



RESUMOS | ABSTRACTS

Congresso internacional
Música e exílio

International Conference
Music & Exile

21 > 23 de Maio de 2026

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Este congresso é financiado por fundos nacionais através da FCT, Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, I.P., no âmbito do projecto EXIMUS ““É preciso avisar toda a gente’: Música e exílio em França durante o regime do Estado Novo (1933-1974)” (2022.05129.PTDC, DOI 10.54499/2022.05129.PTDC) e INET-md, Instituto de Etnomusicologia – Centro de estudos em Música e Dança (UIDB/00472/2025 DOI 10.54499/UIDB/00472/2025).

This Conference is funded by national funds through FCT, Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, I.P., within the project EXIMUS – ““We must warn everyone’: Music and Portuguese exile in France during the Estado Novo regime (1933-1974)” (2022.05129.PTDC, DOI 10.54499/2022.05129.PTDC), and INET-md, Institute of Ethnomusicology – Centre for Studies in Music and Dance (UIDB/00472/2025 DOI 10.54499/UIDB/00472/2025).

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Orador principal | *Keynote Speaker*

Is it necessary to warn everyone? Reflections on exile and musical performance in Portugal, the USA, and the Khisêjtê in Brazil 1950 – 1980

**Anthony
Seeger**

Department of
Ethnomusicology,
University of
California, L
os Angeles (USA)

21/05 10h00

This conference marks the culmination of a major research project on exile during the Estado Novo in Portugal. The multi-year project, *É preciso avisar toda gente* [It is necessary to tell everyone], traces the efforts of Portuguese musicians living in exile to be heard both outside and especially within their native country. Through archival research, interviews with participants, and investigations in France, we will soon know much more about that period in the history of Portuguese music than ever before. Much less has been written about the exile of musicians from the United States who left during the Communist scare and persecution in the 1950s. Even less has been written about Indigenous musical performance as a response to exile in South America. The discussion of the U.S. artists focuses on musicians associated with the U.S. Folk Revival. The description of the Brazilian Khisêjtê (formerly known as Suyá or K sêdjê) draws on five decades of interaction with the group. By discussing them together, this presentation highlights some of the specificities of the Portuguese response, the activities of U.S. musicians, and the Khisêjtê who used musical performance to negotiate the new physical and political spaces they suddenly occupied. The similarities reside in the experience of exile. The differences are the result of different ideas about the responsibility of artists, the potential of music, and the lives of the musicians themselves.

Anthropologist and ethnomusicologist, **Anthony Seeger** is Professor Emeritus in the Department of Ethnomusicology at the University of California, Los Angeles (USA), and Director of Smithsonian Folkways Recordings at the Smithsonian Institute from 1988 to 2000. He is the author of *Why Suyá Sing: A Musical Anthropology of an Amazonian People* (Cambridge University Press, 1987) and co-editor of *Archives for the Future: Global Perspectives on Audiovisual Archives in the 21st Century* (Seagull Books, 2004). His large number of publications have focused on the music and social life of the Kisedje Indians of Brazil, North American folk music, issues of indigenous land and human rights, archiving, intellectual property, intangible cultural heritage, and ethnomusicological theory and method.

Orador principal | *Keynote Speaker***Exile, mobility,
and the agency
of the migrant****Florian
Scheding**

School of Arts,
University of Bristol
(England)

22/05 17h15

In this keynote, I ponder a dialectical framework for thinking about music and migration that moves us beyond the opposites of celebratory narratives of mobility on the one hand and reductive accounts of exile as pure loss on the other. Drawing on key texts by Hannah Arendt, Edward Said, and Vilém Flusser, I further examine how we might negotiate the tension between migration as a global mass phenomenon and the specificity of individual migrant biographies. While large-scale displacement defines the political and cultural realities of our age, music scholarship continues to depend on close attention to personal histories, situated listening practices, and forms of creative agency.

Against this backdrop, I reflect on how music can illuminate the seemingly contradictory conditions of migrant life. I invite us to challenge the tendency to frame displaced musicians solely through trauma, instead emphasising questions of agency, voice, and cultural production. At the same time, I urge caution against overly celebratory narratives of mobility that neglect the forms of violence and precarity shaping migratory experience. My keynote draws heavily on the (non-)concept of migratory aesthetics, understanding migration not merely as geographic relocation but as a continuous process of reimagining identity, belonging, and cultural memory. In so doing, I argue for approaches that recognise migrants and refugees not simply as subjects of crisis, but as active agents whose voices demand to be heard.

Musicologist and cultural historian, **Florian Scheding** is currently Director of Education at the School of Arts, University of Bristol. His main field of interest is the relationship between music and migration, with a particular focus on the displacement and exile of European musicians throughout the 20th century. He has published on music and migration in its multiple forms, covering functional, popular, and art-music repertoires. He is co-editor, with Erik Levi, of *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond* (Scarecrow Press, 2010) and author of *Musical Journeys: Performing Migration in 20th-century Music* (Boydell & Brewer, 2019).

Sessão 1 | *Session 1*

Deslocamentos e circulações (1) | *Displacements and circulation (1)*

21/05 11h45

Del exilio intra-regional al exilio europeo: secuencialidad, trayectorias y tensiones en la migración de músicos del Cono Sur (1972-1983)

Javier Rodríguez

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Paris (France)

Esta comunicación propone analizar las características que permiten comprender el exilio de los artistas del Cono Sur latinoamericano como un proceso secuencial de desplazamientos, articulado a través de migraciones intra-regionales y transatlánticas. Hablamos de músicos y conjuntos pertenecientes a los movimientos de la Nueva Canción Chilena, el Nuevo Cancionero Argentino y el Canto Popular Uruguayo. El análisis se sitúa en un arco cronológico que va de 1972 a 1983 y considera, de manera sucesiva, los desplazamientos de músicos uruguayos hacia Chile como consecuencia del progresivo deterioro de la democracia uruguaya desde abril de 1972; la migración de músicos chilenos y uruguayos hacia Argentina tras el golpe de Estado chileno de septiembre de 1973; y, finalmente, la convergencia de músicos provenientes de toda esta región en Europa —especialmente en Francia— después del golpe de Estado argentino de marzo de 1976.

Desde esta perspectiva, la comunicación busca tensionar dos aspectos centrales. En primer lugar, la relativa homogeneidad con la que suele pensarse el exilio musical sudamericano en Europa. Lejos de constituir una experiencia unitaria o claramente delimitada en términos temporales y geográficos, las trayectorias migratorias de los músicos del Cono Sur deben entenderse como un proceso gradual de acumulación de exilios intra-regionales que, a modo de sedimentos históricos, se configuran tanto a partir de coyunturas políticas nacionales diferenciadas como de la existencia de redes artísticas regionales previas y de desplazamientos anteriores al exilio estrictamente político.

En segundo lugar, se busca discutir la idea según la cual el exilio del músico implicaría necesariamente una transformación inmediata de sus lenguajes musicales. Si bien el exilio supone una modificación profunda de la condición política y biográfica de los artistas — en tanto refugiados —, ello no se traduce de forma automática en cambios sustantivos en sus prácticas musicales. Lejos de una ruptura estética, las prácticas desarrolladas por estos músicos en Europa no solo

prolongaron formatos y repertorios consolidados años atrás, sino que los codificaron y solidificaron como una “vía” musical legítima de oposición a las dictaduras. Este proceso implicó, en muchos casos, la marginación de otras fórmulas experimentales y de exploraciones sonoras asociadas a las izquierdas latinoamericanas (como el rock, las músicas bailables, y danzas folclóricas). En este sentido, solo a comienzos de la década de 1980 resulta pertinente hablar propiamente de “músicas del exilio” sudamericano, entendidas como configuraciones sonoras diferenciadas de las experiencias pre-exiliares.

Desde esta perspectiva, escribir una historia musical del exilio implica atender simultáneamente a dos dimensiones que avanzan en paralelo: por un lado, las trayectorias políticas y migratorias de los músicos; por otro, la relativa estabilidad —y posterior transformación— de sus lenguajes artísticos.

Javier Rodríguez Aedo es historiador y musicólogo. Es doctor en Musicología por la Sorbonne Université (2020), Magíster en Artes con mención en Musicología por la Universidad de Chile y Licenciado en Historia por la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. Su trabajo combina enfoques de la musicología y la historia conectada para analizar las relaciones entre música, política y movilidad forzada en el siglo XX. Sus investigaciones han abordado la trayectoria europea de la folclorista Violeta Parra, el rol de la diplomacia musical durante el gobierno de la Unidad Popular, las representaciones en torno a la muerte del cantautor Víctor Jara, así como la discografía y las prácticas artísticas de los músicos chilenos en el exilio. Su proyecto postdoctoral previo, *Una historia global del folclor político chileno: cooperación artística, circulaciones musicales y redes de militancia (1967–1988)*, estuvo dedicado al estudio de las dinámicas transnacionales de la canción política y de las redes culturales que articularon Chile con diversas regiones del mundo, entre ellas Europa, América del Norte, África del Norte y Asia.

Actualmente es investigador responsable del proyecto de investigación *Canción del sur: folclor, política y relaciones artísticas en el Cono Sur (1967–1976)*, orientado al análisis conectado de las formas y orientaciones del canto político en Chile, Argentina y Uruguay.

From intra-regional exile to European exile: sequentiality, trajectories and tensions in the migration of Southern Cone musicians (1972–1983)

**Javier
Rodríguez**

Pontificia Universidad
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This paper examines the exile of artists from the Latin American Southern Cone as a sequential process of displacement, structured through both intra-regional and transatlantic migrations. It focuses on musicians and ensembles associated with the movements of Nueva Canción Chilena, Nuevo Cancionero Argentino, and Canto Popular Uruguayo. Covering the period from 1972 to 1983, the study traces the displacement of Uruguayan musicians to Chile due to the progressive deterioration of Uruguayan democracy starting in April 1972; the migration of Chilean and Uruguayan musicians to Argentina following the Chilean coup d'état of September 1973; and the convergence of musicians from across the region in Europe, particularly in France, after the Argentine coup d'état of March 1976.

From this perspective, the paper engages with two central issues. First, it challenges the notion of homogeneity often attributed to South American musical exile in Europe. Rather than representing a unified or clearly delineated experience in temporal and geographical terms, the migratory trajectories of Southern Cone musicians should be understood as a gradual process of accumulated intra-regional exiles. This process, akin to historical sediments, is shaped by varying national political contexts, pre-existing regional artistic networks, and forms of mobility that predate strictly political exile.

Secondly, the study questions the assumption that exile necessarily leads to an immediate transformation of musicians' artistic languages. While exile signifies a profound shift in the political and biographical conditions of artists as refugees, this does not automatically result in substantial changes to their musical practices. Instead of representing an aesthetic rupture, the practices developed by these musicians in Europe often extended the formats and repertoires established in earlier periods, simultaneously codifying and consolidating them as a legitimate musical pathway of opposition to dictatorship. This process frequently marginalized more experimental forms and sonic explorations associated with Latin American leftist

cultures, such as rock, dance music, and certain folk-dance traditions. Thus, it is only in the early 1980s that it becomes analytically appropriate to conceptualize “South American exile music” as a distinct sonic configuration, differentiated from pre-exilic experiences. In this context, writing a musical history of exile requires attention to two dimensions: the political and migratory trajectories of musicians, and the relative stability and subsequent transformation of their artistic languages.

Javier Rodríguez Aedo is a historian and musicologist. He holds a PhD in Musicology from Sorbonne Université (2020), a Master’s degree in Arts with a specialization in Musicology from the University of Chile, and a BA in History from the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. His work integrates approaches from musicology and connected history to analyse the relationships between music, politics, and forced mobility in the twentieth century.

His research has explored the European trajectory of folklorist Violeta Parra, the role of musical diplomacy during the Popular Unity government, the representations surrounding the death of singer-songwriter Víctor Jara, and the discography and artistic practices of Chilean musicians in exile. His previous postdoctoral project, titled *A Global History of Chilean Political Folklore: Artistic Cooperation, Musical Circulations, and Networks of Militancy (1967–1988)*, examined the transnational dynamics of political song and the cultural networks linking Chile with various regions of the world, including Europe, North America, North Africa, and Asia.

Currently, he serves as the Principal Investigator for the research project *Song of the South: Folklore, Politics, and Artistic Relations in the Southern Cone (1967–1976)*, which employs a connected approach to analyse the forms and orientations of political song in Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay.

Canción social y apertura de espacios compartidos. El exilio de César Isella en España (1978-1982).

**Andrea
Bolado
Sanchez**

Universidad de
Oviedo, Asturias
(España)

Tras ser secuestrado en 1978 en Paraná (Argentina) por las fuerzas de la dictadura militar argentina, el músico de folklore César Isella debe exiliarse en España. Al igual que él, algunos de los músicos vinculados a la canción social argentina durante la década de 1970 son censurados, perseguidos y amenazados, lo que provocó un movimiento migratorio cuyo destino mayoritario fue España. En esos cuatro años de exilio (1978-1982), Isella dará sus propios conciertos y desarrollará espectáculos y arreglos para otros músicos latinoamericanos vinculados al folklore y la canción social. Además, tres años antes de emigrar, Isella había editado su primer y único disco en España, *El hombre en el tiempo* (Philips, 1975), cuyas canciones no se corresponden íntegramente con la edición argentina homónima publicada en 1971. Esta edición española de 1975 mantendrá varias de las canciones de la argentina de temática social y comprometida, como la que da título al álbum, “El hombre en el tiempo”, o la famosa “Te recuerdo Amanda”, de Víctor Jara. Pero incluirá otras, de la misma temática, que no aparecían en la versión de 1971, como “Canción con todos”, uno de los temas más reconocidos del cancionero popular latinoamericano. En este sentido, el objetivo de esta comunicación es exponer cómo la edición española de *El hombre en el tiempo*, junto a la prensa y declaraciones del músico, será un ejemplo de las redes músico-culturales que, en algunos casos, permitieron a los exiliados incorporarse al mercado musical español, tal como sucede con Isella en 1978. Ubicadas sus canciones e interpretaciones en un nuevo territorio (físico y simbólico), partiremos de la perspectiva de la transculturalidad (Toro, 2005) para observar cómo estas generan nuevas significaciones en el panorama musical español de finales de los años setenta. Una idea de Latinoamérica que deja de ser concebida en términos regionales para proyectarse a un espacio global y colectivo, como ocurre con “Canción con todos”. Además, estas significaciones se unirán a la expectativa que el público español tendrá de estas propuestas, debido a la construcción en España de un imaginario social en torno

a la figura del cantor argentino en general y de Isella en particular. La expectativa del público español –lo que Dominique Maingueneau (2010) denomina *ethos prediscursivo*–, así como el contexto compartido, harán que el exilio del músico aporte nuevas significaciones a la canción, además de permitirle adentrarse en un espacio conocido y con códigos comunes. De esta forma, la canción se abrirá a una experiencia común y funcionará gracias a las condiciones sonoras y discursivas de la propuesta de Isella. Propuesta que forma parte de un contexto expresivo en el que debemos tener en cuenta la labor de otros músicos argentinos que se exiliaron durante los setenta en España, como son los casos de Horacio Guarany, José Larralde o Marián Farías Gómez, siendo de especial relevancia la figura de Mercedes Sosa.

Andrea Bolado Sánchez es investigadora predoctoral en Historia del Arte y Musicología en la Universidad de Oviedo (España). Bajo la dirección del doctor Julio Ogas, su trabajo se centra en el estudio de la canción argentina de proyección folklórica en el mercado musical español de los años sesenta y setenta, así como su pervivencia y recuperación en el siglo XXI. Prestando atención a aquellas tendencias relacionadas con la canción social e ideológica con el fin de apreciar su recepción en la cultura española de finales de la dictadura y posterior transición, así como su resignificación en la canción de autor española más reciente. Forma parte del proyecto de investigación *Música en España y Sudamérica: translaciones y transculturalidad (1960-2019)* y ha publicado artículos como “Nuevo cancionero argentino desde el exilio. Horacio Guarany en la escena musical española (1974-1978)” (2021) o “Caminos de la canción gauchesca con contenido social: Los ejes de mi carreta en España” (2024).

Social Song and the opening of shared spaces: César Isella's exile in Spain (1978–1982)

**Andrea
Bolado
Sanchez**

Universidad de
Oviedo, Asturias
(España)

After being kidnapped in 1978 in Paraná (Argentina) by the forces of the Argentine military dictatorship, the folklore musician César Isella was forced into exile in Spain. Like him, several musicians linked to the Argentine social song movement during the 1970s were censored, persecuted, and threatened, leading to a migratory movement that primarily settled in Spain. During those four years of exile (1978–1982), Isella performed his own concerts and developed shows and arrangements for other Latin American musicians associated with folklore and social song. Furthermore, three years before emigrating, Isella had released his first and only album in Spain, *El hombre en el tiempo* (Philips, 1975), whose tracks do not fully correspond to the eponymous Argentine edition published in 1971. This 1975 Spanish edition retained several of the socially committed songs from the Argentine version, such as the title track, “El hombre en el tiempo,” or the famous “Te recuerdo Amanda” by Víctor Jara. However, it also included other thematic pieces that did not appear in the 1971 version, such as “Canción con todos,” one of the most recognized anthems of the Latin American popular songbook.

In this regard, the objective of this paper is to demonstrate how the Spanish edition of *El hombre en el tiempo*, alongside the press and the musician's own statements, serves as an example of the musical-cultural networks that, in some cases, allowed exiles to enter the Spanish music market, as occurred with Isella in 1978. With his songs and performances situated in a new territory (both physical and symbolic), we will take the perspective of transculturality (Toro, 2005) to observe how these generated new meanings within the Spanish musical landscape of the late 1970s. This approach explores an idea of Latin America that ceases to be conceived in regional terms and is instead projected into a global and collective space, as seen with “Canción con todos.” Furthermore, these meanings aligned with the expectations the Spanish public held for such proposals, due to the construction in Spain of a social imaginary surrounding the figure of the Argentine singer in general and

Isella in particular. The Spanish public's expectations—what Dominique Maingueneau (2010) calls pre-discursive ethos—as well as the shared context, allowed the musician's exile to provide new meanings to the songs, while enabling him to enter a familiar space with common codes. In this way, the song opened up to a shared experience and functioned through the sonic and discursive conditions of Isella's work. This work is part of an expressive context that must account for the efforts of other Argentine musicians exiled in Spain during the seventies, such as Horacio Guarany, José Larralde, or Marián Farías Gómez, with the figure of Mercedes Sosa being of particular relevance.

Andrea Bolado Sánchez is a predoctoral researcher in Art History and Musicology at the University of Oviedo (Spain). Under the supervision of Dr. Julio Ogas, her work focuses on the study of Argentine songs of folkloric projection within the Spanish music market during the 1960s and 1970s, as well as their survival and revival in the 21st century. She pays particular attention to trends related to social and ideological songs in order to evaluate their reception in Spanish culture during the late dictatorship and subsequent transition, as well as their resignification in more recent Spanish singer-songwriter music. She is a member of the research project *Música en España y Sudamérica: translaciones y transculturalidad* (1960-2019) and has published articles such as “Nuevo cancionero argentino desde el exilio. Horacio Guarany en la escena musical española (1974-1978)” (2021) and “Caminos de la canción gauchesca con contenido social: Los ejes de mi carreta en España” (2024).

Trying to stage the ideals of the Risorgimento at Lisbon's Teatro de São Carlos: a project by mid-19th-century political exiles

Lúisa Cymbron

CESEM, NOVA FCSH,
Lisboa (Portugal)

Following the triumphant entry of the Liberal Army into Lisbon in 1833, one of the government's first measures was to reopen the São Carlos Theatre, the city's opera house. Among the Liberal ranks were many foreigners, including several Italians. During the 1830s and 1840s, further groups of Italians arrived in Portugal, many of whom were involved in political movements such as Giovine Italia and the Carbonari. Although many had previously pursued different professions, exile often compelled them to seek employment at the opera house. Some did not work exclusively at the São Carlos, instead taking on any occupation that allowed them to survive or disseminate their political ideals. These figures included impresarios, poets, librettists and set designers, as well as orchestral musicians and choral singers. Among the most prominent Italian patriots who sought refuge in Portugal following the establishment of the constitutional regime were the composers Angelo Frondoni (1809–91) and Pietro Antonio Coppola (1793–1876). Despite the Teatro de São Carlos being an Italian theatre that imported almost its entire repertoire and expecting very little from composers and librettists residing in the city, some created operas in Lisbon featuring collaborations with Portuguese composers. The chosen subjects ranged from Portuguese and Italian history to texts with clear political resonance, in line with the ideals of the Risorgimento. Two operas in particular closely reflect the political ideals of these exiles: *I profughi di Parga* (1844), with a libretto by Cesare Perini based on a renowned painting by Francesco Hayez and music by Angelo Frondoni; and *Sampiero* (1853), with a libretto by Luigi Arceri and music by Francisco Xavier Migone. The latter focuses on the Corsican leader's struggle against Genoese domination. This paper aims to analyse these two operas in terms of their political messages, exploring how Lisbon is presented as a modern, liberal city in the process.

Luísa Cymbron is a professor of music history at NOVA FCSH. Since 2023, she has directed CESEM (the Centre for Music Studies). Her research on 19th-century Portuguese music was groundbreaking. Published in 2012, her book *Olhares sobre a música em Portugal no século XIX* provides in-depth analyses of various aspects of 19th-century music in Portugal. Meanwhile, her 2019 biography of Francisco de Sá Noronha explores the musical relations between Portugal and Brazil. Since 2020, she has edited two further books, and her current research focuses particularly on the history of music in the Atlantic region.

Sessão 2 | *Session 2*

Resistências políticas | *Political resistance*

21/05 14h30

« Los catalanes cantamos a coro ». Las masas corales del exilio catalán: de los campos de concentración de Francia a México (1939-1946)

**Amadeu
Corbera
Jaume**

Conservatori
Superior de Música
de les Illes Balears,
Palma (España)

Entre enero y febrero de 1939, cuando la guerra civil española estaba llegando a su fin, cerca de 500.000 republicanos españoles, entre los que había unos 70.000 catalanes, cruzaron la frontera hacia Francia huyendo del avance del ejército de Franco después de la caída de la región autónoma de Cataluña. Más de la mitad de estas personas terminaron en campos de concentración construidos por las autoridades francesas en el sur del país.

Desde el primer momento del exilio, los catalanes, organizados alrededor de partidos e instituciones políticas propias y diferenciadas de las del gobierno republicano, buscaron deliberadamente singularizarse dentro del contexto general de la diáspora republicana. Esta voluntad de preservar una identidad nacional específica se tradujo en iniciativas políticas y culturales que pretendían mantener la cohesión del grupo y proyectar una imagen diferenciada ante las autoridades francesas y la opinión pública internacional. En este marco, el gobierno catalán establecido en París desempeñó un papel fundamental, impulsando proyectos que iban más allá de la mera asistencia material. Entre estas acciones destacó la creación y promoción de masas corales, tanto en los propios campos como en otras instalaciones de acogida, con un repertorio cuidadosamente seleccionado y unificado, que se distribuía mediante una red de colaboradores por todo el territorio francés.

La actividad de estos coros no era un simple entretenimiento: constituyó un instrumento decisivo en la configuración de la identidad republicana catalana en el exilio. Bajo las directrices políticas de las autoridades catalanas, el canto coral se convirtió en un vehículo de resistencia, personal y cultural, y en un espacio de reafirmación colectiva frente a la adversidad. Esta práctica trascendió las fronteras europeas: el mismo repertorio y la misma dinámica organizativa se mantuvieron en los barcos que trasladaron a numerosos republicanos hacia México y otros países de América. Allí, se crearon o reconstituyeron nuevos orfeones catalanes, que a su vez se transformaron en auténticas

instituciones político-culturales, alrededor de las cuales se articularía la vida comunitaria del exilio catalán durante décadas.

Amadeu Corbera Jaume (Bunyola, Mallorca, 1985). Titulado Superior en Etnomusicología por la Escola Superior de Música de Catalunya, máster en Musicología y Educación Musical por la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona y doctor en Historia Contemporánea por la Universitat de les Illes Balears. Es profesor titular de Etnomusicología y de Organología en el Conservatori Superior de Música de les Illes Balears. También colabora con el máster en Gestión Cultural de la Universitat Oberta de Catalunya y el máster en Interpretación e Investigación Musical de la Universitat Internacional de València. Sus líneas de investigación incluyen, por un lado, la historia de la música catalana del siglo XX, el exilio musical de la guerra civil española, y las músicas de tradición oral de las Islas Baleares, pero también la organología, la ecomusicología, la relación entre música y turismo, y la etnomusicología crítica aplicada.

“Catalans Sing in Choir.” The Choral Masses of Catalan Exile: From the French Con-centration Camps to Mexico (1939–1946)

**Amadeu
Corbera
Jaume**

Conservatori
Superior de Música
de les Illes Balears,
Palma (Espanya)

Between January and February 1939, when the Spanish Civil War was drawing to a close, nearly 500,000 Spanish Republicans — around 70,000 of them Catalans — crossed the border into France, fleeing the advance of Franco’s army after the fall of the autonomous region of Catalonia. More than half of these people ended up in concentration camps built by the French authorities in the south of the country.

From the very beginning of exile, Catalans — organized around their own political parties and institutions, distinct from those of the Republican government — deliberately sought to distinguish themselves within the broader context of the Republican diaspora. This determination to preserve a specific national identity translated into political and cultural initiatives aimed at maintaining group cohesion and projecting a distinct image to French authorities and international public opinion. In this context, the Catalan government established in Paris played a fundamental role, promoting projects that went beyond mere material assistance. Among these actions, the creation and promotion of choral groups stood out, both within the camps themselves and in other refugees facilities. These choirs performed a carefully selected and unified repertoire that was distributed through a network of collaborators throughout French territory.

The activity of these choirs was not merely a form of entertainment: it became a decisive instrument in shaping Catalan Republican identity in exile. Under the political guidance of Catalan authorities, choral singing became a vehicle of personal and cultural resistance and a space for collective reaffirmation in the face of adversity. This practice transcended European borders: the same repertoire and the same organizational dynamics were maintained on the ships that transported numerous Republicans to Mexico and other countries in the Americas. There, new Catalan choirs were created or reconstituted, which in turn became genuine political-cultural institutions around which the community life of Catalan exile would be organized for decades.

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“Nunca vi, nem li, nem ouvi coisa tão monstruosa contra o regime“: repressão e censura da canção de protesto portuguesa no exílio

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Uma parte significativa da canção de protesto portuguesa contra o Estado Novo foi criada e gravada em contexto de exílio, sobretudo em França, desde meados da década de 1960 até ao 25 de Abril de 1974. Para além de espaço de refúgio político, o exílio francês constituiu um ecossistema particularmente dinâmico de sociabilidade associativa, militância política e prática artística, no qual músicos portugueses como Luís Cília, José Mário Branco, Sérgio Godinho e Tino Flores desenvolveram uma atividade estreitamente articulada com o combate antifascista e anticolonial, criando repertórios marcados por um grau de explicitação pouco comum na produção musical realizada em Portugal.

Esta comunicação aborda a ação do aparelho repressivo do regime sobre a atividade destes músicos no exílio, centrando-se na análise dos repertórios e das suas condições de produção fonográfica, circulação e receção, bem como nos mecanismos de vigilância policial, censura fonográfica e repressão administrativa mobilizados para condicionar a circulação desses repertórios.

Propõe-se uma leitura de diferentes momentos: em meados dos anos 1960, quando a produção fonográfica no exílio surge como uma prática ainda circunscrita, mas já alvo de intensa vigilância policial, como ilustra o disco *Portugal–Angola: Chants de lutte*, de Luís Cília, publicado em 1964; e a partir do final da década de 1960, num contexto marcado pelo impacto do Maio de 1968 e pela intensificação da contestação à Guerra Colonial, em que a atividade musical em contexto de exílio ganha maior visibilidade pública e mediática, contribuindo para a renovação estética da canção de protesto portuguesa.

Estas transformações associam-se, por um lado, a práticas de edição de autor de discos que circulariam em meios políticos da oposição, sendo exemplos o single *Ronda do Soldadinho*, de José Mário Branco (1970), e a discografia de Tino Flores publicada entre 1971 e 1973; e, por outro, à diversidade estilística dos repertórios gravados, resultante da crescente sofisticação dos arranjos e da produção em estúdio, ilustrado em álbuns

como *Mudam-se os tempos, mudam-se as vontades* (José Mário Branco, 1971), *Cantigas do Maio* (José Afonso, 1971) e *Os Sobreviventes* (Sérgio Godinho, 1972), cuja receção significativa, sobretudo na imprensa portuguesa, amplificou o seu impacto público.

Com base em investigação em curso no âmbito do projeto EXIMUS, esta comunicação analisa diversa documentação da censura e dos serviços policiais — incluindo pareceres sobre letras, processos de apreensão de discos, relatórios sobre a atividade de músicos e circulação fonográfica — e observa a resposta repressiva do regime, em particular o reforço, no início da década de 1970, de mecanismos legais de exame prévio das letras de canções a gravar em disco e a censura a posteriori de vários álbuns gravados em França.

Hugo Castro é investigador integrado do Instituto de Etnomusicologia – Centro de Estudos em Música e Dança (INET-md) da NOVA FCSH. É licenciado em Antropologia pela Universidade de Coimbra (2006) e completou o mestrado (2012) e o doutoramento (2022) em Ciências Musicais, especialização em Etnomusicologia, na NOVA FCSH, tendo defendido uma tese de doutoramento com o título “A cantiga só é arma quando a luta acompanhar: Canção e política na Revolução dos Cravos (1974-1976)”, recentemente publicada em livro (Edições Afrontamento, 2025). Tem desenvolvido investigação sobre vários assuntos ligados ao universo da música popular portuguesa, em particular, a relação entre música e política, práticas da canção de protesto, indústrias musicais e música e património. Atualmente, integra a equipa de investigação do projeto EXIMUS e é curador do acervo de José Mário Branco depositado no Centro de Estudos e Documentação José Mário Branco – Música e Liberdade (CEDJMB-ML), na NOVA FCSH. É ainda representante do INET-md no Conselho Executivo do Observatório da Canção de Protesto e membro da Direção da Associação Lopes-Graça e da Direção da Associação José Afonso.

“I had never seen, read, or heard anything so monstrous against the regime”: repression and censorship of Portuguese protest song in exile

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A significant part of Portuguese protest song against the Estado Novo regime was created and recorded in exile, particularly in France, from the mid-1960s until the 25 April 1974 Revolution. Beyond serving as a space of political refuge, exile in France constituted a particularly dynamic ecosystem of associative sociability, political militancy, and artistic practice, in which Portuguese musicians such as Luís Cília, José Mário Branco, Sérgio Godinho, and Tino Flores developed activities closely linked to antifascist and anti-colonial struggle, creating repertoires marked by a level of explicitness uncommon in musical production within Portugal.

This paper examines the action of the regime's repressive apparatus on the activities of these musicians in exile, focusing on the analysis of their repertoires and the conditions of phonographic production, circulation, and reception, as well as on the mechanisms of police surveillance, phonographic censorship, and administrative repression mobilized to restrict the circulation of these repertoires.

The paper proposes a reading of different phases: in the mid-1960s, when phonographic production in exile emerged as a still circumscribed practice, yet already subject to intense police surveillance, as illustrated by Luís Cília's album *Portugal-Angola: Chants de lutte* (1964); and from the late 1960s onwards, in a context marked by the impact of May 1968 and the intensification of opposition to the Colonial War, when musical activity in exile gained greater public and media visibility, contributing to the aesthetic renewal of Portuguese protest song.

These transformations were associated, on the one hand, with self-produced recordings circulating within opposition political networks - such as José Mário Branco's single *Ronda do Soldadinho* (1970) and Tino Flores's recordings released between 1971 and 1973 - and, on the other, with the stylistic diversity of recorded repertoires, resulting from the growing sophistication of arrangements and studio production. This process is illustrated by albums such as *Mudam-se os tempos*,

mudam-se as vontades (José Mário Branco, 1971), *Cantigas do Maio* (José Afonso, 1971), and *Os Sobreviventes* (Sérgio Godinho, 1972), whose significant reception, particularly in the Portuguese press, amplified their public impact.

Based on ongoing research within the EXIMUS project, this paper analyses a range of censorship and police documentation - including lyric assessments, record seizure files, and reports on musicians' activities and phonographic circulation - in order to examine the regime's repressive response, particularly the strengthening, in the early 1970s, of legal mechanisms for prior examination of song lyrics intended for recording, as well as the post-release censorship of several albums recorded in France.

Hugo Castro is an integrated researcher at the Instituto de Etnomusicologia – Centro de Estudos em Música e Dança (INET-md) at NOVA FCSH. He holds a Licenciante in Anthropology from the University of Coimbra (2006) and completed his MA (2012) and PhD (2022) in Music Sciences, with a specialization in Ethnomusicology, at NOVA FCSH. His doctoral dissertation, titled “*A cantiga só é arma quando a luta acompanhar: Canção e política na Revolução dos Cravos (1974–1976)*” (“Song is only a weapon when accompanied by struggle: song and politics in the Carnation Revolution, 1974–1976”), was recently published as a book (Edições Afrontamento, 2025). His research focuses on several topics related to Portuguese popular music, particularly the relationship between music and politics, protest song practices, music industries, and music and cultural heritage. He is currently a member of the research team of the EXIMUS project and curator of the José Mário Branco archive held at the Centre of Studies and Documentation José Mário Branco - Music and Freedom (CEDJMB-ML) at NOVA FCSH. He also serves as INET-md representative on the Executive Council of the Observatory of Protest Song and is a board member of both the Associação Lopes-Graça and the Associação José Afonso.

Entre “La Mutualité” e Vincennes. Exílio e crispação em torno da canção de protesto

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Os incidentes no concerto “La chanson de combat portugaise” na Maison de la Mutualité (Novembro de 1970) e a forma atribulada como decorreram na área da música os I Jogos Florais Portugueses, em Vincennes (Junho de 1973) reflectem as profundas clivagens verificadas na esquerda radical exilada, designadamente em Paris.

A trajectória de sectarização e de grupusculização verificada no seio do minúsculo campo do marxismo-leninismo traduzia-se em afrontas e polémicas, que condicionavam e substituíam qualquer trabalho significativo de enraizamento social e político entre os trabalhadores emigrados. Ecos dessa crispação manifestaram-se no interior do país no meio estudantil, único sector onde tinham alguma expressão.

Os efeitos desse ambiente seriam em larga medida esvaziados pelos principais cantores de protesto, cuja diversidade e rasgo criativo asseguraram capacidade mobilizadora da canção de resistência na luta antifascista nesses anos de agonia da ditadura.

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Between “La Mutualité” and Vincennes: Exile and tension surrounding the protest song.

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The incidents at the concert “La chanson de combat portugaise” at the Maison de la Mutualité (November 1970) and the troubled way in which the 1st Portuguese Floral Games in Vincennes (June 1973) unfolded in the music area reflect the deep divisions found in the exiled radical left, particularly in Paris.

The trajectory of sectarianism and group formation observed within the tiny field of Marxism-Leninism resulted in affronts and polemics, which conditioned and replaced any significant work of social and political rooting among the emigrant workers. Echoes of this tension manifested themselves within the country in the student milieu, the only sector where they had any expression.

The effects of this environment would be largely offset by the main protest singers, whose diversity and creative flair ensured the mobilizing capacity of the resistance song in the anti-fascist struggle during those agonizing years of the dictatorship.

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Song, exile, and resistance: Haitian protest music as a transnational practice of political struggle (1980-1994)

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This paper examines the role of Haitian protest music in shaping experiences of exile during the final years of the dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier (1980-1986) and the subsequent political instability of the early 1990s. It argues that exile, rather than diminishing artistic agency, becomes a strategic space for musical production, political mobilization, and the reconfiguration of identity. In this perspective, music operates not only as an aesthetic form but also as a performative device through which resistance, political critique, and transnational solidarity are articulated.

Rooted in the legacy of enslaved resistance in Saint-Domingue and African diasporic musical traditions, Haitian protest music constitutes a powerful vehicle of social critique. Drawing on popular rhythms, Vodou practices, revolutionary memory, and communal forms of expression, it circulates imaginaries of freedom and justice. Artists such as Manno Charlemagne, Emeline Michel, RAM and Boukman Eksperyans deploy a performative language that, in line with John L. Austin, does not merely describe reality but seeks to transform it.

Under the Duvalier regimes, structural violence, censorship, and repression by the “*Tontons Macoutes*” forced many artists into exile. Yet this forced migration opened new spaces for expression. In cities such as Boston, Miami, New York, and Montreal, exiled musicians continued to challenge authoritarian rule through recordings, performances, political gatherings, and diasporic collaborations. As shown by Gage Averill (1997), the diaspora became a crucial site of anti-dictatorial, anti-colonial, and anti-racist discourse.

The trajectory of Manno Charlemagne is particularly illustrative. Exiled twice (1980-1986; 1991-1994), he transformed diasporic stages into political platforms. His songs, such as *Konviksyon*, denounce repression, expose structural inequalities, and amplify subaltern voices. Circulating outside institutional channels, his music nonetheless exerted significant influence within Haiti and across its diaspora.

Engaging with themes of music and political resistance, freedom of expression in exile, and anti-colonial internationalism, this study positions Haitian protest music as a transnational phenomenon in which exile is not merely rupture, but a generative condition for political creativity.

Jean Francky Guerrier is a Jesuit priest and PhD student in political communication at the Université de Montréal. His research lies at the intersection of cultural studies, critical theory, and communication, with a particular focus on Haitian protest songs and their role in shaping resistance movements from the colonial period to the present. His work examines how music functions as a space of political expression for marginalized communities, drawing on semiotics, cultural studies, and theories of power to analyze the relationships between popular culture and political communication. He is particularly interested in how protest songs produce meaning, shape social imaginaries, and mobilize collective actors in contexts of domination.

Alongside his academic work, he is actively involved in pastoral and community initiatives focused on social justice, solidarity, and human dignity. Fluent in French, English, Spanish, and Haitian Creole, he conducts research and collaborates across diverse cultural and linguistic contexts.

Chant, exil et résistance : la musique engagée Haïtienne comme pratique transnationale de lutte politique (1980-1994)

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Cette communication propose d'examiner le rôle de la musique engagée haïtienne dans la configuration des expériences d'exil durant les 6 dernières années de la dictature de Jean-Claude Duvalier (baby doc) 1980-1986, puis durant l'instabilité politique du début des années 1990. L'objectif est de montrer comment l'exil, loin de réduire les capacités d'action des artistes, devient au contraire un espace stratégique de production musicale, de mobilisation politique et de réinvention identitaire. Dans cette perspective, la musique apparaît non seulement comme un langage esthétique, mais aussi comme un dispositif performatif permettant d'articuler des formes de résistance, de dénonciation politique et de solidarité transnationale.

Héritière des chants de résistance des esclaves de Saint-Domingue et des traditions musicales africaines, la musique engagée haïtienne constitue l'un des vecteurs les plus puissants de critique sociale. Elle puise dans les rythmes populaires, le Vodou, la mémoire révolutionnaire et les pratiques communautaires pour mettre en circulation des imaginaires de liberté et de justice. Des figures emblématiques comme Manno Charlemagne, Émeline Michel ou Boukman Eksperyans mobilisent un langage performatif qui, dans la lignée de John L. Austin, ne se contente pas de décrire la réalité : il cherche à la transformer.

Sous les régimes duvaliéristes, la violence structurelle, la censure médiatique et la présence répressive des *Tontons Macoutes* ont forcé plusieurs artistes à prendre le chemin de l'exil. Cette migration contrainte a néanmoins ouvert un nouvel espace pour la liberté d'expression. À Boston, Miami, New York ou Montréal, des musiciens exilés ont continué à dénoncer la dictature par des disques, concerts, rassemblements politiques et collaborations diasporiques. Comme le montre Averill (1997), la diaspora devient alors un foyer majeur de contestation, articulant un discours à la fois antidictatorial, anticolonial et antiraciste.

La trajectoire de Manno Charlemagne illustre particulièrement cette dynamique. Contraint à deux exils politiques (1980-1986 et 1991-1994), il transforme la scène musicale diasporique en véritable tribune politique. Ses chansons, telles que *Konviksyon*, dénoncent la répression du régime de Jean-Claude Duvalier, exposent la misère structurelle et donnent voix aux subalternes. Loin de la stratégie du silence, Charlemagne adopte une parole radicale, parfois violente,

mais profondément ancrée dans les traditions populaires haïtiennes. Sa musique circule hors des circuits institutionnels, mais son impact se fait largement sentir dans la société haïtienne et au sein de la diaspora.

Cette communication montrera comment, dans les années 1980 et 1994, l'exil devient un espace de redéfinition politique, permettant aux artistes haïtiens de construire un mouvement transnational de libération. À travers des chansons telles que *Jou nou revòlte* de Boukman Eksperyans, l'exil nourrit une vision politique fondée sur la vérité, l'amour et la justice, une véritable boussole éthique reliant mémoire, résistance et utopie démocratique.

En articulant trois axes du colloque, musique et résistance politique, liberté d'expression en exil, internationalisme et anticolonialisme, cette communication analysera la musique engagée haïtienne comme un phénomène transnational où l'exil n'est pas seulement une rupture, mais une condition propice à la création politique.

Jean Francky Guerrier est prêtre jésuite et doctorant en communication politique à l'Université de Montréal. Son parcours académique et pastoral s'inscrit au croisement de la recherche, de l'engagement social et de la réflexion théologique. Ses travaux portent principalement sur les chansons de protestation en Haïti et sur leur rôle dans la construction des mouvements de résistance, depuis la période coloniale jusqu'aux dynamiques contemporaines. À travers cette recherche, il s'intéresse à la manière dont la musique, en tant que forme d'expression populaire, devient un véritable espace de prise de parole politique pour les communautés marginalisées.

Son approche mobilise la sémiotique, les études culturelles et les théories critiques pour analyser les articulations entre musique, culture populaire, Vodou et communication politique. Il met en lumière la capacité des chansons engagées à produire du sens, à façonner des imaginaires sociaux et à mobiliser des acteurs collectifs face aux systèmes de domination. Cette perspective l'amène également à interroger les formes de médiation culturelle et les processus de construction identitaire au sein de la société haïtienne.

En parallèle de son travail universitaire, Jean Francky Guerrier est activement engagé dans des initiatives pastorales, communautaires et sociales, particulièrement dans les domaines de la justice, de la solidarité et de la dignité humaine. Il collabore à divers projets liés à l'accompagnement des populations vulnérables, au développement communautaire et à la promotion de la paix.

Polyglotte, il est fluent en français, anglais, espagnol et créole haïtien, ce qui lui permet de mener ses recherches, ses collaborations et ses engagements sur plusieurs scènes culturelles et linguistiques.

Sessão 3 | Session 3
Exílios no feminino | Feminine exiles
21/05 16h45

Hilde Mattauch: 6 anos de História por contar...

**Joana
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A trajetória da soprano judia alemã Hilde Mattauch (1910-2002) é frequentemente narrada a partir da sua carreira inicial na Alemanha ou da sua consagração posterior na Argentina como intérprete de música contemporânea. No entanto, o período intermédio de seis anos em que residiu em Portugal (1936-1942), após fugir à perseguição nazi, permanece como uma névoa de silêncios arquivísticos. Esta comunicação propõe-se a iluminar esse capítulo, analisando as estratégias de sobrevivência e reinvenção profissional da cantora num país sob uma ditadura ideologicamente ambígua.

A partir do cruzamento de imprensa periódica da época e de registos biográficos, a presente investigação propõe-se a explorar o paradoxo central da estadia de Mattauch em Lisboa que revela que a sua rápida integração na elite musical portuguesa — colaborando com figuras como Pedro de Freitas Branco, Viana da Mota e Ruy Coelho — foi acompanhada por uma “tripla invisibilidade” da sua real identidade que compreendia cumulativamente a sua condição de exilada, o abafo da sua origem judaica e o seu estatuto feminino. A comunicação examinará como a sua versatilidade vocal lhe permitiu navegar entre a tradição do *Lied* e a participação em obras de pendor nacionalista de compositores portugueses, numa aparente adaptação aos cânones estéticos vigentes. Será analisada a forma como a crítica musical portuguesa, embora elogiosa da sua técnica e “encanto feminino”, despolitizou sistematicamente a sua presença, omitindo as origens judaicas e as razões do seu exílio, num alinhamento tácito com a neutralidade do Estado Novo. Complementarmente, serão observados os vestígios da sua interação com o meio associativo da comunidade de refugiados, revelando a dualidade entre a sua exposição pública oficial e a sua rede de pertença privada. Por fim, esta pesquisa debruçar-se-á, ainda, sobre a colaboração da soprano com a Emissora Nacional, examinando a natureza multifacetada da sua atividade profissional no seio desta instituição e de que modo a sua presença na rádio estatal, num contexto político complexo, refletiu as tensões e

ambiguidades inerentes à condição de artista exilada.

Deste modo, a comunicação procurará discutir os desafios e as estratégias de adaptação a que músicos costumam recorrer para navegar as estruturas culturais do seu país de acolhimento, garantindo a sua continuidade artística e subsistência num período de tanta incerteza política, social e emocional. Assim, este estudo de caso visa contribuir para os debates sobre as especificidades da atividade musical em contextos de exílio e as relações dos músicos exilados com os universos institucionais, demonstrando como, para Hilde Mattauch, Portugal foi simultaneamente um palco de reconstrução artística e um espaço de silenciamento identitário.

Joana Teles (Abrantes, 2003) começou o seu percurso musical na Escola de Artes do Norte Alentejano, no polo de Portalegre, onde completou o 8º grau em Flauta Transversal, em junho de 2021. Participou em diversas masterclasses para alunos de flauta transversal e de composição e ainda participou dois anos seguidos no Concurso Nano Músicos (2019 e 2020), sendo que no último teve uma prestação que lhe permitiu a obtenção do 3º lugar, com a peça para flauta e eletrónica *Babel's Tower* (tocada por si). Em 2021, ingressou no curso superior de Ciências Musicais, na Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, terminando este ciclo de estudos em junho de 2024. Foi colaboradora do Centro de Estudos em Sociologia e Estética Musical (CESEM) de 2024 a 2026, através do qual realizou uma Bolsa de Iniciação à Investigação no Teatro Nacional do São Carlos, em 2024. Já exerceu a função de Professora de Educação Musical em várias escolas, além de participar em vários eventos, conferências e encontros dedicados aos estudos sobre música. Atualmente, além de estar a realizar uma Bolsa de Investigação para Mestrados no âmbito do Projeto EXIMUS do Instituto de Etnomusicologia – Centro de Estudos em Música e Dança (INET-md), encontra-se no segundo ano de Mestrado em Ciências Musicais, na vertente de Musicologia Histórica, desenvolvendo a sua investigação de Dissertação de Mestrado focada nas dinâmicas de mediação e escuta musical no final do Estado Novo (1963-1973).

Hilde Mattauch: 6 years of History to tell...

**Joana
Teles**

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Lisboa (Portugal)

The trajectory of the German Jewish soprano Hilde Mattauch (1910–2002) is often narrated from her early career in Germany or her later consecration in Argentina as a performer of contemporary music. However, the intermediate period of six years in which he resided in Portugal (1936–1942), after fleeing Nazi persecution, remains a fog of archival silences. This paper proposes to illuminate this chapter, analysing the singer's strategies of survival and professional reinvention in a country under an ideologically ambiguous dictatorship.

From the intersection of periodical press of the time and biographical records, the present research proposes to explore the central paradox of Mattauch's stay in Lisbon, which reveals that her rapid integration into the Portuguese musical elite — collaborating with figures such as Pedro de Freitas Branco, Viana da Mota and Ruy Coelho — was accompanied by a “triple invisibility” of her real identity that cumulatively comprised her condition as an exile, the muffling of her Jewish origin and her feminine status. The paper will examine how her vocal versatility allowed her to navigate between the tradition of the *Lied* and the participation in works of nationalist bent by Portuguese composers, in an apparent adaptation to the current aesthetic canons. It will be analysed how Portuguese music critics, although praising their technique and “feminine charm”, systematically depoliticised their presence, omitting their Jewish origins and the reasons for their exile, in tacit alignment with the neutrality of the Estado Novo. In addition, the traces of their interaction with the associative environment of the refugee community will be observed, revealing the duality between their official public exposure and their network of private belonging. Finally, this research will also focus on the collaboration of the soprano with the National Broadcaster, examining the multifaceted nature of her professional activity within this institution and how her presence on state radio, in a complex political context, reflected the tensions and ambiguities inherent to the condition of exiled artist. In this way, the communication will seek to discuss the

challenges and adaptation strategies that musicians usually resort to to navigate the cultural structures of their host country, ensuring their artistic continuity and subsistence in a period of so much political, social and emotional uncertainty. Thus, this case study aims to contribute to the debates on the specificities of musical activity in contexts of exile and the relations of exiled musicians with institutional universes, demonstrating how, for Hilde Mattauch, Portugal was simultaneously a stage of artistic reconstruction and a space of identity silencing.

Joana Teles (Abrantes, 2003) began her musical studies at the Escola de Artes do Norte Alentejano, in Portalegre, where she completed her 8th grade in Flute in June 2021. Throughout her training, she participated in several masterclasses for flute and composition. She also competed in the Nano Músicos competition for two consecutive years (2019 and 2020), securing 3rd place in the 2020 edition with her performance of the piece for flute and electronics, *Babel's Tower*.

In 2021, she enrolled in the Undergraduate program in Musicology at the School of Social Sciences and Humanities of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa (NOVA FCSH), completing the degree in June 2024. Between 2024 and 2026, she collaborated with the Centre for the Study of the Sociology and Aesthetics of Music (CESEM), through which she held a Research Initiation Fellowship at the Teatro Nacional de São Carlos in 2024. She has worked as a Music Education teacher in several schools and has participated in various events, conferences, and meetings dedicated to music studies.

Currently, she holds a Research Fellowship for Master's students within the EXIMUS Project at the Institute of Ethnomusicology – Center for Studies in Music and Dance (INET-md). She is in the second year of her Master's degree in Musicology (Historical Musicology) at NOVA FCSH, where she is developing her dissertation research focused on the dynamics of mediation and musical listening during the final years of the Estado Novo (1963–1973).

Diva in exile, Hanka Ordonówna in the Middle East

Agata Chalupnik

University of Warsaw
(Poland)

Hanka Ordonówna was one of the most influential stars of popular music and revue theatre in inter-war Poland. One of the best-earning actresses in Europe, as well as a true diva, on and off the stage. Known for her beauty, sex-appeal and adventurous love life, she married a Polish count and diplomat, Michał Tyszkiewicz, who wrote the lyrics for her songs and worked as her manager. She recorded almost 100 songs, allowing us to follow the development of her vocal technique and artistic expression. Unfortunately, she was not enthused with the medium of film, and only one of her sound films survived to our times: a spy melodrama *Szpieg w masce* / A Spy in a Mask (1933).

Being an adventurous diva, she ended her life in exile, which provokes the interpretation of her life as an incarnation of the „Polish fate,” or a pattern described as the Polish „necroperformance”. After the outbreak of World War II, Ordonówna was imprisoned in Pawiak, the infamous Nazi prison in Warsaw. Released, she left for Vilnius, where she worked in a local theatre, adapting her repertoire to the war circumstances, and from an icon of sex and seduction transformed into an icon of resistance and patriotism. Her work there led her to a Soviet prison and a labor camp in Siberia. After the Sikorski-Maisky Agreement that enabled the establishment of the Polish army in the Soviet Union, she was released and started her work for the Polish refugees. Herself struggling with tuberculosis, she took care of Polish refugees in Uzbekistan and Persia. She was one of the many people involved in organizing transport of hundreds of Polish orphans to India, where they were offered shelter, care and education by Maharaja Jam Saheb Digvijay Sinhji. She wrote a book, devoted to this pilgrimage, entitled *Tułacze dzieci* / Wander-ing Children. She never returned to Poland, living in Persia, Palestine and Lebanon, where she died of tuberculosis in 1950.

In her life story we can find all the landmarks of the romantic paradigm, so important for the Polish national identity: politics, patriotism, imprisonment, sacrifice and martyrdom, refugee

experience and death in exile. Her war experiences transformed her public image and the narrative of her biographies. Her experiences interacted with her music: everywhere she went she gave concerts and recorded songs whenever her health allowed it (and even when it didn't: the numbers of the concerts she gave to the soldiers of general Anders' army and the Polish refugees in Middle East probably shortened her life). In my presentation I will explore the last years of her career: her repertoire, poems, songs and memoirs she wrote in that period. Relevant context will be also the Polish cultural life in exile. What role does a diva play in exile?

Agata Chałupnik, PhD, graduated Theatre Studies Faculty at Theatre Academy in Warsaw. She works as an Associate Professor in the Section of Theatre and Performance, Institute of Polish Culture, University of Warsaw, Poland. Her research interests include feminist history of Polish theatre, theatre as a medium of memory, anthropology and history of dance, history of popular music in Poland.

The author of the books: *Sztandar ze spódnicy. Zapolska i Nałkowska o kobiecym doświadczeniu ciała* [A flag made of a skirt. Zapolska and Nałkowska on female experience of the body, 2004], „*Niech się pan nie wyteatrze!*” *Auschwitz w twórczości Mariana Pankowskiego* [„Don't make a performance!” Auschwitz in Marian Pankowski's work, 2017]. Co-author of the readers *Antropologia widowisk* [Anthropology of the performance, 2005, 2010] and *An-tropologia ciała* [Anthropology of the body, 2008]. Co-editor of the volume *Rodzaju żeńskiego. Antologia dramatu* [Of Feminine. Anthology of plays] (2018). A member and co-founder of the projects “HyPaTia. Kobięca historia polskiego teatru” [HyPaTia. Feminine History of Polish Theatre] and “Latająca Akademia Języków Tanecznych” [The Flying Academy of Dance Languages.]

A dancer of Argentine tango. A feminist. She is writing a book about the history of tango music in Poland.

Corps violenté, corps en mouvement : musique, exil et liminalité dans *Fleurir* de Wafa Ghorbel

**Myriam
Bouabid**

University of
Manouba, Tunis
(Tunisia) / University
of Turin (Italy)

Dans les récits d'exil, la musique ne se contente pas d'accompagner les corps en déplacement : elle peut précéder le départ, ouvrir des seuils sensibles et produire des espaces habitables lorsque les lieux se dérobent. Circulant entre langues, mémoires et territoires, elle devient un lieu d'inscription lorsque le corps ne parvient plus à habiter ni l'espace d'origine ni celui de l'arrivée. Elle reconfigure ainsi les rapports au corps, à l'espace et à l'appartenance, comme l'ont montré les travaux issus du tournant culturel de la géographie.

Dans *Fleurir* (2024) de Wafa Ghorbel, la musique, le chant et la danse traversent une expérience de rupture où l'exil ne commence pas par le départ, mais par le viol. Cette violence fondatrice transforme durablement le corps féminin en objet social, juridique et politique, dans un cadre légal qui autorise le mariage de la victime à son violeur, au nom de l'ordre moral et social. Menacée par le retour au mari-violeur et au foyer paternel, Yasmine devient un corps « hors-lieu », étranger à lui-même.

Cette violence intime se déploie dans le contexte de la révolution du Jasmin, lorsque la Tunisie connaît une irruption massive des corps dans l'espace public. L'exil individuel se construit en parallèle d'un processus révolutionnaire qui redéfinit les rapports au pouvoir. La musique agit alors comme un premier seuil sensible : écoute solitaire, chants intériorisés et rythmes obsédants amorcent un déplacement symbolique bien avant l'exil géographique, lorsque Yasmine traverse la Méditerranée dans un geste de fuite. Cette fuite ne vise pas seulement un ailleurs spatial, mais l'arrachement à un ordre patriarcal devenu inhabitable. La liberté conquise sur l'autre rive rend possible la danse : le geste dansé de Yasmine agit comme un rituel de redressement du corps. D'objet confisqué, celui-ci devient force sonore et visible. Cette danse résonne avec celle de la révolution du Jasmin : dans les deux cas, le geste corporel investit l'espace public, mais seul le geste artistique permet une réappropriation durable du corps et du territoire.

La musique apparaît dans *Fleurir* comme opérateur liminal et

géographique : elle transforme une rupture corporelle et politique en tentative d'appartenance, lorsque l'exil commence avant le départ et que le corps féminin reste pris dans des rapports de domination. Mobilisant la liminalité (Van Gennep, Turner), les travaux de Massimo Leone sur les passages entre milieux d'appartenance et de non-appartenance, ainsi que les recherches sur musique et espace (Carney, Leyshon, Hudson, Raibaud), l'analyse montre que la musique fonctionne comme « objet géographique d'appartenance », géo-indicateur des mobilités et agent de territorialisation, rejoignant les conclusions de la journée scientifique parisienne de 2006 sur son rôle performatif dans la construction des territoires et des imaginaires spatiaux.

Violated Body, Moving Body: Music, Exile and Liminality in *Fleurir* by Wafa Ghorbel

Myriam Bouabid

University of Manouba, Tunis (Tunisia) / University of Turin (Italy)

In literary narratives of exile, music exceeds the function of a mere soundtrack to displacement; it shapes the very threshold of departure, at times acting as its initiating force, opens affective passages, and generates forms of habitability when environments of belonging recede. Moving across languages, memories, and territories, music functions as a site of inscription when the subject can no longer fully inhabit either the space of origin or that of arrival. It thus reconfigures relations to embodiment, spatiality, and belonging, as theorized within the framework of the cultural turn in geography. In *Fleurir* (2024) by Wafa Ghorbel, music, song, and dance traverse an experience of rupture in which exile begins not with geographical departure, but with rape. This foundational violence inscribes itself durably onto the female body, transforming it into a social, legal, and political object within a juridical framework that legitimizes the marriage of the victim to her rapist in the name of moral order. Threatened with a return to both the rapist-husband and the paternal home, Yasmine becomes a body “out of place”, displaced not only spatially but ontologically, estranged from itself and deprived of stable belonging.

This intimate rupture unfolds in the context of the Jasmine Revolution, a historical moment marked by the collective reoccupation of public space in Tunisia. Individual exile develops alongside a revolutionary reconfiguration of power relations. Within this tension, music operates as a liminal threshold: solitary listening, interiorized melodies, and recurring rhythms initiate a symbolic displacement long before Yasmine’s physical crossing of the Mediterranean. The maritime crossing does not merely seek another geographical elsewhere; it enacts a break from a patriarchal order rendered structurally uninhabitable. On the opposite shore, dance becomes possible. Yasmine’s dancing gesture functions as a ritual of corporeal reconstitution: from confiscated object, the body becomes audible presence and visible force. Her dance resonates with the embodied gestures of the revolution itself. Yet while both invest public space, only

artistic performance allows for a sustained reappropriation of body and territory.

In *Fleurir*, music emerges as both a liminal and a geographical operator. It transforms bodily and political rupture into a tentative mode of belonging at a moment when exile precedes departure and the female body remains entangled in structures of domination. Building on the concept of liminality (Van Gennep; Turner), Massimo Leone's reflections on shifting regimes of belonging, and research on music and spatial production (Carney; Leyshon; Hudson; Raibaud), this paper argues that music functions as a geographical object of belonging, a geo-indicator of mobility and an agent of territorialization, reaffirming its performative role in shaping territories and spatial imaginaries.

Myriam Bouabid is a PhD candidate in French Literature and Linguistics, specializing in semiotics and media history. She is currently preparing a joint doctoral dissertation between the University of La Manouba and the University of Turin, entitled *Liminal Space: Borders and Enunciation*, which explores liminal spatialities in migration narratives through a semiotic and enunciative approach.

She is also the director of the short documentary *Sea Skin*, which presents the testimony of a Sub-Saharan migrant in Zarzis. The film examines migratory experiences through life narratives, objects washed ashore, and the suspended temporalities of waiting. *Sea Skin* was presented at Semiofest 2024 in Porto, as part of the international conference *Liminality: Thresholds and Ritual*, and at ILANSCO 2024 in Zurich, dedicated to *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Landscapes in Language, Society and Cognition*.

Sessão 4 | *Session 4*
Rotas do exílio | *Paths of exile*
22/05 10h00

Exiled Polish-Jewish musicians during the Second World War

Katarzyna Naliwajek

University of Warsaw
(Poland)

The paper will describe the paths of exiled Polish-Jewish musicians who tried to survive beyond the borders of Nazi-occupied Poland. The directions of their escape chosen by them were crucial for their survival. The major part of musicians who survived had fled to the East, however those who were trapped in the territories occupied in 1941 by the Nazi Germany, such as Vilnius or Lviv, were murdered. Those who could escape further away to the Soviet Union, could in major part survive – either trying to acculturate there (as composer Mieczysław Wajnbreg) or flee further away. The latter was possible for some of them thanks to the Sikorski–Mayski agreement (1941) and the ensuing evacuation of Polish civilians and of the Polish Army under general Władysław Anders – they went to Iran, Palestine and Italy among others. Their status of musicians was important there, as they were recognized as such and could work in different ensembles or even compose music – as Henryk Wars. The Jewish musicians who went to the West became victims of the Shoah due to the occupation of the Nazi Germany and the collaboration of such regimes as the Vichy government. Szymon Laks – the epitome of émigré composer – was one of those few who survived Auschwitz-Birkenau thanks to his musician's status. These and other dramatic paths of musicians will be explored and compared.

Katarzyna Naliwajek (Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw) has focused her research on history of music in occupied Poland, including topics such as Nazi musical propaganda, the role of music in detention and genocide sites, persecuted musicians, as well as music-related losses due to Nazi plunder and destruction. Her recent book, *Sounds of Apocalypse. Music in Poland under German Occupation* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2022), was nominated for the Polish Academy of Sciences Award. In 2025 she received the prestigious Polish Prime Minister Award for her habilitation research concerning the use of music in dehumanization of victims as well as murderous consequences of hate speech. She curated the exhibition *Music in Occupied Poland. 1939-1945* for which she was awarded the Hosenfeld/Szpilman Gedenkpreis by the Leuphana Universität Lüneburg (2011). In her latest research, she adopts a comparative approach to music propaganda.

“A very dubious undertaking for us”: The Orquesta Eddy Simons and the exile of musicians in Colombia

**Sophie
Fetthauer**

Universität Hamburg
(Germany)

Research has already focused on a number of places of exile for musicians persecuted by the Nazis, including in particular centers of exile such as London, Paris, New York, and now also Shanghai. However, there are still blank spots on the map that have yet to be explored. These include Colombia, for example, which, in terms of the musical exile of Jewish refugees, has so far only been considered from the perspective of refugees from Austria (cf. Siglinde Kaiser-Bolbecher, 2002).

Colombia was not a preferred country of exile. Due to the challenging political, economic, social, and climatic conditions, for most exiles it was merely a destination of last resort due to a lack of alternatives. As a rule, it was not a permanent place of residence either. Some left earlier, but most of the approximately 5,000 Nazi refugees left the country, which had been in a state of civil war since 1948, in the 1950s at the latest. This lecture aims to provide a general overview of the professional activities of exiled musicians in Colombia. Despite all the problems, they found connecting points in the country. Bogotá had a symphony orchestra, a theater, a conservatory, a radio station, clubs, and cabarets. The province also offered professional opportunities. In addition to various venues for light music, there were conservatories in Cali, Cartagena, and Popayán, as well as an orchestra and a radio station in Cali. The starting point for the research for this lecture is the Orquesta Eddy Simons, which performed for several years in Bogotá and other Colombian cities under the direction of Hamburg-born musician Edgar Simons (1894–1969). In addition to a local musician, the ensemble's members included Emil Krebs from Berlin, Adolf Löwenherz from Hamburg, and Jacques Meyer from Cologne, who also managed the band. The Löwenherz and Meyer families have preserved estates that include photographs, several program notes and other documents, and a gramophone record. There are also original compositions and a folder with printed sheet music of popular music that Jacques Meyer used for the band's performances. Unlike most entertainment ensembles, about whose specific

activities little is often known, this allows us to gain an impression of the activities of this ensemble. For example, repertoires from Europe, North America, and South America can be identified. With regard to the design of musical programs, it becomes clear that the national question played a central role. This collection of sources is supplemented by compensation files created in West Germany in the postwar period, among other things. The research project is based on the “Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit” (www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de). The aim of the lecture is, on the one hand, to provide an overview of a still relatively unknown country of exile during the Nazi era and, on the other hand, to highlight the equally unexplored popular music culture of popular bands in exile.

Sophie Fetthauer (Universität Hamburg, Germany) studied historical musicology at the University of Hamburg, received her PhD in 2002, has been working as a research assistant at the University of Hamburg and the Hamburg University of Music and Theater since 2003, and has been involved in freelance projects. Research, and publications on music and musical life during the Nazi era and in exile. Since 2014, co-editor of the “Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit” (Biographical Handbook of Persecuted Musicians 1933-1945), since 2025, head of the Hamburg office of the long-term project “Nazi Persecution and Music History. Revisions from a Biographical and Geographical Perspective,” funded by the Academy of Sciences in Hamburg at the University of Hamburg. Research focuses: biographies, company and institutional histories, displaced person camps, remigration, and exile in Shanghai. Publications: <https://sophie.fetthauer.de/publikationen>.

Breaking the Wall: east german popular music artists in west german exile

Michael Rauhut

University of Agder, Kristiansand (Norway)

German history is rich in experiences of exile. Artists left their country for political and economic reasons, to escape persecution by the Nazis and the war. With the division of Germany into a socialist (East) and capitalist (West) part after 1945, this issue gained a new dimension and relevance. To leave or to stay – that was a question of artistic survival for many musicians in the socialist German Democratic Republic (GDR). But changing sides was accompanied by numerous challenges. Starting in 1957, “unauthorized border crossing” from East to West was punishable by law; in 1961 the Wall was built to prevent people from leaving the country to live wherever they wanted. There were three ways to get to the West: 1) By applying to be released from GDR citizenship. Applicants were stigmatized: they lost their jobs, were often imprisoned, and usually had to wait a long time to leave the country. 2) By fleeing – either across the border or by staying in the West after traveling there. 3) By deprivation of GDR citizenship and forced departure to the West. This method was applied to dissidents and oppositional figures the state wanted to remove from the country.

The most prominent representative of the third category is the singer-songwriter Wolf Biermann, who was denied re-entry to the GDR after a concert in West Germany at the end of 1976 and deprived of his citizenship. The Biermann case marked a turning point and triggered a never-ending exodus of critical artists leaving the GDR. The paper focuses on the field of rock and pop music since there the exodus was particularly massive and its impact most noticeable.

Given that most musicians returned to their old homes in East Germany after the fall of the Wall in 1989 because they felt rooted there, their period in the West may be seen as years of exile. The paper summarizes the different motives for leaving the GDR with exemplary cases. In the end, they are all grounded in political reasons. Secondly, the presentation explores the exile experiences of musicians who left the GDR. What challenges did they face in adapting to a country where the same language

was spoken, but where art existed under completely different conditions and had different impacts? Only a few musicians who enjoyed fame in the GDR were able to establish themselves in the West and make a living from their art. Nina Hagen, who perfected the principle of “scandal” and even attracted attention in the USA, is merely an exception. Most gave up making music and ended up in ordinary jobs. Finally, the paper explores the experiences of artists who returned to East Germany after 1990 and attempted to reconnect with the past. It questions their role in the processes of political transformation.

Overall, the presentation aims to contribute to the discussion of the term and concept of “exile” and to shed light on an important and significant chapter in German music history.

Michael Rauhut (PhD), studied musicology at Humboldt University in Berlin and was a founding member of the Center for Popular Music Research. Since 2008, he has been a professor of popular music at the University of Agder in Kristiansand, Norway. Rauhut has written extensively on the history of popular music in the GDR. His publications include seven monographs, the most recent being *Silly's Februar* (33 1/3 Europe series), New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2026. Alongside academic activities, Rauhut works as a radio journalist and filmmaker. He is the author of the 45-minute documentary film “Nach drüben: Oststars wechseln die Seiten” (Out There: East German Stars Switch Sides), which was produced for broadcast on public television in Germany in 2019.

Sessão 5 | *Session 5*

Deslocamentos e circulações (2) | *Displacements and circulation (2)*

22/05 11h45

Crónicas de Paris: crítica musical de Fernando Lopes-Graça a partir de França (1937-1939)

Mariana Calado

CESEM, NOVA FCSH,
Lisboa (Portugal)

Em Maio de 1937, depois de vários meses preso por fazer parte da organização da frente popular de Coimbra, Fernando Lopes-Graça decidiu procurar exílio em França. Aí permaneceu nos dois anos seguintes, período que se revelou importante na carreira do compositor. Durante a estadia em Paris, Lopes-Graça teve a oportunidade de contactar com uma vida musical diversificada e moderna e de conviver com diferentes músicos e artistas. Recebeu algumas lições de orquestração e composição de Charles Koechlin e encontrou-se com Bartók, cujas obras e linguagem musical o marcaram. Lopes-Graça frequentou, também, bastantes concertos. A vida musical da cidade impressionou-o e serviu de tema para uma série de crónicas mensais escritas para *Revista de Portugal*. Esta revista literária, ambiciosa nas suas dimensões e conteúdo, foi fundada e dirigida pelo escritor Vitorino Nemésio. Publicava bastante colaboração literária e uma secção de comentário e crítica de arte, literatura, cinema e música (na qual é possível encontrar, também, crítica musical de Francine Benoît sobre concertos em Lisboa). Contudo, teve uma existência curta: foram publicados apenas dez números, entre 1937 e 1940. Fernando Lopes-Graça escreveu para sete desses números sobre os concertos de Paris.

As crónicas de Lopes-Graça revelavam aos leitores de *Revista de Portugal* factos e impressões sobre a vida musical parisiense, e constituem um pequeno arquivo de informação sobre a actividade musical de Paris nos anos anteriores à Segunda Guerra Mundial. Mas revelam, acima de tudo, os interesses de Lopes-Graça e, em particular, a sua visão acerca da música moderna e dos compositores mais destacados deste período. Nesta comunicação pretende-se apresentar as crónicas produzidas por Lopes-Graça durante o seu exílio em França, os concertos a que assistiu e sobre os quais escolheu escrever e as suas opiniões a respeito da música e compositores que escutou. A maioria das crónicas estrutura-se em torno da enumeração e avaliação das obras ouvidas em vários concertos, tanto as que agradaram ao cronista como as que o desapontaram. Os

comentários permitem estabelecer alguns dos elementos valorizados por Lopes-Graça sobre composição e a música moderna, nesta época.

Mariana Calado é Doutorada em Ciências Musicais Históricas (NOVA FCSH, 2025) com investigação centrada no estudo da crítica musical publicada na imprensa periódica portuguesa entre 1926 e 1945. Terminou o Mestrado em Musicologia na mesma universidade, em 2011, com a apresentação da dissertação *Francine Benoît e a cultura musical em Portugal: estudo das críticas e crónicas publicadas entre 1920's e 1950*. As suas áreas de interesse compreendem a imprensa musical, discursos sobre música na imprensa periódica, em particular o estudo da crítica musical, e a vida musical em Portugal no século XX. É membro do CESEM, no qual coordena o NEMI, dedicado a estudos em música na imprensa. Colabora com o RIPM – Répertoire International de la Presse Musicale na indexação de periódicos de música e com o RIC – Revistas de Ideias e Culturas (CHAM/NOVA FCSH) na gestão documental do portal e na recolha de analíticos das revistas.

Parisian chronicles: Fernando Lopes-Graça's concert reviews from Paris (1937-1939)

**Mariana
Calado**

CESEM, NOVA FCSH,
Lisboa (Portugal)

In 1937, fearing being imprisoned again for connections with the far-left movement, the Portuguese composer Fernando Lopes-Graça went into exile in France. He lived in Paris the following two years, a stay that proved to be significant in the composer's career. There, Lopes-Graça connected with a more diversified music life and met with various musicians. He received composition and orchestration lessons from Charles Koechlin, and had a brief encounter with Bartók, whose works and music language marked him.

While in Paris, Lopes-Graça attended several concerts, also. The musical life of the city impressed him and was subject of monthly chronicles to a Portuguese magazine, *Revista de Portugal*. This literary magazine was founded and directed by the writer Vitorino Nemésio. It published literary works and a section of review on art, literature, cinema, and music (in which one can also find several music criticism by Francine Benoît about concerts in Lisbon). Despite its ambitions, *Revista de Portugal* only had ten issues, and Lopes-Graça wrote to seven of them about his experiences in Paris.

The chronicles written by Lopes-Graça to *Revista de Portugal* revealed to the Portuguese readers facts and ideas about the Parisian musical life, and represent a small archive of information about the city of the years previous to the Second World War. But they also reveal much of the interests of Lopes-Graça and of his personal ideas about modern music. The aim of this paper is to present the articles written by Lopes-Graça during his exile in France, the concerts he attended and chose to write about, and his views on the music and composers he listened to. Most of the reviews are structured around the enumeration and evaluation of the music works played in various concerts, both that pleased the reviewer and those that disappointed him. These comments shed light on some of the aspects that Lopes-Graça valued in composition and modern music during this period.

Mariana Calado holds a PhD in Musicology from Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas – NOVA University, Portugal (2025). Her research focuses on the problematics, discourses and networks of the music criticism published in Portuguese newspapers and magazines between 1926 and 1945, a period that comprises the end of the I Republic and the establishment of the dictatorial regime. In 2011 she finished her master thesis about Francine Benoît's music criticism and chronicles written between the 1920's and 1950, at the same university. Mariana is a member of CESEM (Centre for Music Studies). She collaborates with RIPM-Répertoire International de la Presse Musicale and with the project RIC- Revistas de Ideias e Culturas.

Dire Brecht, écrire l'exil : *Ciclo Brecht n° 1* « *Vom ertrunkenen Mädchen* » de Claudio Santoro (1973)

Ruiqi Lu

CREPAL, Université
Sorbonne Nouvelle,
Paris (France)

Cette communication porte sur *Ciclo Brecht n° 1* « *Vom ertrunkenen Mädchen* » de Claudio Santoro. Composée en 1973, cette pièce met en musique un poème allemand de Bertolt Brecht pour quatuor vocal SATB et piano. Santoro se trouve alors en exil en République fédérale d'Allemagne. L'œuvre inaugure un premier *Ciclo Brecht* pour voix et piano ; un second cycle, électroacoustique celui-là, suivra en 1974-1975.

Le compositeur brésilien travaille ici un texte écrit dans la langue même de son pays d'accueil. Il mobilise des pratiques vocales d'avant-garde alors en circulation en Allemagne et recourt à une notation sortant des conventions établies. Ces choix déplacent les attentes que le poème pourrait susciter : la déclamation se fragmente, le *Sprechgesang* intervient, et des blocs homophoniques se succèdent. Tandis que Santoro segmente les vers en insistant sur certains mots, le piano fournit l'armature de l'ensemble : ses effets sonores encadrent la diction et en infléchissent le cours. Un tel dispositif crée de la distance ; on entend le poème comme un récit soumis à examen, non comme un flux d'expressivité.

L'analyse procède en deux temps. Nous examinerons d'abord le déroulement narratif du poème et son réseau d'images, avant d'aborder la partition pour analyser ses procédés compositionnels. Pour les passages les plus significatifs, le cadre théorique de Nicholas Cook — articulé autour des notions de *conformance*, *complementation* et *contest* — sera mobilisé afin de caractériser les rapports qu'établissent texte et musique. Il s'agira également de saisir l'évolution de ces relations au fil de l'œuvre. Enfin, la notion d'extraterritorialité développée par George Steiner nous aidera à replacer cette mise en musique en langue étrangère dans l'horizon même de l'exil, et à en mesurer les incidences tant sur le plan prosodique que vocal.

Ruiqi Lu, titulaire d'un double master en musicologie et en études lusophones de Sorbonne Université, est actuellement doctorant en études lusophones à l'Université Sorbonne Nouvelle (CREPAL). Sous la direction du professeur Leonardo Tonus, il prépare une thèse consacrée aux œuvres vocales tardives de Claudio Santoro. Ses champs d'investigation couvrent la musique brésilienne du XXe siècle, les interactions musico-littéraires, ainsi que l'histoire de la musique tchèque moderne. Dans ce dernier domaine, il a collaboré à l'édition critique des *Œuvres complètes de Bohuslav Martinů* (*Bohuslav Martin Complete Edition*, vol. 1/1/8, opéra *Alexander bis*), en participant à la collecte documentaire et au travail éditorial. Il rédige actuellement un article intitulé « Martinů à Paris, 1923-1940 » pour la revue *Music Lover* (Shanghai).

Speaking Brecht, Writing Exile: Ciclo Brecht No. 1 “Vom ertrunkenen Mädchen” (“Of the Drowned Girl”) by Claudio Santoro (1973)

Ruiqi Lu

CREPAL, Université
Sorbonne Nouvelle,
Paris (France)

This presentation examines Ciclo Brecht No. 1, “Vom ertrunkenen Mädchen” (“Of the Drowned Girl”), by Claudio Santoro. Composed in 1973, the piece sets a German poem by Bertolt Brecht for SATB vocal quartet and piano. At the time, Santoro was living in exile in the Federal Republic of Germany. The work inaugurates a first Ciclo Brecht for voice and piano; a second cycle, this time electroacoustic, would follow in 1974–1975.

The Brazilian composer here sets a text written in the language of his host country. He draws on avant-garde vocal practices circulating in Germany at the time and employs notation that departs from established conventions. These choices shift the expectations the poem might create: declamation becomes fragmented, Sprechgesang appears, and homophonic blocks follow one another. While Santoro segments the verses, placing emphasis on certain words, the piano provides the structural framework: its sonic effects frame the vocal delivery and shape its course. This creates distance; the poem is heard as a narrative under examination, rather than as a flow of expressivity.

The analysis proceeds in two stages. We will first examine the narrative progression of the poem and its network of images, before turning to the score to analyze its compositional procedures. For the most significant passages, Nicholas Cook’s theoretical framework — based on the notions of conformance, complementation, and contest — will be used to characterize the relationships between text and music. The aim will also be to trace the evolution of these relationships over the course of the work. Finally, George Steiner’s notion of extraterritoriality will help situate this setting of a foreign-language text within the context of exile, and to assess its implications at both the prosodic and vocal levels.

Ruiqi Lu holds a Master's degree in Musicology and Portuguese Studies from Sorbonne University and is currently a PhD candidate in Lusophone Studies at Sorbonne Nouvelle University (CREPAL). His current research focuses on twentieth-century Brazilian music, with particular attention to musico-literary interactions in the late vocal works of Claudio Santoro. His work also extends to twentieth-century Czech music, and he contributed to the critical edition of the opera *Alexandre bis H. 255* for the *Bohuslav Martinů* Complete Edition.

Sonic experiences of exile: jazz diaspora, and improvisation in the artistic development of Gilberto Gil, 1969–1978

Pedro Cravinho

Royal Birmingham Conservatoire (United Kingdom)

Renan Branco Ruiz

Universidade Estadual de Campinas (Brasil) / Royal Birmingham Conservatoire (United Kingdom)

This paper explores Gilberto Gil's exile experience from 1969 to 1972 during the Brazilian military dictatorship (1964-1985), focusing on key moments in his musical journey across Europe and developments in his career after returning to Brazil. While Gil is widely recognised as a central figure in Tropicália and Brazilian Popular Music (MPB), his engagement with jazz and improvised music during exile remains underexplored. After his arrest in December 1968 and subsequent expulsion from Brazil, Gil travelled through several countries between 1969 and 1972, eventually settling in London after periods in Portugal and France. During this time abroad, Gil engaged with musical environments characterised by improvisation, which fostered encounters with international jazz musicians, such as his meeting with members of the Modern Jazz Quartet in Portugal during the Estado Novo regime (Cravinho, 2022). In these settings, jazz served as a medium for expressing freedom, experimentation, and transnationality, with the African diaspora as a central element in these processes. Drawing on a historical-social perspective and engaging with scholarship on MPB, jazz, exile, and dictatorships (Fantini, 2016; Fráguas, 2022; Ruiz, 2025), this paper hypothesises that jazz acts as a crucial aesthetic, political, and symbolic mediator in Gil's artistic reinvention during exile, rather than merely a peripheral stylistic reference. It contends that Gil's engagement with jazz and improvised music abroad significantly influenced his subsequent work upon returning to Brazil, as evidenced in albums such as *Expresso 2222* (1972), *Gil e Jorge – Ogum Xangô* (1975), and *Refavela* (1977), culminating in his participation in the Montreux Jazz Festival (1978). By linking the experiences of exile, international mobility, and return to *Terra Brasilis*, this study aims to advance debates on music and the forced displacement of artists in the twentieth century, emphasising exile as a site of both rupture and aesthetic and political (re)invention.

Pedro Cravinho, PhD, is a Portuguese researcher based in Birmingham, UK. He is a former musician, educator, and ethnomusicologist, currently serving as a Senior Research Fellow in Ethnomusicology and Jazz Studies at the Royal Birmingham Conservatoire (Birmingham City University), where he co-leads its Jazz Research Cluster. Cravinho's research interests include jazz diaspora, jazz and politics, and the media representation of jazz in the public sphere during the twentieth century. Among other publications, he is the author of *Encounters with Jazz on Television in Cold War Era Portugal: 1954-1974* (Routledge, 2023). Cravinho, along with Renan Ruiz and Antônio Araujo, co-leads the book series *Jazz no|do Brasil* (Cancioneiro).

Renan Ruiz, PhD, is a historian and Postdoctoral Visiting Researcher at the Royal Birmingham Conservatoire (Birmingham City University, UK), currently conducting postdoctoral research in Sociology at IFCH–UNICAMP. His project, “Jazz and Authoritarianism in Brazil (1964–1985)”, is funded by FAPESP (Process 2025/10024-1). His research centres on Brazilian music and history, with particular emphasis on jazz, popular music, the military dictatorship, and the sociology of music. He is the author of *Do Pixinguinha à Vanguarda Instrumental Paulista: uma história do jazz no Brasil (1920-1980)*. Ruiz, along with Pedro Cravinho and Antônio Araujo, co-leads the book series *Jazz no|do Brasil* (Cancioneiro.)

Experiências no/do exílio: Jazz, diásporas e improvisos na trajetória artística de Gilberto Gil (1969-1978)

Pedro Cravinho

Royal Birmingham
Conservatoire
(United Kingdom)

Renan Branco Ruiz

Universidade
Estadual de
Campinas (Brasil) /
Royal Birmingham
Conservatoire
(United Kingdom)

Com esta comunicação propomos analisar a experiência de Gilberto Gil no exílio (1969-1972) durante a ditadura militar brasileira (1964-1985), explorando momentos da sua trajetória musical no continente europeu e aspectos da sua carreira após o retorno ao Brasil. Embora amplamente reconhecido como figura central da Tropicália e da Música Popular Brasileira (MPB), a ligação de Gil ao jazz e músicas improvisadas, particularmente no período do exílio, continua ainda por explorar. A sua prisão em Dezembro de 1968, e a expulsão do Brasil no ano seguinte, levaram Gilberto Gil a circular por vários países entre 1969 e 1972, tendo fixado residência em Londres, depois de passar por Portugal e França. Nesse percurso no exterior, é evidente a presença de Gil em espaços musicais fortemente marcados pelo improviso, favorecendo o seu contato com músicos de jazz internacionais, como por exemplo, o seu encontro com membros do Modern Jazz Quartet em Portugal, durante o regime do Estado Novo (Cravinho, 2022). Nesses contextos, o jazz surge, para Gil, como um veículo capaz de articular liberdade, experimentação e transnacionalidade, tornando a diáspora africana um elemento central nesses processos.

Partindo de uma perspectiva histórico-social, e em diálogo com a bibliografia sobre MPB, jazz, exílio e ditaduras (Fantini, 2016; Fráguas, 2022; Ruiz, 2025), esta comunicação parte da hipótese de que o jazz, é muito mais do que uma referência estilística periférica, atuando como um mediador estético, político e simbólico fundamental no processo de reinvenção artística de Gil durante o período do exílio. Sustenta ainda que as experimentações ao nível do jazz e das músicas improvisadas no exílio influenciaram a produção de Gil após o seu regresso ao Brasil, manifestando-se em álbuns como *Expresso 2222* (1972), *Gil e Jorge – Ogum Xangô* (1975) e *Refavela* (1977), que levaria à sua presença no Festival de Jazz de Montreux (1978). Ao articular exílio, trajetória internacional e regresso a *Terra Brasilis*, esta comunicação propõe contribuir para os debates sobre música e deslocamento forçado de artistas no século XX, evidenciando o exílio não apenas como espaço de ruptura, como também de (re) invenção estética e política.

Pedro Cravinho é Licenciado em Musicologia e Doutorado em Etnomusicologia pela Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal. É um Senior Research Fellow em Estudos de Jazz e Etnomusicologia no Royal Birmingham Conservatoire, Reino Unido, onde lecciona e co-lidera o Grupo de Estudos de Jazz, e desenvolve pesquisa no âmbito das diásporas do jazz.

Renan Ruiz é Doutor e Mestre em História pela UNESP (Brasil). Atualmente, realiza pós-doutoramento em Sociologia pela UNICAMP (Brasil) e estágio pós-doutoral na Royal Birmingham Conservatoire (UK). Ruiz atua internacionalmente, investigando temas como jazz, modernismos, música popular, sociologia da música e ditadura militar brasileira.

Sessão 6 | Session 6

Exílio e memória (1) | Exile and memory (1)

22/05 14h30

Listening to exile: Sonic incarnations of unresolved motion in the work of Thierry De Mey

Vera Geslin

Université Lumière
Lyon 2 (France)

The paper examines the role of contemporary musical creation in shaping the memory of exilic experiences : not merely representing fractured trajectories, but making erased identities audible. The study focuses on three works by Belgium composer Thierry De Mey, which articulate history, survivance, and transmission through a poetics of incarnation.

In the project *EXILS* (2020) – comprising *Exil*, a choral of harmonics for solo flute, expanded into a flute/voice duo, and *Would Never*, a “braid of first names” for three musicians – De Mey develops a sonic poetics grounded in the utterance of the names of women who disappeared along migratory routes. Their simple utterance – oscillating between litany, psalmody, and performative gesture, recalling Emma González’s enumeration of the victims of the Parkland shooting – becomes an act of memory and resistance: an attempt to restore voice, however minimal, to those who never reached the hoped-for land. Music operates here as a commemorative space, privileging evocation over representation and opening a field of deeply affective listening.

This approach is expanded in *No Name* (2022), written for a forty-voice choir. The multiplicity of vocal lines enables an exploration of the dynamics of anonymisation and re-individuation that are intrinsic to exilic experience. The choral writing unfolds as a polyphony in which the expansion, separation, and convergence of voices create zones of density and erasure, leading to moments of isorhythm that – beneath an apparent homogeneity – allow the singularity of each name to emerge. The evocative power of the proper name – those “tombs and treasures,” in Valéry’s terms – reaches here a fully developed expression. Shaped by languages and cultures, these first names carry a distinctive sonic and affective charge that De Mey elevates to the status of true memorial material. Freed from their referential meaning but not from their embodied resonance, they become vectors through which individual and collective memory converge. These works thus demonstrate how contemporary creation can contribute to the

memorialisation of exile by making audible what so often leaves no trace. The analysis of this paper draws on three complementary approaches: semiotic, musicological, and anthropological. The semiotic perspective considers first names as signs devoid of lexical meaning yet carrying a strong identificatory charge, where absence and survivance are interwoven. The musicological approach examines the polyphony, spectral distribution, and gestural economy that construct a dramaturgy of erasure and re-individuation. Finally, the anthropological approach situates the proper name within its function as a cultural marker, a trace of existence, and a ritual object, linking these works both to traditional litanies and to contemporary performative gestures.

Vera Geslin. Graduated in linguistics and musicology, Vera Geslin devoted her 2016 thesis to *Light Music* by Thierry De Mey, produced at Grame (National Centre for Music Creation – Lyon). A PhD candidate at the University of Lyon 2, she is conducting research on the compositional process of multimodal works, the relationships between corporeality and new musical instruments, and the contemporary redefinition of the roles of composer and performer. She teaches in the Department of Musicology and regularly takes part in international conferences. Since 2019, she has been the president of the LISiLog association for artistic innovation. Through this role, she contributes to the development of projects that extend these areas of inquiry — interweaving artistic creation, technological tools, and critical reflection on current forms of interdisciplinarity.

Les orchestres d'enfants palestiniens au Liban : pratiques musicales, mémoire et transmission en contexte d'exil prolongé

Aline Succar

EDSP2 – Université de Bordeaux (France), laboratoire CeDS (Culture et Diffusion des Savoirs)

Les camps de réfugiés palestiniens au Liban constituent un espace d'exil prolongé, marqué par l'absence de perspective de retour, la précarité institutionnelle et la transmission transgénérationnelle de la mémoire de la Nakba. Dans ce contexte, l'émergence et le développement, depuis les années 2007, d'orchestres d'enfants palestiniens interrogent le rôle de la musique comme pratique sociale, éducative et symbolique en situation d'exil durable. Malgré leur visibilité croissante dans les sphères associative et humanitaire, ces orchestres n'ont jusqu'à présent fait l'objet d'aucune documentation scientifique systématique.

Cette communication s'appuie sur une recherche doctorale en sciences de l'éducation et en socio-anthropologie de la musique, menée sur les orchestres d'enfants palestiniens dans les camps de Burj el-Barajneh (Beyrouth), Burj el-Shemali (Sud-Liban) et Beddawi (Nord-Liban). La méthodologie repose sur une enquête qualitative combinant observations participantes, entretiens directifs et semi-directifs avec enfants musiciens, enseignants, responsables associatifs et familles, ainsi que l'analyse des cadres pédagogiques et institutionnels encadrant ces pratiques musicales.

L'étude montre que ces orchestres ne constituent pas seulement des lieux d'apprentissage musical, mais fonctionnent comme des dispositifs de médiation entre mémoire de l'exil, transmission culturelle et inscription dans des réseaux transnationaux (ONG locales et internationales, modèles pédagogiques circulants). Les pratiques observées révèlent des processus de négociation entre héritage musical palestinien, répertoires occidentaux institutionnalisés et contraintes politiques et sociales du contexte libanais.

La communication analysera la manière dont ces orchestres participent à la construction de récits collectifs de l'exil, tout en produisant des formes de visibilité culturelle et de reconnaissance sociale pour des enfants réfugiés. Elle abordera également les tensions entre amateurisme et professionnalisation, ainsi que les enjeux liés à la

patrimonialisation de ces pratiques musicales émergentes. En mettant l'accent sur l'enfance et l'éducation musicale en contexte d'exil prolongé, cette contribution vise à enrichir les recherches sur musique et exil en documentant des expériences collectives et institutionnelles encore largement absentes de la littérature scientifique.

Aline Succar est doctorante en Sciences de l'Éducation et de la Formation à l'Université de Bordeaux. Elle est titulaire d'un master en sociologie de l'éducation ainsi que d'un diplôme d'enseignement en sciences sociales. Sa recherche doctorale porte sur les orchestres d'enfants palestiniens dans les camps de réfugiés au Liban, envisagés comme dispositifs éducatifs, culturels et sociaux en contexte d'exil prolongé.

Ses travaux s'inscrivent à l'intersection de la socio-anthropologie de la musique, des études sur l'exil et les migrations, et des sciences de l'éducation. Elle s'intéresse plus particulièrement aux processus de transmission culturelle, aux médiations intergénérationnelles et interculturelles, ainsi qu'au rôle des ONG locales et internationales dans la structuration des pratiques musicales en contexte contraint. Parallèlement à son parcours académique, elle dispose d'une solide expérience professionnelle dans les secteurs administratif et associatif.

Palestinian children's orchestras in Lebanon: Negotiating memory and cultural transmission through musical practice in prolonged exile

Aline Succar

EDSP2 – Université de Bordeaux (France), laboratoire CeDS (Culture et Diffusion des Savoirs)

Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon constitute spaces of protracted exile, marked by the absence of prospects for return, institutional precarity, and the intergenerational transmission of the memory of the Nakba. In this context, the emergence and development of Palestinian children's orchestras since the mid-2000s raise important questions about the role of music as a social, educational, and symbolic practice in situations of long-term displacement. Despite their growing visibility within humanitarian and associative spheres, these orchestras remain largely undocumented in academic research.

This paper draws on doctoral research in education sciences and the socio-anthropology of music, conducted in the refugee camps of Burj el-Barajneh (Beirut), Burj el-Shemali (South Lebanon), and Beddawi (North Lebanon). The study is based on a qualitative methodology combining participant observation, semi-structured interviews with young musicians, teachers, NGO staff, and families, as well as an analysis of pedagogical and institutional frameworks shaping these initiatives.

The findings show that these orchestras are not only sites of musical learning but also function as spaces of mediation between the memory of exile, processes of cultural transmission, and integration into transnational networks, including local and international NGOs and circulating pedagogical models. The musical practices observed reveal ongoing processes of negotiation between Palestinian musical heritage, institutionalized Western repertoires, and the political and social constraints of the Lebanese context.

The paper analyzes how these orchestras contribute to the construction and circulation of collective narratives of exile while fostering forms of cultural visibility, agency, and social recognition for refugee children. It also addresses tensions between amateurism and professionalization, as well as issues related to the heritagization and institutionalization of these emerging musical practices. By focusing on childhood and music education in contexts of protracted exile, this contribution seeks to enrich research on music and displacement by documenting collective and institutional experiences that remain largely underexplored in the literature.

Aline Succar is a PhD candidate in Education Sciences at the University of Bordeaux. She holds a Master's degree in Sociology of Education and a teaching diploma in social sciences. Her doctoral research examines Palestinian children's orchestras in refugee camps in Lebanon as educational, cultural, and social dispositifs within contexts of protracted exile.

Her work lies at the intersection of the socio-anthropology of music, migration and exile studies, and education sciences. She focuses on processes of cultural transmission, intergenerational and intercultural mediation, and the role of local and international NGOs in shaping musical practices under constrained conditions. Her research is based on qualitative fieldwork.

The affective publics of exile: Music, memory, and the rerooting of Hong Kong identity

**Sharon Wing
Tung Lam**

University of Leeds,
United Kingdom

Abeyance refers to the time that when mobilisation for collective actions is weak and the social atmosphere is hostile between movements (Taylor, 1989). Likewise, confronted with the cessation of street-level activism and a historic wave of emigration, evidenced by record net population outflows in 2020 and 2021, including exiles and self-exiles, the community faced the urgent task of preserving a collective vision without geographic proximity. Undertaking discourse analysis on YouTube and semi-structured interview as methodologies, this paper explores how music and “musicking” (Small, 1998) practices have functioned as vital mechanisms for constructing a diasporic Hong Kong identity, effectively sustaining a “nation of the mind” (Cohen, 2008) amidst physical separation. Through interviews and a multimodal analysis of music videos, lyrical content, and digital audience engagement, the findings suggest that “musicking” shifted from direct protest anthems to signifiers of resilience and dispersal after the 2019 movement in Hong Kong. For example, visual symbolism in music videos transforms individual migration into a national allegory. These cultural artifacts thus construct a “portable” diasporic identity, allowing the community to maintain emotional cohesion across borders. Furthermore, highlights how digital platforms facilitate an “affective public” (Papacharissi, 2015) where user comments and interpretive exchanges recontextualize lyrics to articulate shared trauma and the promise of eventual reunion. The paper also addresses the strategic adaptation of pro-democracy artists who have expanded into overseas markets, particularly Taiwan, UK and Canada. By physically following the diaspora, these concerts serve as transnational rituals that reactivate collective memory and solidarity. Ultimately, this paper argues that during the period of abeyance, music has transcended entertainment to become a primary vehicle for political endurance, decoupling Hong Kong identity from territory and re-rooting it in shared cultural practice.

Sharon Wing-Tung Lam, PhD candidate of University of Leeds, with her PhD project exploring the transformation of popular music in social movements in Hong Kong since the 2010s, and how popular music serves as a mediator connecting people with diverse ages in political context. She graduated from the Department of Sociology at The University of Hong Kong where she received her Master's degree, with her thesis studying the integration of Hong Kong and China's popular music market. Alongside her academic work, she is a music practitioner and songwriter in Hong Kong.

Sessão 7 | Session 7

Exilio e memória (2) | Exile and memory (2)

22/05 16h15

La canción que no muere: la música en el cine chileno del exilio

Ignacio Albornoz

College of Fellows,
University of
Tübingen (Germany)

Aunque el rol de la música ha sido ampliamente estudiado en el contexto del cine producido durante la Unidad Popular en Chile (1970–1973), poco se ha explorado todavía su función en la que es sin duda la otra gran vertiente del cine político del país: el cine del exilio, cuya intrincada trayectoria comienza tras el golpe de Estado de 1973. De cintas tempranas como *Lettre du Chili* (Marcos Galo, 1978) a videos «de regreso» como *Fragmento de un sueño* (Ximena Arrieta, 1989), pasando por las iniciativas de auscultamiento de la resistencia en documentales como *Si viviéramos juntos* (Antonio Skármeta, 1983), *Chile, la cultura necesaria* (Orlando Lübbert, 1986) o *Memorias de una guerra cotidiana* (Gastón Ancelovici, Jaime Barrios y Pedro Chaskel, 1986), la música tiene una presencia constante y penetrante en el cine chileno del exilio, que puede llegar incluso a los análisis meta-reflexivos sobre géneros musicales de un documental como *El hombre cuando es hombre* (Valeria Sarmiento, 1982). El corpus del cine chileno del exilio, arborescente y particularmente rico en términos de alcance geográfico y estético, constituye en definitiva un espacio privilegiado para examinar nuevas articulaciones entre imagen, sonido y memoria.

Esta presentación propone una primera exploración panorámica de la diversidad de usos y estrategias musicales presentes en el cine chileno del exilio, atendiendo tanto a sus funciones narrativas como a sus dimensiones simbólicas, políticas y estéticas. A modo de estudio de caso, se ofrecerá un análisis en profundidad de *La canción no muere, generales* (1975), cinta pionera de Claudio Sapiaín, realizada durante su exilio en Suecia. Descrita por Zuzana Pick como un «viaje imaginario a través del tiempo [...] que conduce a los espectadores de las protestas de las calles de Santiago hasta las de Estocolmo», *La canción no muere, generales* resulta ejemplar por la variedad de sus recursos estilísticos, que la convierten en una suerte de matriz para el cine que vendrá, algo que ilustra a la perfección otra cinta de video de la década siguiente, la del regreso: *Vuelvo*, de Douglas Hübner y Pablo Salas (1985). Al ir de la ilustración de las

escenas de la represión al registro directo de las prestaciones de diversas agrupaciones musicales en ciudades de Europa, *La canción no muere, generales* es al fin una síntesis elocuente de las distintas tendencias del cine exílico.

Ignacio Albornoz es doctor en estudios cinematográficos (Universidad Paris 8, 2024), grado que obtuvo bajo la dirección de Christa Blümlinger. Es autor de una docena de artículos científicos sobre temas tan diversos como la valorización de archivos, el cine documental latinoamericano, el film-ensayo y la producción cinematográfica universitaria de los años setenta en Chile. Asimismo, trabaja como traductor especializado en el ámbito del cine. Hasta la fecha, ha traducido al español libros de Marie-José Mondzain, François Albéra, María Tortajada, Tom Gunning, Érik Bullot y Michael Renov. Recientemente, ha dirigido y editado los volúmenes colectivos *Raúl Ruiz: potencias de lo múltiple* (Metales Pesados, 2023) y *Ruiz de lejos. 27 artefactos críticos* (Bastante, 2024). Actualmente se desempeña como investigador posdoctoral en la Universidad de Tubinga, Alemania.

The song that does not die: Music in Chilean cinema of exile

**Ignacio
Albornoz**

College of Fellows,
University of
Tübingen (Germany)

Although the role of music has been widely studied in the context of films produced during Chile's Popular Unity period (1970–1973), its function in what is undoubtedly the other major branch of the country's political cinema — the cinema of exile — has received far less attention. This strand, with its complex trajectory, begins after the 1973 coup d'état.

From early films such as *Lettre du Chili* (Marcos Galo, 1978) to “return” videos like *Fragmento de un sueño* (Ximena Arrieta, 1989), and including efforts to probe resistance in documentaries such as *Si viviéramos juntos* (Antonio Skármeta, 1983), *Chile, la cultura necesaria* (Orlando Lübbert, 1986), and *Memorias de una guerra cotidiana* (Gastón Ancelovici, Jaime Barrios, and Pedro Chaskel, 1986), music maintains a constant and penetrating presence in Chilean cinema of exile. This presence even extends to meta-reflexive analyses of musical genres in documentaries such as *El hombre cuando es hombre* (Valeria Sarmiento, 1982).

The body of Chilean exile cinema — branching and particularly rich in both geographic scope and aesthetic diversity — ultimately constitutes a privileged space for examining new articulations between image, sound, and memory.

This presentation offers an initial panoramic exploration of the diversity of musical uses and strategies in Chilean exile cinema, considering not only their narrative functions but also their symbolic, political, and aesthetic dimensions. As a case study, it includes an in-depth analysis of *La canción no muere, generales* (1975), a pioneering film by Claudio Sapiaín made during his exile in Sweden.

Described by Zuzana Pick as an “imaginary journey through time [...] that leads viewers from the protests in the streets of Santiago to those in Stockholm,” *La canción no muere, generales* stands out for the variety of its stylistic resources, making it a kind of matrix for the cinema that would follow. This is exemplified by another video from the following decade, marking the period of return: *Vuelvo*, by Douglas Hübner and Pablo Salas (1985).

Moving from the illustration of scenes of repression to the direct recording of performances by various musical groups in European cities, *La canción no muere, generales* ultimately offers an eloquent synthesis of the different tendencies within exile cinema.

Ignacio Albornoz holds a PhD in Film Studies (Université Paris 8, 2024), completed under the supervision of Christa Blümlinger. He is the author of around a dozen scholarly articles on topics as diverse as archive valorization, Latin American documentary cinema, the essay film, and Chilean university film production of the 1970s. He also works as a translator specializing in cinema. To date, he has translated into Spanish books by Marie-José Mondzain, François Albera, María Tortajada, Tom Gunning, Érik Bullot, and Michael Renov. More recently, he has edited and co-edited the collective volumes *Raúl Ruiz: potencias de lo múltiple* (Metales Pesados, 2023) and *Ruiz de lejos. 27 artefactos críticos* (Bastante, 2024). He is currently a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Tübingen, Germany.

Fulfilling April: cultural dislocation, civic participation, and reactivating revolutionary commitments at Lisbon's Carnation Revolution commemorative parade

Andrew Snyder

INET-md, NOVA
FCSH, Lisboa
(Portugal)

On April 25, Portugal annually commemorates the 1974 Carnation Revolution, a nonviolent military coup that ended the country's dictatorship. The revolution had committed itself to an initial program of three "Ds:" democracy, economic and social development, and decolonization of Portuguese holdings in Africa. Part of the sanitization of revolutionary memory has involved a restriction of their scope to the national transformation of Portugal from a dictatorship to democracy, diminishing the focus on the extra-national contexts of anti-colonial war and other forms of cultural dislocation surrounding the revolution and its legacies.

In this presentation, I explore the annual commemorative parade in Lisbon as a space in which the three Ds are memorialized and reactivated through music and sound, often expanding the national focus and laying audible diverse experiences of cultural dislocation. Unlike many national commemorations of the state that take the form of presentational spectacles, Lisbon's parade is a participatory mobilization of diverse civil society groups who align themselves with the legacy of April 25 to "fulfill" (*cumprir*) its promise. The participatory element of the parade makes it more akin to a celebratory grassroots protest for a variety of causes than a traditionally hierarchical performance of state legitimacy. This openness provides a space for a variety of musical groups to musically mobilize the march with a diversity of genres and repertoires. Many of these genres are recognizably national, yet they also bespeak legacies of cultural dislocation, including exile, refuge and immigration. The core of the repertoire played during the parade is based in the protest song of the 60s and 70s (*música de intervenção*), and many of these songs were written by musicians who had experienced exile. Immigrant groups, from Portugal's ex-colonies as well as other locales, play musical traditions through which they diversify this performance of the nation. Some of these participants, such as those who left Bolsonaro's Brazil, describe themselves as exiled by conditions in their home country.

Based on fieldwork from 2021 to 2025, I argue that these diverse ensembles musically activate and contest revolutionary memory, engaging in an active citizen statecraft by advancing new visions for the state to fulfill its commitment to democracy, development and decolonization in the present day. Focus on the cultural dislocations that gave rise to many of the repertoires heard in the march helps us appreciate the extra-national context surrounding the Carnation Revolution and its legacies.

Andrew Snyder is Assistant Research Professor of Music and Politics in the Ethnomusicology Institute at NOVA University Lisbon in Portugal, having received his PhD in ethnomusicology from the University of California, Berkeley. He is the author of *Critical Brass: Street Carnival and Musical Activism in Olympic Rio de Janeiro* (Wesleyan University Press 2022) and *Postcolonial Intimacy: Brazilian Music and Carnival in Portugal* (University of Chicago Press, forthcoming). He is coeditor of the *Journal of Festive Studies*; *HONK! A Street Band Renaissance of Music and Activism* (Routledge 2020); *Festival Activism* (Indiana University Press 2025); and *At the Crossroads of Music and Social Justice* (Indiana University Press 2022), the last of which won the Ellen Koskoff Edited Volume Prize and an Honorable Mention for the Bruno Nettl Prize, both from the Society for Ethnomusicology. His work has appeared in *Ethnomusicology*, *Ethnomusicology Forum*, *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, and *Latin American Music Review*, among other venues.

Sessão 8 | *Session 8*

Fazer música no exílio | *Musicking in exile*

23/05 10h30

Rumbo a España: rockeros argentinos en Madrid (1969-1983)

Ignacio Padial Córdoba

Universidad Nacional
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Durante la década de los setenta, y principalmente después del Franquismo, España se convirtió en el destino de contingentes de población sudamericana que llegaba a Europa por la violencia política y las diferentes dictaduras de esa región.

En el caso de Argentina, los setenta estuvieron marcados por dictaduras cívico-militares, la Revolución Argentina (1966-1973) y el Proceso de Reorganización Militar (1976-1983). La violencia de aquellos años, marcada por el terrorismo de estado y la actividad paramilitar de la Triple A previa al golpe de 1976, fue uno de los principales motivos que llevó a que muchos abandonaran el país. En los estudios sobre exilio argentino (Franco, 2008; Jensen, 2007) el foco ha sido puesto habitualmente en un perfil de exiliado militante, ya fuera por su adscripción partidaria, por haber integrado alguna organización armada o por tener cierto compromiso político (como es el caso de actores como Héctor Alterio o folkloristas como Mercedes Sosa o Víctor Heredia).

Rompiendo con esa tradición, mi propuesta para este coloquio es abordar el exilio desde el punto de vista de los músicos de rock, un contingente poblacional que, en la mayoría de los casos, no tenía ningún tipo de militancia política. Las fuentes principales utilizadas son 18 entrevistas semiestructuradas realizadas entre 2023 y 2025. A su vez, estas fuentes han sido complementadas con la revisión de otros trabajos académicos (Manzano, 2025; Ogas, 2019; Viñuela, 2019) y de entrevistas en medios de comunicación de las personas no entrevistadas (como es el caso de Roque Narvaja o de Moris Birabent). Los ejes de esta ponencia son, por un lado, ahondar en las motivaciones que llevaron a estos individuos a irse de Argentina. Por otro lado, ver cómo fue su integración en la sociedad de acogida y, sobre todo, en la escena musical de Madrid. La delimitación territorial a esta única ciudad permitirá ahondar con mayor profundidad en las conexiones entre músicos españoles y argentinos que formaron parte de esta escena.

Ignacio Padial Córdoba. Soy estudiante del Programa de Doctorado en Historia e Historia del Arte y Territorio de la Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (España). Graduado en Historia por la Universidad de Salamanca y magister en el Máster en Estudios Latinoamericanos de esta misma universidad.

Investigo temas relacionados con violencia política, exilio y dictaduras latinoamericanas, especialmente en Argentina y en Uruguay, y trabajo principalmente con fuentes orales.

Para mi tesis doctoral estudio la relación entre los músicos de rock de Buenos Aires y el contexto represivo y dictatorial comprendido entre el comienzo de la dictadura cívico-militar conocida como Revolución Argentina (1966) y el final del Proceso de Reorganización Nacional (1983). Concretamente, estudio los episodios de hostigamiento policial, persecución, represión o censura que estos músicos pudieron experimentar en ese periodo y que, en algunas ocasiones, empujó a que algunos de estos músicos decidieran abandonar el país.

Heading to Spain: Argentine rock musicians in Madrid (1969–1983)

**Ignacio
Padial
Córdoba**

Universidad Nacional
de Educación a
Distancia, Madrid
(España)

During the 1960s and 1970s, a new music scene emerged in Argentina, made up of young people who began playing and forming beat and rock bands with schoolmates or neighbourhood friends. At first, these musical groups imitated foreign artists (Elvis Presley, The Beatles, Jimi Hendrix, Creedence Clearwater Revival, Genesis...). However, these young musicians quickly started creating their own music, characterized by the composition of original songs written in Spanish.

Unfortunately, creativity was not the only defining feature of Argentina in the 1960s and 1970s. Police harassment and identity checks linked to their appearance (long hair) and the places they frequented; arrests for drug-related offenses; and the growing political violence in the years leading up to the 1976 coup d'état were also dominant aspects of this period. The combination of these factors, along with economic reasons and limited professional opportunities, led some musicians from this scene to leave the country.

Through semi-structured interviews and the collection of indirect testimonies, this paper analyses a segment of Argentine migration that arrived in Madrid in the 1970s, composed of musicians who had been part of the pop-rock scene in the city of Buenos Aires. The distinctiveness of this study lies in the fact that it examines a group of people who, in most cases, had not been politically active in any organization.

The main objectives are to explore the motivations that led this group to decide to leave the country, showing how, at times, concepts such as “exile” or “economic migrant” are insufficient to encompass the diversity of cases. Additionally, it aims to trace the networks these musicians established both with Spanish artists and with other Latin American musicians, in order to reconstruct how they became integrated into the Madrid music scene of the 1970s.

Ignacio Padial Córdoba is a doctoral student in the History and History of Art and Territory program at Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (Spain). He holds a degree in History from the University of Salamanca and a Master's degree in Latin American Studies from the same university. His research focuses on political violence, exile, and Latin American dictatorships, particularly in Argentina and Uruguay, primarily using oral sources.

Les pratiques musicales autour des répertoires iraniens en France : une « économie diasporique »

Kayvan Jafarinejad

CRAL, École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris (France)

L'une des figures dominantes de l'exil renvoie à des expériences marquées par la privation, la souffrance et le manque, accompagnées d'un désir de retour hérité de la tradition homérique. Insistant sur le caractère fondamentalement douloureux et irréductible de l'exil, certains travaux en soulignent toutefois les effets paradoxaux, en reconnaissant qu'il peut produire une forme de lucidité critique issue du décentrement et de la non-appartenance. Dans le même temps, certaines lectures proposent une interprétation plus idéalisante de l'exil, l'envisageant comme un moteur de création et une source d'inspiration. Au-delà de ces approches, l'exil peut être analysé comme un facteur structurant des carrières des artistes en situation de migration, en ce qu'il influe concrètement sur leurs conditions d'accès aux ressources, aux réseaux professionnels et aux dispositifs de reconnaissance. La question qui se pose est alors la suivante : comment l'exil contribue-t-il à la professionnalisation des artistes et plus précisément des musicien-n(es) (im)migrant-es ?

À partir d'une enquête menée auprès de musicien-n(es) iranien-n(es) dans la France contemporaine, cette communication étudie leurs pratiques musicales dans le cadre de ce que l'on peut qualifier d'« économie diasporique ». Dans cette perspective, la « diaspora » sera appréhendée comme un ensemble de positions, de projets, de revendications et de pratiques qui se construisent et prennent sens à travers des formes d'engagement concrètes et souvent plurielles. Ces engagements permettent à aux acteurs et actrices qui y prennent part, ici les musicien-n(es), de se positionner, de tisser les liens, de donner sens à leurs parcours et d'affirmer certaines formes d'appartenance. Leurs productions musicales s'inscrivent ainsi dans des logiques identitaires spécifiques qui contribuent, à terme, à façonner les contours de leurs identités professionnelles tout en révélant leur capacité à articuler leurs ancrages locaux avec les contextes dans lesquels se déploient leurs carrières.

L'intérêt épistémologique de la notion d'économie diasporique réside dans son aptitude à appréhender conjointement les activités de musicien·nes arrivé·es d'Iran au fil des dernières décennies, celles de la deuxième ou troisième génération, ainsi que celles d'artistes locaux (français·es, européen·nes ou issu·es d'autres trajectoires migratoires) qui pratiquent, sous différentes formes, des musiques venues d'Iran. En intégrant également le rôle des institutions publiques et privées, ainsi que celui des associations en tant qu'actrices collectives, cette approche permet d'analyser la chaîne de coopération du travail artistique, au sens de Becker, en contexte d'exil. Dans ce cadre, les pratiques musicales des artistes iranien·nes constitueront un terrain d'analyse privilégié. Souvent reconnues et classées dans la catégorie des « musiques du monde », elles apparaissent comme l'un des points d'aboutissement de cette économie diasporique sur le marché musical français, tant en termes de circulation que de labellisation et de reconnaissance professionnelle.

Kayvan Jafarinejad, chercheur associé au Centre de recherches sur les arts et le langage (CRAL), est doctorant en « Musique, histoire, société » à l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS). Après un mémoire de maîtrise, dirigé par Stéphane Dorin, sur les politiques culturelles et la régénération du marché de la musique populaire en Iran après la Révolution, il rédige actuellement une thèse sous la direction d'Esteban Buch sur les pratiques diasporiques et la recomposition de l'identité professionnelle des musicien·nes iranien·nes dans la France contemporaine. Sa dernière publication, dans l'ouvrage *Participation culturelle, arts et immigration : regards transnationaux* (Presses de l'Université Laval), est un chapitre consacré à une association de compositrices iraniennes, qui analyse le réseau transnational comme instance de socialisation professionnelle. Ses recherches se situent à l'intersection de la sociologie de l'art et des professions artistiques, de la sociologie des migrations, des études diasporiques et de la psychanalyse sociale.

Musical practices around Iranian repertoires in France: A diasporic economy

Kayvan Jafarinejad

CRAL, École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris (France)

One of the dominant figures of exile refers to experiences marked by deprivation, suffering, and loss, accompanied by a longing for return rooted in the Homeric tradition. While emphasizing the fundamentally painful and irreducible nature of exile, some scholars highlight its paradoxical effects, acknowledging that it can produce a form of critical lucidity arising from dislocation and non-belonging. At the same time, certain interpretations offer a more idealized view of exile, presenting it as a driver of creativity and a source of inspiration. Beyond these approaches, exile can be analyzed as a structuring factor in the careers of artists with migration backgrounds, insofar as it shapes their access to resources, professional networks, and systems of recognition. This raises the following question: how does exile contribute to the professionalization of artists, and more specifically of (im)migrant musicians? Drawing on fieldwork conducted among Iranian musicians in contemporary France, this presentation examines their musical practices within what can be termed a “diasporic economy.” From this perspective, “diaspora” is understood as a set of positions, projects, claims, and practices that are constructed and acquire meaning through concrete and often multifaceted forms of engagement. These engagements enable the actors—here, the musicians—to position themselves, build networks, make sense of their trajectories, and assert certain forms of belonging. Their musical productions are thus embedded in specific identity dynamics that, over time, contribute to shaping the contours of their professional identities while also revealing how they articulate their local roots in relation to the contexts in which they operate.

The epistemological value of the notion of a diasporic economy lies in its capacity to account for the activities of musicians who have arrived from Iran over the past decades, those of the second or third generation, and those of local artists (French, European, or from other migrant backgrounds) who engage, in various ways, with music from Iran. By also incorporating the

role of public and private institutions, along with that of associations as collective actors, this approach enables an analysis of the cooperative chain of artistic labor, in Becker's sense, in the context of exile. Within this framework, the musical practices of Iranian artists constitute a particularly relevant site of analysis. Often categorized as "world music," they represent one of the main outcomes of this diasporic economy in the French music market, in terms of circulation, labeling, and professional recognition.

Kayvan Jafarinejad, a research associate at the Center for Research on Arts and Language (CRAL), is a PhD candidate in "Music, History, Society" at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS) in Paris. Following a master's thesis supervised by Stéphane Dorin, on cultural policies and the regeneration of the popular music market in Iran after the Revolution, he is currently working under the supervision of Esteban Buch on a doctoral dissertation examining diasporic practices and the reconfiguration of the professional identity of Iranian musicians in contemporary France. His recent publication, in the volume *Participation culturelle, arts et immigration : regards transnationaux* (Presses de l'Université Laval), is a chapter devoted to an association of Iranian female composers, analyzing the transnational network as a site for professional socialization. His research lies at the intersection of the sociology of art and artistic professions, the sociology of migration, diaspora studies, and social psychoanalysis.

“Como é que isto pode passar para o disco sem perder nada?” – Encenações sonoras no Château d’Hérouville

**Ricardo
Andrade**

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Na década de 1960, em Portugal, nos últimos anos do Estado Novo, emergiram vários cantores que se destacaram pela crítica ao regime através da canção. Os repertórios de José Afonso e Adriano Correia de Oliveira, geralmente acompanhados à viola, desencadearam o aparecimento de uma nova vaga de músicos que viria a alcançar alguma projeção mediática no final da década, em particular através do sucesso do programa televisivo *Zip-Zip*.

Seria, contudo, nos anos seguintes que se acentuaria uma profunda reconfiguração sonora e instrumental dos discos associados a este movimento, em larga medida provocada por diversos cantores exilados em França. Essa transformação tornou-se especialmente visível com a gravação, em 1971, de três álbuns marcantes pelos seus arranjos, mais sintonizados com algumas inovações da então moderna música popular anglo-americana: *Mudam-se os tempos, mudam-se as vontades*, de José Mário Branco; *Cantigas do Maio*, de José Afonso; e *Os Sobreviventes*, de Sérgio Godinho.

O impacto destes discos contribuiu para a popularização, em Portugal, da figura do “director musical” - função desempenhada por José Mário Branco e correspondente à noção moderna de “produtor” - enquanto elemento estruturante dos processos de preparação e gravação de um disco, bem como da dimensão intrinsecamente colaborativa deste trabalho. A relevância mediática e política destas publicações motivou outros músicos - entre eles José Jorge Letria e Adriano Correia de Oliveira - a procurar trabalhar com Branco nos estúdios-residência do Château d’Hérouville, nos arredores de Paris, espaço que se tornaria célebre pela produção de álbuns de vários protagonistas do pop-rock britânico e francês da época (Elton John, Pink Floyd, T. Rex, Jethro Tull, entre outros).

Nesta comunicação, serão analisados diversos aspectos que contribuíram para a configuração dos discos gravados por portugueses no Château d’Hérouville no início da década

de 1970, dos seus repertórios e suas respectivas sonoridades. Se, nos seus discos em nome próprio, Branco concentrava em si várias funções - compositor, intérprete, arranjador, entre outras -, procurei ilustrar também a dimensão autoral do seu trabalho enquanto produtor dos trabalhos de outros músicos, sublinhando, na linha de Virgil Moorefield, a dimensão do “produtor como compositor”, assim como algumas das tensões inerentes a esta dinâmica. Contemplei desde o trabalho preparatório entre produtor e artista principal até às dinâmicas estabelecidas entre os diferentes intervenientes no estúdio - nomeadamente a relação entre produtor, músicos de sessão e técnicos de som -, evidenciando-se a importância crescente do processo de gravação enquanto dimensão indissociável do próprio processo de composição.

Ricardo Andrade é doutorado em Etnomusicologia na Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa e investigador integrado do Instituto de Etnomusicologia – Centro de Estudos em Música e Dança (INET-MD). Licenciou-se em Ciências Musicais na mesma instituição universitária, onde realizou e defendeu uma dissertação de mestrado sobre as práticas do rock sinfónico / progressivo em Portugal na década de 1970, assim como uma dissertação de doutoramento sobre o “boom” do rock em Portugal de inícios da década de 1980, publicada em livro pela Imprensa de História Contemporânea em 2023. Em colaboração com Hugo Castro, tem desenvolvido investigação sobre diversos assuntos relacionados com o universo da “canção de protesto” em Portugal, encontrando-se de momento a elaborar um livro sobre a actividade de José Mário Branco enquanto compositor e produtor. É membro da equipa do projecto EXIMUS / «É preciso avisar toda a gente» – Música e exílio em França durante o regime do Estado Novo (1933-1974). Integra a direcção da Associação Lopes-Graça, a direcção da Associação José Afonso, a comissão executiva do Observatório da Canção de Protesto e é curador do Centro de Estudos e Documentação José Mário Branco - Música e Liberdade.

“How can this be transferred to record without losing anything?” – Sound stagings at the Château d’Hérouville

Ricardo Andrade

INET-md, NOVA
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In the 1960s, in Portugal, during the final years of the Estado Novo regime, several singers emerged who stood out for their critique of the regime through song. The repertoires of José Afonso and Adriano Correia de Oliveira, usually accompanied by guitar, sparked the rise of a new wave of musicians who would gain some media attention by the end of the decade, particularly through the success of the television programme *Zip-Zip* (1969).

It was, however, in the following years that a profound reconfiguration of the sound and instrumentation of records associated with this movement became more pronounced, largely driven by singers exiled in France. This transformation became especially apparent with the 1971 recording of three landmark albums, noted for their arrangements and more closely aligned with innovations in contemporary Anglo-American popular music: *Mudam-se os tempos, mudam-se as vontades*, by José Mário Branco; *Cantigas do Maio*, by José Afonso; and *Os Sobreviventes*, by Sérgio Godinho.

The impact of these albums helped to popularise, in Portugal, the figure of the “musical director” – a role undertaken by José Mário Branco, corresponding to the modern notion of “producer” – as a key structuring element in the preparation and recording of an album, and in highlighting the inherently collaborative nature of this work. The media and political significance of these releases encouraged other musicians - including José Jorge Letria and Adriano Correia de Oliveira - to seek collaboration with Branco at the studio-residence of the Château d’Hérouville, on the outskirts of Paris, a space that became renowned for producing albums by leading figures in British and French pop-rock of the era (Elton John, Pink Floyd, T. Rex, Jethro Tull, among others).

This paper examines the factors that shaped the records made by Portuguese artists at the Château d’Hérouville in the early 1970s, their repertoires, and their sonic characteristics. While Branco assumed multiple roles in his own albums - composer,

performer, arranger, among others - I will also illustrate the authorial dimension of his work as a producer for other musicians (corresponding, in line with Virgil Moorefield, to the concept of the “producer as composer”), as well as some of the tensions inherent in this dynamic. Consideration will be given from the preparatory work between producer and principal artist to the dynamics established among the various participants in the studio - namely, the relationship between producer, session musicians, and sound engineers --highlighting the growing importance of the recording process as an inseparable dimension of the composition process itself.

Ricardo Andrade holds a PhD in Ethnomusicology from NOVA FCSH and is a senior researcher at the Institute of Ethnomusicology - Centre for Studies in Music and Dance (INET-md). He earned a degree in Musical Sciences from the same university, where he also completed and defended a master's thesis on symphonic/progressive rock in Portugal during the 1970s, as well as a doctoral dissertation on the “boom” of Portuguese rock in the early 1980s, which was published as a book by Imprensa de História Contemporânea in 2023. In collaboration with Hugo Castro, he has conducted research on various topics related to the universe of “protest song” in Portugal and is currently working on a book about José Mário Branco's activity as a composer and producer. He is a member of the EXIMUS / «É preciso avisar toda a gente» – *Music and Exile in France during the Estado Novo Regime (1933-1974)* project team. He also serves on the board of the Lopes-Graça Association, the José Afonso Association, the executive committee of the Observatory of Protest Song, and is curator of the José Mário Branco Centre for Studies and Documentation - Music and Freedom.

Quand la musique renaît en exil : rencontres interculturelles et médiation autour d'un artiste réfugié

**Cécilia
Brassier
Rodrigues**

Université Clermont
Auvergne (France)

La musique constitue un objet communicationnel singulier. A la fois pratique sociale, langage sensible et médiation symbolique, elle permet la mise en relation d'individus et de mondes culturels hétérogènes. En contexte d'exil, elle peut devenir un levier de reconstruction identitaire, de reconnaissance sociale et de rencontre interculturelle.

Dans la continuité de mes recherches sur l'intégration des personnes en exil et sur la rencontre interculturelle, cette contribution propose d'étudier le cas d'un chanteur afghan réfugié en France. Privé des conditions matérielles, relationnelles et symboliques nécessaires à la poursuite de sa pratique musicale à son arrivée à Clermont-Ferrand, ce chanteur reconnu dans son pays a pu *refaire de la musique* dans son pays d'exil. Toutefois, cela a pris du temps et cette reprise n'a pas été le fruit d'un parcours individuel isolé, mais le résultat d'un ensemble de rencontres et d'interventions humaines qui ont rendu possible la reconfiguration de son activité artistique. En mobilisant un cadrage théorique issu de mes travaux sur la médiation interculturelle en SIC, conçue non comme simple résolution de conflits mais comme un processus dynamique de co-construction du sens et de transformation, je propose dans cette communication d'interroger le rôle joué par les personnes rencontrées par ce chanteur afghan. Il s'agira d'analyser en quoi ces acteurs ont agi comme des médiateurs interculturels et d'identifier les types de médiation à l'œuvre (tiers, communautaire, pair-aidant, passeur, réflexif), dans un contexte où la musique devient un objet médiateur central de la rencontre.

La méthodologie reposera sur un premier entretien narratif approfondi avec le chanteur afghan, visant à retracer son parcours depuis son arrivée en France et à identifier les personnes-clés de son environnement relationnel. Des entretiens complémentaires seront ensuite menés avec certaines de ces personnes, afin de croiser les points de vue et d'analyser les dynamiques communicationnelles et

interculturelles à l'œuvre. Cette recherche entend ainsi contribuer à une réflexion communicationnelle sur les médiations artistiques en contexte migratoire et sur les conditions relationnelles qui rendent possible la continuité d'une pratique culturelle en exil.

Cécilia Brassier-Rodrigues est maître de conférences HDR en Sciences de l'Information et de la Communication à l'Université Clermont Auvergne (UCA - France), où elle enseigne depuis 2007. Elle est directrice adjointe du laboratoire Communication et Sociétés (EA 4647). Au sein de l'équipe de gouvernance de l'UCA, elle est chargée de mission pour la Politique d'intégration universitaire des réfugiés, depuis 2021. Ses travaux scientifiques portent sur la rencontre interculturelle, qu'elle analyse à partir d'un ancrage communicationnel, en interrogeant les dynamiques relationnelles, symboliques et de médiation qui se déploient dans des contextes de mobilité et de diversité culturelle. Ses recherches accordent une place centrale à la médiation interculturelle, envisagée comme un processus de co-construction du sens et de transformation des acteurs, mobilisant des pratiques artistiques et des objets communicationnels. Elle développe ainsi une réflexion sur les conditions communicationnelles de la rencontre, de l'apprentissage interculturel et du vivre-ensemble.

When music re-emerges in exile: Intercultural encounters and mediation around a refugee artist

**Cécilia
Brassier
Rodrigues**

Université Clermont
Auvergne (France)

Music constitutes a unique communicational object. Both a social practice, a sensitive language, and a form of symbolic mediation, it enables connections between individuals and heterogeneous cultural worlds. In a context of exile, it can become a lever for identity reconstruction, social recognition, and intercultural encounter.

Building on my research on the integration of people in exile and on intercultural encounters, this paper proposes to examine the case of an Afghan singer who has taken refuge in France. Deprived, upon his arrival in Clermont-Ferrand, of the material, relational, and symbolic conditions necessary to continue his musical practice, this singer (recognized in his home country) was nevertheless able to return to music in his country of exile. However, this took time, and this resumption was not the result of an isolated individual trajectory, but rather the outcome of a series of encounters and human interventions that made the reconfiguration of his artistic activity possible.

Drawing on a theoretical framework from my work on intercultural mediation in communication and information sciences, conceived not as a mere means of conflict resolution but as a dynamic process of co-construction of meaning and transformation, this paper aims to examine the role played by the individuals encountered by this Afghan singer. It will analyze how these actors functioned as intercultural mediators and identify the types of mediation at work (third-party, community-based, peer support, cultural broker, reflexive), in a context where music becomes a central mediating object of the encounter.

The methodology will be based on an initial in-depth narrative interview with the Afghan singer, aimed at retracing his journey since his arrival in France and identifying the key individuals within his relational environment. Additional interviews will then be conducted with some of these individuals in order to cross perspectives and analyze the communicational and intercultural dynamics at play. This research thus seeks to contribute to

a communication-based reflection on artistic mediation in migratory contexts and on the relational conditions that make the continuity of a cultural practice in exile possible.

Cécilia Brassier-Rodrigues is an Associate Professor in Information and Communication Sciences at the University of Clermont Auvergne (France), where she has been teaching since 2007. She is the Deputy Director of the *Communication and Societies Laboratory* (EA 4647). Her research focuses on intercultural encounters, which she analyzes from a communication-based perspective, examining the relational, symbolic, and mediation dynamics that unfold in contexts of mobility and cultural diversity. She is particularly interested in migratory situations, and notably in exile, studying the role of interpersonal and intercultural communication in processes of integration, recognition, and the creation of social bonds between refugees and members of the host society. Her research places a central emphasis on intercultural mediation, understood as a process of co-constructing meaning and transforming actors, involving artistic practices and communicational objects. She thus develops a reflection on the communicative conditions for encounters, intercultural learning, and living together.

Since April 2021, she has been a member of the university's governance team, responsible for developing policies for the university integration of refugees and the internationalization "at home."

Sessão 9 | *Session 9*
Para além das fronteiras | *Beyond borders*
23/05 14h00

Exile without displacement: anonymity and transnational musical circulation under francoism

Gonzalo Hormigo Fraire

Universidad Complutense de Madrid (España)

In authoritarian contexts, exile cannot be understood solely as the physical displacement of individuals, but also as a condition affecting works, names, and modes of cultural circulation. In the case of Francoist Spain, certain songs underwent processes of anonymisation, displacement, and transnational circulation that allow exile to be conceived as a mediated experience, not necessarily linked to the departure of their authors from the country of origin.

This paper examines one such case through the international trajectory of a song composed and recorded in 1963 by Chicho Sánchez Ferlosio, originally titled “Los dos gallos”. Recorded clandestinely in Madrid by two Swedish activists associated with the social-democratic journal *Clarté*, the song was released in Sweden in 1964 under the title *Canciones de la Resistencia Española*, with the author’s name suppressed “for security reasons”. From that moment on, it became part of international networks of political exile, anti-Francoist solidarity, and protest song, circulating across different European and Latin American countries in multiple formats, translations, and textually altered versions.

Throughout this process, the work was progressively detached from its original context of production and authorship, often being reinterpreted as an anonymous Spanish folk song or as a musical remnant of the Spanish Civil War. Drawing on discographic, press, and testimonial sources, this paper analyses this trajectory as a case of exile without displacement, focusing on anonymity as a strategy of survival, on the transformation of authorship within exile networks, and on the role of musical circulation in shaping narratives of resistance. Finally, it addresses the song’s return to Spain and its subsequent re-inscription into cultural memory, questioning how exile, anonymisation, and transnational circulation have conditioned its reception and canonisation.

Gonzalo Hormigo is a researcher in Musicology, with undergraduate, master's, and doctoral training at the Complutense University of Madrid, where he is conducting a PhD thesis on singer-songwriting and popular music from a historiographical and constructivist perspective, supported by an FPU doctoral fellowship. His research examines the relationships between music, politics, the cultural industry, and the discursive construction of musical categories during late Francoism and the Spanish Transition, as well as their contemporary projections. He has carried out research stays at the Università di Pavia (Cremona) and has participated in competitive research projects related to cultural studies and musicology, in addition to numerous presentations at national and international conferences. Alongside his academic work, he is also active as a singer-songwriter.

Exilio sin desplazamiento: anonimato y circulación musical transnacional bajo el franquismo

**Gonzalo
Hormigo
Fraire**

Universidad
Complutense de
Madrid (España)

En los contextos autoritarios, el exilio no se limita necesariamente al desplazamiento físico de los sujetos, sino que puede afectar también a las obras, los nombres y las condiciones de circulación cultural. En el caso de la España franquista, determinadas canciones atravesaron procesos de anonimato, desplazamiento y circulación transnacional que permiten pensar el exilio como una experiencia mediada, no siempre asociada a la salida del país de origen.

Esta comunicación analiza uno de estos casos a partir de la trayectoria internacional de una canción compuesta y grabada en 1963 por Chicho Sánchez Ferlosio, titulada originalmente «Los dos gallos». Registrada clandestinamente en Madrid por dos activistas suecos vinculados a la revista socialdemócrata *Clarté*, la canción fue editada en Suecia en 1964 bajo el título *Canciones de la Resistencia Española*, con el nombre del autor silenciado «por motivos de seguridad». Desde entonces, se integró en redes internacionales de exilio político, solidaridad antifranquista y canción de protesta, circulando por distintos países de Europa y América Latina en múltiples formatos, traducciones y versiones textualmente modificadas.

En este proceso, la obra fue progresivamente desvinculada de su contexto original de producción y de su autoría, llegando a ser interpretada como una canción popular española anónima o como un vestigio musical de la Guerra Civil. A partir del análisis de fuentes discográficas, hemerográficas y testimoniales, la comunicación examina este recorrido como un caso de exilio sin desplazamiento, atendiendo al anonimato como estrategia de supervivencia, a la transformación de la autoría en los circuitos del exilio y al papel de la circulación musical en la construcción de narrativas de resistencia. Finalmente, se aborda el proceso de retorno de la canción a España y su posterior reinscripción en la memoria cultural, problematizando los modos en que el exilio, la anonimización y la circulación transnacional han condicionado su recepción y canonización.

Gonzalo Hormigo es investigador en Musicología, con formación de grado, máster y doctorado en la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, donde desarrolla una tesis doctoral centrada en la canción de autor y las músicas populares desde una perspectiva historiográfica y constructivista, con un contrato FPU. Su investigación aborda las relaciones entre música, política, industria cultural y construcción discursiva de categorías musicales en el tardofranquismo y la Transición española, así como sus proyecciones contemporáneas. Ha realizado estancias de investigación en la Università di Pavia (Cremona) y ha participado en proyectos competitivos vinculados a los estudios culturales y la musicología, además de contar con numerosas participaciones en congresos nacionales e internacionales. Paralelamente, desarrolla actividad como cantautor.

« C'est quand je suis rentré au Portugal que j'ai vécu mon véritable exil. » Le retour de Luís Cília après le 25 avril 1974, entre ruptures et continuités

Agnès Pellerin

INET-md, NOVA
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(Portugal)

En 1964, en pleine dictature de l'*Estado Novo*, Luís Cília, Portugais né en Angola, étudiant à Lisbonne réfractaire aux guerres coloniales, quitte le Portugal et s'installe à Paris, où il restera dix ans. Il y construit une carrière d'auteur compositeur interprète professionnel, militant aux côtés du Parti Communiste Portugais clandestin et y rencontre de nombreuses figures de la chanson engagée comme le catalan Paco Ibañez. Sa carrière est marquée par l'enregistrement, quelques semaines seulement après son arrivée, de l'album pionnier de l'anti-colonialisme *Portugal-Angola, chants de lutte* (Le Chant du monde), suivi de plusieurs autres disques. Il donne par ailleurs de nombreux concerts, en France - notamment auprès des émigrés Portugais, qui fuient alors massivement les guerres et la misère - mais aussi à l'étranger.

Son parcours de musicien, chanteur et guitariste, s'est entièrement construit à travers cette expérience de l'exil et de l'opposition à la dictature – depuis son inspiration militante jusqu'aux conditions concrètes de sa professionnalisation, en passant par ses connexions internationales.

Une fois la dictature renversée par la Révolution des Oeillets, le 25 avril 1974, son retour définitif au Portugal se présente pour lui comme une évidence, une « question de cohérence », dirait-il. Mais il soulève aussi plusieurs questions, y compris dans ses modalités concrètes.

Cette communication vise à questionner, à travers des documents de l'époque et des témoignages plus contemporains du chanteur, les enjeux et la possibilité d'un « retour d'exil ». Comment le retour de Cília au Portugal, entre rupture et continuité, est-il à la fois le lieu d'une désillusion et l'occasion de renouveler des engagements forts, passant par le refus de s'identifier à la figure héroïsée du chanteur exilé ou encore par la passation de projets musicaux exigeants, par-delà les frontières des publics et des genres ?

Agnès Pellerin. Après une thèse en études cinématographiques sur la chanson comme représentation du peuple dans le cinéma portugais (Université Paris 8 Vincennes-St Denis, 2020), elle intègre, en 2021-2022, la Casa Velázquez/Ecole des Hautes Etudes Hispaniques et Ibériques, dans le cadre d'un post-doctorat sur la musique dans le cinéma colonial. Elle travaille actuellement au sein de l'INET-md (Instituto de Etnomusicologia - Centro de estudos em Música e Dança, NOVA FCSH, Lisbonne) dans le cadre du projet EXIMUS: « *É preciso avisar toda a gente' : Música e exílio em França durante o regime do Estado Novo (1933-1974)* ».

“It was when I got back to Portugal that I experienced my true exile.” Luís Cília’s return after 25 April 1974: a story of rupture and continuity

Agnès Pellerin

INET-md, NOVA
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(Portugal)

In 1964, during the Estado Novo dictatorship, Luís Cília, a Portuguese student born in Angola, who opposed the colonial wars, left Portugal and settled in Paris, where he remained for ten years. There he built a career as a professional singer-songwriter, an activist alongside the clandestine Portuguese Communist Party. He met there many figures from the protest music, such as the Catalan singer Paco Ibañez. His career was marked by the recording, just a few weeks after his arrival, of the pioneering anti-colonial album *Portugal-Angola, chants de lutte* (*Le Chant du monde*), followed by several other records. He also gave numerous concerts, in France – notably for Portuguese emigrants, who were then fleeing en masse from poverty and war – but also abroad.

His career as a musician, singer and guitarist was shaped entirely by his experience of exile and opposition to the dictatorship – from his activist inspiration to the practical realities of his professional development, or his international connections.

Once the dictatorship had been overthrown by the Carnation Revolution on 25 April 1974, his permanent return to Portugal seemed obvious to him — a “matter of coherence,” in his own words. However, this return also raised a number of issues, including practical considerations.

This paper aims to examine, through contemporary documents and more recent accounts by the singer, the challenges and possibilities of a “return from exile.” Between rupture and continuity, how does Cília’s return to Portugal become both a source of disillusionment and an opportunity to renew strong commitments? How does it involve a refusal to identify with the heroic figure of the exiled singer, while also enabling the transmission of ambitious musical projects that transcend the boundaries of audiences and genres?

Agnès Pellerin holds a PhD in Film studies (University of Paris 8 Vincennes-St Denis, 2020) on the Song as a representation of the People in Portuguese cinema. In 2021-2022 she joined Casa Velázquez / School of Advanced Hispanic and Iberian Studie as part of a postdoctoral research project on Music in Colonial cinema. She is currently Postdoctoral researcher at INET-md (Instituto de Etnomusicologia - Centro de estudos em Música e Dança, NOVA FCSH, Lisbon) as part of the EXIMUS project: "*We must warn everyone*": Music and Portuguese exile in France during the Estado Novo regime (1933-1974).

« Philosophie de la trahison » : exil, nihilisme et avant-garde pop dans la trajectoire transnationale de Spions

Sangheon Lee

University of Huddersfield (United Kingdom)

Hervé Zénouda

Université de Toulon (France)

Cette communication propose une analyse approfondie du parcours transnational du groupe hongrois d'avant-garde pop/post-punk Spions, en abordant l'exil non comme une simple condition biographique ou géographique, mais comme un principe structurant de leur projet esthétique. À partir de recherches menées sur leurs productions musicales, performatives et textuelles, l'intervention soutient que Spions élaborent une véritable « philosophie de la trahison » – expression explicitement formulée par le fondateur du groupe, Gergely Molnár (Gregor Davidow) – dans laquelle l'exil devient la condition même de la réinvention artistique, politique et existentielle.

Loin des récits dominants de l'exil centrés sur la perte, la nostalgie ou l'intégration culturelle, l'analyse met en évidence un processus volontaire de désappartenance, fondé sur l'effondrement assumé des cadres hérités – nationaux, idéologiques, religieux et identitaires – ouvrant la voie à de nouvelles formes de création et d'existence.

Dans le contexte du socialisme tardif hongrois, Spions développent à Budapest une forme d'exil intérieur, marquée par une désidentification radicale à l'égard des cadres symboliques et politiques dominants. Cette posture s'exprime aussi bien dans leurs performances que dans leurs textes et chansons, où la trahison du pays, de la religion et du soi est revendiquée comme condition du changement.

Après leur départ de Hongrie, l'exil prend à Paris une dimension politique et fictionnelle avec l'élaboration de l'*Overnational Socialist Party*, projet conceptuel dans lequel la trahison devient un principe collectif fondé sur le refus des appartenances nationales et la subversion des langages idéologiques, notamment à travers l'album *The Party* (1979). L'exil y cesse d'être un simple état de marginalité pour devenir un programme symbolique visant la reconfiguration des formes de communauté et d'engagement. La dernière phase, au Canada, marque l'extension de cette logique au domaine spirituel et métaphysique. Avec *l'Atheist Church et*

le Temple of Nuclear Reincarnation, Molnár/Davidow applique la philosophie de la trahison aux systèmes de croyance eux-mêmes, à travers des rituels, des diagrammes symboliques et des performances publiques. L'exil ne renvoie alors plus à un lieu ni à une appartenance politique, mais à une condition ontologique de déconstruction et de recomposition continue de l'identité, que Molnár associe explicitement à une posture nihiliste conçue comme ouverture et non comme simple négation.

En mettant en relation exil, nihilisme et pratiques musicales d'avant-garde, cette communication montre comment Spions transforment le déplacement en moteur de création plutôt qu'en état subi. Elle propose ainsi une contribution originale aux études sur musique et exil, en éclairant un cas où l'exil fonctionne comme méthode de pensée et de création, reconfigurant en profondeur les rapports entre musique, politique et vie symbolique.

Sangheon Lee est musicologue, guitariste et Senior Research Fellow (Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions) à l'Université de Huddersfield (Royaume-Uni). Ses recherches musicales et philosophiques s'appuient sur un parcours intellectuel multilingue et transnational. Après une licence en littérature française et un master en musicologie consacré à Richard Wagner en Corée du Sud, il s'installe en France pour y poursuivre un second master à l'Université Paris 8, consacré au punk rock, puis un doctorat à l'Université Gustave Eiffel, soutenu en 2022, avec une thèse portant sur l'émergence du hardcore punk américain des débuts. Ses travaux portent principalement sur le punk, le post-punk et les traditions musicales associées dans les contextes anglo-américain, russe et centre- et est-européen, avec une attention particulière aux questions de forme musicale, de temporalité, d'individualisme, d'urgence et de nihilisme. En tant que musicien (composition, guitare, chant, enregistrement), il a publié un album avec son groupe Deafening Street en 2010. Il est actuellement Membership Secretary d'*IASPM International*, Assistant Editor de l'*IASPM Journal*, et membre du comité éditorial de la revue *Punk & Post- Punk*.

Depuis 2007, **Hervé Zénouda** est maître de conférences à l'UFR Ingémédia de l'Université de Toulon où il enseigne le design sonore et l'écriture interactive. Sa thèse a été publiée par L'Harmattan en 2008 sous le titre « *Les images et les sons dans les hypermédias artistiques contemporains : de la correspondance à la fusion* ». Il a publié une cinquantaine d'articles scientifiques autour du sonore, de la musique et de la médiologie. Il a été précédemment musicien, compositeur et producteur de rock et de musique néo-expérimentale et concepteur/réalisateur de dispositifs interactifs (vidéodisque, CD-Rom, Web).

“Philosophy of treason”: exile, nihilism, and avant-garde Pop in the Transnational trajectory of Spions

Sangheon Lee

University of Huddersfield (United Kingdom)

Hervé Zénouda

Université de Toulon (France)

This paper examines the transnational trajectory of the Hungarian avant-garde pop/post-punk group Spions, approaching exile not as a biographical or geographical condition but as a structuring principle of their artistic project. Drawing on analysis of their musical, performative, and textual productions, it argues that Spions developed a distinctive “philosophy of treason” — a term explicitly formulated by the group’s founder, Gergely Molnár (Gregor Davidow) — in which exile becomes the condition for artistic, political, and existential reinvention.

Moving beyond dominant narratives that frame exile in terms of loss, nostalgia, or cultural integration, the paper highlights a deliberate process of disidentification grounded in the collapse of inherited frameworks—national, ideological, religious, and subjective—opening the possibility for new forms of creation and existence.

In the context of late socialist Hungary, Spions articulated a form of inner exile in Budapest, marked by radical disidentification from prevailing symbolic and political structures. Following their departure, exile was reconfigured in Paris as a political and fictional programme through the development of the Overnational Socialist Party, in which treason becomes a collective principle based on the refusal of national belonging and the subversion of ideological language, notably in the concept album *The Party* (1979).

In Canada, this logic is extended into the spiritual and metaphysical domain. Through projects such as the Atheist Church and the Temple of Nuclear Reincarnation, Molnár/Davidow applies treason to systems of belief themselves, producing rituals, symbolic diagrams, and performances that reframe exile as an ontological condition of continuous deconstruction and reinvention.

By situating exile in relation to nihilism and avant-garde musical practices, this paper demonstrates how Spions transform

displacement into a generative force rather than a condition to be endured. It thus contributes to music and exile studies by proposing a model in which exile operates as a method of thought and creation, reshaping the relationship between music, politics, and symbolic life.

Sangheon Lee is a musicologist, guitarist, and Senior Research Fellow (Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions) at the University of Huddersfield (UK). His research combines musicological and philosophical approaches within a multilingual and transnational framework. After completing a BA in French literature and an MA in musicology on Richard Wagner, a late-Romantic German composer, in South Korea, he moved to France, where he pursued a second MA at Université Paris 8 on Anglo-American punk rock, followed by a PhD at Université Gustave Eiffel (2022) on the emergence of early American hardcore punk. His work focuses on punk, post-punk, and related musical traditions in Anglo-American, Russian, and Central and Eastern European contexts, with particular attention to musical form, temporality, urgency, individualism, and nihilism. As a musician (composition, guitar, vocals, recording), he released an album with his band Deafening Street in 2010. He is currently Membership Secretary of IASPM International, Assistant Editor of the *IASPM Journal*, and a member of the editorial board of *Punk & Post-Punk*.

Since 2007, **Hervé Zénouada** has been teacher-researcher (assistant professor) at the Ingémédia department of the University of Toulon, where he teaches sound design and interactive writing. His doctoral thesis was published by L'Harmattan in 2008 under the title "Images and Sounds in Contemporary Artistic Hypermedia: From Correspondence to Fusion." He has published around fifty scholarly articles on sound, music, and media studies. Previously, he was a musician, composer, and producer of rock and neo-experimental music, as well as a designer and creator of interactive devices (videodiscs, CD-ROMs, and web-based projects).

“Sulla stessa barca” [“On the same Boat”]: the sociosemiotics of Post-migrant trap music in Italy

**Gabriele
Marino**

University of
Turin, Italy

From the mid-2010s onward, Italian urban music — especially trap and its adjacent hybrids — has become a privileged site for staging post-migrant lives in public. In this repertoire, “exile” is often not the juridical fact of forced displacement, but a more everyday, internalized condition: being pushed to the margins by racialization, precarious work, and the constant demand to account for oneself in the public sphere. This paper examines how Italian trap (and crossings with rap and afrobeats) gives form to that condition, and how its circulation becomes part of broader media and political struggles over who counts as “Italian”. I approach the question through three interlocking layers.

First, sound and enunciation. Trap’s flattened dynamics and intense loudness, the skeletal harmonic design, and the prominently processed voice — Auto-Tune, but also ad-libs and short onomatopoeic fragments — produce a paradoxical space: acoustically tight and pressurized, yet affectively cozy and protective. The track can work like a sonic enclosure, a “bubble” in which the speaking subject appears at once exposed and armored. Second, language. Code-mixing and code-switching between Italian, dialects, and languages connected to personal migratory trajectories (Arabic, French, English, among others) are not just decorative markers of cosmopolitanism. They build a pragmatic stance of in-betweenness: a way of speaking that claims local presence while refusing the demand to sound “fully assimilated”. In this sense, the linguistic texture of trap can be read as an ongoing negotiation of Italianness. Third, public life and controversy. The emergence of the “maranza” figure (a slang label for a youth style associated with street culture and, often, migrant backgrounds) and the recurring moral panics around trap show how these sounds and bodies are managed in an onlife, post-subcultural media environment — caught between platforms, news coverage, and institutional discourse, and eventually absorbed into mainstream pop.

Through close readings of artists such as Ghali, Baby Gang, Amill Leonardo, Maruego, Laioung, Tommy Kuti, Bello Figo, Chadia Rodriguez, and Epoque, I argue that trap music operates less as a stable genre label than as a shorthand for atmospheres, attitudes, and social positions: ambition under constraint, defiance under surveillance, visibility sought under stigma. The paper closes by framing many trap outcomes as a form of everyday resistance or infra-politics: not programmatic party speech, but semiotic work on the self that shifts the migrant from a derogatory figure (victim/parasite/alien) to a narrating subject who asserts success, recognition, and autonomy.

Gabriele Marino is a semiotician and researcher at the University of Turin, Italy, where he teaches Semiotics of Music and Semiotics of Advertising. He has published around ninety scholarly works, including two monographs (in Italian): *Britney canta Manson e altri capolavori* (Crac, 2011), which focuses on music criticism, and *Frammenti di un disco incantato* (Aracne, 2020), which delves into phonography and music genres. He served as Secretary of the Italian Association for Semiotic Studies (2021-2025) and has been Secretary of the Italian branch of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music since 2023. In collaboration with Bruno Surace, he launched the social-media series #semioboomer on the journal Lexia's social media accounts (80 episodes, 2020-2022), and co-edited *TikTok. Capire le dinamiche della comunicazione ipersocial* (Hoepli, 2023), the first Italian scholarly volume dedicated to the topic.

