Antropologia della musica nelle culture mediterranee. Interpretazione, performance, identità

Alla memoria di Tullia Magrini

Musical Anthropology in Mediterranean Cultures: Interpretation, Performance, Identity

To the memory of Tullia Magrini

a cura di / eds.

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con / with
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Prefazione / Preface

Marcello Sorce Keller

Questo volume è dedicato alla memoria di Tullia Magrini, Professore di Etnomusicologia e di Antropologia della Musica nel corso di laurea in Discipline delle Arti, della Musica e dello Spettacolo (DAMS) e nel Dipartimento di Musica e Spettacolo dell'Università di Bologna, prematuramente scomparsa nel 2005.

Tullia non era solo una studiosa brillante, attiva e produttiva che ha lasciato un segno profondo attraverso le sue pubblicazioni e l'influenza diretta che esercitò su numerosi colleghi e, naturalmente, sui tanti studenti che ebbe; ma era anche, addirittura, un vero e proprio vortice di energia e di iniziative. Bastava avvicinarsi di poco al suo intorno per avvertirne la turbolenza, ed era allora difficile non essere influenzati e attirati dentro. Dire questo è uno dei tanti modi possibili per sottolineare come Tullia abbia arricchito la vita di numerose persone e tra queste, naturalmente, in maniera indimenticabile, anche gli interessi e gli orientamenti di chi scrive questa Prefazione. Ci sarebbero state tutte le ragioni per dedicarle un volume strenna, un Festschrift in piena regola, ed è invece infinitamente triste che questo debba essere un Gedenkschrift, col quale si vuole testimoniare in modo tangibile che la ricordiamo.

Il volume presenta alcune caratteristiche particolari che desidero evidenziare, oltre a quella immediatamente visibile di contenere sia contibuti in lingua italiana che in lingua inglese (e di adottare per gli uni e per gli altri criteri di stile e di citazione in parte differenti, abituali ai fruitori dei due ambiti linguistici, con qualche compromesso volto ad evitare eccessiva disomogeneità). Si noterà infatti che esso è realmente dedicato a Tullia in ogni sua parte, perché i saggi qui contenuti fanno riferimento diretto al suo lavoro e ai suoi interessi di studio e ricerca. Questo ci dà il senso preciso di come le attività di Tullia abbiano creato onde d'urto, per così dire, e abbiano stimolato quelle di altri. Queste pagine raccolgono dunque la testimonianza dell'impulso che Lei seppe dare e i cui effetti sono ancora presenti. Gli effetti di questo impulso però, bisogna aggiungere, sono avvertibili anche altrove: nello Study Group su "Anthropology of Music in Mediterranean Cultures" dell'International Council for

Traditional Music (UNESCO) e nella rivista elettronica "Music and Anthropology", da Lei fondati rispettivamente nel 1992 e nel 1996. Tanto la rivista che ora ha come redattore Martin Stokes, professore a Oxford, e lo Study Group continuano ad esistere. Il sottoscritto si è trovato ad assumersi il compito, non particolarmente facile ma assai gradito, di convocare il suo settimo meeting, dedicato al tema "Città cosmopolite e musiche migranti" che ha avuto luogo dal 28 al 30 Giugno del 2007 generosamente ospitato e logisticamente organizzato dalla Fondazione Olga e Ugo Levi a Venezia. Tutto ciò fa piacere raccontarlo, perché la consapevolezza di come le iniziative avviate e consolidate da Tullia e a cui Lei tanto teneva proseguano il loro cammino, è la sola consolazione possibile di fronte alla sua scomparsa.

Si noterà inoltre che questo libro non contiene, come del resto i convegni dello Study Group che Tullia organizzò non ospitavano, solamente contributi di etnomusicologi. La ragione è facilmente comprensibile ed è dovuta al fatto che Tullia riteneva che negli studi mediterranei, forse anche più che in altri ambiti, la dimensione storica fosse altrettanto importante di quella antropologica. Nessuno potrebbe infatti negare che anche la musica europea di tradizione scritta, quella che più di ogni altra è stata studiata storicamente, giochi un ruolo importante nella comprensione del Mediterraneo. Le due dimensioni, quella scritta e quella orale, erano dunque per Tullia egualmente congeniali e il divertimento, nonché l'arricchimento, di conversare con Lei consisteva proprio anche nel fatto che era tanto a suo agio nell'ambito dell'etnomusicologia che in quello della musicologia storica. Con Lei poteva anche capitare di discutere le strutture frattali nel gamelan balinese e poi trovarsi a parlarne in rapporto alla Messa in si minore di Bach.

Detto tutto ciò mi rimane solo da ringraziare in primo luogo Philip Bohlman, subito persuaso dell'opportunità di raccogliere tutti questi saggi in un volume e disponibile ad assumersi una misura rilevante del lavoro che l'impegno ha comportato. Lavorando con lui a quattro mani mi sono accorto che con la sua compagnia il superamento di ogni sorta di ostacolo diventa piacere, divertimento e apprendimento. Ringrazio poi tutti gli amici e i colleghi che hanno contribuito a questo volume, così pronti a rispondere alla richiesta che Philip Bohlman e io abbiamo loro rivolto e ringrazio poi anche tutte le persone che avrebbero voluto offrire un loro contributo e che, per una ragione o per l'altra, non è stato possibile accogliere. Un ringraziamento del tutto speciale va a Loris Azzaroni, amico tra gli amici, Professore di Teoria e Analisi Musicale all'Università di Bologna, marito e collega di Tullia, che è stato sempre disponibile a darmi consiglio e aiuto in ogni momento in cui avevo bisogno di soccorso (e questi momenti sono stati numerosi). Senza il suo appoggio ben difficilmente questo volume avrebbe visto la luce. Ritengo infine doveroso ringraziare anche il Dipartimento di Musica e Spettacolo dell'Università di Bologna per il contributo stanziato nell'autunno 2005, che ha reso possibile questa pubblicazione dedicata a temi di antropologia della musica, la disciplina introdotta e insegnata per numerosi anni al DAMS da Tullia Magrini, e che sottolinea così il profondo legame della studiosa con l'Università di Bologna.

Non è con i ringraziamenti però che desidero concludere, bensì, piuttosto, sottolineando che questo *Gedenkschrifi*, come il titolo indica, è mirato al Mediterraneo, un nodo di interazioni culturali e musicali nel quale ogni sorta di processo antropologico possibile e immaginabile è visibilmente presente. Assai spesso questi processi di interazione sono persino stati esportati dai popoli mediterranei nei cinque continenti e lì, di volta in volta, nuovamente ambientati e riconfigurati. Il mondo mediterraneo può dunque oggi essere considerato e studiato in una prospettiva, addirittura, pluricontinentale. Lo studio antropologico della musica nella sua dimensione mediterranea così intesa è dunque appena iniziato. Fino a quando esso rimarrà attuale non potremo non attribuirne buona parte del merito a Tullia e, quindi, ricordarci di Lei.

Encomium

Tullia Magrini (1950-2005): Her Scholarly Profile, Her Position in Italian Ethnomusicology

Marcello Sorce Keller

It is always a challenge to reconstruct the intellectual profile of a scholar, and it is especially so in the case of Tullia Magrini, who was equally well known in her native Italy and abroad, but possibly in two rather different ways, if for no other reason than part of her production was in Italian, while part was in English, and these two halves do not express the same range of topics and questions. Besides, in recalling the achievements of a scholar who also was a good friend, it is hard to forget the very personal point of view from which the growth process of the friend's activities, interest, and contributions were perceived. I shall therefore try to give an idea of what Tullia's profile appeared to be from my personal point of observation, that of someone rather well informed about Italian ethnomusicology without really being part of it, and therefore looking at it somewhat as an outsider.

When I first came across Tullia's work, the two most audible voices in Italian ethnomusicology were Diego Carpitella and Roberto Leydi, and my first encounter with her was through her book on lyric songs in the Romagna region, which contained unusually sophisticated transcription and analysis, both to an unusual degree (Magrini and Bellosi 1982). The second encounter through her book on mental functions and dynamics in oral tradition was also quite novel in that those functions and dynamics were examined through a detailed discussion of music and song texts, the latter transcribed with all their internal repetition and redundancy (Magrini 1986). Soon I discovered how Tullia, uniquely, I believe, among the major scholars of the younger generation, had been a student of neither Carpitella nor Leydi. She was formally educated in music, in the social sciences, and in economics, and as far as ethnomusicology went, she could have said, as Groucho Marx once did: "My education is self-inflicted!" In other words, and using an expression I very much like by the American composer William Billings, she had been "her won carver."

For all these reasons I felt Tullia had a position all her own in the Italian context. What that position was, English-speaking readers can probably gauge by examining the series of entries devoted to the traditional music of Italy, appeared in the successive editions of the Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (cf. Bonaccorsi 1954; Carpitella 1961; Leydi 1980; Magrini 2001). Each one of them represents a significant stage of how ethnomusicology developed in Italy after World War II. It is worth remembering in this connection how systematic investigation of traditional music in Italy began only around 1950, although much important work concerning a few regional repertories had already taken place prior to that time, in Lucania and Sardinia in particular. Whereas the Romantic climate, as well as the spread of nationalism across Europe, had given considerable momentum to folk-song research during the entire nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, that was not at all the case of Italy. Even the political movement leading to the formation of a unified Italian nation-state did not take interest in folk music: Too many and too diverse repertories existed, none of them lending itself to serving as a symbol of national identity. A musical symbol for Italian identity, moreover, had already existed for a long time: opera.

When the traditional repertories of the Peninsula began to be systematically investigated, a fascinating picture gradually emerged, systematically enlarged and refined over several decades of fruitful work. Progressive evidence for that work appeared in the four substantial entries published in successive editions of the *Grove Dictionary*. They were indeed substantial, and it is to be stressed how, under the charge to provide an overall picture of Italian traditional music to the outside world, an effort was made by their authors to produce such a picture, which has no equivalent in any other publication and thus might have appeared for the Italian public itself. The critical point is the following: It is quite a challenge to give an overall view of the Italian soundscape and, not surprisingly, no one single book has ever been published in Italian, or in any other language for that matter, that attempted to do just that.

Italian traditional music is remarkably diverse when compared with the art music, which has a unity of its own. For example, in the nineteenth century, the middle class from Piedmont to Sicily enjoyed opera, and composers such as Donizetti were equally popular in Milan and in Naples. At the rural level, in contrast, where music mostly circulated orally, Italy was and is by no means

a unified country because its music is layered across a great span of time and is extremely varied geographically and over the range of occupations and social classes. In that sense, when the Austrian politician Metternich (1773-1859) said that Italy was nothing but "a geographic expression" (ein geographischer Begriff), he was right and wrong at the same time. The diverse pattern of musical styles and practices found in the northern as opposed to the southern part of the Italian peninsula reflects the even sharper dichotomy between Continental Europe and the Mediterranean area. This pattern, furthermore, shows that the peninsula is a bridge between the European mainland and the Middle East. It is a bridge along which may be seen an almost continuous transition from one tradition to another, through a series of links and a few sharp divides, until the last link appears to be worlds apart from the first.

The Grove Dictionary deserves praise for the four wide-angle pictures it elicited. Had it not been for Grove, we may not have these four snapshots trying to give us the whole story, at four different points in time. They are four contributions that, viewed in retrospect, do help us to see Tullia's work in context.

The first contribution on Italian "Folk Music" in Grove, by Alfredo Bonaccorsi (1887-1971), appeared in the 1954 edition and largely missed the point. It dealt almost only with reflections of folk musical practice in the Italian literate tradition (e.g., in genres such as the madrigal, canzona, villanella, and furlana) in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Bonaccorsi simply presented the information available at the time. And that was a crucial moment, because, precisely as Bonaccorsi was writing his *Grove* entry, Alan Lomax (1915-2002) and Diego Carpitella (1924-1990), in a mere seven months, were collecting some 3,000 performances that made history. We are indebted to Goffredo Plastino for making this momentous collection finally accessible to the wider public on CDs (Plastino, Italian Treasury). It is a large body of traditional music that, Carpitella used to say, though unnoticed by music historians, had continued to exist, like an underground stream, in almost complete isolation from the flourishing art-music tradition of the peninsula. Eric Blom, the editor of that 1954 Grove edition, contacted Carpitella in a timely fashion so that a new entry by Carpitella might appear in the Supplementary Volume of 1961. There, for the first time, in one single place, we find information concerning genres as diverse as the trallallero of Genova, funeral lamentations in Lucania, of course stornelli, diaphonic singing in the marshes, Sardinian tenores, tarantism in Apulia, and much more. Most of those repertories were, in those days, largely unknown to the Italian people, except to the very few who were in some way or another connected to such traditions.

In the following years, Roberto Leydi emerged as a driving force on the Italian scene. He was phenomenally capable of getting younger scholars involved and encouraging them to carry out extensive fieldwork (Sorce Keller 2004).

¹ Also, while in Germany, with the advent of the Nazi Regime, musicologists increasingly directed their efforts toward more concentrated research in folk music in order to correlate the beliefs of the third Reich with the nineteenth-century cult of the Volk, and often the agenda of specific ministries concerned with the cultivation of Volkish thought – nothing of the like happened in Italy during the Fascist dictatorship.

The amount of further collecting he did, personally or through students and associates, was quite remarkable. It comes as no surprise, then, that Leydi was asked to write the new entry on Italian "Folk Music" for *The New Grove* of 1980. Italy, lagging so far behind other countries in the study of folk music, had at this point caught up remarkably well. Few countries could boast such extensive documentation, which had also been made available to the general public through commercial recordings. All this is reflected in Leydi's contribution to the *New Grove*. Indeed, much work had been done since Carpitella's 1961 entry, so Leydi could at this point open with a short historical outline, followed by an attempt to single out general features. A substantial section then follows, devoted to "style areas," among them the "Mediterranean," Sardinia by itself, reflecting its role as the very special place it really is, then "Minority Cultures," and, in conclusion, two sections devoted to "Polyphony" and "Instruments."

The New Grove then gave way to the Revised New Grove of 2001, and for this edition it was Tullia who wrote the entry, "Italian Traditional Music." The novelty of that entry may not be entirely apparent at first glance, if no comparison is made to the previous ones. Tullia discussed primarily Italian genres and repertories - social function, compositional process, evolutionary patterns - while in some way thinking in supranational perspectives. The geographical context is there, of course, but the perception is also expressed that, from the point of view of traditional music, national identity is blurred, on the one hand, by repertories and genres that are cross-national and, on the other, by minority musics that are so often non-complementary to their surroundings. Indeed, she writes that many song types "are not tied to a place and a distinct group of performers, but can be found in different areas and among different communities; performers who absorb them into their own repertory can elaborate them and create variant forms" (Magrini 2001: 664). She continues "nor is there any folk music genre or idiom that is felt to express national identity." (ibid.). Nations may well be those "imagined political communities" that Benedict Anderson says they are, and probably because of that musical genres and styles - which are not at all imaginary - cannot easily be contained by political or geographical borders.

Tullia was interested in more than description, however thick that might be, or the mere study of function. In her many publications she dealt with issues such as "modal mobility" in lyric songs (Magrini 1988a), extempore production of verbal texts (Magrini 1986), theatrical invention in the Tuscan maggio drammatico (Magrini 1992a), and musical and ritual life in Northern Calabria (Magrini 1986). It is, perhaps, no coincidence, given her training in composition, that compositional process was one of her major interests. She was, moreover, eager to do fieldwork away from home, and she did so in Greece, Madagascar, and Bali at a time when in Italy few scholars considered working

away from home (Magrini 1988b; Magrini 1988c; Magrini 2002). In everything she wrote her familiarity with Anglo-American ethnomusicology and anthropology is apparent. Her approach, however, had much more to with the ideas of Ernesto De Martino, the nestor of anthropology in Italy, and British psychoanalyst Wilfred Bion, the founder of "group dynamics" studies. From that came her very distinctive interest and practice in musical analysis, which included not only the produced sound and text, but also the mental attitudes and processes behind them. She wrote about analysis and discussed mental attitudes in music-making (Magrini 1991; Magrini 1992b; Magrini 1993). In one of these publications I remember how clearly she expressed the importance of distinguishing the music maker who has in mind a musical object that he or she wishes to reproduce - how accurately would depend on what is to be considered "identical" or "equivalent" in that particular culture - and the music maker who, in contrast, has in mind a set of processes and strategies capable of producing an internally organized and coherent performance (Magrini 1992b). These two possibilities, furthermore, can in actuality be seen as Weberian ideal types, whereas real cases always fall within a continuum of possibilities limited by these two extremes.

As I recall Tullia's contributions, I remain impressed by her progressive striving for the wider-angle view. Even when she was studying the local, the upshot always included more general ideas. I realize that she constantly delved into the relationship between and among instrumental language, the human body, and specific features of musical instruments, such as the *lyra* in Crete, the *valiha* in Madagascar, or bagpipes in Calabria (Magrini 1983; Magrini 1988c; Magrini 1993). In further work she dealt with the analysis of compositional process in relation to patterns of social interaction in different Mediterranean areas. More recently, in her edited volume on the anthropology of Mediterranean music, gender becomes the focus of the entire volume (Magrini 2003), an issue whose Italian dimensions she had already discussed in her *Revised New Grove* entry. So many repertories are gender-specific that, in hindsight, one even wonders how it was once ever possible to overlook this aspect of performance practice.

We arrive, then, at the Mediterranean. I see the development of her Mediterranean interests as part of the growth process I have just sketched, naturally leading to her founding, in 1992, of the Study Group of the International Council for Traditional Music concerned with the "Anthropology of Music in Mediterranean Cultures." Establishing the Study Group was very timely, and it produced a turning point of sorts. By 2007 the Study Group had met seven times in Venice, sponsored and supported by the Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi. Ruth Davis recently pointed out in a personal communication that, before it existed, scholars active in this area had no acute sense of how their work might be seen as complementary: Some thought of themselves as Middle Eastern or Arab-

music specialists; others as specialists of the Balkan, Greece, and so on. As a result, publications devoted to music of the Mediterranean began to appear, some by Tullia herself, but not exclusively so (e.g., Magrini 1992c; Cooper and Dawe 2005). In recent years, moreover, the number of centers for Mediterranean studies in general has proliferated.²

Tullia's idea of the Mediterranean is quite intriguing indeed. She no longer looked at it from the point of view of global history, as Fernand Braudel had done, or as a culture-area or a set of culture areas, as the Oxford school of social anthropology had tended to do (e.g., Radcliffe-Brown and Evans-Pritchard). Her position vis-à-vis the Mediterranean reformulated the basic problem:

[T]he "Mediterranean" [...] represents better than others a place in which one encounters countless diversities, and [...] it enables us to observe the ways in which these diversities manage to coexist, ignore each other, know each other, come into conflict, or blend. (Magrini 1999: 174-75)

By looking at the Mediterranean as a kind of battleground from which culture patterns emerge from peaceful exchanges as much as from conflict and rejection, Tullia went on to suggest that

[...] it would be worth using the term "Mediterranean Music" in the strict sense only for those musical phenomena that have their roots in the contact and contamination between cultural realities which actually come from different parts of the Mediterranean. (ibid.: 175)

It might be productive to look at the Mediterranean as, possibly, the most problematic interaction area on earth. Tullia was quite right to believe that the Mediterranean is to be studied anthropologically and, at the same time, be regarded as an allegory for the most intricate forms of exchange, rejection, and conflict. The Mediterranean, thus conceived, becomes a powerful metaphor for the study of musical processes at their greatest thickness and turbulence. Regardless of where in the world we discover a pattern of musical interaction, I should like to see whether anything comparable exists in the Mediterranean, and I should be surprised if it did not. This would be another way of saying that, in ethnomusicology, we all are to a greater or lesser degree already engaged in Mediterranean Studies.

In other words, there is more to Tullia's legacy than her contributions to the scholarly literature. No less important as part of her legacy are her endeavors that, by their very nature, remain works in progress. Surely the Study Group and the journal *Music and Anthropology* are cases in point. The journal is a pioneering web publication that makes possible the publication of audiovisual material, and which was born in symbiosis with the Study Group.

Her publications, I believe, will retain their importance for the field of ethnomusicology. The Study Group and the journal will surely grow and transform themselves in order to answer to new needs. And that is as it should be. Tullia, like all those who initiate something new, was never a traditionally-minded person, and she was herself quite ready to innovate and move forward. Surely, her impetus to move forward is fully evident in the essays that follow in the present volume.

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² Mediterranean Studies Association, supported by the University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth; the University of Kansas, *Mediterranean Studies: Journal of the Mediterranean Studies Association*; the Canadian Institute of Mediterranean Studies; Mediterranean Institute, University of Malta; Centre for Mediterranean and Black Sea Studies, Melbourne; Centro di Studi Mediterranei, Università della Svizzera Italiana, Lugano; Research Group on Gender, Interculturality and Mediterranean Studies (GIEM), Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Tarragona (Spain, Catalonia).

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