

## **The Italian jukebox**

---

**Cristina Ghirardini**

Centro per il dialetto romagnolo – Fondazione Casa di Oriani, Ravenna  
cristinaghirardini@tiscali.it

L'articolo propone alcune considerazioni sugli archivi sonori di interesse etnomusicologico in Italia e sulla loro accessibilità. L'autrice si interroga sul ruolo attribuito comunemente agli archivi sonori e sul concetto di 'fonte', chiedendosi se veramente lo scopo principale degli archivi sia quello di creare e conservare buone fonti storiche. Inoltre affronta i concetti di patrimonializzazione e di bene immateriale, ponendo il dubbio se i beni culturali conservati negli archivi sonori siano propriamente immateriali. Infine l'articolo concerne il rapporto tra archivi sonori locali e il lavoro degli etnomusicologi, specialmente a partire dall'esperienza dell'autrice al Centro per il dialetto romagnolo a Ravenna. La riflessione proposta costituisce un tentativo di comprendere se nell'Italia contemporanea gli archivi sonori possano avere un ruolo utile alle comunità locali, consentendo l'accesso a raccolte di registrazioni organizzate criticamente.

The paper gives a short historical survey of ethnomusicological sound archives in Italy and proposes a few remarks on the accessibility of music through them. It also deals with the role that has normally been given to sound archives and with the concept of source, questioning the common idea that the main purpose of a sound archive is the creation and preservation of good historical sources. Moreover, it addresses the concepts of patrimonialisation and intangible heritage, wondering if the heritage of sound archives is really intangible or not. Finally, it discusses the relationship between the activity of local sound archives and the ethnomusicological work, especially focusing on my experience at the Centro per il dialetto romagnolo, in Ravenna. This paper tries to understand whether in contemporary Italy sound archives may have a fruitful role inside local communities by allowing the access to a critical repository of recordings.

### **A subjective overview on Italian sound archives**

**T**HE effort of thinking about the role of Italian sound archives in a book on ethnomusicology at the time of *YouTube* has aroused many questions in my mind. Some of the ideas that have inspired the present article have been stimulated by recent discussions in Italy on the status of the discipline, others by questions on the role of sound archives, in an era when everybody can find a huge amount of music by simply browsing the web, and particularly on YouTube. Other ideas come from the present situation of Italian sound archives and more generally of Italian ethnomusicological research, characterized by a lack of financial resources and by the impoverishment of universities, where theoretical and technological issues should, especially now, be discussed.

The title of this essay pays homage to Alan Lomax, whose determination and passion were crucial at the beginning of the history of Italian ethnomusicological sound archives. It also pays homage to his idea of ‘global jukebox’ as a multimedia tool to analyze performance style.<sup>1</sup> However, here I limit my investigation to Italy, trying to develop Lomax’s metaphor by taking into account the idea that the jukebox is not only a place where music can be stored and listened to, but a place around which relationships between people take place.

The idea of starting a reflection from a very particular point of view is not always appreciated in the academic milieu, however, it is encouraged by the feminist movements that do not consider it negative to start from what is local, from ‘embedded and embodied’ positions, and which, on the contrary, suggest a ‘politics of location’.<sup>2</sup> Thus, I prefer to explain my subjective position in respect to the argument that I will be discussing here, without laying claim to an authoritative vision that I am not allowed to express. I am one of the many female Italian part-time ethnomusicologists trying to do research in spite of the present discouraging situation. Thanks to a one-year grant from the University of Florence, since 2014 I have been trying to explore sound archives, working from a historical perspective on improvised poetry in *ottava rima* in central Italy, so I am both a user of archives online or printed catalogues and a user of historical recordings. I am also one of the probably not many (because it is extremely inconvenient from an economic and professional point of view) female part-time sound archivists, trying to implement and share on the Web the sound collections of small and medium-sized Italian provincial institutions.

My article starts from a short historical survey of sound archives in Italy and from a few remarks on present-day accessibility of music through these. I shall then deal with the role that has normally been given to sound archives and with the concept of ‘source’, also referring to the many contributions that seem to claim that the creation of good historical sources is probably the main purpose of sound archives. Then I will try to cope with the concepts of patri-

---

<sup>1</sup> [www.culturalequity.org](http://www.culturalequity.org); LOMAX 1968. URLs cited in this article were accessed on 15 March 2016.

<sup>2</sup> BRAIDOTTI 2011, pp. 15-16, HARAWAY 1991.

monialisation and of ‘intangible heritage’, (*beni immateriali* in Italian), wondering if the heritage actually preserved in sound archives is really intangible or not, considering that the accessibility and future preservation of music in sound archives in the digital era is possible only when the institutions can afford the costs of remediation. A safe «signal extraction from originals» (IASA 2004, pp. 11-47) is a very delicate process, since the originals can be physically deteriorated or not easily playable because of their obsolescence. Finally, I shall discuss the relationship between local sound archives and ethnomusicology and between sound archives and potential users, especially focusing on the region where, in October 2007, I was involved in the creation of a new sound archive, Emilia-Romagna. I will be questioning whether a true interactive relationship is possible and whether sound archives may have a useful role inside local communities by allowing access to a critical repository of recordings, or if the bulk of music that we can easily listen to through the Web and especially through YouTube completely fulfills everybody’s needs.

The question is particularly important for two reasons. First, YouTube is the website where almost everybody has searched for music at least once in their life, and it is the most common source of music shared through the social networks. YouTube is a platform that allows video sharing, which means that music is always conveyed with images in a movie or in a slide show.<sup>3</sup> This makes an important difference when considering the relationship between the most common ways of enjoying music through the Web and the music offered by sound archives. Archives, especially those preserving the outputs of field-work made until the 70s, are made of audio recordings and probably give a sense of opacity to people used to making and listening to music through the Web. Second, the music that is usually uploaded to YouTube often has the main purpose of creating or consolidating social relations:<sup>4</sup> its quality, in terms of contents and technical realization is extremely variable and often deceivable, but the point is: it is uploaded by the users. Everybody can create a YouTube channel and upload videos, which can be immediately shared by the social networks and commented on, simply by the ‘like’ or ‘dislike’ button or by adding a short text. Videos are on YouTube just to be watched and forwarded, amongst friends, artists, their fans, festivals, followers of an institution or a company, to give just a few examples. It is free and familiar to people all over the world, so it has a great promotional value. Of course there is much to learn from the videos posted everyday on YouTube and many of them are particularly useful and inspiring for ethnomusicologists. There are no hierarchies and

---

<sup>3</sup> Of course YouTube is not the only free-of-charge music and video supplier on the Web. There are others, like Vimeo for videos and SoundCloud for audio files, but they are not as popular among Internet users as YouTube, even if they are often preferred by professionals and therefore shared in elite groups.

<sup>4</sup> On the mechanisms of mediated memories see VAN DIJCK 2007. About the role of social media in current life, see MILLER ET AL. 2016.

no instructions on how to select the videos and no standard playlists (apart from the suggestions that YouTube's search engine is able to propose, starting from the videos previously selected by the user): everybody can browse it and follow the channels that s/he likes the most and create personal playlists according to his/her interests and relations. At the same time it can be a tool to develop new knowledge: everybody can enlarge his/her network of interests simply by browsing and seeing where the user is taken by YouTube itself, starting from a word typed in the search engine entry.

Is there a dichotomy between the socially mediated music that we listen to through YouTube (and the other social networks) and the historical sources preserved in sound archives?<sup>5</sup> Can sound archives increase their collections by allowing users to upload directly? Probably not yet, at least as far as Italy is concerned at the moment, because, as I will try to demonstrate, Italian potential users are still waiting for institutions to allow them access to their complete collections. However, this should be a future goal for sound archives, especially in an era when the Web promotes (or seems to promote) friendly and fast communication not only between individuals, but also between individuals and institutions.

### **A short (and incomplete) map of sound archives in Italy**

The use of sound recording in Italy developed after the Second World War, which is very late if one takes into consideration the other European experiences considered as seminal for the development of comparative musicology and ethnomusicology. Despite the interesting contributions to the study of musical instruments, scales and acoustics by physiologists, musical instrument collectors and early anthropologists, who published their essays in the journals *Archivio per l'antropologia e l'etnologia* and *Atti della società romana di antropologia* between 1880 and 1911 (LEYDI - GUIZZI 1994), Italy did not take part in the Positivist approach to sound recording that was so influential in the development of the Phonogramm Archivs of Wien and Berlin,<sup>6</sup> where the use of sound recordings soon developed together with the study of languages, the relationship between song and speech, comparative musicology, and musical instrument collections.

---

<sup>5</sup> A survey on the use of YouTube and of library collections for teaching and research has been carried out by the University of Illinois. The results are in DOUGAN 2016. The conclusions are interesting, despite the fact that YouTube and library resources are considered almost as two conflicting alternatives, which in my opinion is not always true.

<sup>6</sup> On the debates concerning music during Positivism see SERRAVEZZA 1996. SIMON 2000 contains interesting contributions about the history of Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv and its collections. LECHLEITNER 2010 explains how sound recording was used to create "valuable sources" for scientific research in the Vienna Phonogrammarchiv. LECHLEITNER 2014 and LIEBL 2014 respectively give a historical overview of the founding motion of the Phonogrammarchiv inside the Austrian Academy of Science in 1899 and of its activities and focus on the early 20th century recordings of languages and dialects in Italy.

The use of equipment for sound recording did not become commonplace until the 1950s. The reasons for this lacuna – which in Italy affects not only ethnomusicology, but all the other human sciences that we now consider as based on fieldwork – have already been investigated both by ethnomusicologists and anthropologists. It relies on a different approach (to orality in general, and traditional music in particular) that in Italy has long been based on concepts and ideas that come from philology, literature, and antiquarian studies.<sup>7</sup>

The turning point is the foundation in 1948 of the *Centro Nazionale Studi di Musica Popolare* (CNSMP) by Giorgio Nataletti, in Rome, under the auspices of the *Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia* and of *Rai Radiotelevisione Italiana* (CNSMP 1960, FERRETTI 1993). This institution, which in 1989 changed its name to *Archivi di Etnomusicologia*, preserves the early recordings made by Giorgio Nataletti, Diego Carpitella, Ernesto De Martino, Alan Lomax, Luigi Colacicchi, Tullio Seppilli, Ottavio Tiby, Antonino Uccello, Andreas Fridolin Weis Bentzon, and others.<sup>8</sup> In 1962, within the *Discoteca di Stato* (now ICBSA, *Istituto Centrale per i Beni Sonori e Audiovisivi*), Diego Carpitella and Antonio Pagliaro founded the *Archivio Etnico Linguistico-Musicale* (AELM);<sup>9</sup> in the mid 1960s a sound archive was created inside the *Museo Nazionale delle Arti e Tradizioni Popolari* in Rome: from 1973-1974 video tape recordings were also included.<sup>10</sup>

On the other hand, in 1972 Roberto Leydi and Bruno Pianta founded the *Ufficio per la Cultura del Mondo Popolare* of *Regione Lombardia*, now the *Archivio di Etnografia e Storia Sociale* (AESS) in Milan.<sup>11</sup> The academic consolidation of ethnomusicology in Italy led to the birth of many other smaller public sound archives, especially in the 1960s and 1970s,<sup>12</sup> while students of Italian

---

<sup>7</sup> See for instance LEYDI 1994, LEYDI 2008, pp. 107-168, GIANNATTASIO 1998, pp. 67-86. The idea of what we now call fieldwork was intended in very different ways among early Italian ethnomusicologists, ethnographers or anthropologists. This aspect has recently been investigated from different perspectives leading to different conclusions, I mention only PUCCINI 1991, pp. 3-47, PUCCINI 1999, p. 71, FAETA 2011, pp. 89-131, GUIZZI 2013.

<sup>8</sup> CNSMP 1960 contains the catalogue of the recordings until 1960.

<sup>9</sup> See the catalogue in ETNOMUSICA 1986.

<sup>10</sup> See the contributions by Jacopo Recupero, Annabella Rossi and Roberto De Simone in CARPITELLA 1973, pp. 257-263, 251-254.

<sup>11</sup> See MEAZZA - SCALDAFERRI 2008, pp. 9-30 and LEYDI 1977.

<sup>12</sup> This is not the place for a detailed history of sound archives in Italy. I just want to mention a few more important experiences, like *Folkstudio* in Palermo (see GUGGINO 1995 and SORGI 2009), and three institutions that were strictly linked to the interests of ethnomusicologists, but were led by historians, musicians, and other intellectuals who had a special role in promoting folk revival and protest songs: the *Circolo Gianni Bosio* in Rome (whose recordings are partially accessible on line <<http://www.circologiannibosio.it/archivio/archivio.php>>); the *Istituto Ernesto De Martino*, founded in Milan, then dislocated to Sesto Fiorentino (for the catalogue of its sound collections see *Fonti orali per la storia e l'antropologia* 1986) and the *Centro Regionale Etnografico Linguistico*, founded in Turin in 1992, which preserves, among others, the recordings that Sergio Liberovici and Emilio Jona had made since the early 1960s. Finally, I at least mention the sound and musical instrument collection belonging to Roberto Leydi, who donated it to the *Centro di dialettologia e di*

universities, musicians, and other freelance researchers, thanks to the advent of more easily portable and manageable recorders, started their fieldwork in and outside Italy, gathering their private sound collections, which only in particular cases have been acquired by institutions.<sup>13</sup>

Of course, sound archives are very important for ethnomusicological research. When analogue recorders were replaced by digital media, only the main institutions were able to afford the costs of the remediation process in order to guarantee the accessibility of recordings and to build online catalogues. In Italy, despite the development of an efficient general online catalogue of Italian libraries by the *Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale* ([www.sbn.it](http://www.sbn.it)), and of regional, sub-regional, and other local catalogues,<sup>14</sup> sound archives are still unable to create a common network of online catalogues and each institution has chosen its own system. This means that, for example, the online catalogues of *Archivi di Etnomusicologia* of the *Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia*, of ICBSA and of *Archivio di Etnografia e Storia Sociale* can be found on different websites and are not accessible on a unique network,<sup>15</sup> while the recordings belonging to the *Rai Radiotelevisione italiana* have been recently digitized and are partially published on the *Teche Rai* website.<sup>16</sup>

In Italy, research on how to catalogue sound recordings resulting from fieldwork started very early on, imposed by the necessity to provide researchers with instructions on how to note down the technical details of the recordings and the information about the place, the people, and the music recorded.<sup>17</sup>

---

*etnografia* of Bellinzona, Canton Ticino, Switzerland. Although it is not an Italian sound archive, it preserves important sound recordings that were made in Italy. Among the many smaller archives that preserve interesting musical recordings I underline the Mediateca of the CRED (*Centro Risorse Educative e Didattiche*) in Poppi (Arezzo), which provides recordings of contests and events on improvised poetry in *ottava rima* especially in Tuscany. These are video recordings that can be partially watched on the website of the *Banca della Memoria* (<<http://bancadellamemoria.casentino.toscana.it/>>). Further information on the early Italian sound archives are in CARPITELLA 1973a.

<sup>13</sup> A kind of census of the sound archives in Italy has never been made. However, ANDREINI – CLEMENTE 2007 lists 124 private or public sound archives in Tuscany alone. A quick reading of the descriptions given for each of them allowed me to identify 42 archives preserving recordings that may be potentially interesting from an ethnomusicological point of view.

<sup>14</sup> A list of the Italian library catalogues available through the Internet is on the website of the AIB (Associazione Italiana Biblioteche): <<http://www.aib.it/aib/opac/repertorio.htm>>.

<sup>15</sup> The online catalogue of *Archivi di Etnomusicologia* is accessible through the website of the *Bibliomediateca*: <<http://www.santacecilia.it/auditorium/bibliomediateca.html>>; the ICBSA catalogue is researchable here <<http://www.icbsa.it/index.php?it/23/cataloghi>>, and now also through [www.sbn.it](http://www.sbn.it), while the catalogue of the *Archivio di Etnografia e Storia Sociale* is searchable on the website of the [www.aess.regione.lombardia.it](http://www.aess.regione.lombardia.it) institution.

<sup>16</sup> <<http://www.teche.rai.it/archivio-del-folclore-italiano/>>. The catalogue of the traditional music recordings preserved by the Rai can be found in RAI 1977.

<sup>17</sup> In the late 1970s Diego Carpitella and Sandro Biagiola, together with the ICCD (*Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione*), developed the standard FKM, i.e. a series of instructions on how to catalogue sound documents of folk music (*documenti folklorici musicali*, FK=folk, M=music) (see *Ricerca e catalogazione* 1978, pp. 47-50). Also the *Museo Etnografico Regionale dell'Umbria* developed its own ethnomusicological standard, called ETM (see PALOMBINI 1994).

However, it is only in the digital era that a larger reflection on how to provide digital sound recordings together with metadata was carried out. Again, different solutions were elaborated locally. For instance, the *Archivio di Etnografia e Storia Sociale* created its own first electronic catalogue before the large diffusion of the Internet (GRAZIOLI 1997).

In the meantime, ICBSA was adopting the ISBD (NBM) to create its online catalogue, which still does not include the AELM recordings.<sup>18</sup> The *Archivi di Etnomusicologia* has made its recordings available on a particular database that has been especially created for its collections. Other experiences have emerged over the last twenty years: some of them have adopted or developed data entry systems of the above mentioned archives, others have built their own catalogue and online access, sometimes with very interesting results. For example, the *Archivio Provinciale della Tradizione Orale* (APTO), founded in 1997/98 by the Provincia di Trento, and since 2002 located at the *Museo degli usi e costumi della gente trentina* in San Michele all'Adige (<<http://www.museosanmichele.it/apto/>>) is particularly interesting for the great amount of information that is given for each item. In June 2014, Giancarlo Palombini realised the *Archivio multimediale dell'ottava rima*, an online catalogue of the recordings concerning improvised poetry in *ottava rima* he had collected during his fieldwork. An important amount of recordings are available through this archive, which was realized in collaboration with ICBSA (<<http://193.205.1.141:9790/jspui/handle/123456789/12>>). Other recently founded sound collections have been gathered in Central and Southern Italy in order to repatriate musical recordings, photographs, and other documents that have been produced during fieldwork by various researchers: they are the *Archivio Sonoro Puglia*, the *Archivio Sonoro Basilicata*, the *Archivio Sonoro Marche*, and the *Archivio Sonoro Campania*.<sup>19</sup> Finally, very recently, as far as I know, the Fondazione Ignazio Buttitta, together with the *Museo internazionale delle Marionette Antonio Pasqualino* and the Miur, started the digitization of the sound collections of the Archivio Etnografico Siciliano, taking the legacy of the Folkstudio in Palermo.<sup>20</sup> (<<http://www.archivioetnograficosiciliano.it>>)

When looking through the online catalogues of the most important Italian sound archives, one can feel cheated. If anybody tries to look through the websites of some of the institutions mentioned in the footnotes of this paper, not

---

<sup>18</sup> Since it is the Italian institution that receives a copy of each audio-visual document published in Italy, it mainly developed the standards for published recordings shared by libraries, even if within the AELM research on how to catalogue fieldwork documents has been carried out since the 1970s. CARPITELLA 1978, pp. 19-20 complained of the fact that the *Discoteca di Stato* was *de facto* is considered a library. It is interesting to stress that the AELM recordings are not available in the online catalogue of ICBSA, they are listed in CIRESE - SERAFINI 1975 and in BIAGIOLA 1986.

<sup>19</sup> [www.archiviosonoro.org/puglia](http://www.archiviosonoro.org/puglia); [www.archiviosonoro.org/basilicata](http://www.archiviosonoro.org/basilicata), [www.archiviosonoro.org/campania](http://www.archiviosonoro.org/campania), while *Archivio Sonoro Marche* is accessible through [www.archiviosonoro.org](http://www.archiviosonoro.org). The *Archivio Sonoro Abruzzo* ([www.archiviosonoro.org/abruzzo](http://www.archiviosonoro.org/abruzzo)) is announced as online soon.

<sup>20</sup> Link: <<http://www.archivioetnograficosiciliano.it>>

only will s/he realize that many sound archives still do not have a searchable online catalogue,<sup>21</sup> but when and where one does exist, only rarely is it possible to listen to complete recordings in streaming. The information given is often very unequal: it is not always possible to have a clear idea of the context in which the recordings were originally made (because the single items are not easily connected to the other ones recorded in the same situation), and to have information about the original equipment and the re-recording process. Property restrictions and a still unclear legislation on copyright continue to prevent people from free access to data on performers and researchers and to unabridged archival sound recordings via the Web (cfr. TOPP FARGION 2002).

In the best situations the contextual information can be read elsewhere, because since the 1970s many institutions and private researchers have published their sound recordings, first in LP editions (rarely in cassettes) and later in CDs or books with CDs, sometimes in a kind of critical edition.<sup>22</sup>

Generally speaking, the most striking aspect is that sound archives appear to be juke boxes that build a one-way relationship with the users: they are important repositories (even when not accessible), which are not able to establish a continuous dialogue with current music making. However, some important exceptions exist: the Archivio di Etnografia e Storia Sociale, for example, has recently involved local communities in various research projects, especially within the Reil (Registro delle eredità immateriali della Lombardia) and Echi projects.

There are a number of very interesting contexts where ethnomusicological research and documentation seem to have been constantly in touch with actual music, but normally they are not strong enough to build public archives. In the hills near Bologna, Monghidoro is where a *Centro di documentazione* formally exists and preserves sound and visual recordings. Some years ago Placida Staro (STARO 2001, pp. 155-170) outlined the principles of a possible system of archival description of music and dance based on emic perceptions of the roles of dance and music in the local society, but a real, public and accessible archive still does not exist. Other examples can be found among the oldest folk revival ensembles, whose activity is very often based on their collections of musical re-

---

<sup>21</sup> This is the case not only of AELM, but also, for instance, of the Istituto Ernesto De Martino.

<sup>22</sup> Some of the AELM recordings were published in a box of three LPs (33 rpm) entitled respectively *Documenti etnico-musicali*, *La rappresentazione popolare*, *Documenti etnico-linguistici*, see Discoteca di Stato 1973. The *Archivio di Etnografia e Storia Sociale* published between 1975 and 1996 the *Mondo popolare in Lombardia* series of volumes that were often accompanied by a corresponding LP on the *Albatros* label. The *Archivi di Etnomusicologia* published updated catalogues of their collections in the journal EM (I-VIII, 1993-200, new series I-II, 2003, 2006). Apart from the *Albatros* label, other LPs were published regionally, while CD editions and books with CDs have been published by Nota ([www.nota.it](http://www.nota.it)) and Squilibri ([www.squilibri.it](http://www.squilibri.it)). The latter is publishing the historical collections of *Archivi di Etnomusicologia* and its catalogue lists new productions by the *Archivio di Etnografia e Storia Sociale* and by Circolo Gianni Bosio.



cordings, although their large or small musical archives have, in most cases, never become of public utility.<sup>23</sup>

### **Sound archives: from strict preservation to sustainable musicology**

In the early age of Italian ethnomusicology, the establishment of sound collections was dictated by the necessity to have sources for studying traditional music. This necessity stimulated Alan Lomax and Diego Carpitella's journey through the Italian peninsula, Sicily, and Sardinia in 1954 (LOMAX 2008, SZWED 2010, pp. 277, 281-288). It was still considered a priority in 1973, when the first ethnomusicological conference in Italy took place in Rome. On this occasion the first inventory of sound sources for the study of Italian traditional music was published (*Inventario delle fonti sonore* 1973). It was the core of Diego Carpitella's paper (CARPITELLA 1973b) in which he invited researchers to cooperate in order to increase the amount of recordings available and to do fieldwork in the areas that had been previously neglected. In his opinion, sound recordings were to be considered the basis of the study of oral music and the collected sound corpus as a whole had to be considered as a *bene culturale* [cultural heritage]. According to him, the focus of ethnomusicology was the soundscape that was external to the musical experience of cultivated Western Europe and particularly the musical practice based on orality. The mission of collecting was considered particularly urgent because, as he says, the so-called *fascia folklorica* (folkloric layer), to which the holders of traditional music belonged, had deeply changed in the previous twenty years. He also wished for cooperation among researchers to find a correct way to catalogue the recordings, from both a taxonomic and archival point of view. At the end of the conference, two motions were signed by the participants: the first of which concerned sound documents. Six institutions (AELM, CNSMP, *Istituto Ernesto De Martino*, *Archivio etnofonico-siciliano*, *Istituto Ernesto De Martino*, *Museo Nazionale delle Arti e Tradizioni Popolari*, *Istituto sardo di studi etnomusicologici*, together with the Universities and Conservatories, were asked to improve fieldwork and to collect and preserve sound documents, like any other kind of *beni culturali* (CARPITELLA 1973a, pp. 289-290)

A few years later Diego Carpitella was involved in the definition of a common set of rules for cataloguing «i documenti folklorici musicali» [folkloric musical documents] (CARPITELLA - BIAGIOLA 1978, p. 47). A series of instructions were produced (see CARPITELLA - BIAGIOLA 1978 and BIAGIOLA 1978) that have been re-published several times (see CARPITELLA 1975 and CARPITELLA 1978). These works dealt with the reasons why field recordings of traditional

---

<sup>23</sup> Again, sometimes publications with CDs replace the existence of archives. *L'uva grisa*, for instance, a folk revival ensemble from Bellaria (Rimini) is publishing a series of books with a CD which contain not only its performances, but part of the field recordings made by Gualtiero Gori that inspired the group's musical activity, see GORI 2008a, GORI 2008b, GORI 2011.

music in Italy usually failed to be considered as *beni culturali*, despite the fact that, in Carpitella's opinion, sound archives should be considered as necessary as libraries. He also argues that a prejudice against traditional music comes from Italian folklore studies, which have always dealt with folk songs by only taking into consideration texts, neglecting the fact that they are sung or, more generally, performed. So folklore studies in Italy did not recognize folk music as an autonomous language (CARPITELLA 1978, p. 19). Furthermore, Carpitella stated that folk revival had had a negative effect on the preservation of 'true' traditions. In his opinion, folk singers used to record traditional music in villages in order to re-make it through mass medias, exploiting a circuit of commodification. This process, in his opinion, often resulted in a theft from traditional musicians and musical contexts and in a series of misunderstandings and confusion about the essence of folk music.

Folk revival was also responsible, according to Carpitella, for having involved folk music in political activities (CARPITELLA 1978, p. 19). A sound archive, instead, should collect, catalogue, and protect the 'original' recordings of traditional music, made by private researchers or public institutions. An interesting conclusion by Carpitella is the fact that only the 'originals', that is the recordings made during fieldwork (CARPITELLA 1977, p. X), should be considered *beni culturali* and the 'originals' preserved in archives are not the (albeit mediated) performances, but the sound recordings themselves (CARPITELLA 1978, p. 20).

Despite the important increase in fieldwork research in Italy in the 1970s and 1980s, only a few archives were able to improve their activities, while the others mentioned in the proceedings of the 1973 conference and in Carpitella's 1978 essay were obliged to interrupt their activities. Many of them still formally exist, but their functions are limited to a passive storage of tapes and cassettes, and they are unable to afford the costs and the challenges of re-recording and of a wide and easy access to their collections.

If this situation seems pathological in Italy, some doubts about the real accessibility of documents in sound archives and about the real involvement of archives with current research arise even when reading about other experiences. Nobody would question Anthony Seeger's deep involvement in sound archives, however, he seems to refer to a real concern when he ironically says:

Most people associate archives with dark, lifeless places hidden in basements and guarded by monsters whose principal function is to deny blameless people access to what they want. In fact, most archives are in the basement because our collections are so heavy they would fall right through the floor on a higher level; the rooms are dark to protect the materials; and your monsters are often colleagues caught in a web of rights and obligations over which they have little control. [...] This leads me to another reason I believe the mere mention of archives drives many colleagues to skip to the next article: archives raise the reality of our mortality and challenge the ultimate usefulness of our field research and collections. (SEGER 1996, p. 89)

It is quite common, when reading about the importance of archival recordings and of historical sources in ethnomusicological research, to have the impression that the existence of sound archives still has to be justified. Generally, sound archives are considered important as far as they preserve evidence of something that we are losing or that we have already lost. Bruno Nettl writes:

Why archive, why try to save everything? For academics, the question might be considered a “no-brainer”. Preservation, obviously, is necessary for historical research, for restudy, for comparison. But archives also play an important role in what has come to be called applied ethnomusicology – the use of ethnomusicological ideas and data to help outside the academy. This includes the production of text and instructional materials for schools, the support of ethnic festivals, the rebuilding of cultures, all of them dependent on sound and visual records of activities and performances no longer practiced. (NETTL 2005, p. 163)

Nobody would ask state archives to promote the preservation of old or ancient habits attested by manuscripts and administrative documents. Nevertheless, according to Bruno Nettl, ethnomusicologists have sometimes taken into account the idea of being involved in musical practices, encouraging people to make music according to the sound recordings that ethnomusicologists have collected before. Therefore, in these cases the act of preservation was not limited to making recordings available, but was extended to the musical practice itself, following an idea that we now call patrimonialisation.

If we view ethnomusicology as a science of music history that emphasizes patterns and regularities, preservation pure and simple will play a minor role. But the gathering of data in systematic and controlled forms is important to scholars who need to deal with it in something approaching a scientific way. The result of such gathering is in the end also a form of preservation for the future. At the other end of the spectrum, we ask ourselves whether we should continue encouraging people to keep up their old practices, asking them to do what they perhaps would not wish to do, just for the sake of the rest of the world. I have no answer. But there is no doubt that ethnomusicologists, simply by their interest in certain kinds of musical phenomena, have stimulated the societies they study to keep up, develop, and sometimes isolate and preserve these phenomena in culturally traditional or more artificial fashion. The role of collectors, with their technology and prestige, has in various places been enormous; we have heard of Asian and African performers who won't perform without the presence of “their” ethnomusicologist.

So what is our role in the preservation game? One alternative is to study what actually happens, swallowing hard when we find that societies change all the time and allowing precious gems of creation to fall by the wayside. People must retain the freedom to do as they wish (something of an article of faith with me) or are forced by circumstances to do, and then observing what actually happens, because this makes better scholarship than mixing observation with the imposition of one's ideas. Or we may instead take it as a basic assumption the idea that preservation on our part and on the part of the cultures of the world is itself a supreme good and must be encouraged at the expense of other factors. An unresolved question for the individual as well as the profession. (NETTL 2005, p. 170)

Nettl's conclusions are quite skeptical about the idea of preservation and consequently not too optimistic regarding the role of archives, which apparently, in his opinion, simply seem to be the place of storage and retrieval of 'musical artifacts':

There is reason to believe that of the various components of musical culture, using Merriam's model, the musical sound itself changes least rapidly; behavior changes more quickly, and the conception of music most quickly. The sound of Blackfoot music today is much closer to what it was in the nineteenth century than is their system of ideas about music. If we are indeed to preserve something about music, we must find ways also of preserving and recording the concept part of the model; this seems to me in fact more urgent ethnomusicology than the continuing preservation of the musical artifact alone. If I am justified in being generally critical of the role of preservation in the ethnomusicology of the past, it is because it has often failed to recognize that there is much more to music than the piece. As the archives of the world continue to grow, those practicing preservation will increasingly need to expand and refine their approaches to the systematic sampling of the infinite musical universe. (NETTL 2005, p. 171)

According to Suzanne Ziegler, one of the reasons why the ICTM Study Group in Historical Sources should re-discuss the focus of its work is that:

the interest of colleagues in our field concentrates on other topics rather than on history or folk music, but instead on urban music, popular music, migration, minorities, etc. In archive the focus is more on digitalisation, the availability of sources and dissemination etc. rather than on the sources themselves.

(ZIEGLER 2010, p. 24)

The idea that sound archives should preserve recordings resulting from 'proper' fieldwork, that is, good musical sources to be further investigated by future researchers, is commonly shared among ethnomusicologists. It is likely that nobody would argue that archives should preserve a memory of disappeared or disappearing cultures, especially in societies where transformations have been particularly fast.<sup>24</sup> However, there are not many contributions claiming an entirely central role for sound archives. Luckily, Janet Topp Fargion has recently remembered the centrality of recording in the idea of making ethnomusicology:

In 1980 Norma McLeod and Marcia Herndon published a unified collection of essays under the title *The Ethnography of Musical Performance*. The articles in the book were written between 1974 and 1976. They formed part of an intensifying debate started at the 1971 annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology and continued through the decade on "the need to find a common ground for our discussions, expositions and explanations". It was clear that even some twenty years after the coining of the term "ethno-musicology", and the founding of the Society for

---

<sup>24</sup> SEEGER 1986, NETTL 2005, pp. 161-171 and the proceedings of the 2008 ICTM Study Group on Historical Sources meeting, that is ZIEGLER 2010a (especially ZIEGLER 2010b and LECHLEITNER 2010).

Ethnomusicology in the 1950s, the discipline was still having trouble defining itself. Some ten to fifteen years after the publication of Merriam's most challenging book foregrounding anthropology in the study of music, Herndon and McLeod were suggesting that the task was not to merge anthropology with ethnomusicology, but rather to merge the idea of musical performance with the concept of ethnography. In a sense, in ethnomusicology the recording does this. The recording is thus central to the definition of ethnomusicology. For whatever the discipline's background, Herndon and McLeod, in setting out to find common ground among ethnomusicologists, identified at its "centering point" the fact that "we do study musical events". They suggest that we may have a range of approaches for interpretations and fact gathering, but that "the only 'hard data' the ethnomusicologist has to work with is the moment in which music is performed (and recorded)". The fact that Herndon and McLeod added "and recorded" in parentheses could imply that the recording is of secondary importance and an afterthought. Nevertheless, it suggests that while making a recording of the moment may be taken for granted, that recording becomes an integral part of the data. The moment becomes data through experience and recording. (TOPP FARGION 2009, p. 79)

Topp Fargion is very well aware of the many difficulties of sound archives and of the resistance that it is possible to meet in researchers when they are asked to give their fieldwork recordings to an institution. However, during her interviews, she was able to gather a series of answers about the usefulness of archival recordings:

More specifically all respondents listed several contexts they could think of in which existing recordings would be useful. These included:  
in studies focussing on analysis of music/sound;  
for learning repertoire;  
in organological studies;  
to provide rare recordings;  
to provide sources for teaching;  
in so-called revisit studies, historical studies, and studies concerned with issues of changes and continuity;  
in applied and/or advocacy studies. The comment was frequently made that collections have most relevance for the communities in which they were made particularly as countries/communities move into a period of cultural reclamation. Furthermore, with the current foregrounding of the application of ethnomusicology, sometimes called applied ethnomusicology, existing recordings will potentially increase in importance even within the disciplinary context of culture-specific studies. (Topp Fargion 2009, p. 85)

Above all, in Topp Fargion's idea of a «sustainable music»,<sup>25</sup> archival recordings are important resources to facilitate the «continuation of traditions». This seems to be, in her opinion, the most important task of a sound archive, which should be accomplished strictly in contact with the cultures and communities where the fieldwork was done.

---

<sup>25</sup> The idea of 'sustainable music' that requires «renewable human cultural resources» is taken from Jeff Titon, see TOPP FARGION 2009, p. 75.

The idea of archives is inextricably linked with the concept of preservation, a word, if not concept shied away from in today's ethnomusicology: we no longer do ethnomusicology to "preserve" music, to keep it safe from extinction. Aware of the range of activities actually engaged in by today's ethnomusicology archives, I suggest a much broader definition of preservation, namely, to describe it as the *facilitation of the continuation of tradition*. Continuation is facilitated through a range of activities including: research – fieldwork to gather data and knowledge; education – teaching in schools and universities; dissemination – publication, media journalism, books, internet, exhibitions; and archiving – engaging in all of the above and ensuring it does not all disappear and that it is available to all. These activities create an environment in which performance of tradition can continue to thrive. Such an *holistic preservation*, I argue, equates with Tilton's sustainable music, sustainable carrying the definition "capable of being maintained. (TOPP FARGION 2009, p. 76)

In the colonial perspective that has characterized an important part of the existence of ethnomusicology, the 'repatriation' of recordings to local communities has become an ethical issue, especially in the United States and central Europe, where ethnomusicological and anthropological research has been strictly connected with colonialism and where recordings made before the 1950s are preserved.

Repatriation is one of the central issues of vol. 21 n. 2 of *Ethnomusicological Forum*, published in 2012. Various ways of working with the communities to which the archival recordings originally belonged are taken into account, including «'sound elicitation' to encourage use of recordings and discussion of tradition within the community» (LANDAU - TOPP FARGION 2012, p. 130) and in order «to sustain musical practice, [...] to encourage performance and transmission» (LANDAU - TOPP FARGION 2012, p. 131).

The idea of working together with musicians to promote the use of archival recordings in contemporary musical practice makes Carpitella's ideas about folk revival seem very old-fashioned. Of course, fieldwork must be done respectfully, and the use of sound recordings, in terms of both dissemination and legal rights, should preferably involve the people recorded,<sup>26</sup> but the world of music revival is extremely variegated and even in the 1970s did not deserve such a drastic judgement. Folk singers were not just the thieves described by Carpitella and, especially in the 1970s, fieldwork and music revival were strictly connected, sometimes allowing the creation of sound archives that are now precious.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, the political use of traditional music cannot always be considered an abuse: the female rice worker choirs that I have investigated in Emilia-Romagna can be included in the phenomenon of folk revival of the late 1960s and 1970s. They were strictly connected with the CGIL, the Italian left-wing trade union, and used to participate in strikes, in political manifestations,

---

<sup>26</sup> Ethical issues have been investigated over the last 20 years, see for example SEEGER 1996 and the bibliography cited in LANDAU - TOPP FARGION 2012.

<sup>27</sup> Many of the folk revival musicians interviewed by Guido Raschieri during his PhD fieldwork have given evidence of a strict relationship between folk revival and fieldwork research, see RASCHIERI 2011.

and in the so-called Festival de l'Unità, organized by the Communist Party. Nevertheless, they cannot be considered as outsiders to the local traditional music, since they used to sing in the two parallel part style that was very common in Pianura Padana and used to improvise *stornelli*, according to shared musical conventions (GHIRARDINI - VENTURI 2011, GHIRARDINI 2012). Even if a problem of the abuse of recordings of traditional music may exist, this should constitute an interesting ground for ethnomusicological research and should be solved in terms of copyright laws, and certainly not by preventing the availability of recordings in sound archives. As I shall try to demonstrate in the following pages, archives are nor monumental cemeteries, nor are they reliquaries.

Personally I would agree with Diego Carpitella that sound archives should be considered equivalent to libraries, but whereas Italian libraries have been making an enormous effort in the last forty years to attract readers and to facilitate public use of their historical collections and of current publications, Italian sound archives were born as élite storehouses of recordings.

In the early history of sound archives in Italy, Alan Lomax not only had a key role in increasing the sound recordings preserved at the CNSMP in order to have samples from all the Italian regions, but he strongly encouraged the dissemination of Italian traditional music through the radio (LOMAX 1956). He also made a proposal for an exhibition in Rome, which never took place, but in his opinion would have resulted in a «veritable cultural revolution». Lomax argued:

Strangely as it may seem, the true folk music of Italy is hardly known to people of Italy, much less to the outside world. Living in isolation in villages cut off by mountains, by the sea, by poverty, by outlandish dialects, the folk music of Italy has come down to our times as the most varied, the most antique and very possibly the richest oral tradition in western Europe. (LOMAX 2005, p. 129)

Alan Lomax's apologies for the use of the radio and other media to let Italian people know their own traditional music implied the construction of a relationship between sound archives and people. This was not fully achieved, even if early Italian ethnomusicology effectively had a period of intense frequentation of the radio channel called *Terzo Programma*.

### **The tricky concept of intangible heritage**

Until now I have tried to talk only of recordings, but the previously mentioned idea of patrimonialisation requires a digression on the concept of cultural intangible heritage, introduced between the 1990s and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and sanctioned by UNESCO in 2003 with the Convention for the Safe-

guarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.<sup>28</sup> If Carpitella argued that the recordings themselves should be considered *beni culturali*, now the concept of intangible heritage forces us to reconsider the nature of the *bene*, of the ‘entity’ to be preserved.

The idea of intangible heritage entered the Italian academic discussion in an essay by Alberto Mario Cirese, in which he introduced the concept of *beni volatili*. Literally meaning ‘flying goods’, the word refers to folk songs, tales, dance, ceremonies and rituals, etc. that do not exist as objects, but must be performed (CIRESE 1996, p. 251). Cirese was concerned with the problem of transformation that in many cases has determined a loss of knowledge and, I would add, languages, but he was very careful in separating the concept of *bene volatile* from the document. Therefore, according to Cirese, while a plough is documented by its presence inside a museum, the only way to document songs, tales, dances, etc. is by audio and visual recording (CIRESE 1996, p. 251).

The term intangible heritage, or *beni immateriali* [immaterial goods] or even *beni volatili*, is very effective from an emotional point of view and is particularly well coined as a promotional tool, if we think that traditional music, as well as dialects, are now impoverished or at least radically transformed in certain areas of Italy. However, it implies the risk of focussing on phenomena aside from people. The concept of intangible heritage would be extremely useful if the Italian government were to promote a real cultural policy e.g. on dialects,<sup>29</sup> but it has not done so, and the idea of cultural heritage has been mainly absorbed in the academic discussion on anthropology and ethnomusicology and in the standards for cataloguing our cultural heritage.

As regards traditional music, it is extremely hard to find a proper way of preserving traditional dance and folk song if they have failed to maintain a social role inside the communities. The situation is extremely different all around Italy: while there are many places where local associations, individuals, and ensembles are still able to promote traditional music-making and dance because there has been continuity (albeit with great transformations) and people still recognize their importance in the life of the community, in other places the aggregative role has been taken by other ways of practicing and enjoying music, and traditional music is played only by ensembles that do not always have a direct connection with the traditional musicians and dancers of the past. Both situations are extremely interesting from an ethnomusicological point of view and exist in a wide range of particular and very different variants, but they co-

---

<sup>28</sup> The effect of the UNESCO Convention on the Italian idea of *beni immateriali* has been discussed in a volume of the journal *La ricerca folklorica*, see BERTOLOTTI - MEAZZA 2011 and particularly, as regards music, in MACCHIARELLA 2011.

<sup>29</sup> Italy has a specific law (n. 482, 15 December 1999) for minority languages that acknowledges only 12 minorities: Albanian, Catalan, German, Greek, Slovenian, Croatian, French, Frankish-Provençal, the dialect of Friuli, Ladin, Occitan and Sardinian.



exist and in the last decades have never been, as far as I know, the subject of a real governmental policy on cultural intangible heritage.<sup>30</sup>

The idea of intangible heritage entered Italian sound archives, with the introduction in 2002 of the BDI (*Beni Demoetnoantropologici Immateriali*) standard, a set of rules for cataloguing immaterial folk-ethno-anthropological heritage. The BDI standard should be used to catalogue the ‘immaterial goods’ pertaining to the DEA heritage, that is: traditional music, oral narrative, ceremonies and feasts, games, dance, performance, techniques, non-verbal communication, autobiographies, oral onomastics and toponymy, knowledge, legal customs, etc (see TUCCI 2002a, p. 31, SIMEONI 2006). It is prescribed both for fieldwork and for the ‘immaterial goods’ that are ‘crystallized’ in audio-visual materials (TUCCI 2002a, p. 32, TUCCI 2002b). This separation between the event or knowledge and the ‘document’ is typical of the Italian ethno-anthropological domain, and in my opinion can be seen in a relationship of continuity with the 19th century collections made by folklorists. In fact, they used to search for repertoires of songs, tales, and dances and publish them in printed collections, considering the *medium* in which they were documented of secondary importance.

It is not shared by the librarians or art historians, even if nobody would question the fact that even books have a content and that works of art almost always have a social and symbolic value. When cataloguing works of art, it is indisputable that the OA standard is prescribed. The act of cataloguing is normally considered inappropriate to study the techniques employed to produce them. According to BDI supporters, material goods pertaining to the ethnographic or anthropological domain should be described with the BDM (*Beni Demoetnoantropologici Materiali*) set of rules, while the processes of making or of using them require BDI standards. One wonders if the BDI prescriptions should also be used in museums and exhibitions of contemporary art, where multimedia installations are built and removed after some time.

The Functional Requirements of Bibliographic Description (FRBR), the set of prescriptions adopted by the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA), propose a distinction between work, expression, manifestation, and item, which allow the creation of a common database for metadata, aiming at a detailed description of books according to the events that determined their production, and consequently their physical and content differences, but it is undoubtedly the item, i.e. the book, that is catalogued by librarians (<<http://www.ifla.org/publications/functional-requirements-for-bibliographic-records>>).

Moreover, the International Association of Sound and Audiovisual Archives (IASA) standard for digitization and storage of data is based on the pos-

---

<sup>30</sup> This is not the place to discuss the Fascist policies on traditional and regional culture, here I only mention CAVAZZA 1997 for a general survey.

sibility to separate the content from the carrier,<sup>31</sup> but this does not mean that the materiality of carriers is avoidable. In fact many *beni immateriali* preserved in Italian sound archives are really intangible in two senses: not only because some of them are inaccessible, but also because, especially in the case of damaged carriers, it is essential that they are not touched if the institution cannot afford a professional process of signal extraction.

One of the most innovative experiences of preservation in sound archives in Italy has been carried out at the Arena di Verona, where the audio collection of opera performances has been studied, digitized, and made available through an e-Library within a project called Revival.<sup>32</sup> This project involved computer technology, engineering, and chemical knowledge and brought new insights into tape degradation, claiming the importance of chemical analysis for understanding the real impact of thermal treatment on tapes. The researchers and technicians involved in the Revival project recommend that the process of digitization should not be underestimated and to carefully plan each phase of the remediation process, including proper quality control, in order to avoid falsification:

Documenting the process that generated the preservation copy is particularly important in the audio field, because the medium from which the signal was extracted might be irrecoverable – in the case of advanced degradation, with subsequent impossibility of future comparison to determine a document's authenticity. [...] A fervid debate on the ethics of preservation, restoration and re-recording was started in 1980 with the "Proposal for the establishment of international re-recording standards" by William Storm (1980): as the debate went along, it stayed crystal clear that the fundamentals of the practice of preservation were:

- "accurate, verifiable, and objective" procedures
- measurements based on an ideally objective knowledge
- modern playback equipment, fully compliant with the format specific parameters of the recordings
- a careful documentation of all measures employed and of each manipulation applied (ensure reversibility) (SCHÜLLER 2001).

All of these actions are directed to fight a common enemy: the falsification of history, which is the problem of "authenticity" by another name.

(BRESSAN *et al.* 2013b, p. 371)

If the idea of immateriality seems to be restrictive within sound archives, some doubts have also been raised on the concept of intangible heritage itself.<sup>33</sup> Ignazio Macchiarella has questioned the real effectiveness of UNESCO's cultural intangible heritage policy (MACCHIARELLA 2011), while Christian Brom-

---

<sup>31</sup> IASA 2004 see the IASA website (<<http://www.iasa-web.org/iasa-publications>>) for the second edition of the Guidelines and for other standards.

<sup>32</sup> BRESSAN *et al.* 2013A, BRESSAN *et al.* 2013b.

<sup>33</sup> TUCCI 2002b and TUCCI 2006 explain the relationship between the Italian concept of *beni immateriali* and UNESCO's policies concerning intangible heritage.

berger has recently complained about the excessive place that the idea of ‘patrimonialisation’ has taken in academic research:

Il est tout à fait légitime que soient pris les moyens de conserver ces traditions, ces coutumes, ces mémoires et que les ethnologues contribuent à instruire les dossiers et s’interrogent sur la “patrimonialisation”. Ce qui me semble beaucoup plus préoccupant, c’est la place prise, au moins dans l’ethnologie de nos propres sociétés, par les études sur le patrimoine et par la “patrimonologie”. [...] Ce syndrome rétrospectif a quelque chose de testamentaire, alors même que l’ethnologie, armée de ses méthodes, peut jeter un regard décapant sur bien des aspects vifs de nos sociétés. L’intérêt excessif pour le patrimoine participe du même courant et représente le même danger que les “abus de la mémoire”. Dans *Face aux abus de mémoire*, Emmanuel Terray a cette phrase que devraient méditer les tenants de l’ethnologie patrimoniale: “Chez un trop grand nombre d’entre vous et d’entre nous, le souci du passé s’accompagne d’une profonde indifférence à l’égard du présent” (2006 : 66-67). Je sais que l’on me rétorquera que le patrimoine est une préoccupation présente mais mérite-t-il une considération quasi exclusive de la part d’une discipline qui a pour mission d’explorer tous les recoins de la culture? Ce repli patrimonial de l’ethnologie de nos sociétés me semble de mauvais augure, condamnant notre discipline à être une annexe – documentaire et épistémologique – des institutions chargées de la sauvegarde des biens culturels. (BROMBERGER 2014, pp. 149-150)

Moreover, Bromberger argues that the label *intangible heritage* has promoted an idea of separation between objects and symbols, thought and events, which also, according to anthropological research, is misleading:

Or cette coupure dans les objets et les techniques entre le matériel et l’immatériel apparaît tout à fait artificielle. Il y a des expressions matérielles de la culture, et non une culture matérielle qui s’opposerait à une culture immatérielle. On a justement défini les objets comme de la pensée solidifiée et Mary Douglas et Baron Isherwood (1980) disent tout aussi justement que les objets rendent visibles les catégories de la culture. Depuis des lustres (à vrai dire depuis une cinquantaine d’années), les ethnologues s’évertuent à montrer que les objets et les techniques sont des mixtes indémêlables d’opérations sur la matière et de représentations, des “tissus sans couture” (selon l’expression de Thomas Hughes [1983]) entre le matériel et l’immatériel. Ces mises en garde fondées des ethnologues atteignent et convainquent quelques centaines de spécialistes tandis que l’Unesco, grâce à son rayonnement, diffuse cette notion à travers le monde, l’officialise et celle-ci est reprise telle quelle dans les ministères et institutions des différents États membres. (BROMBERGER 2014, pp. 143-144)

Ethnographic description is an extremely important moment of fieldwork, which is deeply influenced by the cultural and scientific background of the researcher, and it cannot be replaced by a list of processes, or of techniques or whatever else is described according to the BDI set of rules. A catalogue of archival recordings that assigns secondary importance to sequences of *beni immateriali* inside the physical carrier and to the choices made when extracting the audio signal from the analogue carriers does not allow a full understanding of the work of the researcher that has produced the recordings and of the digital sound that can be listened to. The technological apparatus used by the re-

searcher who has given his/her recording to the care of a sound archive has shaped his/her choices and the results of his/her work. Much has been written and said in media studies about the relevance of the remediation process, but here I should simply like to recall the words of a feminist scientist, Donna Haraway: they refer to the non-objectivity of vision, but also perfectly match the act of sound recording:

These technologies are ways of life, social orders, practices of visualization. Technologies are skilled practices. How to see? Where to see from? What limits to vision? What to see for? Whom to see with? Who gets to have more than one point of view? Who gets blinkered? Who wears blinkers? Who interprets the visual field? What other sensory powers do we wish to cultivate besides vision? Moral and political discourse should be the paradigm of rational discourse in the imagery and technologies of vision. [...] It is in the intricacies of these visualization technologies in which we are embedded that we will find metaphors and means for understanding and intervening in the patterns of objectification in the world, that is, the patterns of reality for which we must be accountable. In these metaphors, we find means for appreciating simultaneously both the concrete, “real” aspect and the aspect of semiosis and production in what we call scientific knowledge. (HARAWAY 1991, pp. 194-195)

Sound archives should be involved in a critical examination of sound collections and should be open to considering actual musical practices by promoting mutual relationships between archivists, musicians, researchers, and the general public. It is time to combine the great experience acquired in the creation of proper historical sources with an ethical approach to music-making. This does not simply mean promoting the conservation of recordings of traditional music, but also being ready to understand and welcome metamorphoses. Archives should be ethnomusicological observatories. They should create networks between institutions and people and be active on the Web, as a critical alternative to the marvellous sea of socially mediated music that can be listened to through YouTube and the social networks.

### **Sound archives as places of located knowledge<sup>34</sup>**

Sound archives in Italy are generally small and depend on larger cultural institutions whose mission is the good management of various activities, and not just of the sound archive. While this condition may be an obstacle, preventing them from having access to important funding, in some cases it allows a more informal relationship with the community. Small archives can remain constantly in touch with other researchers doing fieldwork and with the sometimes

---

<sup>34</sup> I borrow the concept of located knowledge from feminist philosophy, because I think that the reflections on subjectivity in general, on nomadic subjects, materiality, and metamorphoses (especially BRAIDOTTI 2006, BRAIDOTTI 2011 and BRAIDOTTI 2013), may be a valid alternative to the sense of loss that post-modern anthropology (and sometimes also Italian ethnomusicology) has often conveyed when dealing with identity and globalisation.

very variegated (and not always easy to cope with) people who are interested in traditional music, dialect and minority language preservation, and ethnography, including people whose voices, or more generally, performances have been recorded. Very often small archives are devoted not only to music, but are interdisciplinary institutions where recordings made by ethnographers, linguists, historians, and ethnomusicologists can be found. They can be places where the researchers who have given their recordings to the institution continue to work on their collections or are directly involved in other studies. They can be places where people dialogue and discuss, even animatedly when necessary, creating a strict relationship between archivists, researchers, and all the people involved, often including teachers, musicians, and other local institutions. Local archives may be places from where one can try to create a cultural network involving different disciplines and subjects.

The fragmentation of sound archives in Italy resulted in the already-described dismal results, however, in the few cases in which a sound archive was able to work locally, interesting experiences came about. Ethnomusicology is a young discipline in Italy; however, especially in the 1970s and 1980s it had a quite interesting influence on fieldwork research made by linguists and ethnographers.

This is the case of Emilia-Romagna, where the presence of Roberto Leydi as Professor of Ethnomusicology at the University of Bologna, allowed the creation of a *Laboratorio di musica popolare* inside the *Istituto per i beni culturali* in the early 1980s. The *Laboratorio* had a short life, however, it allowed the cooperation between local researchers, who were not all ethnomusicologists. Thanks to the *Laboratorio*, a series of LPs on traditional music of Emilia-Romagna were published in the *Albatros* collection. One of them was dedicated to the music of Romagna, the eastern part of the Emilia-Romagna region, containing field recordings made by Giuseppe Bellosi, Tullia Magrini and Alessandro Sistri.<sup>35</sup>

Luckily, the original recordings made by these researchers were not lost and are now preserved at the *Centro per il dialetto romagnolo* of the *Fondazione Casa di Oriani* in Ravenna, where they have been partly digitized and catalogued. The recordings by Alessandro Sistri are already available as an audio preview on the Internet ([www.casafoschi.it](http://www.casafoschi.it)) and are fully listenable to at the archive, as well as part of the recordings by Giuseppe Bellosi, whereas Tullia Magrini's recordings have recently been digitized, thanks to a collaboration with Audio Innova and the University of Padua's Department of Information Engineering.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> BELLOSI - MAGRINI - SISTRI 1980. Another important result of the cooperation that the *Laboratorio* was able to create, for the study of traditional music in Romagna, is MAGRINI - BELLOSI 1982.

<sup>36</sup> <<http://www.audioinnova.com/>>. The digitization project has been carried out by Federica Bressan, under the supervision of Sergio Canazza.

The *Centro per il dialetto romagnolo* is one of the many small and often penniless Italian sound archives born in recent times. It was established in 2008 thanks to a collaboration between the Fondazione Casa di Oriani di Ravenna, Provincia di Ravenna, Dipartimento di Beni Culturali of the University of Bologna and the Archivio di Etnografia e Storia Sociale of the Regione Lombardia. This is the sound archive where I have been employed since its foundation in 2008, and it is with the awareness of the subjectivity of my point of view that I will try to understand the pro and cons of being locally involved in sound preservation.

The problems of the *Centro* are the same as many others that belong to institutions whose priority is not the vitality of the sound archive,<sup>37</sup> however, it does at least exist today, and I think that it may be a useful case study to understand why a sound archive should not only be a place for what is often objectionably called, ‘applied ethnomusicology’, but also a place for humanistic research and for discussion.

Some of the field recordings by Giuseppe Bellosi, Tullia Magrini and Alessandro Sistri circulated after the publication of the Albatros LP. Another volume was already planned, but never published: according to Tullia Magrini and Giuseppe Bellosi, it should have contained the recordings that they used to write the book *Vi do la buonasera*.<sup>38</sup> As far as one can understand from the already digitized recordings, Bellosi, Magrini and Sistri carried out fieldwork in order to find evidence of the musical repertoires attested by the 19th century folklorists: mainly ballads, *stornelli*, religious songs, lullabies, children’s songs, and dance tunes. Sometimes the researchers focused on the singers or the musicians who had a particular large repertory and the best performers among folk singers were often women.<sup>39</sup> From their fieldwork recordings, Romagna appears as a place of transit that allowed the diffusion of the two parallel part movement choirs, common to the Pianura Padana, and of a kind of soloist sung poetry (*stornelli*) very common in central Italy, as well as dance tunes again shared by people living both north and south of the Apennines. Many of the people originally recorded have since died, and it is interesting to try to study how their songs or tunes have been transformed by current musical ensembles in their attempt to continue traditional music-making or by others that, on the

---

<sup>37</sup> The problems of the especially young sound archives are well summed up in *Archives for the Future* 2004, particularly in the Introduction and in the appendixes, which contain the transcriptions of two debates, conceived as role-playing debates, respectively ‘archivists versus administrators’ and between performers, researchers and archivists.

<sup>38</sup> MAGRINI - BELLOSI 1982, p. 16, note 5. Only recently the *Centro*, together with other partners, has started the publication of its recordings. Until a few years ago, the Albatros LP on Romagna, the two cassettes published together with *Romagna: le voci* 1990 and the two CDs *Vecchi balli di Romagna* (GORI - GALA 1994, GORI - GALA 1998) were the only published field recordings from Romagna. The CD included in PERGOLI 2013 contains some ballads and many *stornelli* recorded by Giuseppe Bellosi and others.

<sup>39</sup> See [www.casafoschi.it](http://www.casafoschi.it) for a list of people recorded by Giuseppe Bellosi, Alessandro Sistri, and others. See also SISTRI 2003, pp. 76-82.

contrary, are inspired by old recordings in order to transform old folk songs into a new kind of music.

Romagna is a very interesting place when trying to understand transformation and the overlapping of styles and musical ideas. The shared musical language that until the 1960s could be learnt at home, during seasonal work in the fields or in the taverns, has now almost disappeared and can only be listened to on archival recordings. Since the beginning of the 20th century, traditional music has coexisted with the amateur choirs founded by Aldo Spallicci, Cesare Martuzzi, Francesco Balilla Pratella and other poets and musicians who tried to ‘renew’ folk music with songs in dialect composed by the cultural élite of the main towns of Romagna. The people who were promoting a ‘new’ folk song style were the same as those trying to disseminate knowledge about dialect and local culture through two journals, *Il Plaustro* (1911-1914) and *La Piè* (1920-1933, 1946-).<sup>40</sup> At the same time another musical phenomenon was developing, the so-called *ballo liscio*: ballroom dancing for couples played by professional musicians, especially on the coast, where a business based on tourism was developing at the end of the 19th century.<sup>41</sup> Even if they are extremely different phenomena, both organized choirs and the small orchestras playing *ballo liscio* made use of stereotypes about being born in Romagna and being Romagnol that still affect the common perception of this music and of this land.

Nevertheless, the economic and cultural changes after World War II allowed the development of many musical activities and the foundation of different music schools and music festivals as well as innovative experiences in theatre that make use of music. On the surface, all these phenomena have nothing in common, however, there are particular situations in which they all, especially when looked at from within, appear strictly interconnected.

In 2013 the Ravenna Festival<sup>42</sup> decided to dedicate a series of events to Secondo Casadei (1906-1971), commonly considered the father of *ballo liscio* in Romagna. A series of performances was planned, including two concerts by the Orchestra Giovanile Luigi Cherubini, the youth orchestra founded by Riccardo Muti. Two of these concerts were considered particularly innovative: the one by the Orchestra Cherubini with Franz Bartholomey as Konzertmaster, entitled *Un classico giro di valzer. Da Weber a Casadei passando per Strauss*, where music by Schubert, Carl Maria von Weber, Johann Strauss Jr, and Sibelius was played, ending with *Dolore*, a waltz by Secondo Casadei (arranged by Giorgio Babbini) and *Secondo a nessuno*. Then the *Omaggio a Secondo Casadei*, where one of the best known *liscio* bands, the Orchestra Grande Evento, with the

---

<sup>40</sup> I have tried to study Pratella’s involvement in this cultural movement in GHIRARDINI 2015.

<sup>41</sup> For a historical survey of *ballo liscio* see DELL’AMORE 2010.

<sup>42</sup> Founded in 1990 and especially linked to the conductor Riccardo Muti, who has chosen Ravenna as his home town, the Ravenna Festival hosts every year internationally acknowledged artists from different fields of the performing arts, see [www.ravennafestival.org](http://www.ravennafestival.org).

clarinet player Moreno Il Biondo, and Orchestra Cherubini with Gianluigi Trovesi, Gianni Coscia and Simone Zanchini as guest artists, played music by Secondo Casadei (again, the symphonic orchestra arrangements were by Giorgio Babbini). Other events involved musicians who tried to perform *liscio* dance tunes from other musical languages, and concerts with the participation of ensembles representing important experiences in traditional dance in Emilia Romagna. Among them: *I suonatori della Valle del Savena and Paolo* and Marco Marcheselli together with the Filuzzi dancers, performing respectively the dance from the hills around Bologna and Bologna's urban dance style. The dancers of the *Gruppo Folk Italiano alla Casadei*, which also has its own dance school, were involved in many collateral events, including the realization of the TV advertisement for the festival.<sup>43</sup> Finally, the most renowned *liscio* orchestras from Romagna and the pupils from other dance schools were asked to perform in a non-stop polka performance from 21.30 to midnight, called Polka Day.<sup>44</sup>

The events were very successful but the idea of performing *ballo liscio* in an international music festival was not appreciated by everybody. The writer and essayist Eraldo Baldini published a post on his Facebook page<sup>45</sup> against the rehabilitation of *ballo liscio*, because it conveys a false and poor idea of Romagnol identity. Of course, one of the three artistic directors of the Ravenna Festival and many other people added their opinions in a sequence of 82 comments. I cannot sum up all the ideas here, however they can be read on Baldini's Facebook profile.

Eraldo Baldini is now a well-known writer of noir and horror novels in a style that he defined 'rural gothic', but in the past thirty years he has published many essays, some with Giuseppe Bellosi, on the traditional customs, rituals, and history of Romagna, mixing a historical approach with ethnography.<sup>46</sup> Some of Eraldo Baldini's arguments concerned the fact that *ballo liscio* is an imported and invented tradition that has erased our 'real' folk music and especially folk dances. Moreover, according to Baldini, it has disseminated a stereotyped idea of Romagna. In order to support his ideas, in one of his comments he quoted a passage from a text published by Giuseppe Bellosi (that Baldini describes as the most sensitive researcher of folk and linguistic phenomena in Romagna) in 1979 in his introduction to the catalogue of the exposition entitled *Romagna mia* (BELLOSI 1979). This exhibition displayed photographs by Giovanni Zaffagnini, who did fieldwork for almost twenty years with Giuseppe Bel-

---

<sup>43</sup> It can be watched on the Ravenna Festival YouTube channel.

<sup>44</sup> A series of essays and pictures by photographers like Gabriele Basilico, Gian Luca Perrone, Silvia Lelli and Roberto Masotti and Alessandra Dragone explaining the background ideas on the *ballo liscio* of the artistic direction of the Ravenna Festival can be found in RAVENNA FESTIVAL 2013.

<sup>45</sup> The post was published on 10 July 2013, the discussion continued until 28 July.

<sup>46</sup> I mention only some of them: BALDINI 1986, BALDINI - BELLOSI 1989, BALDINI - SILVESTRONI 1990, *Tradizioni e memorie di Romagna* 1990, BALDINI 2003, BALDINI - BELLOSI 2006, BALDINI - BELLOSI 2012, BALDINI 2014.



losi.<sup>47</sup> On that occasion pictures representing the ‘false’ symbols of Romagna were shown. Some of the photos represented *ballo liscio* players and dancers and the *s-ciucaren*, (whip players) who sometimes perform together with *liscio* bands.

Traditional music and, more generally, the traditional culture of Romagna have been investigated mainly by local researchers working outside academic institutions, who, while sometimes claiming to have an ‘objective’ overview of phenomena, always started from very personal experiences of involvement in local culture. Even if this may be considered a weak point of the studies carried out in Romagna, in my opinion, this apparent provincialism allows one to pick up the threads of ideas that normally seem distant and unconnected. I am no exception in this case; on the contrary, I am extremely involved in this situation, not only because I commented on Baldini’s post in favour of the *ballo liscio* project, but also because in 2013, I was a press office collaborator for the Ravenna Festival, as well as sound archivist of the *Centro* who has the privilege of working directly on Bellosi’s field recording. Moreover, in 2013 I gave lectures at the Conservatory of Cesena and I had the occasion to talk directly with Giorgio Babbini about his arrangements of Casadei’s music for Orchestra Cherubini. Eraldo Baldini’s arguments are both extra-musical and musical. The problem of a stereotyped image of Romagna and of its folklore is more than one hundred years old and it has affected music in particular.

This is not the right place for a digression on the use of dialect in both organized choirs and in the *liscio* songs (the Italian language is commonly used in the traditional folk songs in Romagna; only lullabies, children tunes and certain *stornelli* are sung in dialect), nor is it the place to talk about the sense of nostalgia that characterizes an invented Romagna landscape at the basis of all the ‘invented musical traditions’ of Romagna. Likewise this is not the place to explain how all these elements reacted together when *ballo liscio* reached commercial success in the last decades of the 20th century. These phenomena are not only found in *ballo liscio*, of course, but also in many other musical experiences. What is interesting here is that Eraldo Baldini mentioned Bellosi’s fieldwork as a guarantee of the true traditions of Romagna. When talking of the ‘true’ traditional music of Romagna Baldini clearly had in mind the musical recordings now at the *Centro*. Therefore in Romagna, the recordings by Giuseppe Bellosi are extremely important for understanding how ideas about traditional culture, music, and dialect circulated, and happily, we do not need repatriation to have access to them, since they are easily accessible through the *Centro*.

A critical examination of how fieldwork has been conducted in Romagna, however, is necessary,<sup>48</sup> as well as the creation of a network of institutions preserving recordings, even if they are not yet digitized. Despite Eraldo Baldini’s idea, this network should include the *liscio* experience which can now be con-

---

<sup>47</sup> I have tried to reconstruct part of their collaboration in GHIRARDINI 2012.

<sup>48</sup> I have tried to demonstrate how Bellosi’s fieldwork on traditional music is in debt to the 19th century collections of folk songs and in particular to PERGOLI 1894 (GHIRARDINI 2013).

sidered in its historical development thanks to the archives of the Casadei Sonora publishing house and of virtual documentation Centre at the *liscio@museum* of Savignano sul Rubicone ([www.lisciomuseum.it](http://www.lisciomuseum.it)). Many musical experiences are still lively in Romagna, and the nomadism of musical languages, styles, and musicians as well as the role of the media should be an important aspect of a future close examination of music-making in Romagna starting from archives.

Another idea of remediation helps us here: namely Bolter and Grusin's concept (BOLTER - GRUSIN 1999) that has recently been introduced into ethnomusicological research by Febo Guizzi and Ilario Meandri (GUIZZI - MEANDRI 2013). The huge quantity of mediated music in sound archives and on the Web and the fact that ethnomusicology is made through recording, that is by an act of mediation, force us to think about how music, people, and the situations that require music are re-imagined and re-shaped through media. It should also prompt researchers to think of the effects of their involvement in the continuous process of making and mediating music that is taking place now, at the time of YouTube: they should be aware of their presence and of their inevitable involvement in the action of remediation (GUIZZI - MEANDRI 2013, p. 174). They should finally think in terms of relationships between the subjects that are involved in music-making and in representing music through media, especially in the environments where the tension between past and present, tradition and innovation is particularly strong (GUIZZI - MEANDRI 2013, pp. 178-179).

Thanks to technology, the idea of involving the musicians themselves in an active manner, uploading and discussing their own music on a common web platform is not a distant goal, if only local institutions can find the way to overcome the financial constraints that today make everything seem impossible. The idea of interactivity, in fact, is as old as the Internet. In 2003, when a section on Website reviews was opened in the *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, Suzel Ana Reily claimed:

Furthermore, according to Mark Johnson, Nerys Roberts and Andrew Dawson (2000), the Internet has the potential to reduce the gap between the researcher and the researched, enabling the dialogical (or "intergraphic") orientation envisaged by those searching for new, multivocal forms of ethnographic representation. (REILEY 2003, p. 188)

The closeness between people, music events and institutions allowed by a provincial setting should suggest an ethnomusicology from the margins: a critical experience based on historical sources and contemporary music, on academic knowledge, on the passion of musicians and music lovers, on the awareness of the technical requirements of the re-recording process, where remediation is considered as a conceptual tool focusing on the shifting of meaning that occurs when passing from one medium to another. An ethnomusicology that is deeply involved in personal and virtual relationships, and one which is creative and respectful of our musical heritage.

## Bibliography

- ANDREINI, A. – CLEMENTE P. (2007), *I custodi delle voci. Archivi orali in Toscana: primo censimento*, Regione Toscana, Florence.
- Archives for the Future. Global Perspectives on Audiovisual Archives in the 21st Century* (2004) ed by Seeger A. – Chaudhuri S., Seagull Books, Calcutta.
- BALDINI, E. (1986), *Alle radici del folklore romagnolo*, Longo, Ravenna.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2003), *La sacra tavola. Il cibo e il convivio nella cultura popolare romagnola*, Pendragon, Bologna.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2014 [1988]), *Tenebrosa Romagna. Mentalità, misteri e immaginario collettivo nei secoli della paura e della “meraviglia”*, Il ponte vecchio, Cesena.
- BALDINI, E. – BELLOSI G. (1989), *Calendario e folklore in Romagna*, Il Porto, Ravenna.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2006), *Halloween. Nei giorni che i morti ritornano*, Einaudi, Turin.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2012), *Tenebroso Natale. Il lato oscuro della Grande Festa*, GLF Editori Laterza, Rome-Bari.
- BALDINI, E. – SILVESTRONI E. (1990), *Fiabe di Romagna raccolte da Eraldo Silvestroni*, Longo, Ravenna.
- BELLOSI, G. (1979), *Introduzione in Romagna mia. La mistificazione del ‘popolare’ in Romagna*, Grafiche Morandi, Fusignano.
- BELLOSI, G. – ZAFFAGNINI G. (1980), *Aspetti della ricerca folklorica sul campo. Appunti*. Biblioteca Comunale F. Trisi, Lugo.
- BOLTER, J.D. – GRUSIN R. (1999), *Remediation. Understanding new media*, MIT Press, Cambridge.
- BRAIDOTTI, R. (2006), *Transpositions*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2011), *Nomadic subject*, Columbia University Press, New York.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2013). *The Posthuman*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- BRESSAN, F.– CANAZZA S. – RODÀ A – BERTANI R. – FONTANA F. (2013a), *Pavarotti Sings Again: A Multidisciplinary Approach to the Active Preservation of the Audio Collection at the Arena di Verona*, «Journal of New Music Research» 42/4, pp. 364-380.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2013b), *The Safeguard of Audio Collections: A Computer Science Based Approach to Quality Control – The Case of the Sound Archive of the Arena di Verona*, «Advances in Multimedia», 14, pp. 1-14.

- BROMBERGER, C. (2014), “*Le patrimoine immatériel*” entre ambiguïtés et overdose, «L’homme», pp. 143-151.
- CANAZZA, S. – CASADEI TURRONI MONTI, M. (2006), *Ri-mediazione dei documenti sonori*, Forum, Udine.
- CARPITELLA, D. (1960), *Profilo storico delle raccolte di musica popolare in Italia*, in CNSMP 1960, pp. 37-58.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1973a), *L’etnomusicologia in Italia*, Flaccovio, Palermo
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1973b), *Etnomusicologia e stato attuale della documentazione in Italia*, in CARPITELLA 1973, pp. 17-27.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1975), *Musica, tradizione orale e beni culturali*, «Città e Regione», 8, pp. 106-165.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1977), *Documenti etnici e programmazione radiofonica*, in RAI 1977, pp. IX-XVI.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1978), *La musica di tradizione orale (folklorica)*, in BIAGIOLA 1978, pp. 18-20.
- CARPITELLA, D. – BIAGIOLA S. (1978), *Note per la compilazione della scheda FKM*, in BIAGIOLA 1978, pp. 47-50.
- CAVAZZA, S. (1997), *Piccole patrie. Feste popolari tra regione e nazione durante il fascismo*, Il Mulino, Bologna.
- CIRESE, A. M. (1996) *I beni demologici in Italia e la loro museografia*, in *Graffiti di museografia antropologica italiana*, ed by P. Clemente, Protagon, Siena, pp. 249-262.
- CIRESE, A. M. - SERAFINI L., (1975), *Tradizioni orali non cantate*, Ministero dei Beni culturali e ambientali, Rome.
- CNSMP CENTRO NAZIONALE STUDI DI MUSICA POPOLARE (1960), *Studi e ricerche 1948-1960*, Istituto Grafico Tiberino, Rome.
- DELL’AMORE, F. (2010), *Storia della musica da ballo romagnola 1870-1980*, Pazzini, Verucchio.
- DISCOTECA DI STATO (1973), *Documenti dell’archivio etnico linguistico-musicale*, Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, Ufficio della proprietà letteraria artistica e scientifica, Rome.
- DOUGLAN, K. (2016), *Music, YouTube and Academic Libraries*, «MLA Notes» 72/3, pp. 491-508.
- Etnomusica* (1986), ed by. Biagiola S., Cooperativa Editrice Il Ventaglio, Rome.
- FAETA, F. (2011), *Le ragioni dello sguardo*, Bollati Boringhieri, Turin.

- FERRETTI, R. (1993), *Dal Centro Nazionale Studi di Musica Popolare agli Archivi di Etnomusicologia*, «EM» 1, pp. 13-45.
- Folkstudio. Catalogo delle raccolte 1966-1970* (2009), ed by Sorgi O., Centro regionale per l'inventario, la catalogazione e la documentazione dei beni culturali e ambientali, Palermo.
- Fonti orali per la storia e l'antropologia: testimonianze e documenti del mondo contadino e operaio* (1986), ed. by Coggiola F., Università di Urbino, Urbino.
- GHIRARDINI, C. (2011), *Noi siamo le canterine antifasciste. I canti delle mondine di Lavezzola*, Nota, Udine.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2012) *Immagini e suoni del maggio delle anime in Romagna: la ricerca di Giuseppe Bellosi e Giovanni Zaffagnini*, «Visual Ethnography» 1/2, pp. 21-59 (www.vejjournal.org).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2013), *Il pergoli cantato*, in PERGOLI 2013, pp. IX-CXXXVIII.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2016), *Francesco Balilla Pratella and Choral Singing in Romagna, in Multipart Music. Individuals and Educated People in Traditional Multipart Music Practices*, ed. by Pál R. – Tari L., MTA BTK Zenetudományi Intézet Institute of Musicology, Budapest, pp. 196-216.
- GHIRARDINI, C. – VENTURI S. (2011), *Siamo tutte d'un sentimento. Il coro delle mondine di Medicina tra passato e presente*, Nota, Udine.
- GIANNATTASIO, F. (1998), *Il concetto di musica*, Bulzoni, Rome.
- GORI, G. (2008a), *La barcaza*, Panozzo, Rimini.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2008b), *La società dei marinai*, Panozzo, Rimini.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2011), *Se dormi svegliati*, Panozzo, Rimini.
- GRAZIOLI, R. (1997), *Dalla performance orale all'edizione. La prospettiva degli Archivi della comunicazione orale*, «Lares», 62/3, pp. 339-368.
- GUGGINO, E., (1995), *Folkstudio: venticinque anni*, Folkstudio, Palermo.
- GUIZZI, F. (1994), *Lo sciotang e la lionedda. Contributi italiani alle origini del pensiero organologico moderno*, in LEYDI – GUIZZI 1994, pp. 3-20.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2013), 'Qui connaît Résia et les Résiens?' *Il viaggio di Ella von Schultz Adaięwsky e la nascita dell'etnomusicologia*, in *Un voyage à Résia*, ed by Guizzi F., LIM, Lucca, pp. 253-318.
- GUIZZI, F. – MEANDRI I. (2013), *Il paesaggio sonoro del carnevale di Ivrea e le sue musiche. Mediazione, immediatezza, rimediazione*, in *L'etnomusicologia italiana a Sessanta anni dalla nascita del CNSMP (1948-2008)*, ed by Giannattasio F. - Adamo G., Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Rome, pp. 153-196.

- HARAWAY, D. J. (1991), *Simians Cyborgs, and Women*, Routledges, New York.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1991), *Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective*, «Feminist Studies», 14/3, pp. 575-599.
- Historical Sources and Source Criticism* (2010), ed by Ziegler S., Svenskt Visarkiv, Stockholm.
- IASA (2004), *Guidelines on the Production and Preservation of Digital Audio Objects*, IASA.
- ICCD (2002), *Scheda BDI. Beni demoetnoantropologici immateriali. Prima parte*, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la documentazione, Rome.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2006), *Scheda BDI. Beni demoetnoantropologici immateriali. Seconda parte*. Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la documentazione, Rome.
- Inventario delle fonti sonore della musica di tradizione orale italiana* (1973), Associazione Italiana Museo Vivo, Rome.
- LANDAU, C. – TOPP FARGION J. (2012), *We're all Archivists Now: Towards a more Equitable Ethnomusicology*, «Ethnomusicology Forum» 21/2, pp. 125-140.
- LECHLEITNER, G. (2010), *Prerequisites for the 'Creation' of Valuable Sound Recordings – Seen from the Archival Perspective*, in ZIEGLER 2010a, pp. 31-41.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2014), *Il 'vero' suono dei dialetti. Le registrazioni sonore di Schürr e le prime collezioni linguistiche del Phonogrammarchiv*, in *Le ricerche di Friedrich Schürr in Romagna nel 1914*, ed by Ghirardini C., La Mandragora, Imola, pp. 43-52.
- LEYDI, R. (1977), *Ricerca demologica e ordinamento regionale. Un'esperienza in Lombardia*, in RAI 1977, pp. XVII-XXVII.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1994), *Il fonografo e la ricerca etnomusicologica in Italia*, in LEYDI – GUIZZI 1994, pp. 223-227.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2008), *L'altra musica*, Universal Music MGB - LIM, Milano- Lucca.
- LEYDI, R. – GUIZZI F. (1994), *Gli strumenti musicali e l'etnografia italiana*, LIM, Lucca.
- LIEBL, C. (2014), *Le registrazioni storiche delle lingue italiane e romanze dell'Italia e dell'Istria al Phonogrammarchiv di Vienna*, in *Le ricerche di Friedrich Schürr in Romagna nel 1914*, ed by Ghirardini C., La Mandragora, Imola, pp. 53-64.

- LOMAX, A. (1956), *Ascoltate, le colline cantano*, in «Santa Cecilia» 5/4, pp. 81-87.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1968), *Folk Song Style and Culture*, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2005), *Selected Writings 1934-1997*, Routledge, New York and London.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2008), *L'anno più felice della mia vita*, il Saggiatore, Milan.
- MCLEOD, N. – HERNDON M. (1980), *The Ethnography of Musical Performance*, Norwood Editions, Norwood.
- MACCHIARELLA, I. (2011), *Dove il tocco di re Mida non arriva. A proposito di proclamazioni Unesco e musica*, «La ricerca folklorica», 64, pp. 71-81.
- MAGRINI, T. – Bellosi G. (1928), *Vi do la buonasera*, Clueb, Bologna.
- MEAZZA, R. – SCALDAFERRI N., (2008), *Patrimoni sonori della Lombardia. Le ricerche dell'Archivio di Etnografia e Storia Sociale*, Squilibri, Rome.
- MILLER D. – COSTA E. – HAYNES – McDONALD T – NICOLESCU R. – SINANAN J. – SPYER J. – VENKATRAMAN S., (2016), *How the World Changed Social Media*, UCL Press, London.
- NETTL, B. (1983), *The Study of Ethnomusicology. Thirty-one Issues and Concepts*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago.
- PAOLOMBINI, G. (1994), *Catalogazione informatizzata di documenti etnomusicologici in Storia & multimedia. Atti del Settimo Congresso Internazionale Association for History & Computing*, ed by Bocchi F. – Denley P., Grafis Edizioni, Bologna, pp. 462-474.
- PERGOLI, B. (1894), *Saggio di canti popolari romagnoli*, La Mandragora, Imola.
- PUCCINI, S. (1991), *L'uomo e gli uomini*, Cisu, Rome.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1999), *Andare lontano*, Carocci, Rome.
- RAI (1977), *Folk. Documenti sonori. Catalogo informativo delle registrazioni musicali originali*, Eri Edizioni Rai Radiotelevisione Italiana, Turin.
- RASCHIERI, G. (2011), *Senso e identità del termine popolare. Alcune prospettive di indagine etnomusicologica. La riproposta di repertori musicali tradizionale in Piemonte*, (PhD diss), Università di Torino, Turin.
- RAVENNA FESTIVAL (2013), *Alchimie popolari. Una balera ai giardini*, Ravenna Festival, Ravenna.
- REILEY, S. A. (2003), *Ethnomusicology and the Internet*. «Yearbook for Traditional Music» 35, pp. 187-192.

- Ricerca e catalogazione della cultura popolare* (1978), ed by Biagiola S., De Luca, Rome.
- Romagna: le voci. Ricerca sul folklore di Sant'Alberto di Ravenna* (1990), ed by Sassu P., Longo, Ravenna.
- SCHÜLLER, D. (2001), *Preserving the facts for future: Principles and practices for the transfer of analog audio documents into the digital domain*, «Journal of Audio Engineering Society» 49(7-8), pp. 618-621.
- SISTRI, A. (2003), *Cultura tradizionale nella Valle del Conca*, Silvana Editoriale, Milan.
- SEEGER, A. (1986), *The Role of Sound Archives in Ethnomusicology Today*, «Ethnomusicology» 30/2, pp. 261-276.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1996), *Ethnomusicology, Archives, Professional Organisations, and the Shifting Ethics of Intellectual Property*, «Yearbook for Traditional Music» 28, pp. 87-105.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2004), *New Technology Requires New Collaborations: Changing Ourselves to better shape the Future*, «Musicology Australia», 27 (1), pp. 94-110.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2006), *Lost Lineages and Neglected Peers: Ethnomusicology outside Academia*, «Ethnomusicology», 50 (2), pp. 214-235.
- SEEGER, A. – CHAUDHURI S. (2004), *Archives for the Future. Global Perspectives on Audiovisual Archives in the 21st Century*, Seagull Books, Calcutta.
- SERRAVEZZA, A. (1996), *Musica e scienza nell'età del positivismo*, Il Mulino, Bologna.
- SIMON, A. (2000), *The Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv 1900-200. Collections of Traditional Music of the World*, Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, Berlin.
- STARO, P. (2001), *Il canto delle donne antiche*, Lim, Lucca.
- SZWED, J. (2010), *Alan Lomax. The man who recorded the world*, Viking Penguin, New York.
- TOPP FARGION, J. (2002), *Living archives, commercialisation and the Internet: new problems for ethnomusicological sound archives*, in *Music Archiving in the World: Proceedings of the conference on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv*, ed. by Berlin G. – Simon A., VWB - Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, Berlin, pp. 403-408.



- \_\_\_\_\_ (2009), 'For my own Research Purposes?': Examining Ethnomusicology Field Methods for a Sustainable Music, «World of Music», 51/1, pp. 75-93.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2012), *Connecting with Communities: Building Sustainable models for Audiovisual Archiving into the Future*, in *Ethnomusicology in East Africa: Perspectives from Uganda and Beyond*, Fountain Publishers, Kampala, pp. 49-59.
- Tradizioni e memorie di Romagna: materiali folklorici raccolti negli anni Venti e Trenta* (1990), ed by Baldini E. – Foschi A., Longo, Ravenna.
- TUCCI, R. (2002a), *Norme per la compilazione*, in *Scheda BDI. Beni demoetnoantropologici immateriali*, prima parte, Iccu, Roma, pp. 29-203.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2002b), *Beni Demoetnoantropologici Immateriali*, «Antropologia museale», 1, pp. 54-59.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2006), *Il patrimonio demoetnoantropologico immateriale fra territorio, documentazione e catalogazione*, in ICCD 2006, pp. 20-28.
- VAN DIJCK, J. (2007), *Mediated Memories in the Digital Age*, Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- ZIEGLER, S., (2010), *Historical Sources in the History of Ethnomusicology – A Critical Review*, in *Historical Sources*, ed by S. Ziegler, Svenskt Visarkiv, Stockholm, pp.15-30.

### Discography

- BELLOSI, G. – MAGRINI, T - SISTRI, A. (1980), *Romagna*. Albatros VPA 8467.
- GORI, G. - GALA G.M., (1994), *Vecchi balli di Romagna. Saltarelli, furlane e vecchio "liscio"*. Florence: Taranta (TA09)
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1998), *Vecchi balli di Romagna. Manfrine, quadriglie e vecchio "liscio"*. Florence: Taranta (TA017)
- 

**Cristina Ghirardini**, dottore di ricerca in Storia e critica delle culture e dei beni musicali all'Università di Torino (2007), collabora con istituzioni culturali e con archivi sonori. Conduce ricerche sugli strumenti della musica popolare italiana e sul canto di tradizione orale. Attualmente si interessa all'improvvisazione poetica in ottava rima in Italia centrale.

**Cristina Ghirardini** is PhD in Storia e critica delle culture e dei beni musicali at the University of Torino (2007). She collaborates with various cultural institutions and sound archives. She carries on research on musical instruments of the Italian traditional music and on folk song. Now she is doing research on improvised poetry in central Italy.