some intellectuals who saw this manoeuvre as a way for the state to shape performative contexts in accordance with its own interests. In an article published in 1964 in the newspaper *Notícias*, the African writer, journalist and anti-colonial activist Luís Bernardo Honwana made a statement along these lines, denouncing the link between folklore clubs and "official bodies linked to tourism", referring to the "publicity favour" that newspapers and tourism promotion bulletins bestowed upon these venues (Sopa, 2013, p. 58). In Honwana's view, this interest in Mozambican practices was distorted by "paternalistic fervour", a stance that aligned him with the thinking of a generation of intellectuals seeking to value expressive practices of African origin, to build a Mozambican culture emancipated from colonial discourse (Filipe, 2012). Continuing along these critical lines, the musician João Domingos, who is associated with marrabenta performances, also considered that the way in which these shows were presented in such venues, sponsored by public bodies, amounted to nothing more than an exoticised version of these genres, staged for the sake of tourism (Freitas, 2023b, p. 300).

During my conversations with my interviewees, it was Inácio Magaia himself – a guitarist originally from the Chamanculo neighbourhood in the suburbs of Lourenço Marques – who stated that, although he was used to playing the international pop hits broadcast on the radio, "whenever the government called on us, it was to play Mozambican folk music".¹² By promoting "Mozambican folklore" as an exotic element, tailored to its political aims and to the performative models idealised by the colonial bourgeoisie, the Portuguese state fuelled its own Luso-tropicalist imagination, which propagated the success of a Portuguese civilisation with "a propensity for miscegenation, the absence of racist prejudice and easy coexistence with other peoples and cultures" (Cardão, 2020, p. 19).

Record releases and the construction of a tourist image of Lourenço Marques

In addition to the staging of musical performances in parts of the city that are popular with tourists, the relationship between music and tourism has also found significant expression through recorded music. This section will examine three examples in greater depth that illustrate this aspect and are particularly relevant due to the way they represent the imagery associated with Lourenço

¹² Inácio Magaia. Interview conducted via video call, 9 October 2018.

Marques, the links they reveal between various actors involved in tourism promotion, and the type of audience they could reach.

Until the mid-1960s, the recording industry in Mozambique was still underdeveloped (Pereira, 2023, p. 207; Sopa, 2013, p. 196). Most of the recordings sold came from outside the country (Freitas, 2023a, p. 76). Many of the recordings by Mozambican musicians were made in South Africa, as demonstrated by the cases of white musical groups who were able to travel to Johannesburg to record.¹³ In a very different context, there were also Black Mozambican musicians, generally among migrant workers in the mining industry, who had the opportunity to have phonograms produced in South Africa (Malauene, 2021). It is clear, therefore, that opportunities to record were limited, which makes it all the more relevant to look at examples where recordings served as genuine calling cards for the city.

João Maria Tudella: the idyllic portrayal of Portuguese identity in Lourenço Marques

The case of João Maria Tudella provides a good illustration of the relationship between music and tourism in the colonial context. Tudella was a singer born in Lourenço Marques, a descendant of a Portuguese family settled in Mozambique, who achieved great popularity both within the Portuguese Empire and beyond (Silva, 2010). His tours extended to South Africa, Rhodesia and also to other regions of the Portuguese empire and to Brazil (Silva, 2010). Many of his records were recorded in South Africa, and several of his widely circulated songs served as veritable audio postcards dedicated to Mozambique and, in particular, to the city of Lourenço Marques. Tudella's popularity beyond Mozambique's borders gave his voice added weight in disseminating representations of the Portuguese colony.

One of the songs that most clearly illustrates this aspect is "Férias em Lourenço Marques", performed by Tudella and written by Artur Fonseca and Campos Vieira.¹⁴ The lyrics, as Marcos Cardão points out, "invited listeners to appreciate the natural landscapes of Mozambique, emphasising the idea that the city had been a Portuguese creation" (Cardão, 2020, p. 169), which constituted a "trivial celebration of Portuguese colonisation in the tropics" (Cardão, 2020, p. 171). The colonial city is there extolled as a "princess by the sea", "dressed in flowering acacias", the work of Portuguese colonisation, before which it would have been merely "Terra de landim/ Sertão sem fim/ Mato e palmar". The song is in keeping with many other examples from Tudella's repertoire, which celebrate the geog-

¹³ See, for example, the cases of Inflexos, *Ob-la-di Ob-la-da*, Coronet SCEP 4001, and Conjunto Oliveira Muge, "On the Road with Conjunto Oliveira Muge", Parlophone JGEP 12008.

¹⁴ *Kanimambo*. Gallotone. GFE.6703.

raphy of the Portuguese empire and its colonisation of territories in Africa.¹⁵ The song "Lourenço Marques" also fits into a tradition of praising the colonial city and its charms ("*Há um não sei quê nesta cidade/ Cor em seus jardins com ar contente/ Um jeito de sorrir/ Por bem que só por si atraí*").¹⁶ The songs recorded and popularised by João Maria Tudella, with their lyrics, his soft timbre, a restrained interpretative style, melodies that highlighted the prosody of the text and moderate tempos, constituted an authentic romanticisation of life in the Portuguese empire and its landscapes, in line with the colonists' experience.

The song "Férias em Lourenço Marques" is made all the more interesting by the fact that the same melody, with the same arrangement, was also released in an English version: "Holiday in Lourenço Marques". Whilst the lyrics of the Portuguese version focus mainly on praising the beauty of the city as a product of Portuguese colonialism, the English lyrics are a veritable tourist brochure for Lourenço Marques, as the following excerpt demonstrates:

*Lourenço Marques
The garden city by the sea
Where skies are blue
And nights are gay
Lourenço Marques
The fairy city by the sea
Is ever smiling at you
In every way
Very sentimental
Very continental
Everywhere you go
Everyone is nice
You'll feel romantic
When the lights are shining
In Polana Bay
You'll enjoy the vinho
And you'll dance the fado
The Portuguese way¹⁷*

¹⁵ For a more comprehensive analysis of the relationship between João Maria Tudella's work, the celebration of the geography of the Portuguese empire, and his music as an expression of Luso-tropicalist ideology, see Cardão (2020, pp. 149–202).

¹⁶ *Uma casa portuguesa*. Gallotone. GALP. 1107

¹⁷ Lourenço Marques/ A cidade jardim à beira-mar/ Onde os céus são azuis/ E as noites alegres/ Lourenço Marques/ A cidade encantada à beira-mar/ Está sempre a sorrir-te/ De todas as maneiras/ Muito sentimental/ Muito continental/ Onde quer que vás/ Todos são simpáticos/ Tu sentir-te-ás romântico/ Quando as luzes estiverem a brilhar/ Na baía da Polana/ Tu desfrutarás do vinho/ E dançarás o fado/ À maneira portuguesa. *Uma casa portuguesa*. Gallotone. GALP. 1107

Set to a bolero rhythm, the song evokes the beauty of the city and associates it with a Portuguese way of life ("the Portuguese way"), represented here by the vineyard and fado. In this case, the lyrics erase any representation of the city's African character, which contrasts with other songs popularised by Tudella that made occasional use of words in local languages, as in "Kanimambo".¹⁸ Since the late 1950s, João Maria Tudella has gained recognition in South Africa and Rhodesia, as well as in Mozambique. This was made all the more evident by the fact that the singer had the opportunity to record albums in South Africa for the labels Gallotone and CBS, accompanied by Dan Hill's orchestra (Silva, 2010). According to Marcos Cardão, this popularity is said to have made Tudella the "biggest tourist attraction in the province of Mozambique" (Cardão, 2020, p. 157). The singer's popularity became even more significant given that South Africans and Rhodesians accounted for between 85 and 90 per cent of the tourists arriving in Lourenço Marques (Cleveland & Marino, 2021, p. 290).

A Night at the Polana with Renatino di Napoli

Just as was the case with João Maria Tudella's repertoire, the musical ensembles performing in Lourenço Marques also played a part in promoting tourism in the city. Record production itself was part of this process, using music to project the image of a vibrant city, combining attractions associated with the cultural modernity of the northern hemisphere with the unique setting of an African landscape bathed by the Indian Ocean. The cases of the Renatino di Napoli and I Cinque di Roma ensembles, two groups formed by Italian musicians who spent extended periods in Lourenço Marques, are illustrative examples of this dynamic. The recordings released by both groups, resulting from their performances at the Hotel Polana during the 1960s, demonstrate not only the importance of music in tourism activities but also the possibility that record releases can, in themselves, serve as a tool for promoting tourism.

Inaugurated in 1922, the Polana was described by its founders as a hotel designed to welcome "high-profile individuals" (Lima, 2013, p. 188). Perched in a commanding position overlooking the Indian Ocean, it enjoyed a privileged location, with views of the sea and the coastline. Its architecture reinforced the image of a lifestyle aspired to by the colonial elite. One of the Polana's attractions was its nightclub. Carlos Alberto Silva (drummer) and João Maurílio (pianist), members of the AEC-68 ensemble, recall this venue where it was common to see wealthy South African clients, as well as businesspeople and senior officials from

¹⁸ *Kanimambo*. Gallotone. GFE.6703.

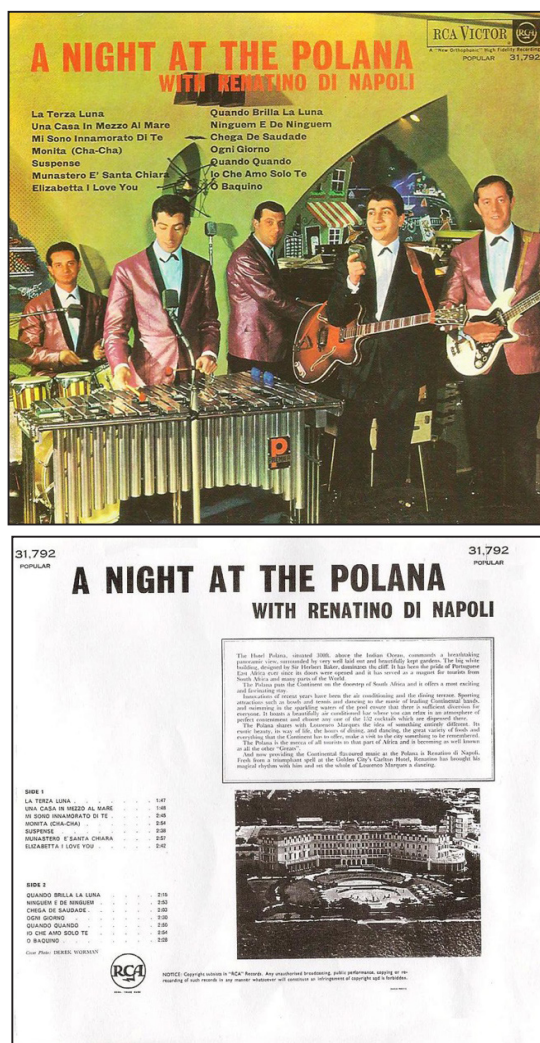
Lourenço Marques, who were sometimes joined by a younger crowd, usually the children of these families.

The Renatino di Napoli Ensemble, comprising Renatino di Napoli (vocals and guitar), Giovanni Zanfrandi (bass), Nino Fenderico (drums), Antonio Favilli (piano) and Mario Molitani (vibraphone), was booked to perform at the Polana nightclub during the 1960s. This performance is referenced in the South African edition of the record "A Night at the Polana with Renatino di Napoli" (RCA Victor, 31,792). There is no evidence to confirm whether the recording actually took place at the hotel's nightclub; however, both the title and the liner notes explicitly link the music to the Polana venue. The songs on the record are sung in Italian, English and Portuguese (Brazilian repertoire), featuring bossa nova, cha-cha-cha, twist and bolero rhythms. On the back of the record, there is a photograph showing an aerial view of the Hotel Polana, with its gardens and swimming pool in the foreground, accompanied by a text presenting the tourist attractions of the city of Lourenço Marques and its most luxurious hotel. The text refers more to the Hotel Polana than to the ensemble itself. Right from the start, it highlights its setting against the seascape: "The Hotel Polana, situated 300 feet above the Indian Ocean, offers a breathtaking panoramic view, surrounded by beautiful, well-designed and meticulously maintained gardens".¹⁹ The hotel was attributed characteristics that it shared with the city itself, describing an image close to that which appeared in the songs of João Maria Tudella:

The [Hotel] Polana shares with Lourenço Marques the idea of something completely different. Its exotic beauty, its lifestyle, the evenings spent dining and dancing, the wide variety of cuisine and everything the continent has to offer make a visit to the city an experience to remember.

The text also highlighted the recent installation of air conditioning and an outdoor dining area, enhancing the comfort of the facilities, as well as other leisure activities, including music: "Sports attractions such as bowling and tennis, as well as dancing to the music of prominent continental bands". Another point highlighted is the importance that Mozambique's neighbouring territories played in its tourism industry, particularly South Africa, which is explicitly mentioned in the text: "Since its opening, the Polana has been the pride of Portuguese East Africa and a true magnet for tourists from South Africa and many parts of the world. The Polana places the Continent on South Africa's doorstep and offers the most exciting and fascinating stay".

¹⁹ The passages from the texts accompanying the sound recordings under consideration were translated from English by the author.



Figures 3 and 4: Front and back cover of the phonogram *A Night at the Polana with Renatino di Napoli* (RCA Victor, 31,792)

Before becoming the resident band at the Hotel Polana, Renatino di Napoli had also been performing in South Africa, in Johannesburg. The band's presence there is also noted in the text (Figure 4), which mentions their appearance at the Hotel Carlton, an event in turn documented on the recording "Last Night at the Carlton" (Figure 3) (RCA Victor 31,728). Until 1963, the Hotel Polana was managed by the Schlesinger family (Lima, 2013, pp. 196–199), the same family that owned the Hotel Carlton.²⁰ This movement of bands between South African

²⁰ For more informations about Hotel Carlton, see https://artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/bldgframes_mob.php?bldgid=6739

hotels and the Hotel Polana was common to other bands. This was also the case with the AEC-68 band from Lourenço Marques. At the Polana, this band mainly played the latest hits in French and Italian pop music, rather than Portuguese music, as Carlos Alberto Silva notes. The fact that they played at the Hotel Polana eventually opened the doors for them to enter the South African hotel circuit. João Maurílio, pianist with AEC-68, recalls that time in South Africa:

[I]n Johannesburg, I also played with the AEC-68 at a hotel. As the Hotel Polana belonged to a South African hotel group, the owner of that chain would come to the Polana to dance from time to time and was a fan of ours. Franklin, who was the lead singer and leader of the group, went to speak to him and said that I wanted to buy an organ, and he wanted to buy a sound system. He said we could go there [to Johannesburg] and stay and play at the hotel.²¹

I Cinque di Roma at the Polana, L.M.

I Cinque di Roma was one of the most popular bands in Lourenço Marques in the 1960s, and is still fondly remembered by the musicians who played in the city during that period. According to Aurélio Le Bon, a musician who was a member of the bands Atlas and Opus 79 before independence and a cultural impresario in the period that followed, *I Cinque di Roma* are said to have arrived "in Africa after playing for shipping companies".²² The band consisted of Mario Di Angelis (drums), Franco Pozzi (bass guitar), Alfio Sartirana (guitar), Tommaso Fornari (piano) and Ettore Frati (vocals). The latter was replaced in 1969 by Carlos Fortuna, formerly a member of the Renato Silva Band from Lourenço Marques.²³ Like the *Conjunto Renatino di Napoli*, *I Cinque di Roma* was another group of Italian musicians who were hired by the Hotel Polana in 1963, after having performed at the Hotel Carlton in Johannesburg. The ensemble's stay in the "Mediterranean Room", the name of the nightclub situated on the lower floor of the Carlton, was recorded on the album "In the Mediterranean Room" (Parlophone, PMCJ 12011). Their time at the Polana was also commemorated on a (once again) South African release entitled *I Cinque di Roma at the Polana, L.M.* (Parlophone, PMJC 12020). The record features songs in Italian and French, covering styles such as the twist, bolero and cha-cha-cha, as well as a version of the Portuguese song "A casa da Mariquinhas".

²¹ João Maurílio. Interview conducted in Lisbon, 01/03/2018.

²² Aurélio Le Bon. Interview conducted in Maputo, 14/08/2018.

²³ <https://musicasdosanos60.blogspot.com/search/label/I%20Cinque%20Di%20Roma>



Figure 5: Album cover *I Cinque di Roma at the Polana, L.M.* (Parlophone, PMJC 12020)

The album cover (Figure 5) is a photograph that captures the atmosphere of the Hotel Polana, featuring a close-up of its swimming pool, the gardens and part of the building's façade. As described in relation to the recording by the *Renatino di Napoli* ensemble, the album includes a text in English that reads like a genuine tourism brochure. In this case, the ensemble takes centre stage more than in the previous case. The music of *I Cinque di Roma* at the Hotel Polana is presented as one of the city's major attractions, as illustrated by the translated excerpt:

The tourist brochures have a lot to say about Lourenço Marques, that little slice of Portugal in the heart of Africa. Whatever they say, it all boils down to one thing... atmosphere! [...]

The Polana... a landmark in Lourenço Marques... a tourist's paradise... where you can soak up the tropical sun... enjoy the finest continental cuisine... and listen to... *I CINQUE DI ROMA*... Italy's most exciting export to Africa. No visit to Lourenço Marques is complete without spending an exciting evening with these five lads who turn a night out into a special occasion. It's that continental fire in any of the various thrilling rhythms in which *I Cinque di Roma* specialise. The fire of samba, the excitement of the bolero, the sophistication of the cha-cha-cha, and, of course,

there's time for the twist and the latest craze, bossa nova. The evening begins with the sophistication of a nightclub and ends in the frenzy of a Latin American party.

PMJC
12020

I CINQUE DE ROMA at THE POLANA, L.M.

The tourist brochures have quite a lot to say about Lourenço Marques, that little piece of Portugal in the middle of Africa. Whatever they write, it all boils down to the same thing . . . Atmosphere!

Yes . . . L.M. is atmosphere . . . it's that "get away from it all" feeling where the charm of the continental living blends into a mellow mood of relaxation and romance.

Just like the place itself . . . the people of Lourenço Marques hold a fascination for the visitor . . . an excitement, for here is a city of fun and frolic. A place to "live it up" . . . and "live it up" means . . .

The Polana . . . a landmark in Lourenço Marques . . . the tourists' paradise . . . where you can bask in the tropical sun . . . enjoy the finest continental cuisine . . . and hear . . . I CINQUE DE ROMA . . . Italy's most exciting export to Africa. No visit to L.M. is complete without spending an exciting evening with these five fellas who turn an evening into an occasion. There is that continental fire in any of the host of exciting tempos in which the *I Cinque de Roma* specialise. The fire of the Samba, the excitement of the Bolero, the sophistication of the Cha Cha and of course there is always time for twisting and the latest craze, the Bossa Nova. The evening starts with a sophistication of a night club and ends in a frenzy of a Latin American fiesta.

We have captured the excitement of *I Cinque de Roma*, for now in your own home you can share the exhilarating musical moments and the fire of *I Cinque de Roma* with everyone who has been lucky enough to spend a night at the Polana. *I Cinque de Roma* have broadcast many times over Lourenço Marques Radio, during the late night programmes.

Rob Vickers



SIDE 1

1. LA MEZZA LUNA	2:35
2. ET MAINTENANT	2:23
3. AMORE FERMATI	3:25
4. OLIVER TWIST	2:25
5. CASA DE MARIQUINHAS	2:55
6. GRAZIE, PREGO, SCUSI	2:34

SIDE 2

1. PERCHE PERCHE	2:48
2. CINQUE MINUTI ANCORA	2:48
3. I WATUSSI	2:30
4. PRENDIAMO IN AFFITTO UNA BARCA	2:26
5. STASERO PAGO IO	2:50
6. LA BAMBA	2:47



IMPORTANT WARNING

Notice—Copyright subsists in PARLOPHONE records. It is illegal to copy or re-record such records on to tape for any purpose whatsoever and any infringement may be actionable at law. Licences for the public performance or broadcasting of records direct from fundables must be obtained from The Association of the Southern African Phonographic Industry, P.O. Box 5911, Johannesburg.

PARLOPHONE LONG PLAYING 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ R.P.M. RECORD

This PARLOPHONE Long Playing 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ r.p.m. Microgroove Record is a modern high quality musical reproduction worthy of your special care. Always keep it away from heat and in this protective envelope. When necessary clean record with a slightly moist cloth.

RECORD MANUFACTURED BY E.M.I. (SOUTH AFRICA) (PTY.) LTD.

Figure 6: Back of the cover of the *I Cinque di Roma* album (Parlophone, PMJC 12020)

The leaflet accompanying the record (Figure 6) projects a tourist image of Lourenço Marques strongly centred on the Hotel Polana, suggesting a complete sensory experience that recreates the atmosphere of this "piece of Portugal in the heart of Africa", where the ensemble's music takes centre stage. *I Cinque di Roma* are presented as mediators between Italy and the African continent, offering an experience of Africa shaped by European aesthetics and forms of social interaction. Their music, comprising global styles, is described using terms ranging from "sophistication" to "excitement", from a nightclub atmosphere to "Latin American frenzy", and emerges as a means of bringing cosmopolitan modernity to the city of Lourenço Marques, highlighting the Hotel Polana, one of its main landmarks.

The text in question becomes even more interesting when we look at its author: Rob Vickers, one of the leading presenters at the aforementioned LM Radio, RCM's "B" service, which broadcasts in English and Afrikaans, aimed primarily at a South African audience. As well as presenting the daily programme "Teen Beat", Vickers occasionally hosted what was one of the station's most popular features, "Your LM Hit Parade", the weekly chart show.²⁴ He was a familiar name not only to listeners of LM Radio in Lourenço Marques but also to the vast audience tuning in to the station outside Mozambique. The fact that he was the one to pen a text with this content illustrates the radio station's involvement – in particular that of LM Radio, a strong cultural link between Lourenço Marques and South Africa – and the use of music in promoting tourism. A web of connections was thus created between the popularity of Rob Vickers and LM Radio, the music of *I Cinque di Roma*, the Hotel Polana and an idyllic image of Lourenço Marques, mediated by the record release.

Conclusions

Music played a central role in the tourist scene of Lourenço Marques, serving both as a commercial attraction and as a symbolic instrument of colonial projection. Musical performances acted as a draw for tourists, in a context where the proliferation of performance venues made it necessary for each establishment to offer its own attractions.

In addition to its economic significance, music also played a decisive role in shaping and promoting the city's image. The article highlights the links between state bodies, such as the Information and Tourism Centre, and private institutions, such as the Radio Club of Mozambique and hotel chains, which used music as a tool to underpin the Portuguese colonial and imperial project.

The examples examined also confirm the importance of neighbouring territories, particularly South Africa and Rhodesia, to the Mozambican economy. Music was used with the explicit aim of attracting English-speaking tourists, whose purchasing power was sought after by business promoters in Lourenço Marques.

The recordings by João Maria Tudella, *I Cinque di Roma* and *Renatino di Napoli* highlight the potential attributed to music to appeal to foreign visitors. In all three cases, the message conveyed in English promoted the city as a paradise, promising an exciting and unforgettable experience. Fitting into the logic of tourism as the "commodification of experience" (Guilbault & Rommen, 2019, p. 33),

²⁴ <https://lmradio.co.mz/history/People01.htm>

these recordings contributed to the idealisation and commodification of a sensory and aesthetic image of Lourenço Marques.

This idealisation was, however, a veil concealing a far more complex reality, in a city marked by a history of racial distinctions, over which hung a spectre of political tensions and disputes that undermined the Portuguese imperial project. Paradoxically, whilst, on the one hand, the Portuguese state, during the late colonial period, sought to create an image of integration and supposed multiracialism, on the other, the representations found here omit any expression of African identity, or relegate them to the background, as demonstrated by the domestication and appropriation of practices such as so-called "Mozambican folklore" for tourist contexts. Lourenço Marques thus continued to be portrayed as a white city and as an idyllic setting, seemingly oblivious to the armed liberation struggle and the anti-colonial wave sweeping across the African continent. In this context, the relationship between music and tourism was a key focus for the Portuguese regime and its private partners as part of a political economy of war and investment in the maintenance of colonial power.

References

- Bennett, A. (2005). *Culture and everyday life*. Sage.
- Cardão, M. (2020). *Fado tropical: Luso-tropicalismo na cultura de massas (1960-1974)*. Tigre de Papel.
- Carvalho, J. S. (2002). Performance culture in Maputo: Categories of expressive modes in the changing of an African urban society. *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, 12, pp. 253-263.
- Castelo, C., Thomaz, O. R., Nascimento, S., & Silva, T. C. (2012). *Os outros da colonização: Ensaios sobre colonialismo tardio em Moçambique*. Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- Cidra, R., & Félix, P. (2010). Pop/Rock. In S. Castelo-Branco (Org.), *Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX* (pp. 1035-1056). Círculo de Leitores.
- Cleveland, T., & Marino, A. (2021). A convergência entre turismo, cultura popular e propaganda no império colonial português: O caso de Moçambique. In N. Domingos (Org.), *Cultura popular e império: As lutas pela conquista do consumo cultural em Portugal e nas suas colónias* (pp. 281-318). Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- Desmond, J. C. (1999). *Staging tourism: Bodies on display from Waikiki to sea world*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Domingos, N. (2012). *Futebol e colonialismo: Corpo e cultura popular em Moçambique*. Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- Domingos, N. (2013). A desigualdade como legado da cidade colonial: Racismo e reprodução de mão-de-obra em Lourenço Marques. In N. Domingos, & E. Peralta (Orgs.), *Cidade e império: Dinâmicas coloniais e reconfigurações pós-coloniais* (pp. 59-112). Edições 70.
- Domingos, N. (2021). A experiência da ida ao cinema nos subúrbios de Lourenço Marques. In N. Domingos (Org.), *Cultura popular e império: As lutas pela conquista do consumo cultural em Portugal e nas suas colónias* (pp. 364-425). Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- Filipe, E. (2012). "Where are the Mozambican musicians?": *Music, marrabenta, and national identity in Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, 1950s-1975*. PhD thesis, University of Minnesota, Minnesota, USA.
- Freitas, M. R. (2021). "Aqui Portugal, Moçambique!": Para uma história sonora do Rádio Clube de Moçambique (1934-1974). In N. Domingos (Org.), *Cultura popular e império: As lutas pela conquista do consumo cultural em Portugal e nas suas colónias* (pp. 425-466). Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- Freitas, M. R. (2023a). "In heavy rotation": Uncovering the phonographic industry and the "NGOMA national label" in socialist Mozambique (1978-1990). *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 32(1), 73-96.
- Freitas, M. R. (2023b). *A construção sonora de Moçambique, 1974-1994*. Sistema Solar.
- Freitas, M. R., & Mendes, P. M. (2025). "LM for happy listening": The political entanglements of Lourenço Marques Radio on the fringe of modernity in Mozambique. *Traditions of Music and Dance*, 58(1). <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/tmd.2025.10028>
- Gomes, P. D. (2024). Tradition and modernity in the history of pop-rock and semba: Unravelling urban life and cultural boundaries in colonial Luanda's music scene. *E-Journal of Portuguese History*, 22, pp. 206-233.
- Guilbault, J., & Rommen, T. (2019). Introduction: The political economy of music and sound. In J. Guilbault, & T. Rommen (Eds.), *Sounds of vacation: Political economies of Caribbean tourism* (pp. 9-40). Duke University Press.

- Harewood, S. (2019). Listening for noise: Seeking disturbing sounds in tourist spaces. In J. Guilbault, & T. Rommen (Eds.), *Sounds of vacation: Political economies of Caribbean tourism* (pp. 107-133). Duke University Press.
- Keese, A. (2013). Bloqueios no sistema: Elites africanas, o fenómeno do trabalho forçado e os limites de integração no Estado colonial português, 1945-1974. In M. B. Jerónimo (Org.), *O império colonial em questão (sécs. XIX-XX): Poderes, saberes e instituições* (pp. 223-249). Edições 70.
- Lima, A. P. (2013). *Edifícios históricos de Lourenço Marques*. Lua de Marfim.
- Malauene, D. M. (2021). *A history of music and politics in Mozambique from the 1890s to the present*. PhD thesis, University of Minnesota, Minnesota, USA.
- Martin, P. (2002). *Leisure and society in colonial Brazzaville*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mendes, M. C. (1985). *Maputo antes da independência: Geografia de uma cidade colonial*. Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical.
- Mendes, P. A. (2022). Music and the performance of aspiration: The case of "Os Monstros" in late colonial Lourenço Marques, Mozambique. *Popular Music and Society*, 45(2), 146-159.
- Mendes, P. A., & Freitas, M. R. (2024). From "sin street" to "education street": Music, politics and transgression in Maputo's red-light district, Mozambique (c.1960-86). *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 36(1), 110-128.
- Middleton, R., Buckley, D., Walser, R., Laing, D., & Manuel, P. (2001). Pop. In S. Sadie, & J. Tyrrell (Eds.), *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, vol. XX (pp. 101-122). MacMillan Press.
- Moorman, M. (2019). *Powerful frequencies: Radio, state power, and the Cold War in Angola, 1931-2002*. Ohio University Press.
- Penvenne, J. M. (2012). Fotografando Lourenço Marques: A cidade e os seus habitantes de 1960 a 1975. In C. Castelo, O. R. Thomaz, S. Nascimento, & T. S. Silva (Orgs.), *Os outros da colonização: Ensaio sobre o colonialismo tardio em Moçambique* (pp. 173-192). Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- Pereira, M. S. (2019). *"Grandiosos batuques": Tensões, arranjos e experiências coloniais em Moçambique (1890-1940)*. Imprensa de História Contemporânea.
- Pereira, M. S. (2020). Colonialismo-tardio, pós-colonialismo e cultura popular nos subúrbios de Maputo: Um olhar a partir da marrabenta (1945-1987). *Africana Studia*, 1(34), 95-115.
- Pereira, M. S. (2021). Ngodo e marrabenta: Disputas, apropriações e ressignificações musicais no Sul de Moçambique (1940-1975). In L. Reginaldo, & R. Ferreira (Orgs.), *África, margens e oceanos: Perspetivas de história social* (pp. 423-464). Unicamp.
- Pereira, M. S. (2023). Trajetórias de um ritmo "neo-folclórico": "Onda pop", marrabenta, racismo colonial e perspetivas nacionais (Maputo-Moçambique, 1950-1990). In J. P. Oliveira, & A. Adour (Orgs.), *Sons de África e da diáspora atlântica: História, musicologia e interfaces* (pp. 203-225). Vermelho Marinho.
- Santos, A. A. (2018). Os debates da ONU sobre a questão colonial portuguesa e o desenvolvimento da ideia de autodeterminação (1961-1975). *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos*, 35, pp. 13-35.
- Sarmiento, J. (2024). History of tourism in colonial Lusophone Africa. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*. <https://oxfordre.com/africanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277734-e-1024>

- Silva, C. N. (2016). Assimilacionismo e *assimilados* no império português do século XX: Uma relação equivocada. In A. B. Xavier, & C. N. Silva (Orgs.), *O governo dos outros: Poder e diferença no império português* (pp. 323-364). Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- Silva, J. (2010). Tudella, João Maria. In S. Castelo-Branco (Org.), *Enciclopédia da música em Portugal no século XX* (pp. 1280-1281). Círculo de Leitores.
- Sopa, A. (2013). *A alegria é uma coisa rara: Subsídios para a história da música popular urbana em Lourenço Marques (1920-1975)*. Marimbique.
- Valentim, C. S. (2022). *Sons do império, vozes do Cipale: Canções cokwe e memórias do trabalho forçado nas Lundas, Angola*. Fundação Dr. António Agostinho Neto.
- Zamparoni, V. (1998). *Entre narros & mulungos: Colonialismo e paisagem social em Lourenço Marques c.1890-c.1940*. PhD thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil.
- Zamparoni, V. (2008). Colonialism and the creation of racial identities in Lourenço Marques, Mozambique. In B. Barry, E. Soumonni, & L. Sansone (Eds.), *Africa, Brazil, and the construction of trans-Atlantic Black identities* (pp. 19-43). Africa World Press.
- Zamparoni, V. (2012). *De escravo a cozinheiro: Colonialismo & racismo em Moçambique*. EDUFBA.